THE PRACTICE OF RENAMING PLACES IN TURKEY:

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON SPATIO-TEMPORAL POLITICS

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"The Practice of Renaming Places in Turkey: An Anthropological Perspective on Spatio-Temporal Politics," a thesis prepared by İbrahim Kuran in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts in History degree from The Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Boğaziçi University. This thesis has been approved and accepted on June 2010 by

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ABSTRACT

An abstract of the Thesis of İbrahim Kuran, for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History to be taken June 2010.

Title: The Practice of Renaming Places in Turkey: An Anthropological Perspective on Spatio-Temporal Politics

This thesis explores how the practice of renaming places in Turkey serves the discursive formation of the nation state and the national territorialization of space by creating the hegemonic spatio-temporal regime and by intervening into the collective memory. This is a brief attempt to rehistoricise the modernization experience in Turkey by reading through a particular governmentalization technique, i.e. the renaming of settlement and natural places.

With the establishment of the Expert Commission on Name Changes under the supervision of the Ministry of Interior in 1957, the renaming practice was transformed into an entrenched bureaucratic project. This thesis explores the very formations, strategies, and performances of the Expert Commission. This study especially focuses on the renaming operations that were conducted by the Commission between 1957 and 1978.

This thesis also inquires into the appropriation and contestation of the renaming policy "from below." Based on a field work conducted in Diyarbakır and Batman, the study uncovers fragments of memory suppressed under the standardized-Turkified place names. By utilizing the tools of ethnography, the unwritten and negated histories of the replaced Kurdish and Armenian place names are explored.

ÖZET

Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Yüksek Lisans derecesi için
İbrahim Kuran tarafından Haziran 2010'da teslim edilen tezin özeti

Başlık: Türkiye'de Yer İsimleri Değiştirilmesi Pratiği: Zaman-Mekan Politikalarına Antropolojik Bir Bakış

Bu tez Türkiye'de yer isimleri değiştirilmesi pratiğinin, hegemonik bir zaman-mekan rejimi yaratarak ve kolektif hafızaya müdahale ederek, milli devletin söylemsel oluşumuna ve mekanın ulusal kodlanışına nasıl hizmet ettiğini incelemektedir. Bu muhtasar hamle, belli bir hükümetleştirme tekniği olan meskun ve tabii isimlerin değiştirilmesini okuyarak, Türkiye'deki modernleş(tir)me deneyiminin yeniden tarihselleştirilmesidir.

1957 yılında, İçişleri Bakanlığı'nın denetimi altında Ad Değiştirme İhtisas Kurulu'nun oluşturulması ile yer isimleri değiştirilmesi pratiği köklü bir bürokratik proje halini almıştır. Bu araştırma İhtisas Kurulu'nun oluşum sürecini, stratejilerini ve performanslarını ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Bu çalışma özellikle İhtisas Kurulu'nun 1957 ile 1978 yılları arasında yaptığı isim değişiklikleri üzerine odaklanmaktadır.

Bu tez, aynı zamanda, isim değiştirme politikasının "aşağıdan" nasıl alımlandığını ve bu politikayla nasıl mücadele edildiğini araştırmaktadır. Bu tez, Diyarbakır ve Batman'da yürütülen saha çalışmasına dayanarak, standartlaştırılmış-Türkleştirilmiş yer isimlerinin bastırdığı hafıza parçacıklarını ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Etnografik araçlardan istifade edilerek, değiştirilen Kürtçe ve Ermenice yer isimlerinin "söylenmemiş hikayeleri" araştırılmaktadır.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 2007, the Provincial Council of Diyarbakır decided to inscribe the old correspondents of the place names on the signboards, namely Kurdish and Armenian, under the registered Turkish names in parenthesis, especially considering the villages.[1] It was stated by the Council that the local people had not appropriated Turkified place names since the renaming operations. However, the decision of the Council was declared illegal. In May 2008, Hasip Kaplan, a former deputy of the banned pro-Kurdish Party, DTP, proposed a bill to the Parliament in order to register and use the old (non-Turkish) and new (Turkish) names of the settlement and geographical places together.[2] In February 2009, another deputy of the DTP, Şerafettin Halis, presented a bill to the Parliament for the return of the name Dersim, instead of Tunceli, as he argued for the assimilationist and traumatic connotations of Tunceli.[3] In August 2009, President Abdullah Gül preferred to use the former name of Güroymak, that is Norşin, speaking in public during a visit to Bitlis.[4] In November 2009, the Diyarbakır Metropolitan Municipality registered the former names of the villages in parenthesis on the signboards within the municipality borders.[5] In this process, the Turkified place names were turned into a public issue on the agenda of

[1] "O köy bizim köyümüz," *Günlük Gazetesi*, 25 November 2009.

[2] For the details of the bill, see http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tasari_teklif_sd.onerge_bilgileri?kanunlar_sira_no=64370

[3] For the details of the bill, see http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tasari_teklif_sd.onerge_bilgileri?kanunlar_sira_no=72951

[4] "Güroymak Norşin olmak istiyor," *ntvmsnbc*, 11 August 2009. Avaliable [Online]: http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/24990689

[5] "Diyarbakır'da tabelalar artık Kürtçe," *Günlük Gazetesi*, 25 November 2009.

the country. In this research, I aim to explore the practice of renaming places in Turkey from the historical and anthropological perspectives.

This thesis does not intend to introduce an inventory of renamed places in Turkey, as the serious task of uncovering the renamed places throughout the country goes beyond its limited scope. Rather I strive to explore how the practice of renaming places serves the discursive formation of the modern nation state in Turkey by endeavoring to create a hegemonic time-space regime and by intervening into the collective memory. The critical task that is undertaken in this thesis therefore is to re-historicize the Turkish modernization experience by reading through specific governmentalization technique, i.e. the renaming of settlement and natural place names.[6] I attempt to examine the role and the strategies of naming and renaming places in the nation building vis-à-vis the state formation processes in Turkey.

Prior to the elaborative discussion, I want to express some preliminary ideas that pave the way for the genesis of the theoretical insights of the thesis. The practice of renaming places is inextricably related to the construction of an imagined as well as shared spatial-and-temporal regime for the new nation state in Turkey. The Kemalist elites and their predecessors in the early modernization period through various means urgently strived to create new subjectivities compatible with the horizons of the modern nation state. The initial attempt was the construction of the shared past of the nation and national collective memory.[7] Therefore, the founding

[6] It is necessary to mention what is meant by "re-historicization." Following the theoretical arguments of Özbek, this thesis attempts to transcend "the linear history narrative" in the sense of "modernist paradigm." Alternatively, it is a brief attempt to reconstruct the past by considering the present concerns and power relations. The concept of "re-historicization" envisions the task of exploring "the activist present." For further discussion, see Nadir Özbek, "Alternatif Tarih Tahayülleri: Siyaset, İdeoloji ve Osmanlı-Türkiye Tarihi," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 98 (Fall 2003), pp. 234-253.

[7] There have been various attempts to imagine the national past in Turkey. The most notorious and criticized strategy is the indoctrination of the Turkish History Thesis. Altınay dicusses the spatio-temporal dimension of the Thesis as follows, "formation of dual geographic framework

Kemalist bureaucrats urged the new nation to forget some elements of the recent past, especially the traces of the Ottoman past, whereas the imagined facets of the distant past were stimulated, so to speak, the Turkish stories of the Central Asia revitalized. For the memory politics of the Kemalist state, "what is selected to be remembered is partially determined by what is chosen to be forgotten, that is to be dismissed as being *inappropriate.*"[8] The modern nation state of Turkey, for this aim, intervenes into the space/geography/place-names and time/history/collective-memory. In the discursive formulation of the modern nation state, the subjectivities are expected to be reshaped through the invention of history and construction of geography.[9] The renaming places in this context is a disciplinary practice, in a Foucauldian sense, for the national territorialization of space and national temporalization of time in Turkey.[10]

In this thesis, as a general theoretical framework, I aim to follow constructionist and postconstructionist approaches to nationalism. I scrutinize the discursive as well as symbolic formations of nation-state, in line with the many contemporary critiques of nationalism.[11] Benedict Anderson is one of the first critics

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whereby Central Asia is the main homeland, while simultenously the current location of Turkey, Anatolia, is claimed to have Turkish origins long before the Ottoman Empire." For the further discussion, see Ayşegül Altınay, *The Myth of The Military Nation* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), p. 23.

[8] S. Allan and A.Thompson, "The Time-Space of National Memory," in *Nationalisms Old and New*, edited by K.J. Brehony and N. Rassool (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), pp. 35-50 [Emphasis added.]

[9] Kerem Öktem, "Creating the Turk's Homeland: Modernization, Nationalism and Geography in Southeast Turkey in the late 19th and 20th Centuries," *Socrates Kokkalis Graduate Workshop, The City: Urban Culture, Architecture and Society*, 2003. Avaliable [Online]: www.hks.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW5/oktem.pdf

[10] The terminology of "national territorialization of space" is used intially by R obert J. Kaiser in *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* (New Jersey: Academic Press, 2001), pp. 315-333.

[11] For some examples, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), Timothy Mitchell, "Society, Economy and the State Effect," in *State/Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn*, edited by George Steinmetz (London: Cornell University Press); Philip Abrams, "Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, no. 1 (1988), pp. 58-89.

to emphasize the constructed and imagined nature of nations. According to him, nations and nationalism, as the twin concepts of modernity, are "cultural artifacts of particular kind" and emerge out of the discursive processes.[12] Nationalism as a form of discourse is "a particular way of seeing and interpreting the world, a frame of reference that helps us make sense of and structure reality that surrounds us."[13] From this point of view, the nation-state is not a concrete identity as is generally supposed, rather the nation-state can be considered following the lines of Abrams as "an idea," in a Foucaldian sense as "a discourse," and "as an effect" by following Mitchell. This research especially takes the proposition of Abrams, of the state as an imaginative construction and ideological project, as its core center in the analysis of the discursive and symbolic practice of renaming.[14] Therefore, it is suggested that the everyday and cultural dimensions that make the discursive formation of nation-state possible and the disciplinary techniques of governmentalization that turn nationalism into a state project need to be investigated. So to speak, I will consider the practice of renaming places both as a top-down political project and as an attempt of collective imagination. Brubaker states that,

> We can study the politics of categories both from *above* and from *below*. From above, we can focus on the ways in which categories are proposed, propagated, imposed, institutionalized, discursively articulated, organizationally entrenched, and generally embedded in multifarious forms of governmentality. From below, we can study the micropolitics of categories, the ways in which categories appropriate, internalize, subvert, evade or transform the categories that are imposed upon them.[15]

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[12] Anderson, p. 6.

[13] Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement* (New York: Palgrave, 2005), p. 163.

[14] Abrams, pp. 58-89.

[15] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity Without Groups* (New York: Harvard University Press, 2004), p.13. [Emphasis added.]

In line with the suggestion of Brubaker, I thereby attempt to investigate the practice of renaming both from above, as how the state elites imagine and perceive the national territory of Turkey through renaming places, and from below, how the populations appropriate or contest the various means of nationalization and modernization experiences considering especially the case of renaming places. This thesis focuses on the practice of renaming places in an attempt to read the spatial imagining and governmentalization in Turkey. For this reason, in the following chapters, I will inquire into the processes of the renaming places that are expected to make the Turkish national-territorial identification possible for the heterogeneous population of Turkey.

From the anthropological perspective, it can be argued that the state formation is a process that aims at the imagining of the national body through the "forcible sanitization of society" and constructing of a homogenous national territory.[16] Appadurai argues that, "most modern nations achieve their sense of cultural homogeneity in the face of remarkable and known diversities and fierce micro-attachments that have to be erased, marginalized or transformed."[17] Turkish modernization vis-à-vis state formation, have been argued especially in the academic circles of Turkey since the 1980s, had aimed to suppress all ethnic differences other than Turkishness, and had striven to Turkify them by employing various tactics particularly in the early Republican Period.[18] Therefore, the nation-state formation -

[16] Harry Harootunian. "Said's Antimonies," in *Waiting for the Barbarian: A Tribute to Edward Said*. edited by Müge Sökmen and Başak Ertür (New York: Verso Books, 2008), p. 5.

[17] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), p. 189.

[18] For some examples, see Fuat Dündar, *Ittihat ve Terakki'nin Müslümanlari İskan Politikasi (1913 – 1918)* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001); Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (London: University of Washington Press, 2002); Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve Türklestirme Politikalari* (İstanbul: Iletisim, 2001); Ridvan Akar, *Varlık Vergisi Kanunu: Tek Parti Rejiminde Azinlik Karsiti Politika Örnegi* (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 1992);

considering especially the Turkish case- can be evaluated as a homogenization project in which the national identity is turned into a political tool "of silencing the dissident voices and moulding the entire society in a particular image with all its authoritarian and repressive implications."[19]

Through various formal and informal disciplinary techniques, the states aim at the nationalization of territory in order to take the homeland under their sovereignty in the formation processes. The establishment of police stations, museums, dispensaries, and post offices can be regarded as the institutional dimensions; the naming and renaming places, erecting of monuments, statues, map-making and even the construction of roads can be interpreted as fragments of symbolic dimensions; the deportations, displacements, migrations and dispossessions can be considered policies of the ethnopolitical dimensions of state making which overall serve the nationalization of the homeland territory.

While discussing the construction of Ankara as the capital city of Turkey, Ahıska suggests that the Kemalist elites chose an ideal place in which they could make a city from scratch and could realize their goals of modernization; that is to say, reaching the level of Western civilization as a new Turkish nation.[20] It can be argued that the Kemalist elites strived to put the nationalization project into practice by resetting the territory like a "tabula rasa" through eliminating the heterogeneous traces of the past. By starting over on a blank page, the agents of Turkish

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Ahmet Yıldız, *"Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene" Türk Ulusal Kimliginin Etno-Seküler Sınırları (1919-1938)* (İstanbul: Iletisim, 2001); Mesut Yeğen, *Devlet Söyleminde Kürt Sorunu* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999).

[19] Özkırımlı, p. 169.

[20] Meltem Ahıska, *Radyonun Sihirli Kapısı: Garbiyatçılık ve Politik Öznellik* (İstanbul: Metis, 2005), p.30.

modernization in a top down fashion prepared to write the manifestations of the Turkish nation over the reconfigured space both in literal and metaphorical senses.

The Turkification of place names with other accompanying policies was enforced in order to create a sense of timelessness and historical emptiness. The Script Reform of 1928, the Dress Code of 1925, the Law of Family Names of 1934, and the successive establishment of Turkish Language and Historical Societies in 1931 and 1932 can be interpreted as such reforms that aim to break with the past and create an empty spatial and temporal regime in Turkey. Hugh Poulton discusses how such policies aimed to "flatten the cultures of local people and create unified national culture instead of them."[21] In a more theoretical fashion, Anderson argues that the creation of homogenized and emptified temporality is the precondition of the construction of nation-states.[22]

The old place names that were inherited from Kurdish, Armenian, Greek ethnicities and that reflect the Ottoman heritage in this context are seen as complications and fragments of disorder on the way to the modernization of the Turkish nation-state. By renaming the places, the Turkish nationalists aimed at the effacement of the fragments of the collective memory and endeavored to imagine the ontology of the nation at the level of everydayness. Therefore, the Turkification of place names can be seen as one of the symbolic constructions of the new regime. However, it is also necessary to argue that the practice of renaming was a move of the Turkish nation-state that intended to prove its sovereignty in the local, by exerting its state capacity onto the everydayness of its heterogeneous population,

[21] For the detailed discussion, see Hugh Poulton, *Silindir Şapka, Bozkurt ve Hilal: Türk Ulusculuğu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*, (İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi, 1999), p. 125; and see also Yalın Emek Çelik, *Towards a National Imagination: The Script Reform of 1928 in Turkey* (Bogazici University, unpublished MA Thesis, 2006), which is particularly insighful for its attempt to read the Turkish modernization experience through specific disciplinary practice.

[22] Benedict Anderson, *Hayali Cemaatler* (İstanbul: Metis, 2009), pp. 207-227.

especially in the Kurdish populated regions of the southeastern Turkey. Hence, the exploration of the practice of renaming is illuminating to understand in which ways the central power of the nation-state diffused throughout everydayness.

Following this line of thought, some critical questions that this thesis asks in broad sense are as follows: How was the policy of renaming villages and other settlements conducted in Turkey? What were the central pillars of the renaming policy? By evaluating the practice of the renaming, how did the hegemonic projects of modernization and Turkification succeed, and how were the projects contested from below? In which ways can the renamed places be interpreted as indicators of the state capacity in Turkey? How could we decipher the intricate and asymmetrical relationships between [national] history, [collective] memory and [state] power reading through the practice of the renaming places in Turkey?

In the following theoretical part, I will scrutinize the spatial, temporal, symbolic and everyday dimensions of nationalism in order to make sense of the renaming practice. The ideas of nationalism and nation-state are formed around an imagined territory; that is to say, the conceptualization of homeland is very central to the construction of national identities. Özkırımlı argues that "the reconstruction of social space is then an essential component of the project of nation building."[23] The nation-states used various strategies in order to transform any ordinary territory into a homeland. The delimitation and the demarcation of the boundaries can be considered as initial steps that the nation-states took in order to differentiate the particular nation and nation-states from the others. Map-making and the dissemination of maps is another crucial dimension of imagining nation-state spatially. The monuments, statues, museums, road signs and place names all can be

[23] Özkırımlı, p.180

considered as the symbols that make the national territorialization of space possible. Also, the indoctrination of boundaries of the nation-state through teaching geography to the ordinary citizens is critical in the discursive formation of national space. Not surprisingly, the geography has turned into an established academic discipline in the nation-building processes, especially considering the Turkish case. The education of geography together with history is deployed to attest "the eternal and immutable existence of homeland" in early Republican Turkey.[24] The Turkification of place names from the spatial perspective is then a move towards the nationalization vis-à-vis the governmentalization of territory.

"What makes a nation is the past, what justifies one nation against others is the past and historians are the people who produce it" says Eric Hobsbawm.[25] In the contemporary nationalism literature, it is debated widely that the imagining of the nations are legitimated through the writing and inculcation of history; so to speak, the prospect of nationalism lies on the temporality of the past, not the future.[26] History in this context is nationalized by selecting the appropriate fragments of the past or by imagining myths for the emergence of the nation in past, and thereby the history is used as a legitimating device for proving the eternal existence of the nation. The concern of presentism sets the temporal agenda of the nation-state. Özkırımlı suggests that "the construction of national history generally reflects present concerns and beliefs about the past."[27]

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Eric Hobsbawm, "Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today," in *Mapping the Nation*, edited by G. Balakrishnan (London: Verso, 1996), pp. 255-266.

[26] In contrary, Harootunian argues that the modern nation-states envision the future for present concerns. By relocating the general framework, Harootunian suggests that national temporality also consists of the ideas of progress, the details of which will be discussed at length in the following sections.

[27] Özkırımlı, p. 183

In line with this argument, remembering the distant past, in which the Turkish ethnicity lies beyond the boundaries by reaching the steps of Central Asia in the official narration of the Turkish History Thesis, and forgetting of the recent past, as the new Turkish state eagerly broke with the Ottoman traces, play pivotal roles in the construction of the Turkish national identity. The discourse of nationalism from the temporal perspective is constructed beyond the contingency; for this purpose, there is a special discursive emphasis on the continuity of the nation throughout history. The nationalism's claim of continuity is achieved through the construction of the national myths, commemoration ceremonies, and the sites of collective memory.[28]

Nevertheless, it is necessary to stress in the nation-building processes there emerges a temporal gap between the nationalist elites and the ordinary people because of the constructed nature of the nationalist discourse.

> If elite time marched in a more or less linear manner, popular time danced and leaped. Elite time colonized and helped construct the boundaries of territories that we have come to call nations. But popular time was more local as well as episodic...This was not a time that could be contained within fixed boundaries. It was measured not from beginnings but from centers...Content to live in present that contained both the past and future, ordinary people did not feel compelled to invest in archives, monuments, and other permanent sites of memory, but relied on living memory.[29]

In line with this argument, the nationalist elites focus on the continuity and progress of the nation and follow a unified temporal framework compatible with the horizons of official narration of history, yet the lives of ordinary people who are externally subject to this nationalist history constitute the fragments and episodes of the present or at best the recent past. Therefore the ordinary lives correspond to the living collective memory. The hierarchical relationship between history and memory,

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[28] The terminology of "the sites of collective memory" is adapted from Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of French Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), in which Nora explores the spatial metaphors of collective memory vis-a-vis French national identity.

[29] John R. Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 6.

following the lines of Harootunian, will be discussed later in detail in order to illuminate the appropriation and contestation of the renaming practice in everyday life. Yet what is at stake is the intrinsic and collateral relationship between the spatial and temporal dimensions of nationalism. It is plausible to argue that the nationalization of geography and history [or past] went together through the Turkification of place names in Turkey.

Place names can be evaluated from the symbolic dimension of nationalism as well. Flags, uniforms, anthems, maps, coins, national cuisines, and military displays are some pervasive, everyday symbols of nationalism. Smith, in discussing national symbols, emphasizes how "symbols indeed appear to be necessary for the establishment of social cohesion, the legitimization of institutions and of political authority, and inculcation of beliefs and conventions of behaviour."[30] The discourse of nationalism therefore takes advantage of the plentitude of symbols in order to justify its norms. He also suggests that in state formation processes, or to be more accurate in regime changes, the old symbols are replaced with new ones. The purification of the cities from the communist iconographies, such as the destruction of the statues of the Soviet leaders in Budapest and Bucharest after the collapse of the Soviet regime, in many post-communist countries underscores this argument. Not surprisingly, the Kemalist elites made also ample use of symbols in order to justify the emergence of "the new nation," such as a new name for the country, a new capital city, a new calendar, and a new alphabet.

The everyday aspects of nation-building processes were indeed close to the symbolic dimension of nationalism, since the state utilizes the minute details of everyday life and the mundane activities in order to prove its existence and capacity.

[30] W. Smith, "National Symbol" in *Encyclopedia of Nationalism* edited by A.J. Motyl (New Jersey: Academic Press, 2001), p. 521.

Thereby, the everyday nationalism can be argued as the construction of the state idea from below.[31] The routine everyday symbols in some cases such as costumes, pubs and soap operas serve this aim of creating the nation-state from below. Özkırımlı suggests that "national identity is produced, reproduced and contested in the taken-for-granted details of social interaction, the habits and routines of everyday life."[32] However, it is necessary to keep in mind that the flow is asymmetrical yet two-sided. The state strives to impose the sense of national belonging upon the ordinary people by employing the everyday symbols and practices, particularly by nationalizing the place names in the context of this thesis, and correspondingly the people appropriate or contest the projects of nation state.

> Crossing the border, we feel at home among bureaucratic procedures, consumer habits, road signs and inside jokes. What we have here is a *territorialization of familiarity,* which often does not have to be the result of ideological campaigns, and this is what gives national belonging such a strong platform.[33]

After this compact theoretical introduction to the subject, it is necessary to overview the current literature on the renaming places both in Turkey and considering some examples throughout the world. In this literature review section, some current studies will be discussed in terms of their theoretical approaches to the issue of renaming as well as their practical readings of the policies.[34]

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[31] Yael Navaro-Yashin, *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[32] Özkırımlı, p. 191

[33] Ibid. [Emphasis added.]

[34] In this part, some particular readings will be made through the works of Öktem and Jorgenden, for further readings on the issue of the renaming places in Turkey, see also İbrahim Sediyani, *Adını Arayan Coğrafya* (İstanbul: Özedönüş Yayınları, 2009), in which Sediyani presents general discussion on the issue by taking examples from different countries and also presents a successful ethnographic survey; see also, Senem Aslan, "Incoherent State: The Controversy over Kurdish Naming in Turkey," *European Journal of Turkish Studies, Thematic Issue* no. 10 (2009); Harun Tunçel, "Renamed Villages in Turkey", *Fırat University Journal of Social Science* 10, no. 2 (2000), pp. 23-34.

In “Creating Turk’s Homeland,” Kerem Öktem argues that “the dynamics of nationalism and the production of geography and space are two inextricably linked processes, which constitute a central aspect of modernity.”[35] For Öktem, Turkish nationalism as a sociopolitical project is underpinned by two dynamics, namely the invention of history and the reproduction of geography/space in Turkey. In Öktem’s reading, the practice of renaming serves the discursive imagination of an ethnically homogenous homeland. In addition to the ethnically based policies of assimilation, deportation, displacement and dispossession, the practice of renaming places discursively has striven “for creating a new homeland, on whose soil the Turks were to be only rightful dwellers.”[36]

Öktem remarks that the project of Kemalist nation building aimed to create national homogeneity by excluding non-Turks and non-Muslims from both material reality and collective memory. The renaming places in Turkey can be read from the political, symbolic and discursive perspectives in this context. By elaborating the argument, Öktem suggests that some interrelated policy clusters were adapted for the nationalization of territory in Turkey; these are “the strategies of deconstruction and neglect; the strategies of capital transfer to indigenous/local elites; and the strategies of reconstruction.”[37]

Öktem takes the discussion to another level in “The Nation’s Imprint,” arguing that the demographic engineering and the toponymical engineering, i.e., the Turkification of place names, have worked in a very casual relationship in Turkey for

[35] Öktem, p. 1.

[36] Ibid., p. 3.

[37] Ibid., p. 7.

projecting "the national visions of time and space into territories."[38] He specifies the destructive dimensions of nationalism, such as assimilations, settlements, deportations, massacres; and the constructive dimensions of nationalism, such as the foundation of national institutions, the creation of myths and narratives. He argues that the demographic engineering is an intermediary category between the destructive and constructive dimensions. Öktem defines demographic engineering as "the state-directed removal and destruction of certain communities from a given territory in order to consolidate power over that territory and prepare the conditions for the nation state to project its vision of time and space, to Turkify." He also states that "the removal of a population is often not sufficient to create the required tabula rasa, as too many markers of the excised identity remain in space: From the former residents' architectural heritage to the very names of the cities, villages, quarters and streets they inhabit, artifacts and discursive reminders of the 'other' abound." The policies of toponymical order are defined by Öktem as "the destruction of the interwoven layers of historical and linguistic meaning, i.e., of the archaeology of place names and its replacement with an alternative toponymical order that conforms with the time and space vision of the nation-state."

The renaming places in this context can be read, on the one hand, as the destruction of "the prenational, heterogonous toponymical order", and on the other hand as the construction of homogenous visions of time and space of the nation. In a nutshell, it is necessary to state that the works of Öktem are very insightful in a theoretical fashion and considering the archeological and archival burden that he undertakes. However, his ethnographic endeavors are very limited. In other words,

[38] Kerem Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint: Demographic Engineering and the Change of Toponymes in Republican Turkey," *European Journal of Turkish Studies, Thematic Issue* no. 7 (2008). Avaliable [Online]: http://ejts.revues.org/index2243.html

he does not pay enough attention to the appropriation and contestation of the policy from below.

Following the lines of Öktem, Jorgenden defines the subject of study "as the material and discursive appropriation of space" in "Crafting Space and Making People." [39] Yet different from Öktem, he particularly draws attention to resettlement policies in most of his discussion. By borrowing insights from Keyder and Karpat, he argues that the resettlement policies paved the way to the nationalization of Turkey. He attempts to make parallel readings between the forced migration of Kurdish citizens from the villages of southeast Turkey, the reconstruction of the villages by state agencies, and the renaming policies especially in the southeast. What makes the work of Jorgenden peculiar is his investigation of the renamings in the 2000s. He successfully uncovers the encounters between the state authorities and local powers on the issue of renamings in the southeast, especially in Batman, focusing on the recent period. Yet he lacks the historicization attempt by disregarding the continuities and discontinuities in the spatial politics of nationalism, which is especially for the renamings in Turkey. It is necessary to historicize and contextualize every fragments of the policy both from above and below, that is what I strive to perform in this thesis, prior to a general reading of the spatial politics of the state.

In addition to the local readings, it is also necessary to overview some critical renaming instances throughout the world. In June 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet regime, the capital city of Russia, Leningrad, was renamed St. Petersburg by the people as a result of a referendum. This act can be read as the rejection of seventy

[39] Joost Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People: The Spatial Design of Making Nation in Modern Turkey," *European Journal of Turkish Studies, Thematic Issue* no. 10 (2009). Avaliable [Online]: http://ejts.revues.org/index4014.html

years of communism.[40] Hebbert argues that changes of place names "has been an obligatory accompaniment to political change" since the French Revolution of 1789, when new street names were used "as an instrument of education, glorification, and revenge."[41]

Anderson similarly underlines the relationship between the place-naming and the change in political dynamics in his tremendous work, *Imagined Communities*.[42] He states that the imperial powers named new lands in their colonies in parallel with the old imperial centers: New York, Nueva Leon, Nova Lisboa, and Nieuw Amsterdam. He remarks that the European colonizers attempted to extend their capacity of power to the colonies, by putting parallelisms between the new and old spaces, through naming the new places by mimicking the names of imperial centers. In many political regime changes of the twentieth century, considering primarily colonialism, communism, decolonization and the rejection of communism, the practice of renaming is used to reflect the changing socio-political dynamics. In this section, some examples of the renaming practices in relation to political changes, especially the rise of the nationalisms in various contexts throughout the globe, will be discussed.[43]

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[40] Saul B. Cohen and Nurit Kliot, "Place-Names in Israel's Ideological Struggle Over the Administered Territories," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, no. 82 (1992), pp. 653-680.

[41] Michael Hebbert, "The Street as Locus of Collective Memory," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, no. 23 (2005), pp. 581-596.

[42] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 207-227.

[43] For some further readings, see L.D. Berg, R.A. Kearns, "Naming as Norming: Race, Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* no. 14 (1996), pp. 99–122*;* G.A. Myers, "Naming and Placing the Other: Power and the Urban Landscape in Zanzibar," *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, no.87 (1996), pp. 237–246*;* C.J. Withers, "Authorizing Landscape: Authority, Naming and the Ordinance Survey's Mapping of the Scottish Highlands in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Historical Geography*, no.26 (2000), pp. 532–554*;* M. Azaryahu, A. Golan, "(Re)naming the Landscape: the Formation of the Hebrew map of Israel 1949– 1960," *Journal of Historical Geography* no. 27 (2001), pp. 178–195.

After World War II, the renaming places became a critical issue for the newly established communist regime, especially considering the territories acquired from eastern Germany in Poland. The authorities preferred to call the newly acquired lands "the recovered territories" and almost all the German place names in these territories have been changed to Polish.[44] With the nationalistic impulses, new place names reflecting the historical heritage of the Polish dynasty over some parts of the Germany particularly between the tenth and fourteenth centuries were chosen. The Polonisation of place names used as a specific technique for legitimating the rule and the government of the Poland over the ex-German territories. As was the case in Turkey and in many other southeastern European countries, the practice of the renaming places has been undertaken by special committee appointed by the state in Poland. "The Committee for Settling of Place Names" which has been carried out the process of renaming in Poland was established in 1946. This committee includes state authorities as well as academicians – particularly the historians, geographers and linguists. While adapting the new names, the experts in the committee searched for the Slavic origin of the current German place names that "were occupied by the Germans for centuries."[45] Through this practice, the Polish historical legacy has been proved at the state level. In the critical period between 1945 and 1950, when the committee has functioned intensively, 32,138 place names were changed – almost entire German place names.

After the collapse of communism in the 1990s, place names became a public issue in many post-socialist/post-Soviet countries. What was at stake was the

[44] Jun Yoshioko, "Imagining Their Lands as Ours: Place Name Changes on Ex-German Territories in Poland after World War II", in *Regions in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Present*, edited by Tadayuki Hayashi (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center, 2007), pp. 273-289.

[45] Ibid.

memory politics of the post-Soviet regimes through the renaming places, that is to say, which past was called for and which past would be forgotten. In Budapest, not only place-names, but also the city-text as a whole was turned into a battleground for the political control of space and memory.[46] In post-communist Budapest, the streets were renamed to glorify the national past of Hungary, and the old names that reminded the communist regime, especially those that referred to communist leaders, figures and commemorative dates were changed drastically. Also the communist symbols, particularly statues, were removed from the city-text. Therefore, in the post-communist period, street names gained symbolic value in the reconstruction of the character and past of Budapest.

In a similar vein, the street names were changed in Bucharest, Romania, in order to create a new public iconography that reflects the rejection of socialist heritage and the reconstruction of a Romanian national identity.[47] The new street names in Budapest gave particular reference to the "Golden Age" of Romania from the pre-socialist period. The newly established political regime in Romania strived to decommemorate socialist elements and recommemorate the national figures and events in Romanian history in renaming the city streets. The process of renaming was accompanied by the removal of public statues and monuments related to the socialist leaders and achievements. Not surprisingly, similar to the Turkish case, the special commissions consisting of 7 to 9 specialists in each district, with the particular involvement of Romanian Academy, were appointed by the state in order to change the street names in Bucharest in 1990.

[46] Emilia Palonen, "The City-Text in Post-Communist Budapest: Street Names, Memorials, and the Politics of Commemoration," *GeoJournal* 73, no. 3 (2008), pp. 219-230.

[47] Duncan Light, "Street Names in Bucharest, 1990–1997: Exploring the Modern Historical Geographies of Post-Socialist Change," *Journal of Historical Geography*, no. 30 (2004), pp. 154–172.

A similar process of renaming of streets was experienced in Sarajevo with the establishment of the Bosnia and Herzegovina after the signing of the Dayton Accord in Yugoslavia.[48] The new street names in Sarajevo clearly manifest Bosnian nationalism and identity. Like many other southeast European countries, a special commission was established in Bosnia in order to remove the symbols particularly associated with the Serbs and Serbian heritage. The commission's principal aim was to remove old Cyrillic signs and replace the street names of Sarajevo. By changing street names, the Yugoslav influences over space have been erased. What is particularly interesting in the context of the thesis is that many of the street names were chosen to commemorate key events and figures from the Ottoman period in Bosnia. The renaming case in Bosnia illustrates the selective construction of the past in the nation-building process and the memory politics of the emerging nation state.

The process of the naming and renaming places was also experienced in the territories that had captured by Israel -namely Golan, Gaza, and West Bank- as a result of the Six Days War of 1967.[49] The newly growing nation-state of Israel perceived place names as symbolic and ideological tools and affixed Israeli names to places that legitimated its sovereignty over the captured territories. Many of the place names in those regions reflect the historical claims of ownership of the Israel state.

Lastly, the policy of place names changes have been intensively implemented for restructuring the territory in South Africa. In the post-apartheid context, the renamed places, particularly streets, reflects the national independence of the African

[48] Guy Robinson and et all., "Remaking Sarajevo: Bosnian Nationalism after the Dayton Accord," *Political Geography*, no. 20 (2001), pp. 957–980.

[49] Cohen and Kliot, "Place-names in Israel," pp. 653–680.

states spatially.[50] In South Africa, street names have been used as the symbols of the revival of the nation and as an integral part of the nation-building process.

Concluding the review of the literature on renaming politics in Turkey and of the renaming policies in other states, it is necessary to turn the theoretical discussion once more in order to contextualize the scope of research. For understanding the everyday implications of the practice of renaming places -in which ways the renaming can be appropriated and contested from below- and especially considering the ethnographic part of the thesis, it is urgent to interpret the intimate relationships between memory, space and identity. The spatiality of memory has been argued in an immense literature that links memory to space. De Certeu states that the processes of remembering operate through associative spaces and places.[51] In his groundbreaking study of *Les Lieux de Memoire*, Pierre Nora investigates the sites of French national memory and seeks the traces of the national identity in the spatial embodiments.[52] However, it was first Maurice Halbwachs who clearly stated the relation between memory and space. For Halbwachs, memory is constructed around some concept of space and "only spatial imagery has the stability to allow us to discover the past in the present."[53] To be more concrete, Halbwachs argues that memory is shared and transmitted through the associative places, which makes the reconstruction of the past collective enterprise in this sense.

[50] Sylvain Guyot and Cecil Seethal, "Identity of Place, Places of Identities: Change of Place Names in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *South African Geographical Journal*, no. 89 (2007), pp. 55-63.

[51] Michel de Certeau, *The Invention of Everyday Life: the Art of Living* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), p.163.

[52] Nora, *Realms of Memory.*

[53] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper, 1980), p. 167.

Following the Halbwachsian interpretation of the collective memory, Lefebvre sustains the idea of space, particularly urban space as a domain of collective memory.[54] From this perspective, places in daily life operate "as almanacs, registering those personalities and events, mythic or real, which have imprinted themselves on popular consciousness" and the everyday space is a "communal register" in Kostof's words.[55] Within this framework, it is plausible to interpret everyday spaces as realms of cultural continuities in which people maintain their communal identities by linking themselves to their pasts. In other words, everyday spaces have their own languages that provide cultural and to some extent ontological meanings to their residents for securing coherence in their lives. It is plausible to argue that there is a strong relationship between the linguistics of space and the continuity of meaning in everyday life.

Raffles argues that places are not only geographic, but also biographic and personal. He also adds that "local places are continually and often self-consciously produced by their inhabitants."[56] It is likely to argue that by transcending spatial boundaries, the places attain new meanings through the sensorial experiences of daily life. Through remembering, reconstructing and articulating what happened on those places, inhabitants make sense of the places socially and culturally. In this regard, "place-making" in its everydayness is a cultural activity that people do in order to locate themselves in their surroundings meaningfully. Pilar Riano-Alcala states that "the sense of place as a realm of embodied experience provides...a sense of belonging and knowledge that helps [inhabitants to] maintain coherence and

[54] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

[55] Hebbert, p. 583.

[56] Hugh Raffles, "Social Memory and the Politics of Place-Making in Northeastern Amazonia," *Berkeley Workshop on Environmental Politics*, Berkeley, 2009, p. 3. Avaliable [Online]: http://escholarship.org/uc/item/90p523mr

continuity."[57] Therefore, beyond the physical restrictions, places constitute sensorial realms for memories.

By the same token, place-names link people with their pasts and memories. "Practices of place naming situate people's mind in historical time and space" says Riano.[58] The place names provide local knowledge and stories, which are articulated continuously in daily life, and evoke certain historicity and memory for the residents. Therefore, by the place-naming residents maintain a sense of attachment. The names of places signify information about the sociocultural dynamics in everyday life. Hence, Riano asserts that names change as the dynamics of the places/spaces change. In other words, the change in place names could be interpreted in parallel with the change in activities, actors, and dynamics in social milieu.

By taking the discussion to another level, it is necessary to delve into the relation between memory and identity. By borrowing the terminology of Allan Megill, in this thesis, I conceptualize identity as "self-designation."[59] In Megill's words, "self-designation is how 'we' choose to name ourselves, [and] how we designate ourselves in language."[60] Memory arises as a crucial dimension when people engage in self-designation. It is because memory stabilizes subjects through time and help subjects to maintain continuity in their everyday lives. In other words, a self-designated identity needs justification for itself, and memory can bring the means of such justification.

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[57] Pilar Riano-Alcala, *Dwellers of Memory: Youth and Violence in Medellin, Colombia* (*Memory and Narrative*) (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2006), p.81.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Allan Megill, "History, Memory, Identity," *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 3 (1996), pp. 37-62.

[60] Ibid., p. 41.

Therefore, memory, representing the traces of the lived daily experiences, can consolidate identity. The processes of consolidating identity have very close association with the processes of recalling and reconstructing memory. As a matter of fact, when opposing certainties come into conflict with each other -especially when modern capitalism bring surfeit of certainties into daily life- memory is evoked and valorized to consolidate specific identities. Hence, it is argued that insecurity about identities might bring "memory craze" forward both in the social milieu and in academic environment. In a similar fashion, in his analysis of "the cultural memory," Assman states that the memory, with its body of texts, images and stories, serves to stabilize and convey society's self-image.[61] Assman argues that the cultural memory provides a store of knowledge for a group to derive an awareness of its unity and peculiarity. In brief, "temporalization and memory-making mediate the identity of people and heritage in space just as the representation and organization of space mediates the identity of people and heritage through time."[62]

By linking these theoretical insights to the current subject, the change of place names in Turkey aimed to efface the everydayness of spaces, which refers to the articulation of names, local stories and knowledge. It is not implausible to assert that the renaming places aspires to impose the very sense of timelessness for local people; in other words, it is expected (from avove) that local people cannot feel the sense of duration and identification through the new place names in Turkey. As the facets of non-representation, the new names therefore aimed to create "the amnesia effect" in everyday life. Nevertheless, Halbwachs argues that,

[61] Jan Assman, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Crique*, no. 65 (1995), pp. 125-133.

[62] Ana Maria Alonso, "The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State Formation, Nationalism and Ethnicity," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, no. 23 (1994), p. 387.

> The place of a group occupies is not like a blackboard, where one might write or erase figures at will...the board could not care less what has been written on it before, and new figures may be freely added. But place and group have each received the imprint of the other. Each aspect, each detail of this place has a meaning intelligible only to members of the group, for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society, at least of what is most stable in it.[63]

In line with this argument, it is safe to suggest that the new place names cannot intrude into everydayness of the locals, as they have been formulated from above, especially considering that the local people still prefer to refer to the old place names in southeast Turkey.

Also, at this point, it is necessary to reemphasize what is understood by the concepts of geography, place and space in this thesis. It is likely to argue that the space has two dimensions, the literal and metaphorical.[64] The material construction of space such as the design of settlements can be understood from the literal or physical dimension; however, the discursive construction of space such as the naming and renaming places can be evaluated from the metaphorical or abstract dimensions. By adhering to the proposition of Smith, to take geography and space not as absolute phenomenon but rather processes, I focus on the discursive formation of geography/space from the metaphorical dimension.[65] By discussing the construction of space in everyday life, Hugh Raffles suggests that,

> Locality is both embodied and narrated, and is, as a consequence, often highly mobile: places travel with the people through whom they are constituted. Locality then should not be confused with location. It is rather a set of relations, an ongoing politics, a density, in which places are discursively and imaginatively materialized and enacted through the practices of variously-positioned people and political economies.[66]

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[63] Halbwachs, p. 180.

[64] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People."

[65] Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

[66] Raffles, p. 2.

That is to say, the spatial conceptualizations are clearly related to certain sociopolitical processes and asymmetrical power relations. Therefore, in the context of this thesis, it is argued that the spatial categories and names are not only the results of the political project of Turkish modernization, but have emerged out of sociocultural encounters between the authorities and subjects in Turkey. Thereby, in the ethnographic part, I will explore the micropolitics of reconstruction of spaces through the renaming practice.

In this part, following the lines of Harootunian, I want to rearticulate my aims for exploring the renamed places in a more specific theoretical fashion. It is possible to claim that the modernizing projects underpinned by the instincts of nationalism followed the "phantasmagoric dreams of homogeneity," especially in the early twentieth century.[67] "The modernizing process," says Harootunian "subsumes all of its antecedents, which demands the constructing of new narratives founded on self-invention and self-formation."[68] Harootunian, in his critique of the modernist paradigm, points to the conquest and imperialization of time, initially, by the nation-state model, and later, by the strategies of economic development in the capitalist form, which are regulated by the prospects of lag, delay and catch-up.[69] For this part, I specifically focus on the former one, the hegemonic temporal regimes that accompany the modernizing projects, the so-called achievements of nation-states. The modernizing efforts of the nation states are based on the "relentless desire to transform plural histories into a single one."[70] Harootunian suggests that the

[67] Harry Harootunian. "Said's Antimonies," p. 4.

[68] Ibid., p. 5.

[69] Harry Harootunian, "Remembering the Historical Present," *Critical Inquiry*, no.33 (2007), pp. 471-494.

[70] Ibid., p. 481.

"singular linear time of clock and calendar...marks the course of all national narratives."[71]

The paradigm of progress and the world of clock-and-calendar to achieve this progress define the terms of temporal regimes in nation-building experiences. In order to realize the modernizing projects, the nation-states conceal colliding, mixed temporalities and assimilate different modes of existence. In other words, the nation states aim to establish a progressive, unified and homogeneous time perception. Harootunian states that the modernization as the paradigm of progress "overcomes uneven rhythms."[72] Nevertheless, he genuinely underlines the thickness of historical present, in which multiple and mixed temporalities coexist together. Memories, for him, represent different, mixed temporalities, as history signifies a chronological, progressive, homogeneous time perception of modern nation-states. He argues that "history differs from memory in its presumption of a singular, universal time, rather than coexisting multiple times that correspond to memories of different temporalizations proper to each group."[73] He adds that the "the national [history] narrative was able to enlarge its vocation to efface other histories, other's histories in the negation and denial of their memories."[74] In order to disclose the mingling, mixed temporalities and the regimes of noncontemporaneous contemporaneity, Harootunian suggests the method of the "provincialism…of time."[75]

In a fashion parallel to Harootunian, I propose two conceptualizations for the discussion: *"spatialization of time"* and *"divergent temporalities."* The spatialization

[71] Ibid., p. 482.

[72] Ibid., p. 478.

[73] Ibid., p. 492.

[74] Harrotunian, "Said's Antimonies," p. 3.

[75] Harootunian, "Remembering…," p. 490.

of time recognizes the existence of the different spatial experiences. In this regard, the spatialization of time implies diverse local memories, thickness of history, and multiple perspectives to past. I argue that the modernization project in Turkey perceives the diverse spatial-memories as the divergent temporalities, which opposed to the orthodoxy of official national history, and aimed to efface them. Therefore, it is plausible to argue that by Turkifying and standardizing the place names, the divergent temporalities were meant to be eliminated. In the light of this discussion, theoretically speaking, I aim to rescue the facets of memory that correspond to the mixed, divergent temporalities from the domination of the homogenized spatiotemporal regime of national history by making the archeology of replaced, standardized place names in Turkey. The exploration of renamed place in Turkey in this context is a brief attempt to disclose, what Harootunian describes as, the "existence of the unwritten histories and negated memories, and to begin the difficult labor of restoring to the surface what had been bulldozered under, rescuing both the mixed temporalities [that are flattened under the Turkish national history] and making audible the distant echoes of its' multiple voices"[76]

Before focusing on the practice of renaming in Turkey, it is necessary to overview some of the salient spatial politics in Turkey, especially those in the early Republican period, in order to give some background information. It is plausible to argue that the geographical strategies of Turkey began with the ethnically-based, European name given to the new nation after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In the First Geographical Congress of 1941, the country was divided into 7 regions and named in accordance with their natural features. Instead of the Ottoman correspondents of "Eastern Rumelia," "Pontus" and "Kurdistan," the regions were

[76] Harrotunian, "Said's Antimonies," p. 3.

named as “Marmara,” “Black Sea” and “Southeast.” In line with the new regions, 63 new provinces of administration were specified and these provinces were named according to their city centers. Then, the policy of the renaming settlement and natural places was implemented.

Özkan argues that there were 3 distinct waves of geographical perception in the early Republican period.[77] In the 1920s, the geography was used as a tool of resistance to the imperial powers in the formation process. Against the geographic limitations that had been imposed on the treaty of Sevres, the geographical boundaries of *Misakı Milli* (National Pact) was imagined and developed. This geographical representation which reflects the ideals of the national authorities has soon gained practical aspect. In the 1930s the Kemalist state urges the control geography through various means. By creating hegemonic historical and spatial narratives (the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory), the state aimed to governmentalize the territory and also to discipline its subjects, especially non-Turkish and non-Muslim citizens. In the 1940s, the power over territory was established in a Foucaldian sense. Through the new geographical characterizations and discussions around the Turkish Geographical Society –and the first national geography congress, relatedly- the gaze of the Panopticon was constructed over territory. Özkan argues that the geographical records and map-making activities are critical in understanding this period.[78]

Last but not least, methodologically, the tools of historical ethnography and multi-sited ethnography are utilized in this thesis. Rather than focusing on a single context, both historical and anthropological perspectives are inserted necessarily into

[77] Hande Özkan, “Türkiye’de Tek Parti Dönemi Coğrafya ve Mekân Anlayışları: Yatay bir Dönemlendirme Denemesi,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 94 (2002), pp. 143-174.

[78] Ibid.

the analysis of the practice of renaming places. The official records of the renaming places were gathered from the Republican Archives, particularly exploring through the Catalogues of the Decisions of Council of Ministers and the Republican People's Party. The namings and renamings were analyzed through the directories of the Provincial Administration of the Interior Ministry, which were published in 1928, 1933, 1940, 1946, 1968, 1977, and 1985 in sequence. Also, the proceedings of a symposium on Turkish place names held in 1984 were interpreted in order to highlight the geographical perceptions of the state authorities, who perform the very operations of renamings. The symposium proceedings are very illuminating to understand the anatomy as well as the technical aspects of the *Ad Değiştirme İhtisas Kurulu* (the Expert Commission on Name Changes) that extensively operated to rename the places between 1957 and 1978. Furthermore, the renaming practice was explored in close scrutiny through the lists of Kurdish place names that were obtained through the pro-Kurdish municipalities of Diyarbakır and Batman. Lastly, in order to analyze the power relations behind this practice, the records of the local municipalities to change the place names and the responses of *Danıştay* (Council of State) to these requests were examined.

Besides the archival research, I conducted 20-day field study around the villages of Diyarbakır and Batman in order to scrutinize the everyday aspects of the practice of renaming places. This field study investigates how the state in everyday life has been formed as well as how the constructions of the state in Turkey are contested from above. In this field study, methodologically, I attempted explore the forms of remembering and forgetting through and after the renamings.

Also, at various formal and informal meetings in Diyarbakır and Batman, I discussed the diverse everyday aspects of the practice of renaming with the local

writers, journalists and activists. These conversations were stimulating to seek the micro-politics behind the use of old and new place names. Therefore, this research sought in which contexts and encounters the local people prefer to use “the new Turkish place names.” Beyond the dichotomies of old-new / Kurdish-Turkish / traditional-modern, this study explored how local inhabitants make sense of the places while referring to the names of streets, neighborhoods, villages, mountains and rivers. Last but not least, the ethnographic explorations sought the shifting and multiple subjectivities, beyond the duality of “constructed” and “authentic,” that have been established around the old and new place names.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE RENAMING POLICY IN TURKEY

"The place names...are the title deeds of sacred homeland territory"
Dursun Yıldırım,
Coğrafya'dan Vatan'a Geçiş, p. 164.

"Territory is no doubt a geographical notion,
but it's first of all a juridico-political one:
the area controlled by certain kind of power."
Michel Foucault,
Power/Knowledge, p. 68.

In this chapter, I will delve into the historical aspect of the renaming politics in Turkey. Initially, I will elaborate the formations of the renaming policy in retrospect, especially by focusing on continuities and discontinuities in the practice of policy. Then particular moments of the renaming policy will be discussed.

The Practice of Renaming in Retrospect

The periodization of the practice of renaming places in Turkey is hard to realize since no systematic study has been conducted directly on the subject in Turkey. Yet, following the lines of Öktem, it is possible to specify four waves in the application of toponymical engineering, i.e., the very operations of the place name changes, since the beginning of the twentieth century in Turkey.[79] The first wave comprises the period that led to the foundation of the Republic between 1915 and 1922, in which the practices of demographic engineering and toponymical engineering overlapped. The second wave occurred under the Kemalist one-party rule between 1922 and 1950, and may be called "the infrastructure period." It is

[79] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

plausible to suggest that in the early Republican period the political and bureaucratic foundations of the third wave, in which the renaming project systematically was implemented between 1957 and 1978, were established by the related state offices, especially the Provincial Administration under the Interior Ministry. In the post-1980 period, the toponymical and demographic engineering projects have overlapped once again; that is to say, the forced migration of Kurdish citizens due to the village evacuations in southeast Turkey vis-à-vis the renaming operations in urban level, especially considering the street names, have taken place.[80]

Although I find this categorization proper and practical, for the specific aims and the methodological concerns of the thesis, I will not adopt it in narrating the historicity of the renaming places in Turkey. Especially stressing the continuities and discontinuities in the practice of renaming, I will rather focus on the post-1957 period, during which the renaming places turned into an entrenched state project. Nevertheless, this is not to say that I will circumvent the pre-1957 period, when the practice was carried out on a small scale and the policy orientations of the coming periods were prepared. What I strive to put forward therefore in this thesis is the particular significance of the operations of *Ad Değiştirme İhtisas Kurulu* (Expert Commission on Name Changes) that began to perform in 1957, and will be discussed in much detail in the following paragraphs.

To begin with, the idea of renaming places dates back to the early 1910s, and it was officially introduced for the first time with the *Iskan-ı Muhacirin Nizamnamesi*

[80] Because of the low-intensity war between the PKK militants and the Turkish military in the 1990s, "state of emergency" was declared almost all of the provinces of the southeast Turkey. "The threat of terrorism," one of the most notorious generic phrases of the period, led to the evacuation of the villages and forced migations. For the detailed discussion, see the "Ethnographic Representations" in this thesis.

(Regulation for the Placement of Immigrants) in 1913.[81] That is to say, the toponymical order was turned into a political issue following the demographic engineering practices of the nationalist authorities in the 1910s. In 1915, the Committee of Union and Progress adopted a course of action against "those opposing the government in times of war."[82] About one million Armenian, Syrian and Kurdish citizens were compelled to evacuate their villages and forced into the exile. In short notice, a junior officer of the CUP, Enver Paşa issued an order to Turkify the names of the evacuated places, particularly the village names of "the foreign origin" in 1915.[83] He suggested that the conditions of the ongoing war provide an opportunity for Turkifying the place names.

> It has been decided that provinces, districts, towns, villages, mountains and rivers, which are named in languages belonging to Non-Muslim nations such as Armenian, Greek or Bulgarian, will be translated into Turkish...In order to benefit from this suitable moment, this aim should be achieved in due course.[84]

Some of the outstanding examples of the name changes in this period following the order of Enver Paşa were: the renaming of Kızılkilise to Nazimiye (Dersim), Megri to Fethiye (Muğla), and Atronos to Orhanili (Hüdevandigar, which was later renamed Bursa in 1918). However, as Öktem carefully emphasizes, the initial phase of the renaming operations following Enver Paşa's order was not very easy, because it was realized that the change of place names would intervene into the military communications in the war period. Enver Paşa's order hence was rescinded

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[81] Ayşe Hür, "Tez Zamanda Yer Isimleri Değiştirile," *Taraf*, 23 July 2009.

[82] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

[83] For the details of Enver Paşa's, see Appendix A.

[84] Ibid.
"Memâlik-i Osmaniyyede Ermenice, Rumca veya Bulgarca hasılı İslâm olmayan milletler lisânıyla yad idilen vilâyet, sancâk, kasaba, köy, dağ, nehir… ilh bi-l-cümle isimlerin Türkçeye tahvîli mukarrerdir. Şu müsâid zamanımızda sür'atle istifâde idilerek bu maksadın mevki'-i fi'le konması husûsunda himmetinizi rica iderim."

in June 1916. Whatever the consequences, nevertheless, some local commanders changed place names of Greek and Slavic origin in the Western provinces when those places had been regained from the Greek armies. Due to the autonomous acts of these commanders on renamings, there emerged tensions between the government and the General Staff. The General Staff replied to a circular from the Interior Ministry requesting that place names not to be changed in war time was as follows:

> It is made known that the change of some village and town names, which are named with foreign names, will be delayed until the demobilization of troops, because a part of the population of these villages and towns is now mobilized, and the change would cause disruptions to communications and intelligence. Especially the national feelings of the population of the western provinces, which has suffered from the atrocities and aggressions of the Greeks and the local Rum is now too vehement to name and refer to their places of origin with foreign names. Therefore, Sir, I submit and suggest forcefully that it will be attempted immediately and swiftly to change these.[85]

Yet the Ministry of Interior suggested the General Staff to calm down in reply, and requested for "the scientific examination" prior to the renamings, maybe in order to slow down the process.

> As the details of changing of village and town names is a matter which has to be examined scientifically, taking into account the historical circumstances and the geographical works, and the change of geographical names would require the historical registers […] the following registers, which contain the village and town names in the western provinces, which the Glorious President of the General Staff deemed necessary to be changed […] have been submitted to the [Education?] ministry. I submit that in the choice of the examination, the necessary steps will be taken with great speed […].[86]

Similar to this particular controversy, many of the place name changes were carried out through fervent debates in the parliament, as was the case especially for

[85] BCA 030.10/66.439.21 25 June 1923 (cited in Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint.")
"Batı vilayetlerindeki yabancı dilde köy ve kasaba isimlerinin değişitirilmesi ile ilgili bakanlıkların ve Genelkurmay Başkanlığının yazdıkları yazı."

[86] Ibid.

the renaming of Kırkkilise to Kırklareli (1924) in this period.[87] Yet it is necessary to underline that the renaming operations of the early period cannot be taken into consideration as a systematic state project, yet safely can be described as "spontaneous initiatives."[88] Hence, in the 1920s, the policy for changing place names was applied on a small scale, and accordingly the number of renamings was not as high as in the following periods.[89]

Nevertheless, in line with the Script Reform in 1928, many place names were Turkified and standardized, as place names began to be illustrated in Latin script in maps and directories. The village names directory of 1928 is the final one published by the Interior Ministry in the Ottoman script. It shows non-standardized forms of the village names in detail for the last time. In the second half of the 1920s, the renaming places had been put into the practice not systematically over whole country, but more momentarily over some specific regions. In 1925, all of the settlement names in Artvin, which had been predominantly Georgian, were changed upon the decision of the General Council of the City.[90] In 1927, all the street and square names of non-Turkish origin in Istanbul were changed.[91]

Between 1934 and 1936, *Halkevleri* (People's Houses), the missionaries of Republican People's Party, carried the mission of Turkifying village names, and

[87] For one of the first proposals of Turkification of place names, see the records of the 117th session in the parliament, that was held in December 20, 1920. See also, for some brief discussions over the confilcts, Ayşe Hür, "Tez Zamanda Yer İsimleri Değiştirile."

[88] Ibid.

[89] Some of the prominent renamings of the period under consideration are, Markiköy-Bakırköy, Ayastefenos-Yeşilköy, Sinasos-Mustafapaşa, Tirilye-Zeytinbağı, İmroz-Gökçeada in 1922, İzmit/Kocaeli in 1923.

[90] Tunçel, "Renamed Villages in Turkey."

[91] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

achieved the changing of 834 names, especially in the southeastern part of Turkey.[92] Yet it is necessary to underline that, throughout the 1930s, the names of towns, municipalities and cities were changed easily, involving not too many bureaucratic endeavors, with the direct approval of the cabinet that consisted Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü. Some of the best known changes of the period were Alaiye/Alanya in 1933, Bayazıt/Ağrı in 1935, Dersim/Tunceli in 1935, Mamüratülaziz/Elaziz in 1937 and Diyarıbekir/Diyarbakır in 1937.[93] In parallel with the renamings, the use of the geohistorical references of "Armenia," "Kurdistan" and "Lazistan" –that had been used publicly in the Ottoman period- were forbidden especially in publications, which will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

It is very plausible to claim that despite some attempts at the Turkification of place names since the beginning of the twentieth century, the issue in its relation to "national interests" was taken into consideration seriously by the state authorities especially in the 1940s.[94] In other words, the Turkification of settlement and natural place names was adopted as "a state project" in this period.[95] In 1940, the Interior Ministry issued an order for Turkifying the place names that had originated from the foreign ("non-Turkish") languages.[96] In this order, the Interior Ministry requested the local governors and other related offices to make lists of non-Turkish place names and send them to Ankara. Beginning from 1942, the Ministry of Interior began

[92] Perihan Özcan,"Yer isimleri kolektif belleği zayıflatmak için değiştiriliyor," *Yeni Aktuel*, no. 156. (2008).

[93] See Appendix B.

[94] Fikri Gökçeer, "Açılış Konuşması," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984); see also Republic of Turkey, *Yeni Tabii Yer Adları* (Ankara: İller İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1977).

[95] Gökçeer, p.1.

[96] For further details, see the 8529 numbered circular of the Interior Ministry, in brief it is stated that, *"yabancı dil ve köklerden gelen ve kullanılmasında büyük karışıklığa yol açan yerleşme yerleri ve tabii yer adlarının Türkçe adlarla değiştirilmesi."*

examining these lists, in order to change the names of the relevant places. Nevertheless, because of the turmoil of WWII, the Interior Ministry was unable to perform the necessary operations on the issue of place names. The General Directorate of Provincial Administration describes this controversial process as follows:

> It is perceived that the Turkification of non-Turkish settlement place-names and natural *place-names are intimately linked to the national being*, thus the operations started in 1940. Nevertheless, it is discerned that, because of the exceptional circumstances of the Second World War, as the operations of name changes may lead to some difficulties and complexities, these operations were thereby suspended.[97]

One of the rare systematic operations of the period that was put into practice was in Hatay in 1947 by Turkifying the local non-Turkish place names mostly of the Arabic origins.[98] The renaming places, as an integral part of the spatial politics of the state, attained a legal basis with the introduction of the Provincial Administration Law, with the number of 5442, in 1949. The second article of this law assigns the related offices of the Interior Ministry as a sole legal authority to make changes to place names, although the Interior Ministry unofficially had engaged in renaming politics up to that time.[99] To be more specific, *İller İdaresi* (the Provincial Administration) and *Mahalli İdareler* (the Local Administration) offices of the Interior Ministry were responsible agents for conducting the renamings. Correspondingly, the Provincial Councils under the supervision of the Interior Ministry were charged for the renamings at the micro level in the relevant localities.

The second article of the legal code 5442 states that the changes on the provincial names would only be made through the passage of a law. In addition, the

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[97] Republic of Turkey, *Yeni Tabii Yer Adları*. p. 3. [Emphasis added.]

[98] Hür, "Tez Zamanda Yer İsimleri Değiştirile."

[99] See Appendix C.

changes on the names of the municipalities, specifically towns, would be executed through the decision of the Interior Ministry and the approval of the President. Nevertheless, the village names were to be changed more easily according to this article. They would be changed only through the decision of the Interior Ministry, as the article declares that "the village names that are non-Turkish and leads to the confusion, after the consent of the [permanent] provincial councils, are to be changed by the Interior Ministry as soon as possible."[100] In 1952, the issue of place names was discussed in an interministry meeting. The establishment of a scientific commission and a related state bureau were envisioned during this meeting; however, this was not achieved at short notice.[101]

The practice of renaming places was reconfigured as a tangible state project inarguably with the establishment of *Ad Değiştirme İhtisas Kurulu* (The Expert Commission on Name Changes) in 1956, which resulted from the general meeting of some bureaucrats and academics. It is necessary to reemphasize that the formation of the Expert Commission was a defining moment for the renaming politics in Turkey, as the pre-1957 period successfully prepared "the scientific infrastructure" of the Commission's operations.[102] The official letter about the establishment of the Commission was issued in the late 1957 in the *Official Gazette*. Under the coordination of the Interior Ministry, this commission is composed of the representatives of the Faculty of Letters History and Geography of Ankara University, the Ministry of National Security, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Public Works, the Directorate of Land Registry Cadastre, the General

[100] "*Türkçe olmayan ve iltibasa meydan veren köy adları, alakadar Vilayet Daimi Encümeninin mütalaası alındıktan sonra, en kısa zamanda Dâhiliye Vekâletince değiştirilir.*"

[101] Republic of Turkey, *Yeni Tabii Yer Adları,* p. 3.

[102] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

Directorate of Foundations and the Turkish Language Society. In March 1, 1957, the Expert Commission began to function on renamings by meeting twice or three times a week, out of daily working hours, in the office of the General Directorate of Provincial Administration in Ankara. Not surprisingly, the principal aim of the Commission was declared as "to investigate non-Turkish place names"[103]

Reading through the mechanisms of the policy and the role of the Expert Commission, it is possible to claim that the renaming issue in Turkey was a bureaucratic project. In 1959, in order to bring "momentum and efficiency" into the operations of "the Turkification of non-Turkish village names and the names that might lead to the confusion," Standing Provincial Committees instead of the Provincial Councils were authorized – indeed the members of the Expert Commission concerned about the politicization of Provincial Councils by supposing that they slowed down the process.[104] That is to say, the governors and civic servants of the Interior Ministry instead of the elected members of the Provincial Councils were authorized for the renaming operations. This move was specifically meaningful because it implies that the renaming policy was "the project of bureaucratic elites."[105] The continuation of the project regardless of the political party in the cabinet, as it is known that some members of the Democrat Party had slowed down the process by not showing the necessary commitment and eagerness in the project, also demonstrates that the issue at hand can safely be argued as "the elite and bureaucratic project."

[103] Republic of Turkey, *Resmi Gazete*, no: 4/9595, 19 October 1957.

[104] Republic of Turkey, *Yeni Tabii Yer Adları*, p. 3.

[105] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

The process of the renaming places was indeed slow during the Democrat Party government compared to the following periods because of the lack of commitment to the nationalist-secularist tendencies of the Kemalist bureaucrats on behalf of the conservatives of the Democrat Party. Yet, the nationalization endeavors caught momentum under the military take-over government of the coup of May 27, 1960.[106] In 1961, the military government published a circular that prohibit the "use of any foreign word [that includes names] for which a Turkish equivalent existed."[107] Thereafter, the Expert Commission exerted a concentrated effort on the issue throughout the 1960s. Reading through the 1968 place name directory, about 12,000 out of 45,000 village names were changed –i.e. about thirty percent- as a result of the Commission's operations.[108]

After the concentrated efforts on renaming in the 1960s, the Commission ceased its operations at the end of 1970, since the state stopped making payments to the members of the Commission due to the introduction of the Government Officials' Law (*Devlet Memurları Kanunu*).[109] In February 1973, a special committee different from the Expert Commission was formed in order to make the necessary changes in due course, because there was a density on the agenda, under the control of the Provincial Administration. The renaming operations in this period targeted the geographical names under village status, especially the names of hamlets. This

[106] Yet it is also very urgent to emphasize that the systematic renamings started in Democrat Party period, as it is underlined, with establishemnt of the Expert Commision. Although Democrat Party did not overtly support the politics of renaming of the bureaucrats, yet it also did not prevent the implementation of policy.

[107] Geoffrey L. Lewis, *Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 157.

[108] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

[109] The payment of the members of the Commision is a serious issue, considering a great deal of records in the archives about the payments. It is realized that after the payment crisis of 1970, the members of the Commision raised their their voices and in 1975, the commision started to work within office-hours and for only one afternoon in a week.

special committee functioned for two years, however, failed to accomplish the intended result.

Thereupon, the Expert Commission on Name Change was reestablished once again in 1975, with the involvement of the representatives of the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of National Security, the Turkish General Staff, the General Directorate of Cartography, the Faculty of Letters, History and Geography of Ankara University and the Turkish Language Society. This time, the Commission functioned for five years. In 1978, the Prime Ministry ceased the renaming operations of the Expert Commission, on account of the fact that the Commission had changed the place names with "an historical value."[110]

In 1983, with the authorization of the Prime Ministry, the Expert Commission was constituted for the third time. In this period, the low intensity war, the village evacuations and the forced migratioons had turned the focus of the bureaucrats especially onto southeastern Turkey. Therefore, the Commission specifically aimed at renaming the hamlets, pastures and clan-based settlements of the Kurdish populated regions.[111] Many diverse state offices participated in the Expert Commission and the scope of the Commission was extended in the post-1980 era, transforming the operations of the Commission into a considerable toponymical project.[112] The representative of the General Directorate of Provincial Administration occupied the post of presidency; the Ministry of National Security, the General Directorate of Cartography, the Faculty of Letters, History and Geography of Ankara University, the Presidency of High Agency of Atatürk (Turkish Language Society

[110] Gökçeer, p.3.

[111] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

[112] For the detailed discussions of renamings in the 1980s and 1990s and the accompanying assimilationist policies, see "Ethnographic Representations," in which the political and social conditions of the Kurdish regions are also discussed in brief.

and Turkish Historical Society) each participated with two representatives. The Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, the Ministry of Tourism, the Directorate of Land Registry Cadastre and the Turkish General Staff each participated with one representative.[113] The foundation of the Expert Commission for the third time was announced by a decree on February 21, 1983 in the *Official Gazette*.[114]

The decree of 1983 explains clearly the methods and principles of the Expert Commission on Name Changes. It is therefore necessary to examine some of the principles of the Commission through this decree. First, prior to the operations of renaming, the Commission took official maps that scaled 1/25,000 from the Ministry of National Security for examination. Over the map, the topographic qualities of the places which had been subjected to the renamings were examined. In addition, the official reports of the cartography section of the Ministry of National Security were analyzed by the Commission before changing the place names. In some cases, the field study in the localities was conducted before the renaming operations. That is to say, the Commission had the authority to examine the places under consideration by sending some sub-commissions or some of its members upon the request and approval of the Interior Ministry. It was manifested in decree that the target of the operations of the renamings in principle were,

> non-Turkish place names; the names with utterances and structures that are contrary to the Turkish phonetic principles or the names that brings about confusion because of their utterance resemblances; the names that have unpleasant meanings; and the names that are in contrary to the public sensibility and offend the feelings of the people.[115]

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[113] Gökçeer, p.3.

[114] See Appendix D.

[115] Republic of Turkey, *T.C. Resmi Gazete*, no. 17966, 21 February 1983.
"Türkçe olmayan, söylenişi ve yapısı Türkçenin ses bilgisi kurallarına aykırı olan veya söyleniş yakınlığı nedediyle karışıklığa yol açan, güzel bir anlam taşımayan ve halkın anlayışına aykırı, duygularını inciten adlar değiştirilir.

Furthermore, it is emphasized in the decree that "the foreign place names shall not be renamed by translating these [old] names [directly] into the Turkish language. However, if the old name describes [the features of] the related places naturally or topographically, it is convenient to translate the name into the Turkish."[116] In tandem with this statement, it is emphasized in the decree that "the places shall not be denominated with the names that remind the old names through their pronunciation resemblances."[117]

Historical Expositions: Beyond the Renaming Policy

The historical background of the practice of renaming, especially considering its transformation into the bureaucratic project in the post-1957 period, has been discussed hitherto in a linear and to some extent chronological way. In the following historical sub-sections, I will analyze the renaming places in diverse and dispersed moments. The political developments that resulted from the practice and the everyday reflections will be illustrated in snapshots. The Turkification and renaming operations of Halkevleri in the 1930s, the letters of the ordinary citizens that proposed the renaming of cities, especially for the capital city Ankara, and lastly the associative policies that underpinned the Turkification of place names will be explored in the following sections.

[116] Ibid., p. 12.

[117] Ibid., p. 12.

[Expositions] The Involvement of the Halkevleri

The *Halkevleri* (People's Houses) that were directly linked to the Republican People's Party carried the operations of the renamings in the mid-1930s. It is thereby necessary to explore the critical involvement of these Kemalist agents in the policy. The exploration of the roles and strategies of Halkevleri in the toponymical engineering project is especially significant, considering the current literature has neglected the place of the Halkevleri in the re-construction of the national territory. Nevertheless, before inquiring into the Halkevleri's involvement in the renaming operations, I strive to elucidate their general missions in the nationalization endeavors. Surveying the inspection reports of Halkevleri in the mid-1930s, it is possible to claim they had two core missions: Turkifying vis-à-vis civilizing the population, especially in the eastern regions.[118] One of the inspectors of the period explicitly said that "Halkevleri have a major role in the development of the local people regarding language and culture."[119] The effacement of non-Turkish cultures and the establishment of the hegemonic national culture were manifested as the principal goals of the Halkevleri. Kemal Güngör, the supervisor of the Halkevleri in the 1930s, described their mission particularly regarding the eastern provinces as follows:

> In Siirt, one of provinces that I have passed through, the majority of the people speak in Arabic, although they know Turkish... [Our goal is] to remove the bitter domination and influences of Arabic culture and instead to make the national culture and authentic language dominant...[it is realized that] from the villages of Diyarbakır to the districts of Siirt, Muş, Bitlis, Van and Hakkari, majority of the people speak in Kurdish. *Spreading the*

[118] The inspection reports are avaliable in the Republican Archives.

[119] BCA 490.01/1006.882.1 (11 Novermber 1940).
"...halkın gerek lisan gerek kültür bakımından inkişaf edebilmesi hususunda Halkevinin büyük bir rolü iktiza eder."

authentic [Turkish] language and effacing foreign influences in those regions [are to be carried out by] the Republican People's Party.[120]

It is argued by Güngör that the Turkification of local cultures and languages was necessary for securing "the national unity and integrity" and for sustaining "the ideal of national culture." As an inspector, Güngör suggested the authorities of the Halkevleri work on sociocultural activities for disseminating the national culture and the spirit of national revolution.[121]

Exploring through the language and history endeavors of Halkevleri in the reports of 1935, aside from renaming operations, it is plausible to epitomize their activities and tasks as follows: organizing and calling for a conference on Turkish language and revolution, instructing people on the core principles of the Republic, teaching Turkish language to the local people and celebrating Turkish language day, assisting and facilitating citizens to acquire the family names, conducting research on local history, compiling Turkish proverbs and poems, celebrating national festivals and commemorating national days.

In this general context of nationalization, Halkevleri also carried the mission of Turkifying the place names. For the limited scope of this research, I will illustrate the case only by reading through the annual reports of the Halkevleri branches in 1935. In the annual report of Akçakoca Halkevi, it is stated that "the Turkish counterparts of the non-Turkish village names were found, and the authorities were

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[120] Ibid. [Emphasis added.]

"Geçmiş olduğum bu vilayetlerden Siirt'te halkın ekserisi Türkçe bildiği halde Arapça konuşmaktadır. Evlerinde, çarşıda, kahvede, hatta Halkevinde bile. Arap kültürünün bu acı tesir ve nüfuzunun kaldırılması ve onun yerine milli kültür ve özdilimizin hakim kılınması, aynı zamanda Diyarbakır'ın köylerinden başlamak üzere Siirt'in kaza ve köylerinde, Muş'un, Bitlis'in, Van'ın kaza ve köylerinde ve Hakkari havalisinde ekseriyat Kürtçe konuşmaktadır. Memleketimizde maddi ve manevi sahalarda mucize denecek kadar büyük işleri başarmış olan partimizin buralarda özdilimizi yaymak ve yabancı nüfuzunu kaldırmak hususunda karar ve çalışması milli birlik ve bütünlüğümüz için olduğu kadar milli kültür davamız bakımından da çok faydalı bir hizmet olacaktır."

[121] Ibid.

notified for necessary renamings."[122] In a similar fashion, Balıkesir Halkevi declares that the names of 313 streets in the city had been Turkified through their efforts. Elaziz Halkevi announced that they had found Turkish counterparts of 3000 village names. Isparta Halkevi reported that they had compiled 4000 place names and issued a book with the title of *Yer Adları* (Place Names), which was claimed to disclose the traditional Turkish place-naming methods. In a similar vein, Konya Halkevi stated that they had conducted and published a historical research on place-names that were to be inherited from the Mongols, Kimris, Lugas, and Hittites in order to uncover the traditional methods of place naming in Turkish clans.

The deciphering of the linguistic tones of the Halkevleri reports of 1935 also illuminates the tacit nationalistic impulses inherent in their operations. For instance, Mardin Halkevi by using militaristic language declares that they "waged language war" against Kurdish by teaching Turkish to the local people.[123] Similarly, Siirt Halkevi described its campaign of teaching Turkish language as "the nation's classroom."[124]

In a nutshell, by Turkifying place names, teaching Turkish language to the locals and celebrating national commemoration days, Halkevleri strived to impose the sense of nationhood on the population. Therefore, the renaming endeavors of Halkevleri are needed to be contextualized considering their comprehensive Turkification and homogenization policies.

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[122] BCA 490.01/1005.880.2 (1935).
"Adları Türkçe olmayan birçok köylerin Türkçe adlarını bulmuş ve değiştirilmesi için lazım gelen makamalara bildirmiş[tir]."

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid.

[Expositions] Ordinary Letters: Public Proposals of Renaming in the Early Republican Era

> "Fifth grade students of the second school in Muğla beg for giving the names of Atatürk and İnönü to our cities. And for instance, they beg for...naming İzmir as Atatürkşehri."
> ["Muğla ikinci okul beşinci sınıf talebeleri Atatürk ve İnönü'nün adlarının kentlerimize verilmesini yalvarıyorlar. Ve mesela İzmir'in Atatürkşehri diye adlandırılmasına müsade buyrulmasını yalvarıyorlar."]
> *From the Republican People's Party Catalogues,*
> *The Republican Archives*

In the 1930s, ordinary citizens sent letters that proposed to Turkify the names of major cities to the headquarters of the RPP.[125] Ordinary citizens offered new Turkified names especially with reference to the cult of Atatürk.[126] Some primary school students from Muğla suggested to Turkify the names of the "the cities that are created from nonexistence and would never die for hundreds of years," as was underlined in the introductory lines. They proposed to rename the major cities, especially Izmir to "Atatürkşehri," therefore the cults of the Republican regime "would never die." Likewise, Ş. Öztürk, the retired governor of Dinar, suggested renaming the capital city Ankara to "Atatürkkent" in his letter to the governing party. For legitimating his proposal, he argued that "new Ankara absorbed and suffocated the old Ankara," therefore its name calling for the historical names of Ankır and Ankuva would no longer be convenient for the capital city.[127] For Öztürk, the renaming of Ankara as "Atatürkkent" was "the principal duty of the Turkish nation to the Savior and to the history."

[125] See Appendix E.

[126] BCA 490.01/502.2018.1. The letters sent to the RPP between 1933 and 1936.

[127] Ibid.
"…bu görüşümden elde ettiğim sonuç yeni ankaranın eski Ankara'yı yuttuğu ve boğmuş olduğu yolundadır. Böyle olduğu halde, bu şehire tarihin çok eski devirlerlerinde veilmiş olan Ankır, Ankuva gibi adları almış olan Ankara adı ile anılması bugün hiçde yerinde değildir."

In a very similar fashion, Raif Nezih, the official translator in the Ministry of Agriculture, suggested to change the name of Ankara to "G.M.Kemal" (Gazi Mustafa Kemal). Nezih justified his proposal by asserting that "it is very natural to name the monuments that are created by the Great [Atatürk] as Gazi," and he argued that the capital city of Ankara was "the most notable creation" of Atatürk. Likewise, A. Firuzan, in a letter to the Party, suggested that Ankara be renamed "Gaziyuva" on the tenth anniversary of the Republic. For Firuzan, it was urgent and necessary to rename the city "Gaziyuva," since it would be the most valuable reward and surprise for the new nation on the tenth anniversary. In these ordinary letters, it is precisely emphasized that the foundation of the new capital city, Ankara, signified the re-birth of the Turkish nation. In addition, reading through the letters, it is possible to claim that the cult of Atatürk was imprinted in the public perception as "the creator of the homeland" as well as "the founder of the new nation."[128]

From a Gramscian perspective, the ordinary proposals for renaming the major cities, Atatürkşehri, Atatürkkent, Gaziyuva, and G.M.Kemal signify the fabricated consent of "the national subjects" to the Kemalist leadership. For Gramsci, power is sustained not only through the means of violence and coercion, but through the ideological instruments of hegemonic culture. Also, the consent of the population to the hegemonic culture is necessary for sustaining power. That is to say, the exercise of hegemony is based on the balanced combination of force and consent. [129]

In the context of Turkey, following the theoretical lines of Gramsci, the Republican authorities strived to fabricate the consent of the population in order to

[128] Ibid.

[129] Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks* (Columbia University Press, 2007), p. 80. Gramsci discusses that, "the 'normal' exercise of hegemony… is characterised by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed, the attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority..."

maintain the hegemony of the Kemalist nationalism, thus the Kemalist values and codes could be normalized. The cultural hegemony of Kemalism thereby was expected to be acquired through the public approval of the moral and intellectual leadership of Atatürk.[130] The ordinary proposals for inscribing the name of Atatürk into the major cities need to be evaluated in this context.

[Expositions] The Associative Policies of Renaming: Restrictions on Press and Information

Along with the attempts of spatial nationalization by Turkifying place names, some associative and supporting policies were put into practice after the 1950s. First and foremost, the publication and circulation of geographical works and maps that threatened "the national unity of territory" were forbidden. Some salient instances may be given as follows. In 1950, the entry of Jean Dollfus's geographical study, *Atlas Mondial*, into the country was banned, because of its "subversive content."[131] Similarly, in 1954, the circulation of *The Middle and Near East Map* published by the Edinburgh Geography Institute was prohibited in the country.[132]

In 1952, the entry and circulation of the book of Dersimli Baytar Nureddin, *Kürdistan Tarihinde Dersim* (Dersim in the History of Kurdistan) prohibited, as the title explicitly suggests "the Kurdish geography" within Turkey and carried the

[130] Ibid., p. 57. Gramsci says "...that the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership'. A social group dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to 'liquidate', or to subjugate perhaps even by armed force; it leads kindred and allied groups. A social group can, and indeed must, already exercise 'leadership' before winning governmental power."

[131] BCA 030.18.01.02/123.70.2 (1950)

[132] BCA 030.18.01.02/137.83.13 (1954)

Kurdish counterpart of Tunceli.[133] The prohibition of the entry and circulation of these "threatening" geographical works were justified legally by the 31st article of the Press Law of 1950, in which it was stated that foreign publications that threaten "the indivisible integrity of the nation" and "the national security were strictly forbidden."[134]

Furthermore, the Turkification of place names was justified through the standardization endeavors necessitated by the United Nations for each participant country. Especially, in the 1980s, the discursive legitimation of standardization was put forward by the Expert Commission in order to perform the renaming operations. For this aim, representatives from Ankara University were sent to the UN conferences on "the standardization of geographical names" in 1967 and 1973.

[133] BCA 030.18.01/130.75.13 (1952)

It is very interesting to note that the region was called as *Dersim* in all official documents and publications until the violent events of 1937-38. After the bloody operation in 1938, all of a sudden it began to be called officially as Tunceli, indeed it refers to the very name of the operation "Tunç-eli." The military legitimated the violence of 1938 by declaring that the operation had been necessary for "civilizing" and "modernizing" Dersim people.

[134] Republic of Turkey, *Press Law*, article no: 31, 1950.

"*Devletin ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bütünlüğüne, milli egemenliğine, Cumhuriyetin varlığına, milli güvenliğe, kamu düzenine, genel asayişe, kamu yararına, genel ahlaka ve genel sağlığa aykırı olup yabancı memleketlerde çıkan basılmış eserlerin Türkiye`ye sokulması veya dağıtılması Bakanlar Kurulu kararıyla yasaklanabilir. Bu gibi basılmış eserlerin, Bakanlar Kurulundan acele karar alınmak üzere İçişleri Bakanlığınca karardan evvel dağıtılmaları yasaklanabileceği gibi, dağıtılmış olanlarda toplattırılabilir. Yasaklanmış olmasına rağmen, bunları Türkiye`ye bilerek sokanlar, dağıtanlar veya bu gibi eserleri kısmen veya tamamen iktibas veya tercüme edenler, yayanlar, fiil başka bir suçu oluştursa bile ayrıca üç aydan bir yıla kadar hapis ve elli bin liradan yüz bin liraya kadar ağır para cezasına mahkûm edilirler."*

CHAPTER III

STATISTICS, FIGURES AND CONTENT:

THE RENAMING POLICY FROM AN ANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE

In this part, through some statistics and figures of renamings, I will illustrate the general frame and content of the renaming politics. It is necessary to stress that this chapter takes the establishment of the Expert Commission in 1957 as a departure point and focuses on the operations of the Commission until 1978. Therefore, the estimations below illustrate primarily the numbers of renaming between 1957 and 1978.

There are various yet close estimations on the number of the place-name changes. According to Tunçel, the Expert Commission investigated 75,000 settlement names [mostly, the village and hamlet names] and changed 28,000 of them between 1957 and 1978. In Tunçel's estimation, the number of renamed villages was more than 12,000, that is about 35 percent of the total villages. Tunçel also states that the 280 villages were renamed after 1983.[135] Fikri Gökçeer, the director of the Provincial Administration, estimates that the Expert Commission investigated 35,000 village names and changed 14,819, and also investigated 39,000 hamlet names and renamed 12,884 of them between 1957 and 1978. In total, according to Gökçeer, about 74,000 settlement names were investigated and 27,889 settlement names were changed until 1978.[136] Öktem states that 12,000 of the total 40,000 village names were changed until 1968 by the Expert Commission. Also,

[135] Tunçel, "Renamed Villages in Turkey."

[136] Gökçeer, pp. 1-5.

according to Öktem, 1,819 settlement names also were changed until 1975, this estimation overlaps with the reports of the Provincial Administration.[137]

Mecdi Emiroğlu, Professor from Ankara University, states that 12,750 out of total 35,917 villages were renamed by the Commission on the basis of his analysis of the catalogue of Interior Ministry published in 1977.[138] Jorgenden, in a more recent study, discloses that nearly 30 percent of total 45,000 villages were renamed up to 1968. He also states that 2,000 villages and 13,000 (out of total 40,000) hamlets were renamed in 1973. Summarizing the estimates of Jorgenden, 85,000 (45,000 villages + 40,000 hamlets) rural settlement names were investigated and more than 25,000 (12,884 hamlets + 12,211 villages) were changed between 1957 and 1978.[139] The following table summarizes overall the estimations.

Table 1: The Total Estimates of the Renamed Places between 1957 and 1978[140]

	Total number of place-names under investigation	Total number of changed place-names	Total number of renamed villages
Gökçeer	74000	27889	14819
Tunçel	75000	28000	12211
Jorgenden	85000	25000	12211

As emphasized in the historical sections, the aim of the policy was stated as "Turkification of place names which are non-Turkish origin and might therefore lead

[137] Öktem, "Creating the Turk's Homeland."

[138] Mecdi Emiroğlu, "Bolu Yöresi Yer Adları," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*. (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), pp. 181-200.

[139] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People", see also Joost Jorgenden, "Yer Siyaseti: Türkiye Kürdistan'ında Devlet ve Toplumun Mekânsal Düzenlenişi," *Toplum ve Kuram*, no. 2 (2009). pp. 213-231.

[140] By the author of the thesis, 15 January 2010.

to misunderstandings."[141] Also, the distribution of the renamed villages, as will be illustrated in the following tables and diagrams, throughout Turkey reveals that the aim of the renaming policy is Turkification. Since, the renamed villages are concentrated in the eastern, southeastern and northeastern parts of the country, which mostly have been populated by non-Turkish ethnicities – namely, Kurdish, Armenian, Georgian, Greek, Lazuri, Circassian, Syriac and Arab people. Mardin, which is known for its ethnic diversity that includes Christian, Arabic and Kurdish populations, is the province that has been exposed to the renaming policy the most. In the city, 91 percent of the villages were renamed between 1957 and 1978. In a similar vein, Bitlis and Siirt follow Mardin with percentages of 86 and 84, respectively, as these regions are populated by Kurdish people. Therefore, it is not implausible to assert that the principal target of the renaming policy is first and foremost Kurdish place-names. Nevertheless, the place-names that had been passed down from the Armenians, Greeks and Lazuri in northeastern regions considerably have been exposed to the renaming policy.

In a theoretical sense, the Kemalist bureaucrats through the nationalist impulses attempted to endorse the state power and hegemonic nationalist language by using various means into the everydayness of the regions that had been known for their non-Turkish pasts. The practice of renaming places, in this context, can be interpreted as an integral part of the political project of Turkification. To be more concrete, the Turkification of territory-or-geography and the homogenization of the past accordingly are aimed at specifically by changing the place names. The following diagrams and tables, in which the intrinsic nationalist aims can be interpreted, show the distribution of renamed settlements throughout Turkey.

[141] See the 8529 numbered circular of the Interior Ministry that states, *"yabancı dil ve köklerden gelen ve kullanılmasında büyük karışıklığa yol açan yerleşme yerleri ve tabii yer adlarının Türkçe adlarla değiştirilmesi…"*

Table 2: Number of Renamed Villages for the Provinces of Turkey according to Tunçel[142]

Tunçel

The cities	Number of Renamed villages	The cities	Number of villages	The cities	Number of villages
Adana	169	Erzincan	366	Mardin	647
Adıyaman	224	Erzurum	653	Muğla	70
Afyon	88	Eskişehir	70	Muş	297
Ağrı	374	Gaziantep	279	Nevşehir	24
Amasya	99	Giresun	167	Niğde	48
Ankara	193	Gümüşhane	343	Ordu	134
Antalya	168	Hakkâri	128	Rize	105
Artvin	101	Hatay	117	Sakarya	117
Aydın	69	Isparta	46	Samsun	185
Balıkesir	110	İçel	112	Siirt	392
Bilecik	32	İstanbul	21	Sinop	59
Bingöl	247	İzmir	68	Sivas	406
Bitlis	236	Kars	398	Tekirdağ	19
Bolu	182	Kastamonu	295	Tokat	245
Burdur	49	Kayseri	86	Trabzon	390
Bursa	136	Kırklareli	35	Tunceli	273
Çanakkale	53	Kırşehir	39	Ş. Urfa	389
Çankırı	76	Kocaeli	26	Uşak	47
Çorum	103	Konya	236	Van	415
Denizli	53	Kütahya	93	Yozgat	90
Diyarbakır	555	Malatya	217	Zonguldak	156
Edirne	20	Manisa	83		
Elazığ	383	K. Maraş	105	Total	12211

[142] Tunçel, “Renamed Villages in Turkey.”

Table 3a: Number of Renamed Villages for the Provinces of Turkey in 1978[143]

Province	Total Village Number	Renamed District Number	Renamed Village Number	Total Renamed Places	Percentage
Adana	739	8	125	133	18
Adıyaman	354	9	220	229	65
A. Karahisar	456	1	113	114	25
Ağrı	564	3	362	365	65
Amasya	356	8	113	121	34
Ankara	1162	7	230	237	20
Antalya	626	9	146	173	28
Artvin	311	11	109	120	39
Aydın	495	3	75	78	16
Balıkesir	941	4	121	125	13
Bilecik	259	1	41	42	16
Bingöl	319	9	247	256	80
Bitlis	278	11	229	240	86
Bolu	791	4	211	215	27
Burdur	198	3	47	50	25
Bursa	752	1	134	135	18
Çanakkale	593	6	63	69	12
Çankırı	473	1	92	93	20
Çorum	755	3	132	135	18
Denizli	413	1	77	78	19
Diyarbakır	698	12	461	473	68
Edirne	267	3	16	19	7
Elazığ	595	8	396	404	68
Erzincan	580	16	352	368	63
Erzurum	1.054	14	650	664	63
Eskişehir	404	2	65	67	17
G. Antep	596	4	284	288	48
Giresun	503	3	168	171	34
Gümüşhane	508	3	342	345	68
Hakkari	147	6	111	117	80
Hatay	386	10	132	142	37
Isparta	184	3	55	58	32
İçel	554	7	116	123	22
İstanbul	272	4	28	32	12

[143] Emiroğlu, "Bolu Yöresi Yer Adları."

Table 3b: Number of Renamed Villages for the Provinces of Turkey in 1978[144]

Province	Total Village Number	Renamed District Number	Renamed Village Number	Total Renamed Places	Percentage
İzmir	678	8	70	78	12
Kars	790	7	401	408	52
Kastamonu	1.085	7	327	334	31
Kayseri	472	3	107	110	23
Kırklareli	193	3	32	35	18
Kırşehir	256	1	34	35	14
Kocaeli	263	4	26	30	11
Konya	908	10	285	295	32
Kütahya	597	1	76	77	13
Malatya	512	8	219	227	44
Manisa	790	4	78	82	10
K. Maraş	494	2	102	104	21
Mardin	726	8	652	660	91
Muğla	414	6	72	78	19
Muş	381	8	286	294	77
Nevşehir	154	2	31	33	21
Niğde	284	4	58	62	22
Ordu	507	3	132	135	27
Rize	318	1	103	104	33
Sakarya	479	3	73	76	16
Samsun	871	5	190	195	22
Siirt	515	13	420	433	84
Sinop	431	3	66	69	16
Sivas	1.301	15	409	424	33
Tekirdağ	286	—	22	22	8
Tokat	669	4	265	269	40
Trabzon	566	4	401	405	72
Tunceli	453	19	288	307	68
Urfa	710	9	394	403	57
Uşak	250	—	48	48	19
Van	580	9	426	435	75
Yozgat	626	4	96	100	16
Zonguldak	782	5	151	156	20
TOPLAM	35.917	381	12.375	12.756	36

[144] Ibid.

Table 4: Percentages of Renamed Villages per Province and Region in Turkey[145]

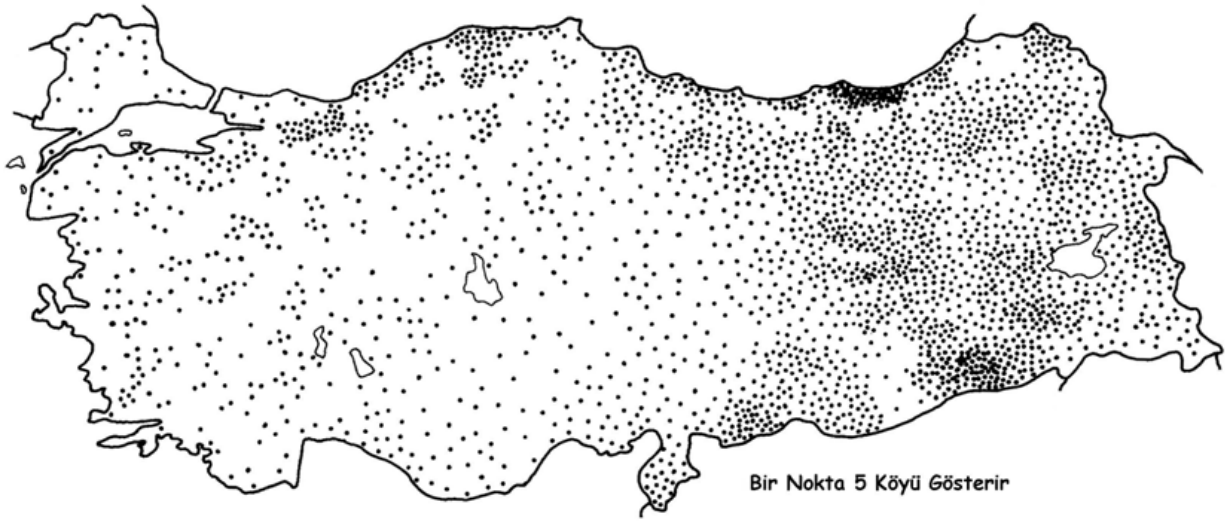
Province	Geographical Region	Significant ethnic communities	Name change in %
Mardin	Southeast	Armenian, Arab, Syriac, Kurdish	91
Bitlis	Southeast	Armenian, Kurdish	86
Siirt	Southeast	Armenian, Arab, Kurdish	84
Bingöl	Southeast	Armenian, Kurdish	80
Hakkâri	Southeast	Syriac, Kurdish	80
Mus	Southeast	Armenian, Kurdish	77
Van	Southeast	Armenian, Kurdish	75
Trabzon	Black Sea	Greek, Lazuri	72
Diyarbakir	Southeast	Armenian, Kurdish	68
Elazig	Southeast	Armenian, Kurdish	68
Gümüshane	East	Armenian	68
Adiyaman	East	Armenian, Kurdish, Arab	65
Agri	East	Armenian, Kurdish	65
Erzincan	East	Armenian, Kurdish	63
Erzurum	East	Armenian, Kurdish	63
Urfa	Southeast	Armenian, Arab, Kurdish	57
Kars	East	Armenian, Georgian, Kurdish	52
Gaziantep	Southeast	Armenian, Kurdish, Arab	48
Malatya	Southeast	Armenian, Kurdish	44
Artvin	Black Sea	Georgian, Lazuri	39
Hatay	Çukurova	Arab	37
Giresun	Black Sea	Greek, Lazuri	34
Rize	Black Sea	Greek, Lazuri, Hemsin	33
Sivas	East	Armenian, Kurdish	33
Konya	Central	Kurdish	32

[145] Öktem, “The Nation’s Imprint.”

Table 5: Percentages of Renamed Villages per Region[146]

Geographical Region	Range of changes	Median
Southeast	44 – 91	76
East	33 – 68	63
Black Sea	33 – 75	37
Central	32	-
Hatay	37	-

Figure 1: Distribution of Renamed Villages throughout Turkey[147]



[146] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

[147] Tunçel, "Renamed Villages in Turkey."

Contrary to the Turkification logic behind the renaming policy, Emiroğlu claims that more than half of the changed settlement names, considering the distribution throughout the country, are indeed Turkish.[148] For Emiroğlu, the aim of the policy is the adaptation of the old names into the modern Turkish language, instead of Turkification or assimilation. Reading through the settlement names in Bolu, he specifies four main categories of changed settlement names. First, some significant portion of the renamings consists of the transformation of the annexes of *viran* (in ruins) into *ören*, *kaya* (stone) into *yaka* (shore), *şıh* (sheikh) into *şeyh*. Second, the settlements with Abkhasian, Arabian, Circassian, Laz, Kurdish titles were changed "in order to eliminate [the threat of] separatism."[149] Last, for Emiroğlu, the lengthy, complicated, nonsense, and humiliating settlement names were changed, such as Gideniaptal, Deller, Basantı, Sığırkuyruğu, Çalurkıpti, and Merkepgerişi.

Emiroğlu concludes that "most of the village names are not changed *because of their foreignness.* Yet, it is difficult to state the same argument for [the place names in] the regions of the east and southeast."[150] Although he rejects the idea of Turkification behind the renaming policy, he puts "the threat of separatism" forward as a taken for granted reason; that is to say, for Emiroğlu it is not Turkification but the effacement of dissident voices is the specific goal of the policy.

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[148] Emiroğlu, pp. 181-200.

[149] Ibid., p. 190.
"Türkiye'nin Kurtuluş Savaşı ve onu izleyen Cumhuriyet dönemi ile yani milli birlik ve bütünlüğün sağlanmasiyle çeşitli ve çok yönlü sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik gelişmenin dile, dolayısıyla yer adlarına da yansıdığını görmekteyiz. Dilimizde büyük Atatürk'ün başlattığı ve öz Türkçe akını ile yabancı kökenli pek çok yer adının değiştirildiğini görmekteyiz. Özellikle çevre halkının azınlık sayarak Türk kökenli göçmenlere ve etnik gruplara taktıkları adlarında değiştirilmek suretiyle dış etkilerle bölücülüğe neden olabilen bu ayrıma son verilmiştir."

[150] Ibid., p. 191.

The account of Tunçel on the content of renaming policy is more tangible compared to the nationalist interpretations of Emiroğlu.[151] Reading through the survey of Tunçel on renamed villages, it is possible to specify four main clusters of changed settlement names; in other words, there are four main pillars behind the renaming policy. The first category of renamings consists of politically-neutral acts with regard to the general nationalist tendencies of the policy. Settlement names with unpleasant or offensive connotations despite their Turkish origins were changed. This type of renaming was quite common.[152] In addition, the settlement names that involve the terms *ağıl* (the sheep fold), *kom, oba* (the nomad tent), *mezra* (the hamlet), and *çiftlik* (the farm) were completely changed.[153] Moreover, with a few letter changes, some settlements were adapted to the written language of Turkish. The terms of *şeyh* instead of *şıh*, *ören* instead of *viran, ak* (white) instead of *ağ, yürük* (the nomad Turk) instead of *yörük* were used in new settlement names. It is necessary to reemphasize that the renamings in the first cluster are not politically loaded in terms of the Turkification of population and territory; nevertheless they were intrinsically related to the state's use of memory politics and the linguistic adaptation in a modernist sense.

The second category of renamings comprises the effacement of non-Muslim place names, such as those that carry the religious terms like *Kızıl* (that denotes for "kızılbaş," pejorative term for referring Alevis in Turkey), *Çan* (the bell), *Kilise* (the

[151] Tunçel, "Renamed Villages in Turkey."

[152] Such as Aptaldam, Aşıran, Atkafası, Cadı, Çakal, Çürük, Deliler, Domuzağı, Dönek, Haraççı, Hırsızpınar, Hıyar and etc. For futher details, see the catalogues of Provincial Adminstration of Ministry of Interior (1946, 1968, 1971, 1977, 1978, 1982, 1986)

[153] Such as Kuzağıl/Yeşildere, Akkom/Akdere, Mihlisobası/Gülhüyük, Akmezra/Kavakpınar, Hamidiyeçiftliği/Geçitli and etc. For further details, see Republic of Turkey, *Yeni Tabii Yer Adları.*

church), *Manastır* (the monastery), *Keşiş* (the priest), *Haç* (the cross).[154] These renamings reveal that it is not only Turkification in the ethnic sense of the term, but also Turkification underpinned by Sunni-Muslimhood to some extent formed the basis of the renaming policy. This act was in line with the idea that the modern Turkish identity with its contradictory nature has comprised orthodox-Sunni religiosity since the foundation of the Republic, as it has been discussed by many contemporary critics of Turkish nationalism.

With the renamings under the third category, the Turkification of the population as well as territory is clearly intended. Place names that are thought to be "separatist" or "divisive" by the authorities were eliminated.[155] The settlement names involving ethnic titles/terms, such as *Kürt* (Kurdish), *Gürcü* (Georgian), *Tatar* (Tatarian), *Çerkez* (Ciscassian), *Laz* (Lazuri), *Arap* (Arabian) have been changed "in order prevent the rise of separatism."[156]

Last but not least, in the fourth category, most of the settlement names were changed because of their non-Turkish origin. The density of the distribution of place names in the southeast and northeast regions illustrates the case, i.e., the renaming of non-Turkish names. For instance, between the provinces of Trabzon and Rize, in such a narrow area, about 500 villages were renamed, yet only 20 of these 500 settlement names were Turkish in origin.[157] The place names in the northeastern Turkey were changed because they had originated from Greek, Armenian, Lazuri and Georgian. Similarly, most of the settlement names in the Kurdish populated regions

[154] Such as Manastırtepe/Hantepe (Afyon), Keşişdağı/Çamtepe (Afyon), Haçbel/Yıldızbeli (Adana) and etc.

[155] Emiroğlu, pp. 181-200.

[156] Such as Kürtlütepe/İnsuyutepesi, Ermeni Dağı/ Ballık Dağı and etc.

[157] Tunçel, "Renamed Villages in Turkey," p. 30.

of southeastern Turkey were changed, as illustrated in the above tables and figures. In plain terms, considering the fourth category, the state aimed to efface the non-Turkish fragments and traces of the past by renaming the settlements.

As an extension to the discussed categories, despite the declared goal of not renaming the places through translation from non-Turkish to Turkish or not giving analogical names, the authorities in some uncommon cases gave similar/parallel names and translated the Kurdish, Armenian and Arabic place names into Turkish.[158] Yet it is necessary to remark that the renamings through translation and analogy are very rare.

It is significant to underline that although it may not be too many quantitatively, sometimes the names that explicitly indicated the religious, political and ethnic dynamics of the dominant political regime were given to the settlements, particularly in the Kurdish populated regions and formerly Christian zones of southeastern Turkey.

> In Diyarbakır for example, the name 'İslamköy', which obviously evokes a religious identity, had in fact been attached to a settlement in an area formerly inhabited by Christians (Armenians); the name of the model village 'Cumhuriyet' (administratively dependent on the province's central district) expresses republicanism; and 'Türkmen' (in the district of Çüngüs) arouses the idea of an ethnic identity in a region mainly inhabited by Kurds.[159]

Such particular names of *Islamköy* (Islam village), *Cumhuriyet* (Republican), and *Türkmen* (Turcoman) reveal the critical encounters between the state and the locals, and also the selective employment of memory politics. To be more concrete,

[158] Some examples of translation are as follows Şemsi-Güneşli, Telhınta-Buğdaytepe, Telanbar-Anbartepe, Telseyif-Kılıçlı, Tilesvet-Karatepe, Kebirkazani-Büyükkazanlı, Telşair-Arpatepe Some examples of analogy are as follows, Çinçiva-Şenyuva, Sehrince-Serince, Pervana-Pervane, Sakarsu-Şekersu, Melikşe-Melikşah.

[159] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People."

names that were contrary to the heterogeneous pasts of the localities were chosen by the bureaucrats as the imprints of the nation-state.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to underscore that in most cases arbitrary and dehistoricized places names, with no specific religious, ethnic or political references were chosen.[160] For instance, there are hundreds of *Tepeköy* (the hill village), one of the most popular arbitrary names, in the southeastern region. Jorgenden reasonably argues that these arbitrary names create "an unspecified sense of timelessness," as was discussed on theoretical grounds in the previous chapter.[161] In a nutshell, following the path of Anderson, it is possible to relate the sense of timelessness to the imagination or construction of homogenous nation in terms of modernization.[162] The encounters, appropriations and contestations over the place names will be discussed in much detail in the "Ethnographic Explorations" chapter.

The Renaming of Natural Topographies

In the current literature, there is a special emphasis on the renamed villages and hamlets; nevertheless, it is critical to study the renaming operations over natural places in order to sketch the broad framework and intrinsic aims of the policy. There are quite a few studies that investigate the figures and the distributions of "the changed settlement names," such as Tunçel, Öktem, Jorgenden and Sediyani, yet there is no such exemplary study on "the changed natural place names."[163]

[160] Such as Gerçeksırtı, Yazıdere, Ölçütepe, Sağlıkdağı, Durutepe, there are hundreds of instances that affirm the pattern of arbitrariness.

[161] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space Making People."

[162] Anderson, *Hayali Cemaatler*.

[163] Kerem Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint: Demographic Engineering amd the Change of Toponymes in Republican Turkey," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. 7 (2008); Kerem

Nonetheless, it is hard to realize the quantitative and analytical reading of the distribution of renamed natural places throughout the country considering the limited scope of this research. Therefore, I will evaluate the changes of natural place names through some specific samples that are chosen from a survey in the state archives for the period between 1962 and 1977.

It is plausible to state that the policy of changing natural place names was performed initially in the coastal regions of the country and aimed to efface the traces of the Greek past in the period under consideration. In 1962, 29 bay, cape and island names were changed in the gulf of Edremit. In 1965, 363 natural place names –mostly bays and capes- were changed on Bozcaada and İmroz islands.[164] In 1966, the process slowed down, as only 11 natural place names in Balıkesir, Bursa and Kırklareli were changed.[165] In the mid-1960s, reading through the samples, it is possible to claim that the renaming policy was applied to Greek names especially in the western coastal regions.

Nevertheless, at the end of 1960s, the focus of the policy in terms of natural places shifted to Kurdish names. For the three years period between 1969 and 1971, the policy of renaming natural places was performed without interruption. The Expert Commission focused on natural place names in the southeastern regions for

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Öktem, "Creating the Turk's Homeland: Modernization, Nationalism and Geography in Southeast Turkey in the late 19th and 20th Centuries," *Socrates Kokkalis Graduate Workshop* (2003); Joost Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People: The Spatial Design of Nation in Modern Turkey," *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. 10 (2009); Joost Jorgenden, "Yer Siyaseti: Türkiye Kürdistan'ında Devlet ve Toplumun Mekânsal Düzenlenişi," *Toplum ve Kuram*, no. 2 (2009); Harun Tunçel, "Renamed Villages in Turkey," *Fırat University Journal of Social Science*10, no.2 (2000); İbrahim Sediyani, *Adını Arayan Coğrafya* (İstanbul: Özedönüş Yayınları, 2009).

[164] BCA 030.11.1/291.15.18 (09 June 1962) and BCA 030.11.1/314.27.14 (17 September 1965). Such changes are Mavromati Burnu/Karagöz Burnu, Rovley Burnu/Korkut Burnu, Setistefenos Burnu/Kuş Burnu, Partice Tepesi/Aktepe (in Edremit); Ayadimitri Burnu/Çamlık Burnu, Palakar Tepesi/Yumruk Tepe (in Ayvalık); Kataşirona Deresi/Kargalı Dere, Ayaeleni/Teknecik Mevkii (in Çanakkale).

[165] BCA 030.11.1/319.22.17 (16 May 1966).

these years. Van (89), Hakkari (83), Artvin (49) and Bitlis (43) were the provinces that undergone the policy of renaming natural places most in 1969.[166] Among other provinces, natural place names were changed most in the provinces of Erzincan (19), Adana (18), Kayseri (17) and Antalya (15) in 1970.[167] In 1971, Erzurum (165), Bingöl (45), Sakarya (21) were the provinces in which the policy was applied the most.[168] The pace of the renaming policy in terms of natural places accelerated after the mid-1970s. In the second half of the 1970s, 279 names in Kütahya, and 267 names in Bursa were changed dramatically among other provinces.[169]

The aim of the policy of renaming natural topographies can be described as to wipe out the traces of Kurdish, Greek and Armenian past(s) between 1962 and 1977. The renaming of *Manyas Gölü* to *Kuş Gölü* (the bird lake) and *Apolyont Gölü* to *Ulubat Gölü* are particularly known instances of the period. Although most of the new names of natural places have an arbitrary nature, there are some examples with religious and ethnic connotations, such as the transformation of *Mırgi Dağı* into *Namaz* (i.e., Muslim prayer) *Dağı*, *Mijki Tepe* into *Namaz Tepe* in Cizre, Hakkari.

The Renaming of Towns and Cities

In addition to the renaming of villages and natural topographies, it is necessary to discuss the changes of town and city names, which is another neglected subject in the current literature. The renaming of towns and cities required the approval of the cabinet. Beginning especially from the second half of the 1930s, the

[166] BCA 030.11.1/345.27.1 (19 June 1969).

[167] BCA 030.11.1/355.30.17 (27 July 1970).

[168] BCA 030.11.1/369.45.15 (4 September 1971).

[169] BCA 030.11.1/449.29.7 (22 May 1977).

names of cities and towns were changed. The renaming operations in the early Republican period, particularly in the 1930s, are critical to understanding the initial motives and aims of the policy.[170] Considering the cities and towns, the names recalling the Ottoman regime and the names with non-Turkish ethnic connotations were eliminated in the 1930s. The changes in the early period were executed by the RPP cabinet with the approvals of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü.[171] Although the renaming operations in towns and cities were continued throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the scope of the policy extended with the establishment of the Expert Commission in 1957. Some known renaming examples for the period between 1950s and 1970s may be presented as follows:

1963, Seydiköy-Gaziemir (İzmir)
1963, Mizar-Uluyatır (Gaziantep)
1963, Dimetoka-Gümüşçay (Çanakkale)
1968, Şinek-Ataköy (Trabzon)
1971-Sağmacılar-Bayrampaşa (İstanbul)
1973, Karakulak-Otlukbeli (Erzincan)
1974, Büyükkabaca-Esendere
1975, Avcılar-Göreme (Nevşehir)[172]

In the technical sense, to change town and city names, the Local Administration office needed the opinion of the Council of State. Therefore, the justifications of the Council are very illuminating to understanding the perceptions behind the renaming policy. In 1975, the municipality of Selanikli (Aydın) was

[170] See BCA 030.18.1.2. folder in the Catalogue of Decisions of the Council of Ministers Some examples may be given as follows,
1931, Aziziye-Emirdağı (Afyon)
1933, Alaiye-Alanya (Antakya)
1934, Sultaniye-Karapınar (Konya)
1935, Bayazıt-Ağrı
1935, Gevar-Yüksekova (Hakkari)
1936, Pirkerkondu-Taşkend

[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid.

renamed Ataeymir. The Council of State, borrowing the local authorities' rationales, explained the reason for this change as follows:

> [The city council suggests that] the name of the municipality is not adopted by public...[it will be renamed] owing to the reasons that their ancestors came from the Aymur tribe of Oguzhan and the name of Selanikli might lead to the deceptive conclusions for the coming generations .[173]

From this official justification, it is possible to claim that the renaming policy was backed up by the official history narrative of the state, i.e. the Turkish History Thesis, therefore the new name was chosen in line with the official narrative. Especially, the specific reference to tribal descent from Central Asia illustrates the case. In addition, the old name *Selanikli* (the people of Salonica) refers to the "*dönme"* (the converted Muslim) migrants in the nationalist public perception, and therefore could not be approvable for the authorities. Thus, the policy strived to Turkify not only name but also dynasty with this particular renaming.

Some other recurring justifications of the Council of State for renamings are "to prevent confusions due to the similar place names," for instance, in order to differentiate names of *Çavuş* (the sergeant), *Çavuşçu* and *Çavuşçugöl* in Konya, and also "to purify contempting names," such as *Büyükkabaca* and *Gargara* (the gargle).[174]

Sometimes, the old town names were rendered back due to the apparent failure of the policy. In 1963, the name of *Ibradi*, which was most probably passed down from the Ancient era, was changed to *Aydınkent* (the enlightened city) in Antalya. However, upon the request of the Municipality Council the name of İbradi

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[173] BCA 030.18.01.02/331.31.8 (1975).
"Selanikli Belediye Meclisinin 10.06.1974 günlü toplantısında, belediyelerinin adının halk tarafından benimsenmemesi, atalarının Oğuzhan'ın oğullarının kabilesi olan Aymur Kabilesinden geldiği ve Selanikli isminin gelecek kuşakları yanıltıcı sonuçlara iteceği gerekçeleriyle Ataeymir olarak değiştirilmesinin kararlaştırıldığı..."

[174] BCA 030.18.01.02/357.53.10 (1974).

was given back in 1969. It was declared by the Council of State that the town had already been known as İbradi, despite the name change, throughout the country, and especially the new name was not acknowledged by the local people. Also was stated by the Council that the new name had led to complexities in the land registry and cadastre operations.[175] As a matter of fact, the justifications of Council not only reflect the issues related to the particular instances, but disclose more of the general drawbacks that arose from the renaming operations.

The Official Procedures and Mechanisms of the Renaming Policy

In simple terms, the renaming policy is carried out in three steps considering the agents involved in the operations: the proposal, the examination-execution, and the consent. Exploring through the decrees of the policy of renaming for the period between 1957 and 1978, it became clear that the proposals were brought into the agenda by the Cartography section of the Ministry of National Security. Yet after the mid-1960s, a Board of Professors in Ankara University began to make proposals for changing place-names, together with the Ministry of National Security. It is stated in the official decrees that these offices made a request "for changing the place names of the foreign root with the Turkish names."[176]

[175] BCA 030.18.01/02.232.28.14 (1968). It reads in Turkish as follows,
"*Aydınkent Belediye Meclisince 13.11.1968 tarihli toplantıda İçişleri Bakanlığının emriyle ismi Aydınkent olarak değiştirilen kasabalarının bütün yurtta İbradi olarak tanındığından, yeni ismin halk tarafından benimsenmemiş olduğu gibi tapu ve nüfus kayıtlarında da bir hayli yanlışlık ve düzensizliğe yol açacağından bahisle kasabanın isminin tekrar İbradi olarak değiştirilmesi...*"

[176] For instance, one of the proposal for renaming read as follows,
"*Balıkesir ili dâhilinde ve Edremit körfezinde bulunan tabii yer adları ile ilgili olarak, bu yerlerdeki Türkçe olmayan ada, körfez, koy, boğaz ve burun adlarının değiştirilmesi hususunda, Harita Genel Müdürlüğünce yapılan teklifler üzerine; mevzubahis tekliflerinde ekli listedeki yabancı ad taşıyan tabii yer adları; Bakanlıktan teşkil olunan İhtisas Komisyonunca, bu bölgeye air 1/25000 ölçekli paftalardan faydalanılmak suretiye, birer birer incelenerek değiştirilmiş ve İl İdaresi Kanununun 2. madde (e) fıkrasına göre gerekli işlemin tamamlanması ve kararın istihsali masadıyla da; mesele Balıkesir valiliğine intikal ettirilerek yetkili kurumlardan buna muvazi kararları alınmıştır.*

After receiving proposals, the Expert Commission (*Ad Değiştirme İhtisas Komisyonu*) handled the issue of the Turkification of place-names in the second step. It was apparently stated in the official documents that the Commission, which functions under the Provincial Administration of the Interior Ministry, was the competent authority of the policy. The Commission examined the relevant localities on maps scaled to 1/25,000. After the examination, the Commission changed "the foreign names" to their Turkish counterparts. Therefore, in broad terms, the Commission that operated under the Interior Ministry had the critical authority to execute the policy. The renaming operations of the Commission were justified legally with the second article of the Provincial Administration Law.

In the third step, the decision of renaming was sent to the relevant state offices for approval. The Provincial Administration Board and the Provincial Councils reviewed the decision of the Expert Commission and gave the necessary consent –in general, they conformed to the decisions of the Commission. At last, the decrees for the renamed places, especially for natural topographies, were sent for the approval of the Interior Minister, the Prime Minister and the President. In the period under investigation, Presidents Celal Bayar, Cemal Gürsel and Cevdet Sunay, Prime Ministers Adnan Menderes (Democrat Party), Ismet Inönü (Republican People's Party), Suad Hayri Ürgüplü (Justice Party) and Süleyman Demirel (Justice Party) were some of the politicians involved in the policy of changing place-names. In this point, it is necessary to stress that natural place-names, unlike the settlement names, were changed in clusters. It is discerned that the Expert Commission took the issue of

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Bakanlığımızca yapılan incelemede; Balıkesir ili dâhilinde ve Edremit körfezinde bulunan ve tabii yer adları cümlesinden olup Türkçe olmayan... ilişik listede yazılı ada, körfez, koy, boğaz, ve burun adlarının değiştirilmesi ve karşılarına yazılan Türkçe adlarla adlandırılması hususu; Harita Genel Müdürlüğünün teklifi; Bakanlık İhtisas Komisyonunun mütaalası ve Balıkesir yetkili kurullarının bununla ilgili kararları muvacehesinde yerinde görülmüş ve işlemi de İl İdaresi Kanunu hükümlerine uygun bulunmuş olduğundan ilişik kararı hazırlanmıştır. İçişleri Bakanlığı." BCA 030.11.1/291.15.18 (9 June 1962).

renaming natural topographies in consideration on the basis of provinces and worked on lists that contained hundreds of natural topographies.

Besides the declared objective of Turkification, the goal of the policy was also stated as toponymical standardization, especially by the Ministry of National Security in the official documents.[177] In the mid-1960s, the cartography section of the Ministry of National Security began to prepare new maps to NATO standards; hence the standardized Turkish place names requested for those maps.

The maps scaled 1/25,000 were employed for examining the localities prior to the renaming operation. However, especially starting from the 1970s, the examinations were conducted on maps scaled 1/100,000. It is possible to assert that the different scaled maps provided an opportunity to the Commission for more accurate and comparative examinations.

After the execution of the policy, the renamed places were to be published in the *Official Gazette* at short notice. Especially, the renamed natural topographies were published in the gazette. However, after the early 1970s, "the publication of these [Turkified] names in the Official Gazette was not necessitated."[178] The predicament of not publishing deserves critical attention, because it implies that the policy began to be conducted behind closed doors after the 1970s. The 1970 decree of renamings carried the title of "the secret."[179] "The secret" title of the decree coincided with the decision of not declaring the operations in public through the *Official Gazette*. It is possible to argue that efforts were made to carry out the

[177] The objective of Turkification is clearly stated in most of the documents as follows, *"yabancı kökten gelen tabii yer adlarının Türkçe adlarla değiştirilmesi," "Türkçe olmayan ve yabancı kökten geldiği tesbit edilen adların Türkçe adlarla değiştirilmesi…"*

[178] BCA 030.11.1/355.30.17 (1970)

[179] Ibid.

operations clandestinely – perhaps not to distract public attention and to avoid criticism – in this period.

Different from other settlement names, the city and town names were changed through the decisions of the Directorate of Local Administrations instead of Provincial Administrations in the Interior Ministry. This type of renamings first and foremost necessitated the consent of the Council of State. Before stating its opinion, the Council took the views of local authorities into consideration – involving the city councils and boards of governors. After the opinion of the Council of State, the Interior Ministry handled the issue and executed the protocols of the policy. Then, the cabinet investigated the specified rationales in the reports and approved the policy. The legal justification of changing city names was provided by the 9th article of the Municipality Law, numbered 1580. This article stated that "the renaming of a city [town] is carried through the decisions of city councils and board of governors, with the consent of Council of State, and [lastly] with the approval of the cabinet." It is necessary to underscore that the opinions and justifications of the Council of State was particularly critical on the issue as was discussed in the previous parts.

"The Expert Commission" under Close Scrutiny

The Expert Commission stopped its renaming operations several times and then began them again. Thereby, the discontinuities in the very process of operations may be attributed to the changing political actors and dynamics between the 1950s and the 1980s. It is not implausible to argue that different commissions with various incentives worked to change the place names in the period. In addition, although the

number of representatives as well as the roles of participating members/institutions changed frequently, the reasons behind these changes were not stated clearly.

Some officials of the Interior Ministry who were concerned about the intents of the Commission acknowledged that the bureaucrats involved in the renamings made "some mistakes." Especially, the Commission was criticized for the frequent renamings, as some places were even renamed more than once, and more significantly, the Commission was criticized because of the changes of place names with "authentic Turkish origin."[180]

It was explicitly stated by the Commission that the target of the policy was non-Turkish place names. Therefore, the essential rationales of renamings were, one the one hand, the Turkification of the territory, and on the other hand, the transformation of "a loose territory" into "the tangible homeland." That is to say, the renamings were critical "with respect to transforming the territory into the homeland," in the words of Kemal Gökçe, the undersecretary of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in the 1980s.[181]

The other aspect of the Commission that needs to be emphasized is that the renaming operations were performed very carefully. That is to say, the minute details were taken into account prior to the operations, considering that very detailed maps were used for examination (scaled 1/25,000). It is plausible to state that the attention of the Expert Commission on the details disclose the gravity of the subject. Also, the attentiveness of the Commission on the subject can be interpreted through the onsite examinations of the localities by the experts. The Commission in some cases did field work and onsite observations. Furthermore, the Commission took the reports of

[180] Republic of Turkey, *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri,* p. 5.

[181] Ibid., p. 7.

the Cartography section of Ministry of National Security into consideration in its operations. Thereby, the bureaucrats involved in renamings gathered "all sorts of stories" related to the particular localities. The attentiveness of the Commission on the issue also can be evaluated through the use of particular discourses, as the Commission claimed that it represented "the public sensibility" in many contexts.[182]

The other critical point that I would like to underline is the spatiotemporal politics that the Commission pursued in the very process of operations. The discursive reading of the decree that stated the formation of the Commission for the third time in 1983 may highlight the intrinsic ideas and values behind the operations. It is stated in this decree that the translation of place names from non-Turkish to Turkish would not be adopted, and "pronunciation similarities" that evoked in any way the old names would not be approved.[183]

It is plausible to argue that any fragments that recall the past cannot be approvable in the eyes of bureaucrats. Efforts were made to efface all mixed-heterodox temporal regimes, indeed any other than Turkishness, through renamings; although this aim could not be realized in practice. In this way, it is possible to claim that the bureaucrats aspired to establish the hegemonic spatio-temporal regime of Turkish ethno-centrism. The Commission, by renaming the places on the axis of Turkishness and sometimes on the axis of Sunni-Muslimhood, attempted discursively to create a homogenized space. In order to efface the heterodoxies,

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[182] "Ad Değiştirme Uzmanlar Kurulu Kuruluş, Görev ve Çalışma İlke ve Usulleri Hakkında Yönetmelik," *Resmi Gazete*, 21 February 1983.

[183] Ibid.

"Türkçe olmayan söylenişi, yapısı Türkçenin ses bilgisi kurallarına aykırı olan veya söyleniş yakınlığı nedeniyle karışıklığa yol açan, güzel bir anlam taşımayan ve halkın anlayışına aykırı, *duygularını inciten adlar değiştirilir…Yabancı yer adları Türk dilindeki karşılıkları verilmek suretiyle değiştirilemez…Yabancı yer adları değiştirilirken, söyleniş benzerliği ile değiştirilen eski adı anımsatacak adlar verilemez."*

sometimes the bureaucrats of renaming carefully examined the relevant localities and took a counter action to "the local stories."[184]

[184] The local stories, that I will often refer in this thesis denote to the all sorts of narratives, historical events, and antithetical moments in the localities that have been perceived by the state as in contrary to the "national interests."

CHAPTER IV

THE SYMPOSIUM ON TURKISH PLACE NAMES:

A DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE RENAMING PRACTICE IN TURKEY

> "Endeavouring...to decipher discourse through the use of spatial, strategic metaphors enables one to grasp precisely the points at which discourses are transformed in, through and on the basis of relations of power."
> Michel Foucault,
> *Power/Knowledge*, p. 70.

In September 11-13, 1984, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism organized a symposium on Turkish place names. In this symposium, 25 speeches were delivered, and the presentations of the symposium were published by the Ministry. Most of the participants of the symposium were academics, nevertheless, the representatives from the Interior Ministry and Ministry of National Security attended. What deserves special attention is that some members of the Expert Commission also participated in the symposium. The gravity of the issue of renaming and Turkifying places from the state's perspective was put forward, and the performance of the Expert Commission was evaluated. Also, the mechanisms and the principles of the renaming policy were discussed. It is not implausible to argue that this symposium can safely be regarded as an evaluation of the renaming policy which had been carried out as a systematic state project since the 1950s. For this critical symposium, Öktem states that "the everyday fascism of the military junta (after the coup d'état of September 12, 1980) and the hysteria of the participants left its mark on the conference proceedings, which resembled in content and language the 1933 First National History

Congress."[185] Therefore, in this part of the thesis, I will explore the themes and issues that came to the forefront in the Symposium on Turkish Place Names held in 1984 by performing a discursive analysis of the proceedings.

The very operations of the Expert Commission on the issue of renaming were criticized in national and international arenas, especially in the United Nations Commissions, and these criticisms led to controversies. For this reason, the members of the Expert Commission were called intentionally to the conference, as they were expected to shed light on the operations of the renaming. The General Director of the Provincial Administration, Fikri Gökçeer, who was also the supervisor of the Expert Commission, stated that the renamings were indeed very casual as such operations had been commonly performed "in many countries, particularly, on those close neighbours."[186] In a very similar fashion, the chairman of Turkish Geography Association, Prof. Cemal Arif Alagöz supported this argument: "The Armenians transformed our historical Revan into Yerevan. The names that were changed completely: Russians changed the name of Akmescid of Crimea to Simferepol, Greeks renamed Dedeağaç to Aleksandrapolis. We would certainly change some place names."[187]

The Turkification of place names was legitimated by comparing the project with the operations that had been carried out in other countries, especially with Greece and Armenia, which are "the historical enemies" of Turkey in the nationalist historiography. That is to say, efforts were made to justify the nationalist attitude of

[185] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

[186] Republic of Turkey, *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, p. 5

[187] Ibid., p. 22. [Emphasis added.]
"Bizim tarihi Revan'ımızı Ermeniler Yerevan şekline sokmuşlardır. Büsbütün değiştirilenler: Ruslar Kırım'daki Akmescid'i Simferepol, Yunanlılar Dedeağaç'ı Aleksandrapolis yapmışlardır. Bizim de elbette değiştirdiğimiz yer adları olacaktır."

the authorities over place names through the consideration of "other" nationalist projects.

In addition, the renaming places was normalized through the discourse of the "Turkish tradition." It was claimed that the Turks had a long history of state tradition, that they had established many states by transforming ordinary territories into the homeland. Thereby, the Commission's renaming operations were justified through the terms of the past. Kemal Gökçe, the undersecretary of Ministry of Culture and Tourism, said,

> Throughout history, Turkish society, which has established more than a hundred large and small states in various parts of the world – so as 16 of these states are the major ones- and created a high culture, *by giving new names* to the mountains, plains, rivers and streams that they come across in the large geographies they spread...felt the necessity of making these territories homeland.[188]

In the speeches of the symposium, first and foremost, the speakers attempted to justify how most of the place names in Turkey had authentic Turkish origins. It was asserted that the place names in Turkey had been inherited from the fatherland, Central Asia, as a consequence of the migrations of the Turks into Anatolia. It was claimed that even some place names had been named by the nomadic Oghuz clans, and had hitherto remained in their original forms. Associate Professor Bahaeddin Yediyıldız from Hacettepe University claimed that the names that had been inherited from ancient history and the Byzantine era were not more than 20 percent in sixteenth century Turkey. To be more concrete, Yediyıldız asserted that pre-Turkish or non-Turkish place names had been very rare in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods. He complained that some Western researchers overestimated the number of names

[188] Ibid., p.7. [Emhasis added.]
"Tarih boyunca dünyanın çeşitli bölgelerinde 16'sı büyük devlet olmak üzere irili ufaklı yüzden fazla devlet kuran ve üstün bir kültür yaratan Türk milleti, yayıldığı geniş coğrafyada karşılaştığı dağ, ova, nehir ve ırmaklara, kurduğu yerleşim merkezlerine yeni adlar vererek, buraları vatan haline getirmek ihtiyacını duymuştur."

inherited from ancient history. These "malignant researchers" claimed some authentic Turkish names were ancient-and-foreign.

Yediyıldız asserted that these vicious interpretations were "the product of the flawed and uncontrolled imagination of the Westerners."[189] In order to prove the Turkish origins of the place names in Anatolia, he examined the methods of place-naming in Turkey, reading through the relations between culture and nature. Yediyıldız asserted that some significant portion of the place names in Turkey were the names of Turkish-Oghuz clans, tribes and figures. For Yediyıldız, another widespread method in place naming was the employment of geographical features. Yediyıldız said,

> It is observed that the people, on the one hand, symbolize their sovereignty [over the nature and territory] by imprinting their own name and the collective character that they have shared with others on the land; on the other hand, they cannot avoid expressing the influences of the nature on them [in naming the places]...After migrating to Anatolia, Turks observed the natural surrounding in which they had begun to live. They recognized nature, then they tried to articulate...what they had seen in nature.[190]

Attempts were made to maintain the Turkishness of the place names and the historical legacy of the Turks in Anatolia through the relationships between the culture and nature. In other words, in the account of Yediyıldız, the historical legacy of the Turkish identity in Anatolia was attempted to be proved through a discursive frame that intermingled Turkish culture and Anatolian nature/geography.

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[189] Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, "Türkiye'de Yer Adı Verme Usulleri," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 29.

[190] Ibid., pp. 27-28.

"Görülüyor ki, insan bir taraftan kendi adını ve diğer insanlarla birleşen ortak şahsiyetini toprağa nakşederek onun üzerindeki hâkimiyetini sembolleştirirken, diğer taraftan da tabiatın kendisi üzerindeki etkisini dile getirmekten kaçınamıyor...Türkler Anadolu'ya geldikten sonra üzerinde yaşamaya başladıkları tabiatı gözlemlemişler ve onda keşfettiklerini kendi dilleriyle tasvir etmeye veya musikileriyle bestelemeye çalışmışlardır."

In parallel, Associate Professor Hilmi Karaboran investigated the methods of place-naming in Turkey. He indicated two major categories of place names: those related to the nature and the physical features of the geography, and those related to personal figures and communities. He stated that "the village and settlement place names that are affiliated with the Turks and Turcoman deserve special attention in order to highlight the near settlement history of Turkey."[191] Karaboran claimed that the place names were the only remaining imprints of the Turkish and Turcoman tribes that had migrated from the Central Asia. "The detection of these names," Karaboran said, "indicates the routes the Oghuz tribes of Central Asia pass through, spread and settle."[192]

It is necessary to underline that in many of the conference proceedings, as was clear in Karaboran's account, there was a special reference to the foundation myth of modern-national Turkey, i.e., the migrations of the Turks from the fatherland Central Asia. The references to the foundation myth reveal why the renaming policy was significant for the bureaucrats and what the related state authorities expected from the renaming operations.

Back to main discussion, both Yediyıldız and Karaboran investigated renaming methods and practices in terms of the relations between "Turkish culture" and "nature." They explicitly claimed that the Turkish names were "undetachable from the land," as the possession of the Anatolian geography by the Turkish ethnicity emerged as an inevitable outcome from this interpretation. That is to say, the Turkification of places through the employment of Turkish names was naturalized in this discursive framework. The other point that deserves critical attention is that, in

[191] Hilmi Karaboran, "Türkiye'de Mevkii Adları Üzerine Bir Araştırma," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 109.

[192] Ibid.

the speech of Karaboran, although the existence of Turkish ethnicity was historicized and naturalized, there was no mention of other ethnic communities that lived in Turkey.

In a very similar fashion, Professor Mehmet Eröz from Istanbul University discussed the methods of place-naming considering "the national cultural heritage" of Turkey. In the conference proceeding, Eröz claimed that Turkish populations had paid close attention to the issues of place-naming with "the attentiveness of a geographer" since the ancient times. "The authentic Turkish names" he said, "has lived in collective consciousness."[193] He put forward that in naming places, Turkish populations had acted in line with Turkish traditions. In retrospect, Turks named the places in which they lived according to the their clans and tribes, they used the names of the notable figures, they chose animal names with totemic meanings, and they used names from the fatherland (Central Asia) in naming the places in Anatolia. Yet, as a central argument, Eröz claims that most of the names that the Expert Commission had changed did indeed have Turkish origins. In his words, "while renaming the non-Turkish places, many Turkish place names were also victimized."[194] Besides the attempts to maintain the historical legacy of place names with Turkish origin, Eröz criticized the Commission for its operations:

> *There are a lot of people who want to take East Anatolia apart from us*. Whereas we have obliterated such old [i.e. historical] Turkish [place] names that can prove the Turkishness of these [relevant] places, and we instead bring rootless, ungrounded names. Although these new names are also Turkish, they carry the sin of the erasure of the past and they have no meaningful past. Here, I will just mention some of the thousands of changed village names with Turkish origins…Although it is necessary to change some province and district names of non-Turkish origin, especially Isparta and Antalya, we cannot understand the meaning of dealing with *village names that carry the*

[193] Mehmet Eröz, "Sosyolojik Yönden Türk Yer Adları," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 43.

[194] Ibid.

> *Turkish imprint.* While the partisans of Urartu and Hitit try to revitalize Kapadokya, Didim, Priyen, Efes, Side and Aspendos; we [as a matter of fact] carry out this task and prepare a title deed for [the revitalization of] the Byzantine.[195]

Although the Commission aimed for the Turkification of the place names and the territory, the operations of renaming had served to some extent to the contrary. Many nationalist participants of the symposium criticized the Commission for its inaccurate operations. However, as stated above, different commissions with various political agendas functioned in the period between 1957 and 1978; therefore, it is not clear which commissions or which moments were criticized by nationalist participants. Yet it is necessary to state that the commissions that operated in the Democrat Party and Justice Party periods implicitly were charged for their "flawed decisions."

More significantly, in many of the accounts of the symposium, the place-naming issue was considered an integral part of "the national security." Similar to the Sevres Syndrome, the critical importance of place-naming issue for the bureaucrats was due to the policy's relation to "the national interests."[196] As an intrinsic part of the national security discourse, it was claimed by the nationalist participants of the symposium that the non-Turkish place names served in contrary to "the national interests" and might led to "the partition of the country." Therefore, the renamings of

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[195] Ibid., p.44.[Emphasis added.]

"Doğu Anadolu'yu bizden koparmak isteyenler pek çok. Biz ise, oraların Türklüğüne delil olacak pek eski Türkçe kelimeleri yok etmiş, yerlerine köksüz, temelsiz isimler getirmişiz. Bu yeni kelimeler de Türkçe olmakla beraber eskinin yok edilişinin vebalini taşımakta ve manalı bir geçmişe sahip bulunmamaktadırlar. Türkiye çapında değiştirilen birkaç bin öz Türkçe köy adından burada sadece birkaç yüzüne dokunacağız…Isparta, Antalya başta olmak üzere, Türkçe asıldan gelmeyen birçok il ve ilçe adının değiştirilmesi gerekirken, Türk'ün damgasını köy adları ile uğraşmanın manasını bir türlü anlıyamıyoruz. Urartu'cular, Hitit'ciler, Kapadokya'ları, Didim'leri, Priyen'leri, Efes'leri, Side'leri, Aspendos'ları diriltmeye çalışırken, bu işi tamamlıyor ve Bizans'a tapu hazılıyoruz."

[196] Sevr syndrome, that is used widely in academic circles of Turkey, signifies the interest-based relationships of Turkey especially with Western countries. The threat of the partition of the country and the critical importance of the national interests are the underpinning fragments of Sevr syndrome. This concept is composed in reference to Sevres Treaty of 1920.

"the authentic Turkish place names" encountered harsh criticism in the symposium. At this point, it is possible to state that the selective memory politics of bureaucrats involved in renaming operations served not only the creation of a "homogenous territory," but also the formation of "the secured national territory."

In a similar vein, Eröz claimed that in the Soviet Union countries the ethnic names such as Kazak, Kirgiz and Uzbek had come to the forefront, and therefore ethnic nationalisms had emerged. As a result, the Central Asian populations had forgotten their Turkishness. The identity politics of the Soviets for Eröz undermined the Turkish affinities of the populations of Central Asia and served contrary to the national interests of the Republican Turkey.[197] Not only inside the country but also abroad, the names, identities and places mainly were discussed in relation to the national security discourse by the nationalist participants.

Karaboran criticized the renaming operations of the Commission, especially considering the change of place names with "authentic Turkish origins," because the changes of place names after a while would prevent the studying of historical geography of Turkey. Karaboran stressed the significance of the issue by interpreting the place names as signs of "the geography of historical-genetic settlement."[198] It is not implausible to state that Karaboran strived to prove the historical legacy of Turkish identity through the place names, involving even biological/racial justifications.

The account of Lieutenant Salih Orcan, the director of the Cartography General Command, in the symposium was particularly illuminating in explaining the logic and the mechanisms of the renaming project. In the proceeding, he emphasized

[197] Eröz, p. 44.

[198] Karaboran, p. 144.
"…tarihi genetik yerleşme coğrafyası araştırmasına konu teşkil eden…"

the necessity of the standardization of geographical place names. He indicated that at the Geneva Conference of the United Nations in 1967 the member states had been held responsible for the inter-national standardization of geographical names. In principle each country was to establish national commissions for standardization. The formation and operation of the Expert Commission thereby had been backed up by the international standards and necessities. Orcan stated that some of the declared objectives of standardization or renaming policy were as follows,

> "To follow and enable the efforts of the Turkification of geographic, civil and cultural names in Turkey"
> "To accomplish the standardization of [place] names that concerned Turkey and her neighbor countries"
> "To make the conclusions of the international studies on place names, which direcly or indirectly concerns Turkey, proper to the national interests"
> "To make international efforts for rectifying the unfavorable assertions of foreign and other place names that are claimed to be existent in Turkey by the foreign media." [Most probably, "Kurdistan" was one of them.]
> "To make correction and standardization of local publications that were incompatible with the Turkish [history] thesis."[199]

In order to achieve these declared objectives, Orcan proposed the constitution of a Council of Geographical Place Names of Turkey, instead of the former commissions, and by extending their very operations. He argued that the renaming policy was not only about language or geography, but also related to international relations. It is plausible to decipher that the "standardization" discourse signified the homogenization of language and geography in this account. In addition to the

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[199] Salih Orcan, "Toponomi, Coğrafi Yer Adları Standardizasyonu'nun Milli ve Milletlerarası Önemi," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara, 1984), p. 59.

> *"Türkiye'ye ait coğrafik, mülki, kültürel adların Türkçeleştirilmeleri çalışmalarını izleyerek, tamamlanmalarına yardımcı olmak*
> *Türkiye ve komşularıyla ilgili müşterek özelliklerin, adlarının standartlaştırma çalışmalarında olumlu sonuçlar almak*
> *Bu konuda yapılan uluslarası çalışmalara direkt veya dolaylı olarak Türkiye'yi ilgilendirecek kararların, ulusal çıkarlarımız ve olanaklarımıza uygun olmasını sağlamak*
> *Yabancı basında, Türkiye'de varolduğu gösterilen yabancı adların ve diğer adların sakıncalı açıklamalarının düzeltilmesini sağlayacak uluslarası girişimlerde bulunmak*
> *Türk tezi ile bağdaşmayan yerli yayınların düzeltilmesini ve yeknesaklığını sağlamak."*

declared objective of standardization, it is necessary to underline that the place names, in this account, were considered once again an issue of national security.

Tuncer Gulensoy, Associate Professor from Fırat University, discussed the methods of place-naming in the regions of Elazığ, Bingöl, and Tunceli. He stated that the places names with Arabic, Persian, Syrian, Greek, Armenian and Russian origins had been Turkified in those regions by the Commission. Nevertheless, Gülensoy indicated that, besides the non-Turkish place names, "the authentic Turkish names" also were changed. He said, "instead of the place-names that had been derived from Turkish tribes, ancestors, clans and associations…sometimes senseless and sometimes inconsistent names had been given."[200] What deserves critical attention is that the historical narrative of Gülensoy carried tones similar to those of the narrative of the Turkish History Thesis.

> In 216 A.D. the Khazar and Barsu people, and in the mid fifth century the Akuns –who are described as Ekrâd-ı bilâ-sükkân according to Arabian resources, Mugan Kurds or Turcomans according to Khorezm resources- settled in eastern Anatolia. Eastern Anatolia, that was Turkified step by step as result of the Malazgirt glory of 1071, reinforced with the Oghuz-Turcoman tribes…with the settlement policies of Yavuz Sultan Selim against Şah Ismail and the Shi'as in the sixteenth century. Initially, these tribes settled in the regions of Viranşehir, Varto, Muş, Hınıs, Eleşkirt, Patnos, Ağrı, Erciş, Van; however, they migrated to the regions of Tunceli, Bingöl and Elazığ and persisted in those regions until recently…A great deal of Oghuz-Turcoman tribes, *which are genuinely Turkish and their Turkishness is beyond any doubt at all*, sometimes forgot their genuine language of Turkish, and sometimes used the dialects of Kurmanc or Zaza -that are the spoken languages of the region and more than 70 percent of them are indeed Turkish.[201]

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[200] Tuncer Gülensoy, "Elazığ, Bingöl ve Tunceli İlleri Yer Adlarına Bir Bakış," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara, 1984), p. 149.

[201] Ibid., p. 151. [Emphasis added.]

"M.S. 216 yıllarında Hazarlar ve Barsulular; V. Yüzyıl ortalarında da, Arap kaynaklarının Ekrad-ı bila sükkân, Harezm kaynaklarının da Mugan Kürtleri veya Türkmenleri adını verdikleri Akunlar Doğu Anadolu'da yurt tutmuşlardır… 1071 Malazgir zaferinden sonra adım adım Türkleşmeye başlayan Anadolu'nun doğusu, XVI. Yüzyılda Yavuz Sultan Selim'in Şah İsmail ve Şialığa karşı uyguladığı iskân politikası neticesinde… Oğuz-Türkmen aşiretleriyle daha da güçlendirilmiştir. Bu aşiretler önce Viranşehir, Varto, Muş, Hınıs, Eleşkirt, Patnos, Ağrı, Erciş, Van yörelerine yerleştirilmişse de zamanla Tunceli, Bingöl ve Elazığ yörelerine göçerek yerleşik ya da yarı göçebe olarak günümüze kadar varlıklarını sürdürmüşlerdir… Özbeöz Türk olan ve

Gülensoy attempted to prove the historical legacy of the Turkish ethnic identity in eastern Turkey. Thus, he asserted that the Kurdish people had indeed Turkish origins. Similar to the Turkish History Thesis, i.e., the nationalist historiography of Turkey, he claimed that the Kurdish people had forgotten their Turkish identity, especially as a result of the deterioration of the Turkish language that they had used. In addition, he argued for the Turkish origin of the Kurmanc and Zazaki dialects of Kurdish, and thus attempted to prove the Turkish origin of Kurdish place names. Not surprisingly, the historical existence of the Kurdish ethnic identity or language more or less was denied by Gülensoy. Although he sometimes referred to the Kurmanc and Zazaki languages, which were said to be deteriorated dialects of Turkish, he never used the term Kurds or Kurdish in his speech. For instance, Gülensoy claimed that the place-name *Kürman*, which was renamed Yelesen later, was "precisely Turkish." He did, however, acknowledge that "kür" means "deep" in the Kurmanc dialect. Gülensoy evidently made some misreadings of the place-names in order to prove "the eternal existence of Turkish names."

The speech of Dursun Yıldırım, Associate Professor in the Faculty of Literature of Ankara University, is important to understanding the consideration of place names through the nationalist sentiments, and nationalist spatial perceptions of the state. Yıldırım argued that the homeland was not "solely a piece of land," but a "sacred territory...created by the people."[202] What made the homeland was the "Turkish culture [that] tells us who we are and distinguishes us from the others."[203]

Tüklüklerinden zerre kadar şüphe edilmeyen pek çok Oğuz-Türkmen aşireti birkaç yüzyıl içerisinde bazen öz dilleri olan Türkçeyi unutmuşlar, bazen de hem Türkçe hem de yörede konuşulan ve % 70'den fazlası Türkçe olan Kürmaç ve Zaza ağızlarını kullanmışlardır."

[202] Dursun Yıldırım, "Coğrafya'dan Vatan'a Geçiş ve Vatan ile Göç Ediş Problemi," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 157.

[203] Ibid.

In line with Ziya Gökalp, the influential theorist of the Turkish nationalism, Yıldırım argued Turkish identity through national culture. Although he did not explain what the national culture stood for or how it had been composed, by considering the Turkish culture as essential and generic entity, he followed a constructionist and to some extent culturalist perspective. Yıldırım argued,

> In the relationship between human beings and natural-environment/territory, the concept of *homeland* emerges through the process[es] of the making the livable environment, the *culturalization* and *disciplining* [of the territory]…[the territory] attains an *identity*, and obtains a name. These operations for human beings make the territory attain degree of *sacredness*. The *boundaries* are designated, and measures are taken in order to protect the territory from the invasion ["tecavüz"] of other groups. The operations[s] of the cultivation, the marking and the naming of the territory have been carried throughout the generations. Each generation, besides maintaining the inheritance of the ancestors, endeavors to contribute to these operations.[204]

As is clearly stated in the paragraph, the re-naming issue was interpreted as a culturalization and disciplining technique. To speak theoretically, the strategy of place-naming was an integral part of the processes of nationalization -gaining the territory an identity and character ("sacredness"). Also, the place naming from the nationalist perspective can be considered as a technique of governmentalization.[205] In line with these theoretical remarks, Yıldırım explained in detail the necessary steps to construct or imagine the national territory. Within this discursive frame, the functions of the place-names were explicit; they were deeds, titles and "imprints of the nation."

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[204] Ibid., p.161. [Emphasis added.]

"İnsan grubu ile çevre/tabiat ortamı/toprak parçası/ilişkisinde, çevrenin insan eliyle yaşanır hale getirilmesi, kültürleştirilmesi, terbiye edilmesi süreci tamamlandığında ortaya "vatan" mefhumu tam olarak, bütün grubu kucaklayacak biçimde oluşarak çıkar…bir "benlik" kazanır, bir ad alır. İnsan grubu için bütün bu işlemler, toprağı "mukaddes"lik mertebesi kazandırır. Hudutları belirlenir, başka grupların tecavüzünden korumak için tedbirler alınır. Toprağı işleme, işaretleme ve isimlendirme işlemi nesiller boyu sürüp gider. Her nesil, ecdaddan kalanı devam ettirmenin yanı sıra, bu işlemlere yenilerini katmağa çalışır."

[205] See the theoretical discussions in the Introduction chapter.

For Yıldırım, the place-names prove the eternal existence of the Turkish identity and show that "the territory belongs to us."[206] The place names turn into the apparent political symbols of the Turkish nation in the speech of Yıldırım. "Through naming [the places]," said Yıldırım "the Turks registered the territory with a title deed to themselves."[207] Yıldırım argued that place-names were the signs of the nearly thousand-year old existence of the Turks in Anatolia and Rumelia, and thus the guarantee of the Turkish ownership of the country for the future. By studying Turkish place-names, Yıldırım asserted, it was possible to argue against "the [hostile] historical claims…that are used as propaganda materials" over the Turkish territory.

The other salient theme in the account of Yıldırım was "the state tradition of Turks." Yıldırım argued that the Turkish state tradition and state capacity as follows,

> The expansion demands of human beings to other territories bring about another factor: To govern all over the globe and the desire to rule over the ethnic communities of the four *bulung*. And this factor is related to the culture and life style of the ethnic group. This mentioned factor is present in all ethnic groups as *ide*. Nevertheless, the ones who realize this desire are rare on the scene of history. The Turks are one of these rare ethnic groups that has governed the tribes of four *bulung* for a long time.[208]

Describing the Turkish state craft and the art of governmentality, Yıldırım explicitly referred to the Gokturk inscriptions. On the east side of the Gokturk inscriptions, it is stated that "all four sides ["bulung"] are surrendered by the enemies, and [Turks] conquered all the populations in all sides and made them

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[206] Ibid., p. 164.
"Çünkü yer adları, onu yaratan ve kullanan etnik grup için mukaddesleştirdiği ve vatan tuttuğu toprağın tapu senetleri yahut tapularıdır."

[207] Ibid., p. 165.

[208] Ibid., p. 161. [Emphasis added.]
"İnsan / gruplarının diğer alanlara yayılma arzusu karşımıza bir faktör daha çıkarır: Cihana hükmetme, dört "bulung"daki etnik grupları idare etme arzusu. Bu faktör de, etnik grubun kültürü / yaşayış tarzı ve dünyaya bakış açısıyla ilgilidir. Sözü geçen faktör de ide olarak her etnik grupta mevcuttur. Ancak, bunu gerçekleştirenler, tarih sahnesinde parmakla sayılacak kadar azdır. Türkler, dört "bulung"daki kavimleri uzun zaman yöneten nadir etnik gruplardan biridir."

subjects."[209] Also, borrowing the tools of psychology, he explained the colonial desire as *ide* ["id"]. Through this discursive frame, Yıldırım naturalized and culturalized the attempts of colonization. For him, all ethnic communities had some expansionist, imperial and colonial characteristics, and Turks were one of the most successful ones. Although it is not very clear why Yıldırım eagerly argued for colonialism and imperialism, the critical juncture was the emphasis put on the historical justification of the Turkish expansion attempts, through the naturalization and culturalization discourses.

In order to manifest the historical legacy of the Turkish ethnic identity, Cemil Güzelbey, a researcher of folklore, argued for the traditional aspect of place-naming among tribal Turks. He said, "our ancestors put the names of their tribes, their tribal leaders and the names from the old lands [i.e., Central Asia] in various parts of the new country, where they have settled as a result of the migrations from the Father Land."[210] According to him, place-naming was nothing but a critical issue of the Turkish tradition. Following through the traditions of place naming in Turkish tribes, Güzelbey, in parallel with many other participants of the symposium, strived to maintain the historical depth of the Turkish ethnic identity in Gaziantep. Therefore, the major question what is at stake was, "since when was the province of Gaziantep Turkish, and when were the Turkish place-names given [in the province]?"[211] He narrated the history of place names in Gaziantep in line with the approach of the Turkish History Thesis. For him, although the Turkish people had immigrated to

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[209] *"Tört bulung kop yağı ermiş. Sü sülepen tört Başlıgıg yükündürmiş. Tizligig sökürmiş."* In Turkish, reads as follows, *"Dört taraf hep düşman imiş. Ordu sevk ederek dört taraftaki milleti hep almış, hep tabi kılmış."*

[210] Cemil Güzelbey, "Gaziantep'te Türk Topluluklarının Adlarını Taşıyan Yerler," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara, 1984), p. 169.

[211] Ibid., p. 170.

Anatolia and thus Gaziantep before the Common Era, the Turkification of Gaziantep had been realized as a result of the "Glory of Malazgirt" in 1071. Güzelbey claimed that he had detected the authentic Turkish origin of place-names that had remained from the thirteenth century in Gaziantep. He said,

> In Gaziantep, the Armenian minority had lived before the First World War. I found only four Armenian names in my long lasting investigations about the place names around the province. And this is *Hayık*, who is claimed to be the ancestor of Armenians. The people of Gaziantep used this name as *Heyik*. They [i.e. the people of Gaziantep] call Armenians *Hey*, which is probably about this name. [Other names are *Hayık Müslüman*, *Hayık İmyan*, *Hayık Baba* and the village of *Hayık*.]…Although the Kurdish people also lived in the province and of its surrounding, the Kurdish place names are very rare, as being insignificant. It is understood that the detected ones [i.e. the Kurdish names] indeed have Turkish origins. In principle, it was found scientifically that the Kurdish people had originated from a tribe that carries Turkish blood.[212]

Similar to many other commentaries of the symposium, the Armenian and Kurdish pasts were denied through the place-names by Güzelbey. Also, the place names were interpreted by Güzelbey as political symbols and the imprints of the nation. As is illustrated in the paragraph above, it is claimed that the number of non-Turkish place names was insignificant in the region. Through this discursive frame, the non-Turkish pasts and the existence of the Kurdish/Armenian ethnic identities were denied, and the eternal existence of Turkish identity in the region was claimed. Nevertheless, Güzelbey was unable to abstain from giving the Kurdish place names in his account such as Kürttepe and Araptar. In addition, in order to maintain the Turkish origin of place-names, Güzelbey sometimes raised unjustified arguments, such as claiming Inkilap ["Revolution"] was the name of a Turkish tribe.

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[212] Ibid., p.171.
"Gaziantep'te Birinci Dünya Savaşından önce bir Ermeni azınlığı yaşardı. Yer adları hakkındaki yıllar süren araştırmalarımda il çevresinde yalnız dört Ermeni adı tesbit ettim. Bu da ataları olduğunu ileri sürdükleri Hayık'tır. Antepliler sözcüğü Heyik olarak kullanırlardı. Ermenilere Hay derlerdi ki bununla ilgili olsa gerektir... Kentimiz ve il çevresinde yaşayan Kürtler de bulunmasına rağmen, hemen hemen Kürtçe adlar da yok denecek kadar azdır. Bulunanların da Türkçe kökenli olduğu anlaşılıyor. Esasen Kürtlerin Türk kanı taşıyan bir oymaktan geldikleri artık bilimsel olarak ortaya çıkmıştır."

By following micro perspectives, Mecdi Emiroğlu, Professor from the Faculty of Letters History and Geography of Ankara University, investigated the place-names in the province of Bolu. Emiroğlu argued that the region had been Turkified and the Turkish names had been given in the eleventh century – as a result of the Malazgirt victory. He claimed that the locals had adopted the old names; in other words, most of the names had been "indigenized" by the Turkish people.[213] Emiroğlu argued that before the migrations of the Oghuz Turks, the region had been empty or had very few settlements. Thereby, the place names that had originated from the Oghuz Turks remained in original forms today in Bolu. Emiroğlu claimed that 70 percent of place names –villages, districts, and etc. – had been inherited from the Oghuz Turks in the region.[214] Like many other commentators, he sought to prove that the province of Bolu was an historical property of Turkish ethnicity, by instrumentally discussing the place names. The account of Emiroğlu also successfully disclosed the nationalist sentiments and perceptions widespread among the participants. He said,

> With the War of Independence of Turkey and in the following Republican era -and thus with the maintenance of the national unity and integrity- we observe that the various and multifaceted social, cultural and economic developments reflected into the language and also into the place-names. We realize that a lot of place-names of foreign origin have been changed through the incursion of genuine Turkish language that had been started by the Great Atatürk. Thereby, through changing the place-names of migrants and ethnic groups that are considered to be minority by surrounding people[i.e. inhabitants of the region], the difference that might lead to *the separatism due to the external influences* has been eliminated.[215]

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[213] Mecdi Emiroğlu, "Bolu Yöresi Yer Adları," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 182.

[214] Ibid., p. 187.

[215] Ibid., p. 190. [Emphasis added.]
"Türkiye'nin Kurtluş savaşı ve onu izleyen Cumhuriyet dönemi ile yani milli birlik ve bütünlüğün sağlanmasıyle çeşitli ve çok yönlü sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik gelişmenin dile, dolayısıyle yer adlarına da yansıdığını görmekteyiz. Dilimizde Büyük Atatürk'ün başlattığı öz Türkçe akını ile yabancı kökenli pek çok yer adının değiştirildiğini görmekteyiz. Özellikle çevre halkının

The issue of renaming was considered in the context of "national unity and integrity," in parallel with the recurrent nationalist discursive framework. The aim of the renaming policy was stated explicitly as the effacement of foreign place names, since it is thought by Emiroğlu that the place names of non-Turkish origin might pave the way to "separatism."

Orhan Şaik Gökyay, a famous poet and linguist in the 1980s, brought a new horizon to the symposium by discussing the much neglected subject of the place-naming methods in the Ottoman era. His perspective is peculiar compared to the recurrent themes of the symposium. It is possible to argue that the discursive framework of Gökyay was contrary to the nationalist perceptions of the symposium and the goals of the Turkish History Thesis, which in simple terms recommemorated the settlement of Turks in Central Asia and decommemorated the Ottoman past. Although Gökyay renounced the hegemonic nationalist perspective widespread in the symposium, by following the lines of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis, he glorified the place-naming methods and practices of the Ottomans. He said, "our ancestors and our people followed a tangible path in the past [in naming the places]…it is necessary to take into consideration that all the place-names were "*ismiyle müsemma"* [i.e., convenient and recursive names]".[216] He also reminded that there had been some failures in place-naming in the past, giving two grave examples of name changes that had not been acknowledged in public: Efforts had been made to rename the city of Salonika *Ka'be-i Hürriyet* (the center of liberty) and *Mehd-i*

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azınlık sayarak Türk kökenli göçmenlere ve etnik gruplara taktıkları adlarında değiştirilmek suretiyle dış etkilerle bölücülüğe neden olabilen bu ayrıma son verilmiştir."

[216] Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Türkçe Yer Adlarında Kişilerin ve Olayların Payı," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 256.

Hürriyet by the Committee of Union and Progress.[217] For Gökyay, these proposals had failed.

Yücel Özkaya, Associate Professor from the Faculty of Letters, History and Geography at Ankara University, was another rare figure at the conference who investigated the place-names of the eighteenth century Ottoman state. Özkaya argued that the current place names were adapted versions of the pre-eighteenth century names. In other words, he suggested that the Turkish versions of place-names per se had been adapted by the public. He exemplified the juncture by indicating the adaptation of Niğde/Nakita/Nahita, and Kayseri/Kaisareai.[218] The account of Özkaya reminds us that it is necessary to distinguish the names that were adapted in historical processes –through the public will- from the names that had been changed by the bureaucrats –through the nationalist perspectives. Nonetheless, Özkaya sometimes resorted to nationalist perspectives explaining the adaptation processes. He said,

> [Some adaptations are natural, such as] the adaptation of *Çankırı* instead of *Kankırı*, and *Kayseri* instead of *Kayseriyye*. However, it is not proper for the nascent society of Anatolia to acknowledge *the leftover names of Byzantines*. If we consider that this act is in contrary to [the feelings of] the people and the fabric of society, [we can understand that] the changes Turkish people made [on place-names] in accordance with their experiences, customs and traditions are natural.[219]

As is indicated, Özkaya claimed that the changing of the "leftover names" of non-Turkish origin was necessary and natural for establishing a nascent society, which was dominantly Turkish.

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[217] Ibid.

[218] Yücel Özkaya, "18.Yüzyılda Orta Anadolu'daki Bazı Kaza ve Mahalle Adlarındaki Değişiklikler," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 233.

[219] Ibid., p.239. [Emphasis added.]
"Kankırı'nın Çankırı, Kayseriyye'nin Kayseri olması gibi. Ancak, Anadolu'da oluşan yeni toplumun Bizans artığı isimleri olduğu gibi alması doğru olmazdı. Bunun insanların ve insanlığın bünyesine uygun düşmeyen bir hareket olacağı düşünülürse, Türk halkının kendi yaşantısı, örf ve adetleri doğrultusunda yaptığı değişiklikler doğaldır."

Refet Yinanç, Associate Professor of Education from Gazi University, made a striking start in his speech. He explained the Turkification of places and place-names in eastern Turkey, that heavily involved Kurdish and Armenian populations at the turn of the century, as follows,

> The Eastern part is the first region of Anatolia that was conquered and Turkified by the Turks. This region was devoid of population prior to the Turkish conquest, because *the Armenians of the eastern Anatolia had been deported by the Byzantines (Greeks).* Soon after the Victory of Malazgirt, the Turkish population was settled in the conquered eastern Anatolia. As the new Turkish villages and towns were established, Turkish names were given to the newly founded district...This case was the natural result of the Turks being the dominant population [in the region].[220]

The territories of eastern Anatolia in this historical narrative are introduced as having been a *tabula rasa* before the Turkish settlements. Therefore, the establishment of the Turkish identity in the region was rendered as a fresh start of a nation on "no one's land." Also, in this narrative, the Malazgirt victory was depicted as the *terminus a quo* (starting point) for the nation; that is to say, eastern Anatolia witnessed the birth of a Turkish nation. It is necessary to make some clear remarks on this historical narrative. Through the discourse of "a birth of a nation," Yinanç abstained from the crimes, massacres and deportations committed against the Armenians at the turn of the century, as it was claimed that the Byzantines had been in charge of the Armenian deportations. Within this framework, the Turkish ownership of the eastern territories was normalized and naturalized.

Also, Yinanç presented the results of his research on the names of the neighborhoods of eastern Anatolia in the sixteenth century. His remarks and

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[220] Refet Yinanç, "16. Yüzyılda Doğu Anadolu Şehirlerinin Mahalle Adları," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 225. [Emphasis added.]

"Anadolu'nun Türkler tarafından ilk fethedilen ve Türkleştirilen bölgesi Doğu Anadolu'dur. Türk fethinden önce Doğu Anadolu'daki Ermeni halkı, Bizanslılar (Rumlar) tarafından tehcir edildiğinden bu bölge adeta nüfustan hâlî kalmıştı. Malazgirt Zaferi'nden hemen sonra tamamen ele geçirilen Doğu Anadolu'ya Türk halkı iskân edildi. Yeni yeni Türk köyleri ve kasabaları teşekkül ederken mevcut şehirlerde de yeni kurulan mahalleler gibi eski mahallelere de Türkçe adlar verildi. Bu husus nüfus bakımından hâkim unsurun Türk olmasının tabii bir neticesi idi."

conclusions deserve special attention. Yinanç stated that 40 out of 124 neighborhoods in six major provinces of eastern Anatolia had the names of mosques and masjids. He argued that this juncture exemplified the widespread "characteristic of the Turkish-Islamic towns."[221] Therefore, on the one hand, by rendering the invisibility of the Armenians in eastern Turkey and denying implicitly the existence of the Kurdish ethnic populations, and on the other hand, by propounding the Turkish-Islamic patterns of the eastern regions, Yinanç strived to justify the Turkish-ownership of the territory from a historical perspective. The place names were no more than political symbols and the nation's imprints in his justification.

Tuncer Baykara, Associate Professor of Literature from Hacettepe University, claimed that the place-names in Turkey carried the traces of the migrations of Turks from Central Asia.[222] He suggested conducting historical research in order to find parallel names between the Central Asia and Anatolia. In this way, the descent of the Turkish place-names could be understood and the historical existence of the Turks in Anatolia could be maintained. Reading through some place-names of Turkistan, Baykara attempted to find the commonalities and correspondences in languages and cultures. The myth of Turkish History Thesis, i.e., the migrations from the fatherland Central Asia embarked upon the place-names, and the place names had evolved into the political and cultural tools of the imagination of the Turkish nation in Baykara's account. In a nutshell, Baykara attempted to find genuine roots of Turkish place names.

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[221] Ibid., p. 232.
"Türk-İslam şehirlerinin karakteristik özelliği, mahallelerin cami ve mescidlerin etrafında teşekkül etmesidir."

[222] Tuncer Baykara, "Anadolu Yer Adlarının Ortaasya'daki Benzerleri Üzerine Bir Kaynak," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), pp. 265-273.

During the symposium, some project proposals were brought forward. Doğan Aksan, Professor from the Faculty of Letters, History and Geography at Ankara University, suggested preparing a *Dictionary of Anatolian Place Names* in order to transcend the conflicts related to place-names, as many participants of the symposium recognized the renamings had led to some complexities and conflicts. For this dictionary, Aksan proposed to investigate four clusters of place-names: "Turkish place names outside the Anatolia," "Turkish place names inside the Anatolia," "the internalized [indigenized] place names in Anatolia," "the forgotten, foreign [non-Turkish] place names in Anatolia"[223]

The proposed categories of the place-names that would be subject to future investigations deserve critical attention, since first and foremost, it was ascertained that the aim of the future research was to find out the place names of Turkish origin, as the Turkish place names were thought to be political symbols that verified the Turkish title of Anatolia. It is more striking that the last two items of the proposed research implied the nationalist perceptions over the issue of place-names, as was asserted that there had to be two types of non-Turkish place names in Turkey: the internalized ones and the forgotten ones. From the nationalist point of view, the existent names of non-Turkish ethnicities were not acknowledged.

Nail Tan, head of the Bureau of National Folklore Research, whose representative participated in the Expert Commission, argued that the issue of place-names was a question of "the national culture."[224] Tan asserted that some failures had been occurred in re-naming operations. He claimed that debates and conflicts on the

[223] Doğan Aksan, "Türk Yer Adları Konusunda Bir Proje Önerisi," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara, 1984), pp. 275-278.

[224] Nail Tan, "Türkiye'de Yer Adları Verilirken ya da Değiştirilirken Neler Esas Alınmalıdır?," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 283.

issue of renamings had arisen in the periods of multi-party politics. According to Tan, political dynamics instead of scientific accuracy had intervened in the operations in the democratic periods. It is possible to interpret that Tan accused principally the policies of the Democrat Party on place-names. Tan took a nationalist stance and argued the necessary steps for conducting the policy as follows,

> The ongoing operations for changing the place names of non-Turkish origin, or those that were not Turkified, have to be completed quickly...Foreign place names shall not be changed through the translation to Turkish language...The local administrations shall not have authorities other than suggestions on name changes. Since these offices are governed through the political decisions [and thus engaged in politics]...Except for the historical event or the leading historical persons, personal names shall not be given to the provinces, districts and villages.[225]

Also Tan suggested that professionals of place-names, instead of bureaucrats, should be involved in the Expert Commissions; the offers of the local people should be recognized in renaming operations; and the new place names should be compatible with the geographical features of the relevant localities. Identifying the aim of the renaming operations as the Turkification explicitly, Tan discusses the urgency of the issue by appropriating the official nationalist rhetoric:

> The Republic of Turkey was established by the Turkish people under the leadership of the great Atatürk. It is not acceptable that the territories of this homeland, which was established through shedding of the blood of hundreds of thousands of martyrs, to be full of foreign place names.[226]

Tan went on to assert that some place-names that had remained from the Ottoman period should not be approved, because the Ottoman past involved "so

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[225] Ibid., pp. 279-281.
"Türkçe veya Türkçeleşmiş olmayan yer adlarının değiştirilmesi konusunda sürdürülen çalışmalar süratle tamamlanmalıdır… Yabancı yer adları, Türk dilindeki karşılıkları verilmek suretiyle değiştirilemez. Mahalli idarelerin yer adı verme konusunda teklifte bulunmanın ötesinde bir yetkileri bulunmamalıdır. Çünkü mahalli idareler siyasi tercihlerle yönetilmektedir… Tarihi bir olaya veya önemli tarihi bir kişiye bağlanmadıkça il, ilçe, bucak, köylere kişi adı verilmemelidir."

[226] Ibid., p. 280.
"Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti, Türk milletinin büyük Atatürk'ün önderliğinde kurduğu bir devlettir. Yüzbinlerce şehir kanı akıtılarak kurulan bu devletin vatan saydığı toprakların yabancı yer adlarıyla dolu olması düşünülemez."

many nations" and "ethnic communities."[227] He also called for the propagation of the new Turkish place names in public, in order to make the public to forget the old names of Armenian and Greek origin. He endorsed the task of the propagation to the teachers and other public officials. He said,

> Initially it is necessary to tell the local people that the Armenian, Greek place names have been changed because they are non-Turkish, and the maps compatible with the new names should be disseminated to schools and public offices...In primary and secondary schools directly the new place names instead of the old names should be taught…Some state officials habitually call the old place names, although they know that the old names are Armenian and Greek.[228]

Mecit Doğru, Professor of Medicine from Ankara University, claimed the change of place-names was neither an issue of "impulsive behavior", "expression of feelings," nor "chauvinism." Yet, he evaluated the practice of renaming as "a rebirth of a nation."[229] He longed for the authentic Turkish names which had accidentally been subject to the changes. Strikingly, in contrast to the hegemonic nationalist position of the symposium, Doğru credited and glorified the lines of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis and construed the past of Turkey from this perspective. Thus, he criticized the change of the Arabic and Persian place names, because they have always been "Turkish property" according to Doğru.[230] Nevertheless, he claimed the necessity of changing the place names with the Armenian and Greek origins. By taking an ambivalent and critical position, he suggested not to fall into "the complex

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[227] Ibid., p. 280.

[228] Ibid., pp. 282-283.
"Öncelikle; Ermenice, Rumca olup da değiştirilen yer adlarının Türkçe olmadığından değiştirildiği yöre halkına anlatılmalı, yeni adlara uygun haritalar yapılıp okullara, kamu kuruluşlarına dağıtılmalıdır… İlk ve orta dereceli okullarda Hayat Bilgisi, Sosyal Bilgiler, Coğrafya derslerinde yöredeki köy, dağ, tepe, ova, mahalle, sokaklar eski adları söylemeden doğrudan yeni adlarıyla öğretilmelidir… Bu memurlar dil alışkanlığıyla Ermenice, Rumca olduğunu bildikleri halde eski yer adlarını kullanmaya devam etmektedirler."

[229] Mecit Doğru, "Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Üzerine," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), p. 285.

[230] Ibid., p. 287.

of inferiority" in renaming operations. He also criticized the extreme nationalist positions in the symposium and in the Expert Commission.

Contrary to the hegemonic nationalist stand in the symposium, there were a few critical voices. Yavuz Yeşilyılmaz, the representative of the General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre, pointed to the failures of the renaming operations.[231] He stated that his office had frequently encountered complexities and confusions that had arisen from renaming operations in land registrations. He emphasized that they were unable to detect the relevant lands that they sought in many cases, and also could not do the necessary limitations on the land. In the Land Registry Cadastre Law, it was indicated that the relevant lands should be identified through the declarations of the inhabitants who were over 40 years old. However, Yeşilyılmaz said, because of the frequent revisions on place names, the inhabitants could not identify the lands, when the officials asked the place with new names.

Despite some rare contradictory and ambivalent positions, the practice of renaming was acknowledged in general as a necessary step towards the creation of a homogenous national territory in the symposium. It was discussed that the effacement of fragments of non-Turkish and heterogeneous pasts was aimed through the practice of renaming. Therefore, the renaming policy especially had been applied on a wide scale in the eastern provinces, where the ethnic minorities had lived in past or still exist. The new Turkish place-names in this context were turned into political-or-cultural tools of imagining the nation, or "the nation's imprints" borrowing the terminology of Öktem.[232] Not surprisingly, the historical legacy of the Turkish existence in Anatolia was celebrated through the Turkish place-names. During the

[231] Yavuz Yeşilyılmaz, Yer Adları ve Tapu-Kadastro Sektörel İlişkisi," *Türk Yer Adları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1984), pp. 63-67.

[232] Öktem, "The Nation's Imprint."

symposium, the discourse of historical existence of Turkishness in Anatolia was backed up with the hegemonic nationalist discourse of the Turkish History Thesis.

CHAPTER V

ETHNOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS: THE STORIES OF PLACE NAMES

"*there is a village there far away,*
that village is our village,
even if we don't travel there,
even if we don't linger there,
that village is our village"
a famous Turkish song,
adapted from Ahmet Kutsi Tecer

"*whoever came here*
whoever left here
...eventually cries."
A villager from Batman

The renaming places in Turkey cannot be deciphered only as a practice of spatial politics, yet the collective memory and the subjectivities have been seized through this practice considering the peculiar modernization experience in Turkey. I thereby strive to explore the everyday interventions and implications behind the policy of renaming in this ethnographic part of the thesis. This ethnography is based on 20 days of fieldwork in Diyarbakır and Batman. It is initially necessary to remark that the linguistic insufficiency, as I cannot speak in Kurdish, adversely affected the depth and scope of the ethnographic research. If I had been able to speak in Kurdish, the inhabitants whom I interviewed presumably could have narrated their stories more comfortably. Nevertheless, the critical engagement with the ethnographic material that I acquired in the field still enables me to discuss the appropriation of the renaming policy from below.

Before inquiring into the ethnographic representations, I want to stress my own positionality, the particular relational place in encounters in the field, as a researcher. By drawing attention to the asymmetrical power relations between the

Self as a researcher and the Other as the subject matter, Lila Abu-Lughod critically asks, "what would our reaction be if male scholars stated their desire to 'let women speak' in their texts while they continued to dominate all knowledge about them by controlling writing and other academic practices?"[233]

My initial aim in starting to this ethnography to "let Kurdish people speak" about the place names and let them narrate their stories from "the scholarly world in which I belong" has been overshadowed critically with this metaphorical question. Since everyday encounters, including ethnography, involve asymmetrical power relations, and the relationships to the subject matter determine the reorientations of the ethnography. Through diverse strategies, I thereby strive to deconstruct my own hegemonic position of "a Turkish researcher" as far as possible. Especially I attempted to abstain from all sorts of dominating positions in conversations and interviews. I needed initially to inspire confidence in the locals especially during the interviews, because I was "an official stranger" to the region in the eyes of the locals, as my research sometimes led to the discomfort for the inhabitants especially visiting villages. The scope of the discomfort can only be understood considering the violent and traumatic experiences of the Kurdish people in the 1990s, because of the low-intensity war, the village evacuations, and the forced migrations. I realized that the villagers particularly felt uncomfortable narrating their stories, especially the experiences of violence, in initial encounters.

The questions that were at stake are: how I locate myself as a researcher in the context of the ethnopolitical tensions, how I make sense of the low intensity war between the PKK militants and the Turkish military, and most critically, whether I

[233] Lila Abu-Lughod, "Writing Against Culture" in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, edited by Richard G. Fox (Santa Fe: SAR Press, 1991), pp. 137-162.

am familiar with "the everyday linguistics of the locality" or not.[234] However, it is also necessary to underline that the references of *Göç-Der* ("Göç Bilimsel Araştırma ve Göç Mağdurları ile Sosyal Yardımlaşma Dayanışma ve Kültür Derneği," the non-governmental organization investigating the conditions of the Kurdish people who moved to the metropolis due to the forced migrations of the 1990s) enabled me to communicate with the locals, especially in villages, at ease, and also make my interlocutors feel to some extent more comfortable.

I started this ethnography through in-depth interviews at Istanbul Göç-Der. Then I visited Diyarbakır Göç-Der several times. I asked the volunteers of Diyarbakır Göç-Der to guide me for the field study and in my ethnographic explorations. The volunteers alerted me to be careful in my visits to the villages because of "the security matters." Since in most of the evacuated villages the normal civilian life, which had disrupted in the 1990s, has not been reestablished yet, even now the visitors are not allowed to enter some villages.[235]

Beginning with the general framework of the ethnography, I suggest to depict a simplified scheme of the renamed places in five main clusters through my ethnographic explorations and experiences in the region. The first cluster consists of place names that were changed in arbitrary manner. The second cluster composes of places that were renamed in accordance with the socioeconomic structure or the geographical conditions of the locality. The third cluster includes the names that have been adapted through translation from Kurdish to Turkish; nevertheless these names are indeed rare, and therefore this category can be considered as negligible. The

[234] This phrase not only connotes for the Kurdish language, but also implies the everyday pratices, performances, and symbols of the local people.

[235] As the volunteers of the Göç-Der suggested, I have experienced some difficulties. "The security officers" interrogated me for doing this ethnography in Lice, and warned me not to take pictures especially in security zones.

fourth cluster involves the Turkified names that have been chosen to overcome the peculiar Kurdish story of the locality and to cease the everyday political dynamics. Finally, the fifth cluster comprises more radical names that explicitly remind violent experiences and disclose the fierce repressive attitude.

Considering this simplified scheme, this ethnography specifically aims to focus on the fourth and fifth clusters of the renamings, although the former clusters also will be discussed. Since, the authorities of the Expert Commission who conducted the renamings were aware of organizations and relations in the localities, as discussed in the historical sections of the thesis. I thereby take the local stories and dynamics, the ways of organization and resistance, and the performances of the local actors into consideration, since these factors enable us to make sense of "the new names" and to elucidate the practice in its everydayness. Especially to understand why particular names have been chosen in the region, it is necessary to delve into the peculiar stories of the localities, inasmuch as "the new names" in one way or other encounter with [or "efface," in some cases] the local stories.[236] In this way, this ethnography scrutinizes the appropriation and contestation of the practice of renaming places from below. This means, I will explore the moments of encounter, the ways of confrontation, the articulation of resistance or submission to the new names.

To begin with, most of the place names in the region have no association with the localities, as it is illustrated in the following quotations. For the local inhabitants, the new names were fabricated and invented by the authorities:

[236] The phrase of "the new names" which will be used often in this thesis does not intend for the normative statement, just as the modernist and the state-led paradigm put forward. "The new names" in the language of the nation-state connotes for the inherent modernization endevaors, as it was specifically discussed in the previous chapters. Yet, in this part, the phrase of "new names" will be used as a generic correspondant of Turkified names. Also, for the conceptualization of "the local story," see the Introduction.

> The new name of our village is Elmabahçe (the apple garden); its real name is Tizyan. There is everything, but no apple tree in our village. You see Aşağıkonak, Yukarıkonak, Kışlak, and as such. I mean they made up the new names.[237]

> There is a village of Çiçekli (the village with flowers). Its [actual] name is Şiferi, which means the driver in Turkish. Yet they renamed it Çiçekli. I have seen this village a couple of times, in the spring months the almond trees in the village blossom. Maybe it was thus called Çiçekli. In any case, there is no meaningful association between these two names.[238]

The new place names can be evaluated as emptified fragments of the past. The creation of a homogenized and emptified spatiotemporal regime, following the lines of Anderson, is the precondition of the construction of nation states, as it is underlined in the theoretical reading.[239] In a similar vein, there emerges specific emphasis upon the sense of timelessness and emptiness as the local people discussing the renamed places. As it is discussed in theoretical section, the linguistics of space, therefore the place names, provides continuity of meaning for the locals. Hence, the renamed places correspond to the noncontinuity and nonrepresentation of everydayness for the locals. I find it practical to call "the crisis of representation," that simply means, the new names signify nothing for the local people in their daily lives.

In addition, the renamings and noncontinuity are attributed to the more general framework of the effacement of region's past by the locals, as illustrated below.

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[237] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 20 November 2009.
"Bizim köyün yeni ismi Elmabahçe, esas ismi Tizyan. Her şey var, bir tane elma ağacı yok. İşte Aşağıkonak, Yukarıkonak, Kışlak, öyle şeyler. Kafana atmışlar yani yeni isimleri."

[238] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 22 November 2009. [e.a., which denotes for "emphasis added" will be used in following quotations]
"Çiçekli diye bir köy var. İsmi Şiferi'dir, Şiferi sürücü anlamındadır. Ama oraya Çiçekli denmiş. Ben yerinde gördüm birkaç kez, bahar aylarında orada her zaman badem ağalaçları çiçek açar. Belki o yüzden çiçekli denmiş. Ama görüyorsunuz, iki isim arasında mantıklı bir bağ yok."

[239] Anderson, *Imagined Communities.*

> Now, for example, look at seventy years of the past of the name of Diyarbakır; however, when you lie behind it seems as if there is no previous history. It is *overshadowed with the smoke screen*, it is *even covered with such concrete blockade* instead of the smoke screen...your liveliness, your story, your existence are all swept away in a vulgar manner. Your story that has derived from other roots, let it be Kurdish, Armenian, Syriac or Jewish, whatever your story different other than Turkishness, has been wiped out.[240]

This framework, what is described by the local as "overshadowing with the smoke screen," deserves special attention. It means, the local people cannot explore their own memories and stories because the prospect of past was precluded.

The local people of Diyarbakır and Batman contextualize the politics of renaming through diverse approaches in order to make sense of its implications. I therefore pay special attention to how the locals describe the renaming policy and how they refer to it in their everyday lives. The locals evaluated Turkification and standardization of place names as "the bloodless massacre", "the white massacre", "the culture of degeneration," and more widely as "the assimilation." These conceptual apparatuses which are selected to refer to the policy can be considered as the contestations of the policy from below. In addition, the terminology selected by the local people illustrates that the influences of the policy are very dramatic.

In the following part, through some specific examples, I strive to explore how the local inhabitants contextualize the renaming policy, and in which ways they confront it. A local inhabitant of Diyarbakır interpreted the renaming operations as follow,

> All are different facets of the same incident. The deportations, the renamings, the militaristic domination, the social pressures, and the Turkish signs written

[240] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 21 November 2009. [e.a.]
"Şimdi bugün mesela bakın yetmiş yıllık bir geçmişi var Diyarbakır isminin, ama bu yetmiş yıllık geçmişin evveliyatına baktığınızda, bu evveliyat sanki yok. Üzeri böyle bir sis perdesi ile, hatta sis perdesi de değil, böyle bir beton blokajla kapatılmış gibi üzeri örtülmüş… hayatiyetiniz, hikayeniz, varoluşunuz hoyratça bir şekilde silinip süpürülüyor. Yani sizin Türklük dışında kalan bütün hikayeniz yani Kürt olabilirsiniz, Ermeni olabilirsiniz, Süryan olabilirsiniz, Yahudi olabilirsiniz, başka köklerden gelen neyiniz varsa bu adeta siliniyor."

> over the hills of the region. The renaming places is only one component, what is at stake is general assimilation, in order to estrange Kurdish speaking people from their own cultures, their selves and make Kurds deny their [ethnic] identities. *The state attempts to penetrate to the region, even the whole country like an octopus.* It is hard to say that the rigid state idea has left in Turkey. It is not only the Kurds, but also the Armenians and the Greeks have experienced the same events.[241]

Not surprisingly, this argument of a local inhabitant calls for evaluating the renamings in a more general context of "assimilation." What is striking is that the state's endeavors are likened to "an octopus" in this narrative. The octopus metaphor is used to describe the organization, capacity and operation of the state in order to legitimate its existence and power throughout Turkey. From this perspective, it can be argued that the-state-as-an-octopus is far-reaching and more penetrating. By discussing the scope of penetration of the state, a local intellectual of Diyarbakır argued the various implications of the policy. His narrative discloses various everyday repercussions of the renaming policy.

> Someone has decided for you, you may be an ordinary citizen living in Diyarbakır. Someone has told you that this town is not Farkin anymore, but Silvan. You have lived there for many years, you know that it has written into history as Farkin and referred furthermore as Farkin in traditional Kurdish literature from Mem-u Zin to the story of Malabadi, and it is therefore recorded as Farkin everywhere. Even there are many people in the region who took the place names as pseudonym in past, as it is especially the case for Diyarbakır. There is such a study which lists the names of 1800 intellectuals and artists of Diyarbakır and I realized that there are hundreds of people there who take the title of Amedi, Amidi [which are the historical names of Diyarbakır] in their nicknames. And, think that, in some day, somebody has arrived and told you that this place is now on Diyarbakır. All the pseudonyms were then wiped out at once. *Not only places, but also people have been buried in history through the renaming places.* For instance, it is written as Seyfettin-i Amidi on the grave stone, that this man appropriated the place name as his title. Now, someone has erased this man from history, because

[241] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 20 November 2009. [e.a.]
"Hepsi aynı olayın farklı yüzleri. Bu sürgünler, bu değişen isimler, askeri tahakkümü, toplum baskısı, her tepede yazılan Türkçe yazılar. İsim değiştirmede bunun bir parçası, hepsi asimilasyon, orada yaşayan farklı olan, Kürtçe konuşan insanları kültürlerinden uzaklaştırma, özbenliğinden uzaklaştırma, kimliğini inkar etme. Devlet bölgeye, hatta tüm ülkeye ahtapot gibi yayılmaya çalışıyor. Katı devlet ideolojisi bitti sayılmaz. Sadece Kürtlerin başına gelmedi tabii, Rumlar başına gelenler, Ermenlerin başına gelenler var."

> there is neither Amid nor Amed anymore. This is a terrible *split of consciousness*...[242]

This narrative directs attention to the micro influences of the renamings. The policy of renaming intervenes into the subjectivities, self-designations and memories by dissociating the dialectical and dialogical relationships between places and dwellers. Not only place names, but also the names of local people have turned into the distant memories. In addition, "the split of consciousness" in this narrative can be evaluated as the dissociation and split between past and present. The local people could not place themselves in the flow of time because of the renamed places –what is described as "the crisis of representation" above. The sense of lingering in past with old names and the perception of noncontiniuity obstruct the local people to maintain or reconstruct their selves.

Discussing the micro influences of the renaming policy, the most salient parallel drawn by the locals is between the renamed places and re-named people. Since, it is stated that there have emerged critical confrontations between the authorities and locals over the first-and-family-names. These encounters help to contextualize the renaming places in everyday life, as illustrated below:

> [Hamdi] It is more or less the same manner as with our own names, again you don't actually have agency or choice, because the state makes the choice. For example, I would have a Kurdish name, may it be Azad instead of Hamdi. However, such names with Kurdish origin have not been tolerated, *the culture of violence and repression* dominates...For instance, I applied to change my

[242] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 21 November 2009. [e.a.]
"Biri karar veriyor, siz Diyarbakır'ın köyünde yaşayan sade bir vatandaşsınız. Biri size diyor ki, artık yaşadığınız yerin adı Farkin değildir, Silvan'dır. Siz yıllarca orada yaşamışsınız, tarihe öyle geçmiş, bütün geleneksel Kürt edebiyatı içerisinde Mem-u Zin'den tutun Malabadi'nin hikâyesine şudur budur bütün kayıtlarda Farkin diye geçmiş. Hatta bölgede birçok şahsiyet o eski ismi kendisine mahlas olarak almış, bilhassa Diyarbakır gibi. Diyarbakırla ilgili fikir ve sanat adamları diye dört ciltlik bir çalışma var, 1800 tane ünlü şahsiyetin isimleri orada geçiyor, ben fark ettim ki soyadları Amedi, Amidi olan yüzlerce şahsiyet var. Yani düşünün, bir gün biri geliyor, diyor ki buranın adı bundan sonra Diyarbakır'dır. Bütün o mahlaslar isimler bir çırpıda gidiyor. İsim değiştirmekle mekânlar değil, insanlar da tarihe gömülüyor. Mesela adamın mezar taşında, Seyfettin-i Amidi, adam şehrinin adını kendine mahlas olarak almış. Şimdi bu adamı tarihten siliyorsun, ne Amid ne de Amed diye birşey yok. Bu korkunç bir bilinç yarılmasıdır. Düşünün, o şahsiyetin soyundan gelen, o ismi nesebi devam ettirmek isteyen insalara da kütüğünüz yok diyorsunuz artık."

> first name and family name to Dujwar Ahmed in 2005; however, my application was denied. I said I want to use the name Dujwar. I know it is about the banned Kurdish letters, such as *w* and *j*. Then I wanted to name my new born child Hevi, which has no banned letters, yet it was also denied.[243]
>
> [Selim, father of Müjde] We have called her Rojda in birth, yet they made it Müjde in the records, whereas Rojda implies nothing, just a name...Now, she is called Müjde as the name on the ID card, yet she tells everybody Rojda is her real name.[244]
>
> [Necmi] My family name is Özdemir. Özdoğan, Özçelik, Öztunç and such that. These are irrelevant names for us, you see. But the title *öz* (the essence) connotes something, it implies Turkishness. I think it is a call for us to take on Turkishness.[245]

These fragments of narratives point not only to the repression of the agencies of the locals; they also imply how the imposed names are received from below. In the first narrative, Hamdi attributes the ban on Kurdish-oriented names to the culturalization of repression; that is to say, for Hamdi, the prohibitions gained cultural normalcy in the region. In the second narrative, Selim introduces his girl's name, Müjde as the pretended identity. It can be argued that the duality of Rojda and Müjde signifies the distance between the informal and the formal, or the margins between the official narrative and the narrative of the locals. It is possible to say that Rojda corresponds to the Kurdish actuality that has been overcome by the state. In the third narrative, Necmi states how he makes sense of his family name. Although

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[243] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 25 November 2009. [e.a.]
"İsimler noktasında da aşağı yukarı bu böyle, senin gerçekte tercihin ya da iraden yoktur, tercihi devlet yapar. Mesela benim Kürtçe bir ismim olabilirdi, Hamdi yerine Azad olabilirdi. Bu Kürtçe isimlere bir tolerans tanınmadığından, sürekli şiddet kültürü ve baskı esas alındığından dolayı… Ben mesela ismimi ve soyismimi değiştirmek için başvurdum 2005 yılında, Dujvar Ahmed koymak istedim, ama kabul edilmedi. Ben Dujwar ismini kullanmak istiyorum dedim. Aslında Kürtçenin yasaklı harflerine karşı olduğunu biliyorum, w ve j harfleri mesela. Sonrada, ben kızıma Hevi ismini koymak istiyordum, yasaklı harf yoktur, ama geçiremedim bu ismi."

[244] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 20 November 2009.
"Biz ona doğduğunda Rojda dedik, fakat ismini kayıtta Müjde yaptılar, sadece isim bak, Rojda'da hiçbişi yok hâlbuki... Şimdi Müjde kimlikteki ismim diyor, esas ismi Rojda diye söylüyor."

[245] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 22 November 2009.
"Benim soyadım Özdemir. Özdoğan. Özçelik, Öztunç soyadları böyle. Görüyorsun, bir temele dayanmayan soyadları. Öte yandan öz kelimesi başka bişey, Türklüğü anımsatıyor. Bence bizi Türk olmaya çağrıyor."

his family name does not have explicit call for Turkishness, he states the discomfort he felt because of the prefix "öz." Hence, the imposed personal names become critical considering how these names have been sensed by the Kurdish people and in which ways these names have gained meanings in their lives.

Such critical encounters between the authorities and the local people have been experienced not only on personal names, but also on the issue of place names repeatedly, especially in the Kurdish and Alevi populated regions of Turkey. One of the most notorious examples is *Kanlıosman* (Bloody Osman), an Alevi village in Çorum. By referring to some massacres in the region, this village had been named Kanlıosman by the authorities in the past. Not surprisingly, the dwellers had not accepted this name, because this name, Kanlıosman, is contradictory to the nature of the Alevi identity. Insomuch that, the local people considered it "an assault on the Alevi beliefs." Realizing the reactionary stance of the locals against this name, *Şanlıosman* (Glorious Osman), instead of *Kanlıosman*, was then given as a name to this village. This name does not connote the local massacres, yet once again is contradictory to Alevi beliefs, since this new name glorifies Osman the Caliph. After the confrontations in 2006, the villagers asked to change the village name to Yenikışla, by stating "*biz ne kanlı ne de şanlı bir isim istiyoruz*." (we want neither bloody nor a glorious name).

Discussing theoretically, this notorious example may be illustrative of what Harootunian calls the effacement of mixed, divergent temporal regimes. That is to say, in order to governmentalize the region and legitimate their power over the Alevi territory, the state authorities have chosen a name that opposes the heterodox-local-past; yet this imposition has been challenged by the village inhabitants. The naming of village Kanlıosman, and later renaming it Şanlıosman can be argued safely as an

example of the exclusion and marginalization of the Alevi identity in Turkey. Since the early Republican era, the Alevis and their traditions have been evaluated as heterodox from the Sunni-Turkish perspective of the state.

The story of the Batman village of *Vergili* (taxed village) in Gerçüş, which experienced a crucial moment of encounter, may also be evaluated in this context. The village historically has been known as Becirman, a name that signifies its tax-free economic nature.[246] Since its foundation, this village has been populated by the seyyid families, the people whose roots can be traced to the family of Muhammad the prophet. The villagers for this reason were exempted from tax regulations by the Ottoman regime, as the Ottoman state in this way offered privilege to "the authentic Muslims." Yet in the Republican period, the Becirman village was renamed *Vergili,* contrary to the peculiar story of the locality. As may be expected, the village was then subjected to regular tax duties. In this example, the confrontation with the socioreligious past of the locality through the renaming not only implies the break with the Ottoman past, yet it can also be argued as a brief attempt to break with the Islamic ties, due to the secularist tendencies of the Republic -considering that the secularism has always been one of the principle vehicles of the Westernization project of the Kemalist bureaucrats. Therefore, it is possible to decipher the new name, Vergili, as a symbol of modernization and governmentalization endeavors in Turkey. To be more concrete, by starting to collect taxes from this village and renaming it in this manner, this village became the ordinary-regular part of the state's territory in Turkey.

[246] This name was adapted from Berçeman, which means "in front of the river" in Kurdish.

In recounting dramatic encounters between the state and the locals on the subject of place names, a villager from Diyarbakır tells the story of his village, as follows:

> I used to live in a village of Ergani, Diyarbakır. Its name is Kulevan in Kurdish and Karpuzlu in Turkish. Kulevan is the name of a tribe, so the region called Kulevan. This village has been relocated three times in past. Initially it was located on the backside of the hill, and then it was relocated to the near side. In 1938, although our village was not directly related to the Dersim insurgency, maybe at most our village was in line with the insurgents considering some of our thoughts at a time, the village was evacuated. Then the authorities relocated our village in front, where they could inspect us more easily. It was renamed initially Karpuzlu, then Çarıklı and now as Üzümlü. It has been renamed four times. Other old names in any way have not been adapted by the villagers. As I said, now it is Üzümlü, but I don't think that we have any direct relationship with vineyards, although we own some small vineyards. Yet I think Karpuzlu would have been a more appropriate name for our village...Anyhow, some people were disturbed by the name Karpuzlu in past, as the council of the village was called for and later renamed it Üzümlü. This is the fourth time.[247]

Each renaming of the same village, in this narrative, signifies another moment of confrontation. The relocations went in parallel with the renamings of the village in order to create a Panopticon effect in Foucaldian sense. In simple terms, it can be argued that the village was taken under the control of the state by these spatial strategies. Not surprisingly, the new names of the village have no association with the local dynamics, and therefore correspond to the emptified temporality.

A similar dramatic encounter was experienced in Derik, Diyarbakır. Nevertheless, what is subjected to the controversy is not a place name, but a spatial

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[247] Interview by the author, tape recording, Batman, Turkey, 27 November 2009.
"Ben Diyarbakır Ergani'ye bağlı bir köyde oturuyordum. Türkçe ismi Karpuzlu, kürtçe ismi Kulevan. Külevan bir aşiret ismidir, o mıntıkaya Kulevan deniyor. Şimdi o köyün üç kez yeri değiştirilmiş, ilk önce dağın iç kesimlerinde iken daha sonra biraz daha beriye alınmış. En son 1938'de, Dersim isyanı ile hiçbir bağının olmamasına rağmen, sadece düşünce olarak o isyanı desteklediği için, köy tekrar boşaltılmış.. Köyü görebilecekleri bir yere, ön tarafa almışlar. İsmine Karpuzlu dendi, Çarıklı dendi, dört tane isim konuldu. Diğer isimler beğenilmemiş. Şimdi Üzümlü diye geçiyor, bizim üzümle ne kadar bir ilgimiz var, gerçi herkesin irili ufaklı kendine göre bir bağı var. Bence Karpuzlu daha uygundur, çünkü karpuz tarlaları vardı, biliyorsun Diyarbakır'da karpuz meşhurdur. Buna rağmen demek ki o Karpuzlu bir kısım insanların gözüne batmış olacak ki sonra tekrar muhtarlık köy heyeti çağrılmış tekrar, ismi değiştirilmiş, üzümlü denmiş. Ilk önce Kulevan sonra bir isim daha var ben hatırlamıyorum, sonra Karpuzlu, sonra Üzümlü. Bu dördüncü seferdir, türkçe olarak dördüncü sefer isim değişikliğine uğramış."

reference. A villager from Derik, arguing about "the assimilationist and destructive policies towards the region," narrates the story of an ordinary stone as follows:

> The women of our village carry *hejik* from the mountains, I mean brushwood. They bring brushwood to the village and they make a fire with hejik for cooking or baking bread. The women bind the wood together and carry it on their shoulders in the mountains, because the wood is heavy. While bringing the wood from mountain, as expected, they cannot bring it to the village all at once. Therefore they need to stop a few times. Our women have one famous stop for this purpose, in order to rest for a while. We call this *Kevreker* (sağırtaş), the deaf stone in Turkish. I know, in the past, the governor of the region put dynamite and broke the stone into the pieces, just because of its Kurdish name.[248]

As is highlighted in the narrative, not only Kurdish place names or names that carry the ethnic connotations, but also any ordinary material item (stone) with a Kurdish story has been turned into an issue of conflict. It is necessary to argue that the stone was nothing more than a banal symbol in this narrative, yet what is at stake was the severe confrontation between the authorities and the local people. In addition, as is illustrated, it can be argued that the places, names and material objects can be evaluated as the registers and transmitters of the collective memory and trauma. Lastly, there was a strong signification between material object and its name in this example; that is to say, "the deaf stone" listened the stories of village women, yet as its name implies, it kept the stories of women in secret.

Many of the locals narrated similar anecdotes about the sociocultural associations of the places and material objects. The exploded stone, the renamed locality and the evacuated village, in the narratives of the local people, turned into the facets of memory, which have been overcome by the state authorities. Yet, the

[248] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 23 November 2009.
"Ben Derik'in köyündenim. Köyde kadınlar hejik taşırlar dağda, hejik çalı çırpıdır. Çalı çırpıyı dağdan getirir, ya tandırda yakar ekmek pişirmek için ya da yemek pişirmek için ocakta yakar. Sırtlarına atarlar, büyük olur ya bağlarlar. Dağdan Derik'e indirirken bir seferde gelemiyor, duraklaması lazım, onların meşhur durakları var, Kevreker diye, sağırtaş Türkçesi, o Kevreker ünlü bir taştır, ünlü bir duraktır orası. Zamanın kaymakamı sırf o taşın ismi Kürtçedir diye, oraya dinamit koymuş, o taşı paramparça etmiş."

exploded stone and the renamed village on the contrary became the references of mourning, nostalgia and recalling the past in the narratives. It is also necessary to state that, for the local people, the traces of living memory permeate and hide in the details of everyday life. For instance, the ballads and *ağıt*s (the lament songs) become the latent vehicles of memory in the narratives of the locals; they transmit the past through the relationship between senses and places.[249]

The story of Antak village, which was narrated several times in the ethnographic investigations in Lice, was another example that illustrates the confrontation on the subject of place names. The locals told that the Armenian people lived in Antak before the deportations of the Armenians at the turn of the century. In addition, the locals frequently told that the Armenian kingdom had existed long ago in the region. Yet, they also stressed that only the traces of an old castle, of some stone houses and of an old Armenian church remained there. Contrary to the local past associated with Christianity, Antak was renamed *İslamköy* (Islam village). It can be argued that the Christian heritage of the Armenian people has been effaced by renaming the village to İslamköy.

Similarly, the renaming of the village Reşika to *Başbuğ* (the Turkish leader) can be interpreted as a critical confrontation between the state and the local population. A villager told that Reşika has known for its tribal social organization historically, and was considered by the authorities as "feudal." It was then renamed Başbuğ, which signifies the image of great Turkish leader. This new name can be deciphered as the Panopticon gaze, "like the Turkish state kept an eye on the village," as was narrated by the villager. It is safe to argue that this metonymic name

[249] Nevertheless, the exploration of cultural narratives exceeds the boundaries of this ethnographic research. How the places are sensed and represented through the ballads and *ağıt*s may provide rich ethnographic material for the interested researchers, especially considering the oral *dengbej* tradition in the region.

that signifies “the authentic Turkishness” is a disciplinary symbol to take the village under control.

To understand how the renamed places are appropriated and contested by the local people, in this part, the micropolitics behind the everyday use of place names will be explored. There is a well known story told in Diyarbakır about a Kurdish villager on a bus travelling to Şırnak.[250] Alongside of him, a man wearing a suit sits, who looks like a state official. The man in suit asks the villager where he is from and where he is going, then asks him whether he is content with the state’s attitude towards the region or not. Assuming the man in the suit is a state official, the villager says, “May God be pleased, I am very thankful to the state.” The villager then asks the other man where he is going and what is he doing in the region. The man in the suit states that he is an attorney and investigates the abuse of rights in the region, especially the village evacuations. The villager suddenly begins to complain about the policies of the state, recounting the examples of evacuations and forced migrations. The attorney gets angry and asks why he first stated that he was content with the state’s attitude and then all of a sudden began to complain about it. The villager replies, “The former one is my official opinion, yet the latter one is my actual opinion.”[251]

This well known story is a good starting point to discuss the everyday acts of the Kurdish people of the southeast region on the axis of subaltern politics. It is safe to suggest that the locals in the region recall the place names mostly in Kurdish in everyday life. In between interactions, they hardly use the Turkified correspondents of the place names. Yet in official encounters, considering the relationships with the state authorities, especially on the issue of identity registration, the deed titles and the

[250] This story was narrated several times in Diyarbakır Göç-Der.

[251] *“O benim resmi görüşümdür, bu da gerçek olan görüşüm.*”

security controls, they feel obliged to refer to the Turkish names. The use of place names, whether in Turkish or Kurdish, depends on the nature of encounters and interactions. Therefore, it can be argued that the use of place names involves banal political strategies. One of my interlocutors, in our first meeting, remarks that he would tell the Kurdish counterpart if I had asked him in Kurdish or vice versa.

In multiple and shifting contexts, the choice of reference may become an issue of controversy for Kurdish people. The everyday usage of place names, in which contexts the locals prefer the Kurdish or Turkish place names, can safely be interpreted on the axis of subaltern politics. Scott, in discussing the practices of everyday resistance, suggests that the subalterns cannot act directly against the hegemonies, yet perform pretended roles and follow precise strategies in order to protect themselves.[252] In other words, because of the asymmetrical power relations, they cannot confront directly with the dominant agents. The pretended acts of the subalterns in following Scott can be considered as forms of everyday resistance of the subalterns. In "the-external-interactions," especially with the state authorities, the Kurdish people feel threatened, as the hegemonic state-led perception encodes the Kurdish people as "backward," "dangerous," and "rebellious" in Turkey.[253] The use of Kurdish place names "within the group" and the use of Turkish place names "outside the group" by the locals can be evaluated in this context, as it is discussed by an activist in Kurdi-Der (the civil society organization that works on Kurdish language),

> Our people still refer their villages in Kurdish. Unless engaging in official business, they never refer to the Turkish names. In my daily life, I am from

[252] James Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).

[253] Mesut Yeğen, *Devlet Söyleminde Kürt Sorunu* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999), pp. 109-159.

> Farkin, yet either in state office or meeting someone new, I say I am from Silvan.[254]

Similarly, a villager of Selmi argues about the pretended roles, in the sense of subaltern politics, while using the place names, as follows:

> My village is called Selmi. Its Turkish name is *Kuyulu* ("the place with boreholes," renamed around 1969). Perhaps, it is because there are three boreholes in our village. Whichever authority came to our village in past, he chose to rename it Kuyulu. None of our villagers use this name. We use this Turkish name while encountering the state, either in the register office or when the military officers ask us for identification in controls. Yet, this Turkish name does have a place neither in our consciousness nor in our everyday lives... We cannot be ourselves encountering the state officials, we cannot voice ourselves.[255]

As is emphasized in these narratives, the use of the Turkish names in official encounters is considered by the villagers as a required act, a conventional necessity, especially considering the Gramscian relationship between the approval of hegemony and fabricated consent. Yet it is stated that the use of new names do not reflect their agency. Therefore, this pretended act can be argued as a strategy of everyday resistance. The resistance of the villagers, by using the old/Kurdish place names in-between conversations, becomes lucid and open in some accounts. In the following narrative, a villager from Diyarbakır, who migrated to İstanbul in the 1990s, deciphers the villagers' use of Kurdish place names as a sign of being critical and resistant.

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[254] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 22 November 2009.
"Hala insanlarımız köylerini Kürtçe söylerler. Resmi bir işlem olmadığı sürece Türkçe isimler asla kullanılmaz. Günlük yaşamımda ben Farkinliyim ya devlet dairesinde ya da yeni tadığım birisinin yanında Silvanlıyım diyorum."

[255] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 21 November 2009.
"Benim köyümün ismi mesela Selmi'dir. Türkçe ismi Kuyulu'dur, belki de üç tane kuyu var diye, geçmişte kim gittiyse oraya üç tane kuyu var diye Kuyulu diyelim demiş. Hiçbir köylümüz Kuyulu ismini kullanmaz. Devletle karşılaşınca kullanırız, ya nüfus müdürlüğüne gidince, ya asker sorduğunda nerelisin kimsin dediğinde Kuyulu deriz. Aslında bizim bilinçaltımızda olan bir şey değil bu ya da yani kendi yaşamımızda kullandığımız değil…Bizim halkımız devletle kaşılaşınca kendisi olamıyor, kendisini dile getiremiyor."

> Apart from formality, our village's name has never become Yukarıgören. It has always been called Şemrax. We never call it in Turkish between ourselves, in our families, in our village or in our relationships with the surrounding villages. As a matter of fact, *we survive [our identity] in this manner because we never call it in Turkish*, as if the name of our village has not been Turkified. Yukarıgören, namely, the village which faces above, is located at the top of a hill. Maybe this name is used, as if the state gazes at the village from above...[256]

Nevertheless, beyond the tacit and implicit resistance, sometimes manifest resistance is declared by using Kurdish place names, as is emphasized in the passage. In a similar fashion, the resistance and opposition to the new names were articulated in many diverse explicit ways, yet the recurring theme in the narratives of the local people can be described as "whatever the authorities do, they cannot erase our names."[257] Some interlocutors narrate their resistance to the new names as follows:

> [Samed] The Xeylan tribe used to live in this region and still some members remain. After the 1950s, Xeylan was renamed Büyükçaltı. Yet whatever the state endeavors to do, it cannot erase the name of Xeylan, *because it is not written on paper, but in memories*. In somuch that in some land registration documents, the Kurdish names are still in use.[258]

> [Ali] Although the place names have been changed, when somebody asks, our people still say that they are from Harkun or Mozan [i.e., Alevi village names]. You cannot change the names in people's minds; you cannot change them in people's hearts. These names existed in the Republican era and even prior to it. It is impossible to erase the centuries old memories and pasts of the people. Believe it; the locals must have some memories about those renamed hills, valleys and villages. There must be a story of a lonely shepherd who was in love with a beautiful girl, it is hard to erase the traces of the life of this shepherd, and you cannot change how he felt in those hills and valleys. You

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[256] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 21 November 2009. [e.a.]
"Bizim köyümüzün ismi, resmiyet dışında, hiçbir zaman Yukarıgören olmadı. Bizim köyümüz her zaman Şemrax olarak geçti. Hiçbir zaman kendi içimizde, ailemizde, köyümüzde ya da çevre köylerle olan hukukumuzda, köyümüzü Türkçe olarak anmadık. Zaten anılmadığından dolayı bu şekilde biz ayakta kalabildik, yoksa köyün ismi mesela Yukarıgören olarak Türkçeye çevrilmiş(!). Yukarıgören, yani yukarıyı gören, tepebaşında bir köy. Sanki devlet köyü yukarıdan görüyormuş gibi bu isim verilmiş. Şemrax eski bir isim, eski bir uygarlığa da beşiklik etmiş Merwaniler döneminde, bir nevi oradaki bazı beyliklerin yurt edindiği bir yer."

[257] *"Ne yaparsanız yapın, isimlerimizi silemezsiniz."*

[258] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 25 November 2009. [e.a.]
"Xeylan aşireti yaşar bölgede, halen de bazıları var. Xeylan elliden sonra Büyükçaltı olarak değiştirilmiş. Fakat devlet ne yaparsa yapsın Xeylan'ı silemiyor, çünkü bunlar hafızalarda yazılı kağıtlarda değil. Hatta bir yandan tapularda bile Kürtçe mevki isimleri yazıyor."

> see, we cannot throw out our pasts or our experiences. The state may change something, yet cannot take these names apart from our minds and hearts. The renaming therefore implies nothing for us.[259]
>
> [Kerim] As far as I heard from my grandfather, our village has 400 years of past. It was renamed 50 years ago. Its name is Herbo, a village of Siirt. It is now called Yarımca. Interestingly, there are a lot of villages called Yarımca in our region. The [new] name is not effective, because Herbo has hundreds years of story...[260]

As is emphasized in the narratives, the new Turkish place names were external to the everyday lives of the local people. In Samed's narrative, memory is turned into a space of resistance. He argues that the memory transcends the boundaries of any written documents, thus the identity of re-named places could be maintained. In Ali's narrative, senses and memories intermingle with each other, and for him the renaming policy remained external to this intrinsic relationship. In Kerim's narrative, the memory of place names lies beyond the scope of the present, and the renaming policy became ineffective as it cannot change the experiences in past. In a nutshell, the locals stressed that the policy of renaming cannot intrude and overcome the everydayness of the localities. The narrative of a man, who migrated from Diyarbakır to İstanbul in the 1990s, clearly uncovers how the Kurdish place names pervade in actuality:

> I don't know how it is happening; maybe it is all about memory. The people still use the old names. When I go to Diyarbakır and take a bus to my village,

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[259] Interview by the author, tape recording, Istanbul, Turkey, 25 November 2009.
"Isimlerin değiştirilmesine rağmen, nerelisin hemşerim, denildiğinde bizim insanımız hala ben Mazanlıyım, ben Harkunluyum, diyor. İnsanların kafasında değiştiremezsiniz, gönlünde değiştiremezsiniz. Bu isimler Cumhuriyet döneminde de öncesinde de vardı. İnsanların asırlık anılarını, mazilerini bir kalemde silip atmak mümkün değildir. İnan ki o ismi değiştirilen dağlarda, vadilerde, köylerde insanların muhakkak mazileri olmuştur. Hikâyesi vardır dağlarda, yalnız bir çobanın güzel bir kıza aşkının, bu çobandan kalanları silemezsiniz, dağlarda tepelerde hissettiklerini silemezsiniz. Yani maziyi yaşanmışlıkları nasıl bir kenara atacağız? Devlet değiştirebilir ama biz kalbimizdekini ve zihnimizdekini söküp atamayız. Bu isimlerin değiştirilmesi bizim için hiçbir şey ifade etmez."

[260] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 24 November 2009.
"Bizim köy dedemizden bildiğimiz kadarıyla 400 yıllık bir köy, son elli yılda ismi değiştirilmiş. Siirt'e bağlı ismi Herbo'dur, şimdi ismi Yarımca köyü. Yani ilginçtir Yarımca her yerde var bizim bölgede. Bu isim etkili olmuyor, Herbo'nun yüzlerce senelik yeri var. Etkili olmaz tabii."

> I used to say, "I want to go Ayrancı" to the driver, inasmuch as I refer it as Ayrancı in Istanbul. Each time, I realize that the driver waits for a few seconds, because he refers to it as Meryanız in his everyday life. He definitely knows its Turkish counterpart as well, yet the real name of Meryanız has settled in his mind. Therefore, he is surprised for a few seconds after hearing Ayrancı.[261]

In this narrative, "a few seconds" of break signifies the astonishment and confusion of the driver. It is not hard to suggest that the Turkish counterpart of the place name is "foreign" to the sociocultural space of the Kurdish driver in this incident.

The implicit or explicit resistance to the renaming policy can take many different forms. Sometimes, the everyday resistance to the new names was described as a form of trauma. An Alevi villager by making an analogy describes his insistence on the old name and how it diffused in his life, as follows:

> Consider that your name is Ali. Until twenty years old, you are called Ali. Then, one day you wake up in a morning and somebody tells you that your new name is Mehmet. How would you feel? You would keep saying to yourself, "I am Ali, I am in fact Ali."[262]

One of the other contexts in which a form of everyday resistance and implicit reactionary stance to the renaming policy have reemerged was on the public debate of Norşin/Güroymak. In August 2009, the President used the name Norşin, instead of the Turkish counterpart of the region, Güroymak, speaking publicly during his visit to Bitlis. His recalling of the name of Norşin paved the way for a heated debate in the

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[261] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 21 November 2009.
"Artık nasıl oluyor bilmiyorum, belki hep hafızayla ilgili. Halk arasında öyle tabii. Mesela ben Diyarbakır'a gittiğimde Ayrancı'ya gitmek istiyorum, diyorum şoföre, İstanbulda tabii hep Ayrancı kullanıyoruz. Her seferinde dikkat ediyorum bikaç saniye kadar duraklıyor şoför. Meryanız demeyi seçiyor hep onu kullanıyor günlük hayatında. Türkçe ismini bilmiyor değil, biliyor tabii, ama demek ki esas ismi Meryanız hafızasına çok iyi yerleşmiş. Demek ki Ayrancı olarak duyunca bir an şaşırıyor."

[262] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 21 November 2009.
"Sizin isminiz Ali diyelim. Ali demişler yirmi yaşına kadar, sonra bir sabah kalkıyorsunuz ve bundan sonra sizin isminiz Ali değil Mehmet, diyorlar. Siz ne hissedersiniz? Hala benim ismim Ali, benim gerçekte ismim Ali dersiniz."

country. The President's reference to Norşin was deciphered by some commentators as the governing party AKP (the Justice and Development Party), preparing to give cultural and linguistic rights to the Kurdish people. I asked the local people from Bitlis, or who knew the city well, how they interpreted the President's use of Norşin and what they thought about the following public debate. The locals, as illustrated below, stated that the region was always known by the Kurdish people as Norşin.[263]

> In any case nobody called it Güroymak before the President's visit. *For God's sake, it has been always Norşin.* Honestly, I always knew it as Norşin prior to it, this name is so actual, and nobody calls it Güroymak.[264]

> For instance, the President went there, and told people that it is Norşin. Norşin is very close to our village. I go through there a few times a year. Until the President went there, I had not known its Turkish name was Güroymak, since I did not need its Turkish name in my life. While passing through, we heard of the village always as Norşin...[265]

In these narratives, it is vividly presented that the President's manifest proclamation of old/Kurdish names was read by the locals as not more than any other official step. It was stated by the locals that, especially considering the Norşin/Güroymak debate, the Turkified names had no resonance in their daily lives. This particular incident also demonstrates the distance between the official stance and the local people.

It is plausible to suggest that the locals became more critical and reactionary talking about the renamings following the military coup of 1980. In September 12,

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[263] *"Orası zaten Norşindi."*

[264] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 21 November 2009. [e.a.]
"Cumhurbaşkanı gitmeden evvel kimse oraya Güroymak demiyordu zaten. Ya Allahaşkına, orası zaten hep Norşin'di. Ben cidden oranın adının Norşin olduğunu zannediyordum önceden, bu isim o kadar güncel, kimse Güroymak demez."

[265] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 22 November 2009.
"Bir de mesela Cumhurbaşkanı gitti insanlara Norşin dedi. Bizim oraya yakındır Norşin, yılda birkaç kez giderim geçerim. Ama Cumhurbaşkanı gidesiye kadar ben oranın Türkçesinin Güroymak olduğunu bilmiyordum, çünkü ihtiyaç duymuyordum. Geçerken hep Norşin diye duymuşuz, o yüzden Türkçe ismini öğrenmek ihtiyacını duymadık."

1980, the military junta, by putting the democratic ruling aside, took control of the country and applied more harsh measures to silence the critical voices, including leftists and rightists, and the dissident voices in the Kurdish populated region. The repressive measures towards the region dramatically intensified. During the coup d'état and in the following period, the Kurdish people were subjected to violence, and this led to traumatic experiences. Violence became the salient feature of the everyday life in this period. Also, the low intensity war between the PKK militants and Turkish military accelerated throughout the 1980s and 1990s. This led to a series of demographic projects. The operations of the renaming places needed to be evaluated in this context. The locals stated that after the 1980, especially during the military rule, the articulation of Kurdish originated names almost became impossible in public. Particularly the naming of new born children in Kurdish led to controversies and confrontations in the period.

Since the early Republican period, as a result of a series of policies, most of the place names had been renamed and Turkified. After the 1980, the remaining names were exposed to the policy, yet at a more micro level. What differentiated the renamings after the 1980 from the prior periods was that the policy carried more repressive tones and had a radical nature. It is possible to argue that, instead of the previous Turkified names that reflected to some extent the governmentalization endeavors of the state, the names that were changed in the post-1980 period involve militaristic tones. Even the names that called for the oppressive incidents and painful experiences, especially the names associated with the effacement of local stories, were given to the places.

As the renaming villages had been almost completed before the 1980, the policy was to take the names of streets, schools and parks into consideration.

Especially street names were changed extensively in that period, which led to public disputes and tensions between local authorities (i.e., the municipalities) and the state offices (i.e. the governorships). The change of street names can be interpreted as more influential for the people compared to the change of village names, since street names were more immanent and intimate to everyday life - being referred more often than village and district names in everyday life.

In post-1980 period, *12 Eylül* (the date of the coup d'état) and *Kenan Evren* (the chief of the military takeover) were affixed to the streets and schools throughout the country, especially in the Kurdish populated regions. As the imprints of Turkish nationalism, such slogans of "*Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene*" (how happy who says I am a Turk), "*Şehitler Ölmez, Vatan Bölünmez*" (the martyries will never die, and the country will be never separated) were inscribed over the hills of Kurdish populated regions more widely in this period. As was underlined, the former renamings can be evaluated as the vehicles and symbols of the governmentalization, as intrinsic components of the state formation process. Yet, it is not hard to argue that the renamings after the 1980 were sometimes more repressive, as the names were given at the more micro level and involved much dramatic confrontations.

In a recent period, the renaming of the gendarmerie battalion of Özalp, Van to *Mustafa Muğlalı Kışlası* (the battalion) can be considered as a striking incident in this context. In 1943, the military commander Mustafa Muğlalı killed 33 Kurdish civilians including children unjustly, and after a trial he was found guilty by the court of justice.[266] Before the killings of 33 civilians, Muğlalı said, "it is not necessary to judge these people; we need to execute them immediately. They cannot understand

[266] Avni Özgürel, "33 Kurşun ve Muğlalı Paşa," *Radikal*, April 16, 2004, Avaliable [Online]: http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=116496

anything but the language of the gun."[267] The traumatic experience of the killings left a lasting impression in the memories of locals.[268] It is plausible to argue that the name Mustafa Muğlalı, a critical moment of renaming, recalled the violence, sufferings, and traumatic experiences for the local people, since the name Muğlalı evokes the killings of Kurdish civilians in public perception. One of the locals who used to live in Van interprets the incidents as follows:

> There was the incident of the 33 bullets in Van, and then it was renamed Mustafa Muğlalı...this is not any other arbitrary name; it has a serious political message. The name of Muğlalı, who was involved in a massacre and found guilty by the justice, is rewarded.[269]

In a similar vein, by discussing the memory politics in renamings with reference to the incident of the 33 bullets, an attorney from Diyarbakır described the traumatic implications behind the renaming policy, as follows:

> It is worse than killing people, because they will always remember it [i.e., the trauma, the bloody incident]. Why do we try to get back the actual names? We must call some parks of Diyarbakır Kenan Evren; our people will therefore never forget the oppressions. Forgetting is even worse, because we have never faced it. The German people did not close Auschwitz, the camp has remained there to remind people of those bloody days and hence people can take lesson from history. It has been left open in order to remind people the past and to keep people's memories alive. Maybe if we rename Koşuyolu Parkı as Kenan Evren Parkı, people will never forget those days. Since Turkey has not confronted the past yet, we cannot seal the past off. People must especially remember the prosecutions in Diyarbakır Prison.[270]

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[267] *"Bunları yargılamaya lüzum yok, infaz etmemiz gerek. Silahtan başka dilden anlamaz bunlar."*

[268] For one of the popular representations, see *Nevala Kasaba*, Musa Anter.
"…zilan, munzur, otuz üç kurşun, *nevala kasaba/ ve ülkemin bütün derelerinde/ o iklimde kalırdı acılar/ duymazdı bir Allah'ın kulu çığlıklarımızı/ ve dağlara sevdalanırdık/ karabasan gecelerin sabahında direnmek kalırdı Kürde/ yaşamanın bir diğer adı direnmektir…"*

[269] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 22 November 2009.
"Van otuzüç kurşun olayı var, sonra Mustafa Muğlalı yapmışlar ismini. Bazı şeyler tabiki bilinçli yapılıyor, bu rastgele verilen isimlerden değil. Ciddi bir siyasi bir mesajı var, katliam yapan otuzüç insanın canını alan, hukuk nezninde suçu bulunmuş birinin ismini ödüllendiriyorsun. Bu sebepsiz değil."

[270] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 22 November 2009
"Bu öldürmekten daha kötü, çünkü hatırlayacaklar sürekli. Biz sokak isimlerini niye aslına çevirmeye çalışıyoruz ki. Diyarbakır'ın parkına Kenan Evren ismini verelim, insanlar bu zulümleri unutmasın diye. Bununla yüzleşilmediği için unutmak daha kötü. Almanlar Auschwitz'i kapatmadılar,

The narratives on the renamed places after the 1980 are inevitably linked to the violence and sufferings experienced by the locals throughout the 1980s and especially the 1990s. Also, the evacuation of villages and the forced migrations of the 1990s emerge as the recurring themes in the narratives of the locals. Even if I strived to bring the discussion back to the subject of renaming in the conversations and interviews, the narratives in one way or other proceeded with the locals' experiences of violence, oppression and trauma. This was because for many of the locals the 1990s was a decade that influenced their lives most and was also a period that they have never sufficiently faced. I then realized that the articulation of the violence and traumatic experiences, despite the difficulties in the narratives, were very critical and worthwhile for ethnographic explorations in Diyarbakır and Batman, as the articulation of trauma may help to re-contextualize the renaming policy with respect to the memory politics. The following narrative illuminates the intrinsic links between memory, space, violence and trauma:

> [I asked the interviewee, an attorney from a village in Eruh, Şemdinli, why he especially prefer to talk about the 1990s] Believe me, my speech elucidates the subconsciousness of the people of the region, whoever you speak with, the victimization and oppression of the 1990s would reemerge eventually as a subject matter. Because our people were exposed to intensified violence in that period. I was a small child in 1984, it was such a day that the commandos stood on the roofs of the village houses. I witnessed the arrest of my father; the commandos took him away in a crowd. In those days, a bunch of soldiers, in groups of 40 or 50 people, used to patrol in the hills of our village. Day and night, they ate canned foods. When I see empty cans, there still remain some in my village; I remember those days and the arrest of my father. My father was tortured for 45 days and then taken for the military service away. After the military service, he was taken into custody again. In those days, in the state television of TRT, there was a show called *Anadolu'dan Görünüm* [the view from Anatolia], my father was exposed to the public in that TV program. He was presented as a terrorist. I know they had nothing to arrest my father for, so they had set to my father free later. This entire story was

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insanlar kanlı geçmişi görsün ve ders alsın diye hala duruyor. İnsanlar unutmasın belleklerinde canlı kalsın diye hala açık. Belki şuradaki Koşuyolu parkının adını Kenan Evren parkı koyarsak insanlar o günleri unutmazlar. Çünkü Türkiye henüz bununla yüzleşmedi, bunun üstünü örtemeyiz. Bilhassa, Diyarbakır Cezaevi'ndeki uygulamaları hatırlamalı."

about a small gun, my grandfather used to have a small gun which he kept in our house.[271]

The transmission of childhood memories of violence through material objects deserves attention in this narrative. The empty cans for the lawyer evoked the unsettling story of his father's arrest, and became the symbol of memory of violence. The disruption in childhood [in the past] remembered through the material symbol today [in the present]. This narrative once again remind that the memories are not only transmitted and articulated through places [and place-names, in the context of this thesis], but also through the everyday material objects.

In discussing the collective memory, Seremetakis calls attention to the significance of material culture.[272] As is emphasized in the theoretical readings of the thesis, Halbwachs argues that memories are evoked through associative places and spaces. However, by contributing to the exploration of the mechanisms of the collective memory, Seremetakis underlines the transmission of memories through the minute details of everyday life. She explores, for instance, how the appearance-or-disappearance of the orange trees in Cyprus can be evocative of the violent incidents that happened after the Turkish operation and occupation of 1974. The interpretation of the everyday items of material culture, just like the place names, enables us to understand the politics of memory in the narratives of the locals. Some ethnographic readings over the facets of material culture in the narratives of the locals emerge

[271] Interview by the author, tape recording, Diyarbakır, Turkey, 22 November 2009.
"İnan benim konuşmam bölge insanının bilinçaltı, kimle konuşursan konuşun mevzu doksanlara mağduriyet ve zulüme gelecektir. Çünkü benim halkım yoğun şiddete maruz kaldı. 84'te, ben küçük çocuktum, bir gün köyde her evin damında bir tane komando duruyordu. Komandolar babamı o kadar kalabalığın içinde tutukladılar, babamı gözlerimin önünde alıp götürdüler. O günlerde kırk elli kadar asker grubu dağlarda sıralı gezerdi. Konserve yerlerdi gece gündüz. Hala konserve kutuları var köyde, ne zaman görsem konserve kutuları bana o günleri hatırlatıyor. Babam 45 gün işkencede kaldı, sonra askere aldılar, askerken tekrar gözaltına aldılar. O zamanlar TRT'de Anadolu'dan Görünüm vardı, bilir misin, Anadolu'dan Görünüme çıkardılar babamı, terörist yakaladık diye, sonrasında birşey çıkmadı. Dedemin evde tuttuğu küçük bir silahı vardı, tüm bunlar o sebepten. Sadece babamı götürdüler."

[272] Nadia Seremetakis, *The Senses Still* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

necessarily as a subject of inquiry for re-contextualizing the discussion of place names with respect to memory. In my ethnographic explorations, I tried to understand how the material culture worked in memory narrations.

> I visited the villages of Beşiri, Batman and a local villager escorts and guides me in the region. I ask him to tell me the stories of the villages, especially considering the stories of the names, around the region. We take a tour around some villages together. As most of the villages in the area have been destroyed and evacuated, it is hard to understand where the boundaries of the villages start and end, and where the village center is exactly located. At one point, my local guide starts to tell me the localities of the villages by giving references to the *kavak* (poplar) and *dut* (berry) trees. He also adds that these trees are the remaining symbols which signify that once upon a time there was a settlement nearby. Describing the localities of the villages, he points to the trees with his right hand, "above the kavak trees, you see the village of Jixsi, below you see Xiruce." Throughout his narration of the stories of the villages he keeps employing the poplars as the spatial reference. We then visit the subdistrict called Birincişafırnıt, in which the grave of the sacred man who lived there in the past is located. That is the tomb of Kalkemilomeco. He tells me that the villagers all together visit this sacred place on May 3 each year, in order to pray to God for the coming of the spring, the blossom of the flowers and fruits. He points to the old graves that lie in an arbitrary manner around the tomb. He tells me that the ones which lie in the direction of *kıble* (kiblah), according to the rule of Islam, belong to the Muslims, yet the ones which lie in various directions remained from Persians and Armenians. He suggests that long ago the Armenian people used to live there, but they "disappeared" later [the historical reference to the Armenian massacres of 1915].[273]

In the narratives of the locals, the place names and the fragments of material culture are intimately associated with each other. The everyday material objects

[273] Extracted from the field diary of the author, 28 November 2010.

sometimes turned into the correspondents of place names, and emerged sometimes as cultural references of place names. In addition, material objects sometimes, as is emphasized in the narrative, are the only remaining symbols that indicate the experiences of the past. For instance, the Armenian people "disappeared," yet their traces still can be found through the directions of graves and grave stones.

Therefore, in order to explore the intersecting and intermingling narratives of the material culture, the sense of place, the everyday encounters, the ethno-political tensions and the appropriation of Turkified place names; I present the story of the village Gundşeyh, as told by one of the villagers.[274]

> -*Can you tell me the story of your village?*
>
> Its actual name is Gundşeyh, which means the village of the Şeyh. About 330 years ago, one of my grandfathers bought the village from its owner, Aga, at the price of 70 gold coins. His two sons settled the village and began to do animal husbandry and farming around the village's region. Initially, from the months of spring to the fall, each year, they seasonally migrated there especially for breeding animals and returned to their original village, which is Şalvan. Then they permanently settled there. They brought water to the village, they built households, and they married off their children. It was 330 years ago, I guess in our lineage we reach the founding fathers of the village through 7 generations. We today are the seventh generation grandchildren of Şıh Mahmud. On account of our grandfather Şıh Mahmud, you see it was named as Gundşeyh. Then after the 1960 coup a d'état all the village names, including our village, in the region were changed. Not only the villages, all the hills and valleys in the region have been renamed in that period. Our village was renamed Akdoğmuş, yet this new name has no history, it does not depend on any relevant thing. It is an arbitrary name. For example, they would have called our village Pekmezciler, instead of Akdoğmuş, since our village is famous for its *pekmez* (molasses); there are lots of vineyards in our village. Or they would have called it Tuzcular. There is a salt meadow very

[274] See Appendix F.

close to our village, in which around a hundred of small salt pools are located. The salty water in the summer months are taken from the pools and the salt is dehydrated under the sun in July and August. Our village meets almost all the salt demand of the surrounding region. Long ago, the Armenians used to do the salt business. After the massacres, all the Armenian families in our village disappeared, some of their land was left to the locals of the surrounding region, yet also some remaining lands were seized by the state. Then the salt pools were operated by TEKEL. Recently that has been privatized. Including Siirt, Eruh, Şırnak, our village supplies the necessary salt all over the region. The employees of the TEKEL salt business have been composed of our villagers. Yet they do farming and husbandry at the same time. Thanks to the salt business, our village can be considered rich compared to the surrounding villages.

-*Can you tell me more about the Armenians of your village?*

Sure, but I have just heard the stories of the Armenians from the elder members of my family. Their land and resources were seized to some extent by the state upon the massacres. In this period [i.e. the period of the deportations], the state proposed that some soldiers not leave the region after the military service, and promised each of them lands, that had been left by the Armenians. Therefore, those soldiers stayed in the region. I know there are hundreds of such sergeants and corporals who stayed in and around our village, such as Hasan *Onbaşı* (corporal) and Davut Onbaşı. Still the people of Niğde and Yozgat, who were the grandchildren of the soldiers, remained in our village. These families had served as mediators between the locals and state in past, because in many cases they were the only people who know Turkish. They bridged links between the authorities and the villagers. Yet sometimes, they tried to discipline the villagers, they told the villagers that they would be punished if they did not conform to the rules. Therefore, they sometimes helped the authorities to take the villagers under control, like the village guards of today. For instance, there was the famous Hakkı Efendi. He migrated from Bursa. After the military service, the state gave him the lands of the neighbouring Sağırsu village. His children and grandchildren became mostly attorneys or engineers, because they have always been rich. His children attended elections as candidates of the National Order Party and the

Salvation Party in the past. Encountering the state authorities, this family claimed that they were indeed from Bursa, and asserted that they have no actual connections with the region, yet encountering the local people, they claimed that they were settlers of Eruh.

-*Do you still remember the Armenians; are there any traces left behind?*

Of course, we remember the Armenians. Well, for instance our villagers still refer to the Armenian people in their daily lives, such as saying "this garden belonged to Georg the Armenian in the past." For example, there is a village of Kelhe so close to our village, that remained from the Armenians and there was a castle in that village. In 1963, when I was a teenager, our villagers attempted to build channels in order to bring clean water to the village. They tried to bring water by that Armenian castle; they then discovered the water channels left from the Armenians. I guess the Armenian people must have brought water into the village of Sedah. Still there remained some traces of the Armenian life. Today nomad people live in this village, they benefit from the water resources as well as lands left by the Armenians. My father used to tell me the story of Sedah village. He told that the villagers of Sedah had been so happy [*full of life*] because the land and the water of the village were so generous. After the massacres there remained nothing but some latent traces. In order to use the channels left by the Armenians, the villagers initially brought the channels surface and then I saw their stones. We have realized that the Armenians brought clean water from far mountains, since the region's water had always been so salty.

-*Can you tell more about the names of the surrounding villages?*

For instance, the closest village is called Ekmekçiler. People of the village used to eat lots of bread; I guess each individual ate seven *tandır* (tandouri) breads in every meal. Maybe it is all about bread, and then they call it Ekmekçiler. Nevertheless, its actual name is Binelvan. Other villages are Sağırsu, Çizmeliköy (Nilvan), Cintepe (Buzikan). I don't know why the state authorities have chosen these irrelevant names. All these names as far as I remember were changed in the 1960s. Almost 50 years have passed. We still call it Gundşeyh, not Akdoğmuş. Even when we sometimes tell to the locals of other villages that 'we are from Akdoğmuş,' they are surprised.

As is emphasized in the narrative, the place names along with the everyday material objects carried the traces of the past. The place names, water channels, salt pools turned into the memory spaces that highlight the experiences, lives and encounters. In this narrative, as is underlined, the everyday material culture, political dynamics and stories of places were interwoven with each other.

So far the place names are considered as the most visible symbols of the spatial discussions, yet also it is necessary to explore the linguistics of the space in a broad sense. First and foremost, the reading of the spatial organization and restructuring in terms of the modernization experience of Turkey may enable us to contextualize the practice of renaming properly. The question at stake is how we can read the space as a text, that is "the city-text."

The design of the countryside became an urgent matter for the construction of the nation in early Republican Turkey. Especially, the issue of designing the model Turkish villages that reflected the ontology of the nation turned into a heated debate among the nationalist elites. Şükrü Kaya, the Prime Minister of the early period, suggested to "design...new villages that would guide and direct their inhabitants to a Turkish lifestyle."[275] In a similar vein, the nationalist architects of the period, such as Abdullah Ziya, Kazım Dirik, Burhan Arif and Şükrü Çankaya, proposed to build new social spaces in order to transform the ordinary peasants into Turkish citizens. In this framework, each village needed to be designed as a microcosmos of the nation.

> A main street would run to Republican Square with a statue of Atatürk in the middle emphasizing his centrality in the new social order, while at the head of the square there would be a People's House [Halkevi], the (CHP) party building designed to serve both as a school for the dissemination of the ideals of the Kemalist revolution and as the location for the local administrative headquarters.[276]

[275] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People."

[276] Ibid.

The redesign of Lice, one of the districts of Diyarbakır, can be interpreted in this context. After a massive earth quake in 1975 and the military operations in 1993 that was followed by the village evacuations, the city center of Lice was redesigned in accordance with the prospects of nationalism. Similar to the design of the Turkish model village in the early Republican period, a Republican square [a conventional Republican square, that is seen in all other cities of Turkey] decorated with a statue of Atatürk, some other famous Turkish leaders and the iconography of "the six principles of Kemalism" lie at the very core center of the town. All of the main streets of Lice lead to this square, or lie in that direction. At the heart of the city, the municipality building is located, which is encircled by the military zones. That is to say, across the municipality building, on the other side of the street, the military zone located. The street of the municipality, which is imprinted with a nationalist slogan "*Vatan Bölünmez*" (the country cannot be separated) on signboard, looks also in the direction of another military zone. The upper side of the town, after the earthquake, was called paradoxically *Yenişehir* (the new city), although most of the buildings in this part of the town still remain devastated. The locals state that the military used to seize the city streets and public buildings in need, by placing barbed wire along the whole street, in the 1990s.

Furthermore, the Panopticon gaze of the state hangs over the town, since on one of the hills that overlooks the town another conventional nationalist slogan "how happy who says I am a Turk" is written besides the illustration of the Turkish flag over the hill. It is not hard to suggest that the spatial organization of Lice explicitly reflects "the sense of Turkishness." Discussing the conditions of the Kurdish populated regions of Turkey in the 1990s, Jorgenden states that the evacuations of the villages following the low intensity war between the Turkish military and the

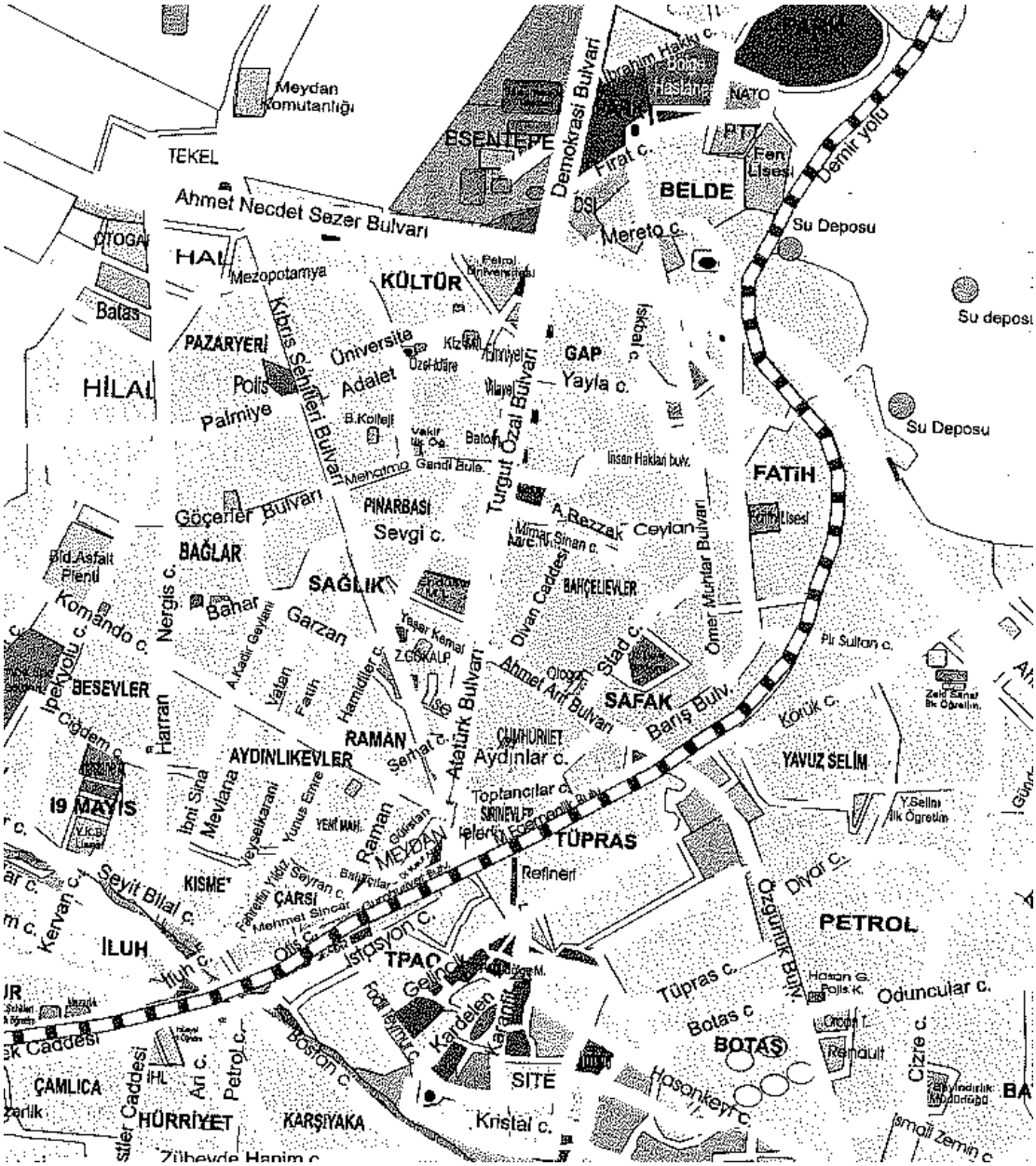
PKK militants created an opportunity for the bureaucrats to restructure and redesign the southeast spatially through the nationalist visions.

The construction of Batman can be interpreted safely in this context. In the 1950s, Batman, with its old name İluh, was turned into a significant settlement area due to the utilization of existent petrol reserves. In 1955, Batman became a municipal center, and in 1990 it was announced as the 72nd city of Turkey. The reading of the spatial organization of Batman can provide insights to understand to some extent the modern spatial regimes in Turkey, especially considering that the city was designed recently, in the 1990s, compared to other cities.

How can we read the city text of Batman? How can we interpret the making of modern Batman in terms of the spatial politics of the nation-state? Beginning with the reading of the street and boulevard names seems appropriate for the specific aims of the thesis. At the very core center of the city, there lie three main boulevards, namely Cumhuriyet (Republican), Milli Egemenlik (National Sovereignity) and Atatürk. As the principles of Republicanism and National Sovereignty along with the cult of Atatürk formed the central pillars of the new modern Turkey, the streets with resonant names constitute the main pillars of modern Batman. Besides, Komando (Commando) Street and Kıbrıs Şehitleri (Cyprus Martyrs) Street intersect together with Atatürk street and attach to the main node of the city. That is to say, all "the arteries of the city," by referring the biological metaphors of the spatial politics of Turkish nationalism, namely Atatürk, Milli Egemenlik, Cumhuriyet, and all significant "capillaries of the city," namely Komando, Kıbrıs Şehitleri, connect to "the heart of the city," that is Cumhuriyet square. One of the capillaries, Komando, signifies the strength and capacity of the military, and the other, Kıbrıs Şehitleri, commemorates the Turkish occupation of the Cyprus in 1974, a critical date for the

Turkish nationalism. Overall these streets, in one way or other, lie in the direction of Cumhuriyet square, which can safely be regarded as the very central node of the city plan.

Figure 2: The City Plan of Batman



The location of the Cumhuriyet square and its organization deserve also attention, as it is established along the railway, and is watched by the Central Police Station, just like the model of Panopticon. Considering the Cumhuriyet square as the hearth of the city, the railway, as such another main artery, connects the hearth of

Batman with the hearth of the whole Turkey, the capital city of Ankara. To reiterate, the Cumhuriyet square is the most critical focal point in the city-text, connecting the three main streets of the city. The municipality building is located in this node and is directed towards the square. Furthermore, it is possible to claim that all the significant state offices are located along the Atatürk Street and lead directly or indirectly to the Cumhuriyet square.

As the city center of Batman extending in the 1990s, new streets and boulevards came into being, or the already existent streets were renamed. One of the following segments of Atatürk Boulevard was called Turgut Özal and the other was called Demokrasi (Democracy) Boulevard. The street names that encircle the intersection of Atatürk, Milli Egemenlik and Cumhuriyet boulevards and therefore located around the Cumhuriyet Square as extending circles needed to be scrutinized. These streets were built more recently or have been renamed. Ahmet Arif (a Kurdish, left leaning poet), Barış (Peace), Ömer Muhtar (the anticolonial leader of Libya), Mahatma Gandhi (the anticolonial leader of India), İnsan Hakları (Human Rights) are some of the names of the peripheral streets. It is not implausible to suggest that these names, which have mostly been renamed by the pro-Kurdish municipalities in the late 1990s, imply the resistance or call to some extent for the establishment of a peaceful social space. Furthermore, the street names in the center and the street names in the periphery can be argued in line with the arguments of Şerif Mardin on "the center-periphery relations" in Turkey.[277] Associated with this framework, the central names in Batman can be regarded as illustrations of the Kemalist nationalism, whereas the peripheral names can be considered as the dissident voices of the Kurdish people.

[277] Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery Relations: A key to Turkish Politics?," *Daedalus* 102, no. 1 (1973), pp. 169-90.

Almost all the street names in Batman, including those named by the state in the early 1990s as well as those re-named streets following the victory of the pro-Kurdish political parties in the region, can be evaluated in the center-periphery networks, and within the tensions of governmentalization. The city plan of Beşiri, one of the municipalities of Batman, also can provide an insightful reading to understand the spatial politics in the making of modern Batman. As the largest street of Beşiri, Batman Boulevard divides the city into two parts. Most of the settlements, including the state offices -such as the police station, the prison, the hospital, the local military office and the government office- are located along the second largest street of city, Atatürk Street, in the down-town neighborhood of Milli Egemenlik. Milli Egemenlik is the most significant district of Beşiri, as its name signifies the nation's imprint. The municipality plans of Hasankeyf, Kozluk, Sason, Hisar, and Kayapınar -with the symbolic names in their central streets, that are mostly Atatürk or Cumhuriyet- carry similar patterns in their city plans and spatial organizations. The reading of the city texts, particularly through the street names, may enable us to understand the spatial politics of the making of modern cities in Turkey.

Jorgenden defines the Kurdish spatial politics of the 1990s, including the re-renaming of the cities, as the anticolonization endeavors.[278] Gambetti argues the recent spatial politics of the Kurdish movement, involving the appropriation of space, especially in Diyarbakır, as decolonization endeavor.[279] The pro-Kurdish local governments of Diyarbakır and Batman developed a series of spatial politics in the recent period, especially on the issue of street names, and this led to a series of

[278] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People."

[279] Zeynep Gambetti, "Politics of Space/Place: The Spatial Dynamics of the Kurdish and Zapatista Movements," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 41 (Fall 2009).

political conflicts and tensions. In the following chapter, “the war on street names” will be scrutinized.

CHAPTER VI

"THE WAR ON PLACE NAMES"

THE CURRENT STRUGGLES OVER STREET NAMES IN DIYARBAKIR AND BATMAN

For the last decade, with the victory of pro-Kurdish political party in the municipal elections of 1999 in the southeast regions and successive election of the pro-Kurdish DTP (Democratic Society Party) for the municipalities of Batman and Diyarbakır in the following period, the naming and renaming of place names have gained vital significance on the public agenda of the country once again. Since, instead of the place names that had been proposed and given by the central authorities, the elected mayors have affixed Kurdish-oriented place names or the names affiliated with the Kurdish political movement, particularly in urban level, the very process described by Joost Jorgenden as "the return of the other" in the urban space.[280] The process started with the introduction of 200 changed street names by the pro-Kurdish mayor of Batman, Abdullah Akın, in 2000.[281] The process of re-naming or back-naming of streets and parks have been continued especially in Diyarbakır and Lice in the period since then. The previous naming and renaming operations attempted to efface the traces of past or encounter with local sociopolitical dynamics, whereas the new Kurdish-oriented place names given by the pro-Kurdish municipalities intended to evoke the past and local dynamics. Considering the transformation of urban space and the emergence of new publicness in Diyarbakır on the axis of Kurdish political movement, Gambetti suggests that,

[280] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People."

[281] Ibid.

> The election of DEHAP to the metropolitan municipality marked a turning point in the recent history of Diyarbakır. The impact was not straightforwardly political in the narrow sense of the word, but...mainly cultural and social. The municipality became the engine force that opened new spaces of communication and expression, which not only fostered cultural life, but also new political publics to emerge.[282]

The new street and park names given by the pro-Kurdish municipalities, following the discussion of Gambetti, can be evaluated as the visible symbols of the "new political publics." I will thereby find appropriate and practical to call the process as "the Kurdish reappropriation of space" as well as "the creation of counter hegemonic memory space," contrary to the modernist/nationalist appropriation of space, which was discussed in the historical parts of this thesis.[283] For arguing the process, what I conceptualize as "the creation of counter hegemonic memory space," Jorgenden suggests that, "the (re)naming strategy of DTP mayors not only directly counteracts past efforts to overcome Kurdishness in rural and urban political geography, but also tries to reintroduce a Kurdish politico-cultural sensitivity into the public setting of everyday life."[284]

Discussing the sociopolitical implications of the renaming practices of Kurdish municipalities, Jorgenden gives the removal of the street name Aydın Arslan, who was the super governor of the region in the state of emergency in 1990s in Batman, as an exemplary contestation.[285] Not surprisingly, the Kurdish-oriented re-naming places in Batman and Diyarbakır resulted in the encounters and conflicts

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[282] Zeynep Gambetti, "The Conflictual (Trans)formation of the Public Sphere in Urban Space: The Case of Diyarbakır," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 32 (2005), pp. 43-71.

[283] "Counter-hegemony" is used to refer the endeavors of the pro-Kurdish political parties to confront the norms of modernization in Turkey. Yet, it is necessary to state that counter-hegemonic movements may lead to the alternative/other hegemonies depending on how they re-appropriate existing constructs, symbols and myths. See, Danny A. Lesh, *Hegemony, Articulation and Counter-Hegemonic Struggle*, Avaliable [Online]: http://www.counterheg.org/counterheg.html

[284] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People."

[285] The name *Aydın Arslan* calls for the oppresive measures of the state in 1990s, as it is clearly stated by the local people in the interviews.

between the various state offices and local authorities, to be more concrete, the severe tensions between the Council of State and the governorships, on the one side of the spectrum, and the municipalities and the city councils, on the other side. Therefore, in this part of the thesis, I will explore the reappropriation of sociopolitical space, particularly in Batman and Diyarbakır, on the main axis of Kurdishness through the re-naming of streets and parks.

To begin with Batman, the street names that have changed by the DTP-run municipality in 2000 have specific connotations, namely a few, the Kurdishness, the anticolonialism, and the call for democracy, multiculturalism and pluralism. Some of the current street names that were given in 2000 are listed in following.

Table 6: Current Street Names in Batman[286]

CURRENT STREET NAMES	MEANING OR REFERENCE
Demokrasi Bulvarı	"democracy"
Özgürlük Bulvarı	"freedom"
Barış Bulvarı	"peace"
İnsan Hakları Bulvarı	"human rights"
Adalet Caddesi	"justice"
Hoşgörü Caddesi	"tolerance"
Mahatma Gandhi Bulvarı	The anti-colonial leader and non-violent activist of India against the British domination
Ömer Muhtar Bulvarı	The anti-colonial leader of Libya against French domination
Ahmet Arif Bulvarı	The famous left-leaning Kurdish poet and writer
Yaşar Kemal Caddesi	The famous left-leaning Kurdish novelist, the Nobel prize nominee
Mehmet Sincar Caddesi	The Kurdish parliamentarian, assassinated in 1993 in Batman
Dr. Yusuf Azizoğlu Caddesi	The Kurdish parliemantarian, the Minister of Health in past, who built hospitals in the Kurdish regions
Selahattin Eyyubi Caddesi	The famous Kurdish-Muslim leader, the founder of Eyyubi dynasty in 12th century
Abdülkadir Geylani Caddesi	The Islamic intellectual, the founder of the *Kadiri* Sufi order who lived in 12th century
İbni Sina Caddesi	The famous Islamic figure and philosopher of 11th century
Veysel Karani Caddesi	The famous Islamic figure who lived in the age

[286] By the author of the thesis, 15 February 2010.

	of Muhammad the prophet
Mevlana Caddesi	The famous Sufi mystic and poet of 13th century
Pir Sultan Caddesi	The famous Alevi poet of 16th century
Seyit Bilal Caddesi	The famous local Islamic figure in Batman, the founder of Becirman village, whose lineage lay to Muhammad the prophet
Ahmet Necdet Sezer Bulvarı	The 10th president of Turkey
Turgut Özal Bulvarı	The 8th president of Turkey

The deciphering of why particular street and boulevard names were chosen is critical to understanding the significations of the place names in terms memory politics. Initially, the emphasis made by the civil society for democracy, human rights, freedom, peace, and justice for redressing the Kurdish Question over the last 25 years reverberated in street names. That is to say, the street names become the vehicles and reflections of the public cognizance for finding ways of reconciliation on the Kurdish Question. Nevertheless, it is necessary to make special emphasis on the street names of Mahatma Gandhi and Omer Muhtar. The selection of these anticolonial figures, who call for resisting the British and Italian dominance in India and in Libya respectively, has resonance considering that the Kurdish movement describes itself as an "anticolonial struggle."[287]

In addition, the denomination of Ahmet Arif and Yaşar Kemal, two famous literary figures of Kurdish descent, as street names are critical with respect to writing Kurdish history over the city-text of Batman. Furthermore, the affixing of Islamic intellects and leaders such as Selahattin Eyyubi and Abdülkadir Geylani as street names discloses the incorporation of Islamic past within the counter hegemonic memory space, in sharp contrast to the secularist stance of the Republican period. As was discussed in previous chapters, this stance rejected the Islamic heritage especially considering the lines of the Ottoman past for the sake of the secularism

[287] Gambetti, "Politics of place/space," pp. 43-87.

principle. Lastly, the street name of Pir Sultan deserves special attention, since it signals the endeavor to include the Alevi identity in the counter hegemonic memory space.

In a nutshell, the selective strategies of the decommemoration of the figures and signs of nationalist historiography and recommemoration of such Kurdish historical figures like Ahmet Arif or some important days like Newroz [Kurdish New Year celebration] play vital roles in the re-construction of contested memory spaces.[288] The removal of the statue of Atatürk in 2004 and the erection of Musa Anter's statue needed to be evaluated in this context:

> After his election in 2004, the HADEP mayor of Diyarbakır, Osman Baydemir, removed a statue Atatürk from one of the city's main squares along with one of the signs to the city proclaiming 'Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene'. The phrase translates as "How Happy is He Who Can Say He is a Turk," and is one of the most widely used and well-known aphorisms quoted from Mustafa Kemal, and an emblematic slogan of republican mythology. Then, in late 2005, a statue was erected in Diyarbakır commemorating Musa Anter, one of the country's most prominent Kurdish authors and activists, killed as part of a wave of 'unknown assailant murders' when visiting the city in 1992.[289]

Beyond the strategy of the selection of these symbolic street names by the pro-Kurdish municipality of Batman, there emerged profound power struggles and conflicts. When the Batman Municipality attempted to change the street and boulevard names upon the decision of the City Council in 2000, many of the proposed street names including the ones that are in use today were rejected. The decision of the Batman Municipality for renaming the street names was challenged initially by the Governor's Office and the issue was then transferred to the Council of State (Danıştay), in which some of the proposed street names of the Municipality were found "inconvenient." The street names of Ömer Muhtar, Mahatma Gandhi,

[288] For the contestations over "Newroz" the spring Festival, which is a symbol of Kurdish identity, see Gambetti, "The Conflictual (Trans)formation."

[289] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People."

Elmedina, Tirmerc, Zozan, Laleş, Hazzo, Munzur, Saidi Nursi, Yılmaz Güney, Halepçe, and Arapkent were detected by Council of State as "contrary to the legislations in force" [mer'i mevzuata aykırı]. The Council explains the legal reasoning behind the rejection as follows,

> The streets, boulevards, squares and such places shall not be named in contrary to the main principles of the constitution, the legislation in force, the public order; and the street names that may lead to the discrimination and against the public morality, the street names consisting the words and expressions that are composed according to the foreign language norms, or the burlesque and obscene street names shall not be allowed.[290]

Besides this general legal rationale for rejection, the Council of State explained the justifications of rejecting each name under consideration in detail, as illustrated in original formats in the following table.[291]

Table 7: Proposed Street Names in Batman[292]

STREET NAME	THE JUSTIFICATION OF THE COUNCIL FOR REJECTION
Ömer Muhtar	"The leader of the independence struggle of Libya against France" in Council's words. The Council compels the Municipality to ask for permission from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Mahatma Gandhi	"The leader of the independence struggle of India against Britain" in Council's words. The Council compels the Municipality to ask for permission from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Elmedina	"The name of the village of Batman, which was flooded in the Republican period, is written according to the principles of *foreign language*."
Zilan	"The name of a tribe in the region, and it is also a name of a river in which *it is claimed* that a Kurdish massacre took place during the Kurdish uprisings of 1929 and 1930."
Tirmerç	"The regeneration of the non-Turkish names is targeted once again." [It had been renamed as Tilmerc by the authorities in past]
Laleş	"It means "tulip" in Kurdish; it is also the name of sacred day or the sacred place of pilgrimage in Iraq for Yezidis."
Hazzo	It is found in contrary to the legislation in force by the Council.
Munzur	"It is the name of a mountain and river in Tunceli region, in which

[290] Republic of Turkey, *TC Danıştay Birinci Daire*, Esas No: 117, Karar No: 134, 2000.

[291] The idea of exploring the justifications of rejection in detail is borrowed from Joost Jorgenden, nevertheless, the original records of Danıştay, instead of the reasonings narrated in the media which is used by Jorgenden, are used in this research.

[292] By the author of the thesis, based on the decree of the *Danıştay*, 15 February 2010.

	it is also claimed that the Kurdish massacre took place during the Dersim uprising of 1937."
Saidi Nursi	[The founder of the *Nurcu* Sufi order] "As this name can be used as a propaganda tool in terms of *irtica* and separatist activities ["bölücü faaliyetler"], it may lead to factionalism in society"
Yılmaz Güney	"[Güney] involved in some separatist activities, he was sentenced for committing the murder of a judge and then escaped to abroad"
Halepçe	"The name of a settlement in Iraq, which *is known* for the Kurdish massacre of Iraqi state."
Arapkent	"The regeneration of the non-Turkish names is targeted once again." [It had been Turkified by the authorities in past]

It is necessary to pay attention to the structure and linguistics of the justifications. The Council of State, as illustrated above, concerned with the everyday implications of these proposed street names. In many circumstances, the Council perceived these names to be "threatening" fragments of the past that needed to be overcome. Describing "the Kurdish massacres" within the country, the Council specifically referred to them as mere "claims." However, the Kurdish massacre in Halepçe, Iraqi, was considered to be factual information by the Council; that is to say, this massacre was recognized by the Turkish authorities. In the final analysis, the Council of State summarizes its broad justification of rejection as follows,

> Examining these names, it is realized that some of them are not Turkish and composed according to the principles of a foreign language; some of them evoke the uprisings against the state happened in past and the so-called massacres that took place during these uprisings, likewise the name of Halepçe serve for the same end; and the names of Ömer Muhtar and Mahatma Gandhi, as these are anti-colonial figures, are specifically selected; through all these street names, the separatism is popularized and the uprising against the state is presented as a convenient act, and political gain is aimed at by giving specific messages to the differentiating fractions of society in terms of ethnic roots and religious beliefs; these names are not randomly selected, yet the results of a deliberate choice… the renaming of streets as the City Councils ceaselessly change may lead to *the cultural erosion.* [293]

[293] Ibid. [Emphasis added.] In Turkish the justification reads as

"bu isimler incelendiğinde bir kısmının Türkçe olmadığı yabancı dil kurallarına göre teşkil edildiği; bir kısmının ise daha önceki tarihlerde devlete yapılan isyanları ve bu isyanlar sırasında güya devlet tarafından katledilenleri çağrıştırdığı, keza Halepçe isminin de aynı amaca hizmet ettiği, Ömer Muhtar ve Mahatma Gandhi isimlerinin de sömürgecilere karşı mücadele eden kişiler olduğundan özellikle seçildiği, bütün bu isimlerin caddelere konulması ile toplumda ayrımcılığın yaygınlaştırılmaya ve halk nezdinde devlete isyan etmenin makul bir şeymiş gibi gösterilmeye

It is very plausible to assert that the critical stance of the authorities against the Kurdish re-appropriation of space can easily be understood from this broad justification of rejection. "The uprising against the state", "the separatism," and "the cultural erosion" are some of "the threats" that might result from the Kurdish-oriented street names in the eyes of the authorities of the Council.

The re-naming of street and park names in Diyarbakır has also turned into a controversial issue in 2000s. Some symbolic names for the streets and parks were proposed in 2007 by the DTP-run municipality. In general, the Kurdishness and the discourses related with the Kurdish movement were attempted to be inscribed into the city-text of Diyarbakır through the proposed names. Evaluating the implications of the proposed street names in Diyarbakır, Jorgenden argues that the Municipality strived to create "new memory space" via these names.[294] Some of the proposed street and park names in Diyarbakır are listed in following table.

Table 8: Proposed Street Names in Diyarbakır[295]

Proposed Name	**Meaning or Reference**
1 Gulan	*1st May*, in Kurdish, The International Workers' Day
8 Mart	The women's day
Barış	*Peace*, in Turkish
Aşiti	*Peace*, in Kurdish
Ekim	*The October*, referring to the October Revolution of 1917
33 Kurşun Parkı	*33 Bullets Park*, in Turkish, "commemorating the extrajudicial killing of Kurdish villagers in 1943 on the order of a Turkish general and hero of the war of Independence"
Çarçıra Parkı	"Named after Chahar-cheragh Square in the city of Mahabad (in today's Iran) where Qazi Muhammed

çalışıldığı, diğer yandan da etnik köken ve dini düşünce açısından farklılık gösteren toplum kesimlerine birer mesaj verilerek siyasi rant elde etmenin hedeflendiği, verilmiş bu isimlerin tesadüfen seçilmediği, bilinçli bir seçimin ürünü olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Cadde ve sokak isimlerinin her değişen Belediye Meclisi tarafından değiştirilmesinin hem kültürel bir erozyona yol açacağı, hem de cadde ve sokak isimlendirilmesinden beklenen fayda sağlanamayacağı, her şeyden önemlisi bir takım kamu hizmetlerinin gerilemesine sebep olacağı açıktır."

[294] Jorgenden,"Crafting Space, Making People"

[295] Ibid.

	announced the (Russian-backed) independent state of the republic of Kurdistan, (and where he and several of his comrades were executed a year later, when Iranian authority was restored)."
Azad	*Freedom,* in Kurdish
Özgür	*Free,* in Turkish
Jiyanan Azad	*Free Life,* in Kurdish
Kardeşlik	Brotherhood, in Turkish
Ciwan	Youth, in Kurdish
Mem û Zîn	"A long poem written in 1706/7 by Ahmet Hani in which he called forcefully for Kurdish self-rule and which was adopted by later generations as a national epic"
Zembilfroş	Kurdish poem
Ahmed Xani	Kurdish poet
Ahmet Arif	Kurdish poet
Musa Anter	Kurdish writer
Ayşe Nur Zarakoğlu	Turkish writer
Zeynel Durmuş	"A young Kurdish woman who was going to participate in the celebrations for World Peace Day 2001, but died after falling from the sixth floor of a building while being chased by police"
Şemse Allak	"The name of a Kurdish woman who became victim of a honor-killing, stoned to death by her family for having an extramarital relationship"
Amid	One of the old names of Diyarbakır

The strategies of recommemoration and decommemoration, what can be called as the selective memory politics in general, become significant issue considering these street names. The oppressive measures towards the Kurdish people in the past were recalled, such as the 33 bullets incident, and the critical figures for the Kurdish historiography, such as Ahmed Xani, were remembered. Yet more interestingly, the articulation of the "leftist," "emancipatory" discourses through these names deserves special attention. The leftist and feminist dates, such that 1st May, 8th March, the revolutionary communist month of October, what are deemed to be threatening by the conservative-nationalists, are deliberately included in the new geography of memory.

Nevertheless, beyond the renaming endeavors of the pro-Kurdish municipality of Diyarbakır, critical encounters and conflicts took place between the

municipality and the state offices. To be more concrete, many of these proposed street names were rejected by the governorship and later by the Higher Court. Yet the municipality insisted on the proposed street names, and similar to the Batman case, the issue was then transferred to the Council of State upon the request of the Diyarbakır governorship. Many of the proposed names were rejected through various justifications. 33 Bullets Park, for instance, was rejected by the Administrative Court on the ground that it "makes the state an object of accusation."[296] Furthermore, the names of Zembilfroş, Jiyana Azad, Aşiti, Ciwan, Yek Gulan, and Zeynel Durmuş were rejected, since they were evaluated by the governor's office as the concrete "symbols of a forbidden terrorist organization."[297] In addition to the rejection of the name Ciwan, "the governorship added to its declaration that Article 222 in the Turkish Penal Code mentioned a prison sentence of 2-6 months for acts contrary to rules regarding the Turkish alphabet."[298] In this point, it is necessary to mention Article 222 that prohibits the employment of the Kurdish letters of "q," "x," and "w" in practice, therefore can be regarded as the most concrete legal barrier against the Kurdish-oriented street and park names.

The serious struggles over street names have also been experienced recently in Lice, Diyarbakır. The City Council of Lice has deemed it suitable to name a street *Aydın* (the intellectual), which has remained untitled since 1975. Upon the meeting of the City Council, the DTP-run municipality attempted to denominate the street. Yet the governorship rejected the decision of the Council by declaring the name Aydın "separatist" and "ideological." The governorship legitimated its rejection

[296] Jorgenden, "Crafting Space, Making People." Also, for the detailed discussion of 33 Bullets incident, see "Ethnographic Explorations" in this thesis.

[297] Ibid.

[298] Ibid.

according Legal Code 5393, which states that "the names that lead to the separatism and discrimination and in contrary to the main principles of the constitution, the legislation in force, and the public morality shall not be given to the quarters, squares and streets."[299]

In fact, it is proper to emphasize that this name, Aydın, has no evident ethnopolitical references. Literally, Aydın means intellectual, cultured and educated in Turkish. It is the name of a city in the western region of Turkey as well. Thereby, the issue at stake in Lice did not result from a sole re-naming practice in a literary sense. Nevertheless, it is safe to argue the street name was turned into symbol of the political tensions between the Kurdish municipality and the agents of central state. As a matter of fact, the authorities of Lice Municipality affirmed that there was unrelieved political tension between the two sides on the axis of Kurdishness.[300] Especially, in 2008, the encounters between the governorship and the municipality became sharp on the issue of street and park names.

After the rejection of this proposed name, Aydın, the City Council met once again and decided to name the street Aydın with a majority of votes for the second time. Yet the governorship rejected the Council's decision again. It was stated by the municipal authorities that the governor's rejection of the Council's decision for the second time did not have any legal basis, and it is stated that the Municipality's incentive was constrained illegally, the issue then needed to be transferred to the Council of State.[301]

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[299] Ibid.

[300] Interview by the author, tape recording, Lice, Turkey, 27 November 2009.

[301] "Kaymakam 'bölücülük'te sınır tanımadı; Aydın ismi de 'bölücü'oldu," *DIHA*, 13 June 2007.

In the final analysis, the DTP-run municipalities recently have strived to reappropriate urban space and to create new contested memory spaces through Kurdish-oriented re-naming of street and park names. Yet, as discussed in detail, the process led to the severe conflicts and encounters between the local Kurdish administrations and the authorities of central state in Batman, Diyarbakır and Lice.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This study explored the practice of renaming places in Turkey. It attempted to sketch the spatio-temporal regimes and memory politics in relation to the renaming places in Turkey. This thesis can be considered as a brief attempt to fill the much neglected area of study in the current literature – i.e. the spatial disciplinary techniques and territorial strategies in modernization experience of Turkey. The Turkish nationalism and state formation process in Turkey have been argued extensively from macro perspectives, particularly since the 1980s. However, the everyday aspects of the modernization, especially symbolic-spatial practices, in Turkey have been ignored to some extent until recently. At this juncture, this study suggested a perspective to read everyday repercussions of governmentalization and nationalization of territory in Turkey.

Also, another novelty that this thesis aimed for is to put space and time politics together, since the strategies of spatial re-construction (i.e. the renaming places in the context of the thesis) are intrinsically related to the reconfiguration of history and the politics of memory. The Turkification of place names attempted transform Anatolian territory into the Turkish homeland. Also, the renaming practice aimed to overcome the traces of the Kurdish, Armenian and Greek pasts. This study argued that the policy-makers strived to create a blank page or *tabula rasa* in order to invent new history, new subjectivities and new national territory.

The terminology of space in a Foucaldian sense, instead of geography as an academic discipline, was taken into consideration in this thesis. That is to say, it was argued that the spatial practices, strategies and constructions, especially considering

the renamed places, are very related to certain political processes and asymmetrical power relations. The spatial categories and renamings are not only the results of Turkish modernization project, yet they have emerged as a result of encounters between the state authorities and subjects. That is to say, the renaming policy took the sociopolitical dimensions of the localities into consideration. Since, in many cases, the renaming policy confronted and overcame the local stories. This study suggested that the space is a dynamic concept to study from sociological and anthropological perspectives.

The central theoretical argument of the thesis is the practice of renaming in Turkey aimed to efface the divergent and mixed temporalities, while establishing the hegemony of Turkish modernization. Therefore, in a more theoretical fashion, the renaming of places was argued as a specific technique towards governmentalization of space and colonization of time in Turkey

This study especially scrutinized the formations and operations of the Expert Commission on Name Changes, which signifies a turning point for the renaming politics in Turkey. The renaming practice was turned into a state project in the 1940s. However, with the establishment of the Expert Commission in 1957, the renaming project became an "entrenched bureaucratic project." The Commission declared clearly its goal as the Turkification of place names. In addition, the Commission worked exhaustively especially between 1957 and 1978 and changed thousands of settlement and natural place names – as an instance, about 35 percent of village names.

Kurdish populated regions of southeastern Turkey exposed to the renaming policy at most, despite the fact that the renaming policy applied in all regions of Turkey. Yet to be more specific, the policy targeted Kurdish, Armenian, Greek,

Syriac, Georgian and Lazuri names at most. The discursive analysis of the Symposium on Turkish Place Names held in 1984 that evaluated the success of the renaming policy gave insights about the scope and goals of the renamings. It was realized that the policy aimed to change all non-Turkish names and attempted to create Turkified homeland geography, from discursive and symbolic dimensions.

Based on a fieldwork in Diyarbakır and Batman, this study illustrated that the renaming policy was contested from below in many ways. The Turkified place names were not used by the local inhabitants in-between encounters. The everyday confrontations of the locals with the state on the issue of the changed names gave specific insights into the processes of hegemony and consent. In simple terms, this research showed that the locals' use of old/Kurdish names can be evaluated on the axis of subaltern politics and everyday resistance.

Also, it was discussed that the spatial organization of Kurdish populated regions gave insights about contested identities of ethnopolitical origins. It was argued that the city-text of Batman carry the linguistic tones of Turkish modernization. In addition, this research explored the formations of counter hegemonic memory spaces. Kurdish municipalities of Batman and Diyarbakır gave new names to the streets and parks in the 2000s. Along with the emphasis on Kurdishness, other fragments that had been excluded by the Turkish modernization were articulated on those names, such as figures and dates from socialism, feminism and Alevism. The Kurdish-oriented renamings of streets and parks in Diyarbakır and Batman led to a series of conflicts between the state offices and municipalities. I explored which names were included in the memory politics of the city and how they were contested by the state agents.

In a nutshell, this study discussed that the renaming and Turkification of place names conducted as a state project in Turkey, especially after 1957. In some cities, especially in Kurdish populated regions, almost whole city-text was rewritten through the renaming policy. Yet, the renaming policy did not penetrate into the everyday lives of the local people; they kept referring the old names. It is argued that the Turkified place names were external to the sociocultural spaces of the locals, insomuch that the renaming policy was challenged seriously in the 2000s. The analysis of spatial politics in Turkey deserves more attention from academic circles.

APPENDIX A

DH/ İ-UM
48/17
S.N. 1333
İstanbul Vilayeti
Hulasa: Suret Melfuf

1- Memâlik-i Osmaniyyede Ermenice, Rumca veya Bulgarca hasılı İslâm olmayan milletler lisânıyla yad idilen vilâyet, sancâk, kasaba, köy, dağ, nehir… ilh bi-l-cümle isimlerin Türkçeye tahvîli mukarrerdir. Şu müsâid zamanımızda sür‘atle istifâde idilerek bu maksadın mevki‘-i fi‘le konması husûsunda himmetinizi rica iderim.

2- Mıntıkanız dâhilindeki ahz-i asker rüesâsı ve me’mûrîn-i mülkiye ile birleşerek bu tahvilâtı müş‘ir cedvelleri tertîb itsinler ve evvel emirde vilâyet, sancâk, kaza merkezlerinden başlayub biten cedvelleri peyderpey karârgâh-ı umûmiye göndersünler. Toplanan cedvellerde tedkikat icrâ ve yekdiğerine çok benzeyen isimler bi-l-muhâbere tebdîl olunduktan sonra bunlar dâhiliye ve posta nezâretlerine ta‘mîm ve tatbik idilmesi içün gönderilecekdir.

3- Yeni konacak isimlerin dâimâ çalışmakda ibret ve mi‘yâr (?) olacak tarihi mefâhir-i askeriyemizi şâmil olması mültezemdir. Gerek şimdi ve gerek evvelce vakayi‘-ı harbiyeye ma‘rûz kalmış olan mevki‘ler oraya mahsûs şanlı geçen hadisâtı hatırlatmalı. Ve bu vâki‘ değilse en namûslu ve memlekete nafi‘ hidmetlerde bulunubda vefât itmiş zatların isimleri zikr idilmeli. Veyahud mevki‘in dâimâ mebzûl ve ma‘rûf olan mahsûlât, sanâyi‘ ve ticâretine dâimâ sâbit kalacak ve san‘ât ve şekl-i coğrafîsine yakışan isimler bulunmalı ve-l-hâsıl mekteb hevâceleri talebelerine coğrafya öğretdikleri sırada vatanımızın her parçasını zikr iderken onlara ayn[ı] zamanda her mevki‘in şanlı tarihine iklim, mahsûl, san‘ât ve ticâretine âid fa‘ideli mevzû‘lar bulabilmelidirler. Bir de ötedenberi yabancı da olsa nasılsa lisânen ülfet idilmiş isimlerin birdenbire başka lâfzen hiç de müşâbeheti olmayan isimlere tahvîli hem ba‘z[ı] yanlışlıkları ve hem de alâ hâlihi ahâlî ağzında eski isimlerin dolaşmasını mucib olacağından ahâlînin kabiliyet-i fıtriyesi nazar-ı mülâhazaya alınmalı ve ona göre isim bulunmağa i‘tinâ idilmelidir. Meselâ: bu zikr idilen esâs dâhilinde isim bulmak kabil olmaz ise “Erkli” yi “Erikli” veyahud “Oraklı”[302], Geliboliyye “Velibolu” dimekle her halde ülfet-i sabıka ihlal idilmemiş olur.

23 Kanunevvel 331

Başkumandan Vekili
Enver

[302] Bu kelime okunamadı.

APPENDIX B

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
KARARLAR DAİRESİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Karar sayısı
2
7789

Kararname

Diyarıbekir beldesi adının (Diyarbakır) olarak değiştirilmesi hakkında belediye meclisi ile vilâyet idare hey'etinin kararları ve Şurayı devlet reisliğinin 2/I2/937 tarih ve I9430 - sayılı tezkeresile gönderilen Mülkiye dairesile Umumî hey'etin mazbataları İcra Vekilleri Hey'etinin IO/I2/937 tarihli toplantısında okunarak I580 sayılı kanunun 9 uncu maddesine gö re bu belde adının (Dıyarbakır) olarak değiştirilmesi onanmıştır.

IO/I2/937

REİSİCUMHUR

K. Atatürk

BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
MUAMELÂT MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Şube: K.
Sayı : 14937

KARARNAME

Antalya Vilâyetine bağlı (Alâiye) Kazası isminin (Alanya)ya çevrilmesi: Dahiliye Vekilliğinin I8/5/933 tarih ve 7I/I8 numaralı tezkeresile yapılan teklifi ve Şuravı Devlet Heyeti Umumivesinin x tensibi üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetinin 23/5/933 toplanışında kabul edilmiştir.

23/5/933

REİSİCUMHUR

Gazi M. Kemal

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
MUAMELÂT MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Şube:
Sayı : 2
2460

KARARNAME

I580 sayılı Belediye Kanununun 9 uncu maddesine göre merkezi Karaköse olan Bayazıt Vilâyeti adının (Ağrı) ya ve merkezi Bayazıt olan Karaköse Kazası adının da (Doğu Bayazıdı) na çevrilmesi, vilâyet belediye meclisi ve idare heyetinin kararına atfen Dahiliye Vekilliğinin 3/3/935 tarih ve 541 sayılı teklifi ve Şurayı Devlet Reisliğinin 2/5/935 tarih ve 4232 sayılı mutaleanamesi üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetince 4/5/935 de onanmışdır.

4/5/935

REİSİCÜMHUR

K. Atatürk

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
KARARLAR MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Karar sayısı
2
3624

Kararname

Gevar kazası adının Yüksek Ova ve Hüseyin abât kasabası - adının Alaca ya çevrilmesi ,Dahiliye vekilliğinin teklifi ve Şurayı Devletin mütaleası üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetince 29/II/935 de onanmışdır.

29/II/935

REİSİCÜMHUR

K. Atatürk

APPENDIX C

İl İdaresi Kanunu
Kanun Numarası: 5442
Kanun Kabul Tarihi: 10/06/1949
Yayımlandığı Resmi Gazete Tarihi: 18/06/1949
Yayımlandığı Resmi Gazete Sayısı: 7236
Bölüm I: Mülki İdare Bölümlerinin Kuruluşları

Madde 2 - İl, ilçe ve bucak kurulması, kaldırılması, adlarının, bağlılıklarının, merkez ve sınırlarının belirtilmesi ve değiştirilmesi aşağıda gösterilen şekilde yapılır:

A) İl ve ilçe kurulması, kaldırılması, merkezlerinin belirtilmesi, adlarının değiştirilmesi, bir ilçenin başka bir İl'e bağlanması kanun ile;

B) Bucak kurulması, kaldırılması, merkezinin belirtilmesi, il ilçe ve bucak sınırlarının ve bucak adlarının değiştirilmesi bir köyün veya kasabanın veya bucağın başka bir il ve ilçeye bağlanması, mühim mevki ve tabii arazi adlarının değiştirilmesi İçişleri Bakanlığının kararı ve Cumhurbaşkanının tasdiki ile;

C) Yeniden köy kurulması veya yerinin değiştirilmesi Bayındırlık ve Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlıklarının mütalaası alınmak suretiyle;

Ç) Köy ve kasabaların aynı ilçe içinde bir bucaktan başka bir bucağa bağlanması, köy adlarının değiştirilmesi, köylerin birleştirilmesi ve ayrılması, bir köy, mahalle veya semtin o köyden ayrılıp başka bir köy ile birleştirilmesi İçişleri Bakanlığının tasvibiyle yapılır.

D) (Değişik bent: 11/05/1959 - 7267/1 md.) Kaza kurulmasında ve kaldırılmasında, bir kazanın başka bir vilayete bağlanmasında ve merkezinin belirtilmesinde, sınırlarının değiştirilmesinde ve (B, C, Ç) fıkralarında yazılı hallerde ilgili vilayetler idare heyetleriyle umumi meclislerinin mütalaaları alınır. Ancak; Türkçe olmayan ve iltibasa meydan veren köy adları, alakadar Vilayet Daimi Encümeninin mütalaası alındıktan sonra, en kısa zamanda Dahiliye Vekaletince değiştirilir.

E) İllere, ilçelere, bucaklara, merkez yapılan şehir, kasaba veya köyün adı verilir. Şu Kadar ki, bunlarıncoğrafi veya tarihi bir sanı varsa o da isim olarak verilebilir.

APPENDIX D

Ad Değiştirme Uzmanlar Kurulu Kuruluş, Görev ve Çalışma İlke ve Usulleri Hakkında Yönetmelik

Birinci Bölüm
Amaç, Kapsam, Kuruluş ve Görev

Amaç:
Madde 1 - 5442 sayılı İl İdaresi Kanunun 2nci maddesi uyarınca; il, ilçe, bucak, köy ve önemli mevkii ve tabii arazi adlarının değiştirilmesinde, tarihi, kültürel ve dil bakımından yanılmaları önlemek için danışmanlık yapmak ve yardımcı olmak üzere "Ad Değiştirme Uzmanlar Kurulu" kurulmuştur.

Kapsam:
Madde 2 - Bu Yönetmelik; Ad Değiştirme Uzmanlar Kurulunun kuruluş, görev, ve çalışma usul ve ilkeleri ile ilgili esasları kapsar.

Kuruluş:
Madde 3 - Kurul İçişleri Bakanlığı İller İdaresi Genel Müdürünün veya görevlendireceği yardımcısının başkanlığında Genelkurmay Başkanlığının bir, Milli Savunma Bakanlığı, Harita Genel Müdürlüğünün iki, Milli Eğitim, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlıkları ve Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğünün birer, Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi ile Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumunun (Türk Dil Kurumu ve Türk Tarih Kurumunun) ikişer temsilcisinden oluşur. İçişleri Bakanlığı gerek duyduğunda diğer kuruluşlardan ve öğretim kurumlarından uzman personel çağırmaya yetkilidir. Kurulun sekretarya görevleri İller İdaresi Genel Müdürlüğünce yürütülür.

Görev:
Madde 4 – Kurulun görevleri şunlardır:
a. İl ve İlçelerin adlarının değiştirilmesine ilişkin kanun tasarılarının hazırlanmasında İçişleri Bakanlığına görüş bildirmek.
b. Bu yönetmelikte tespit edilen ilkelere uygun olarak İçişleri Bakanlığının talebi, diğer kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının, valiliklerin ve vatandaşların ad değişikliğine ilişkin önerilerini incelemek ve bu konuda görüş vermek ve tekliflerde bulunmak.

İkinci Bölüm
Çalışma Usul ve İlkeleri

Çalışma Usulü:
Madde 5 – Kurul üç ayda bir toplanır. İçişleri Bakanlığı gerekli gördüğü her zaman Kurulu toplantıya çağırabilir.
Kurul üye tamsayısının üçte iki çoğunluğuyla toplanır, kararlarını geçerli olarak ve toplantıya katılanların salt çoğunluğuyla verir. İçişleri Bakanlığınca toplantıya çağrılan uzman personelin oy verme ve karar alma yetkisi yoktur.

İlkeler:
Madde 6 – Kurul inceleme ve değerlendirmelerini aşağıdaki ilkelere göre yapar.
a. Ad değiştirme çalışmaları esas olarak Milli Savunma Bakanlığı Harita Genel Müdürlüğünün 1/25,000 ölçekli haritaları üzerinde yapılır. Anca gerektiğinde diğer ölçekli haritalardan da istifade edilir.
b. Adı değiştirilecek yerin değal yerin harita üzerinde çevresi, dere, tepe, kaynak gibi yeryüzü şekilleri, topografik durumu incelenir. Bu inceleme sırasında Milli Savunma Bakanlığı Harita Genel Müdürlüğü topograflarınca arazi üzerinde yapılan çalışmalar varsa bunların sonuçları da değerlendirilir ve o bölgenin özellikleri de gözönüne alınarak uygun görülen adlar verilir. Kurul İçişleri Bakanlığının uygun görmesi halinde yerinde de inceleme yapabilir.
c. Türkçe olmayan, söylenişi ve yapısı Türkçenin ses bilgisi kurallarına aykırı olan veya söyleniş yakınlığı nedeniyle karışıklığa yol açan, güzel bir anlam taşımayan ve halkın anlayışına aykırı, duygularını inciten adlar değiştirilir.
d. Türkçe olup da bölgesel ağıza göre söylenişi veya yapısı bozulmuş adlar yazı dilinde kullanılan biçimi ile değiştirilir.
e. Yeni verilen adın, birbirine çok yakın olması karışıklık doğurabileceğinden, imkanlar ölçüsünde tekrarlardan kaçınılmasına dikkat edilir.
f. Tarihi adlar değiştirilemez. Tarihi, kültürel ve dil gibi alanlardaki bilimsel çalışmalarda yanılmayı ve yanlış sonuçlara varmayı önlemek amacıyla bu tür adlar başka yerlere verilmez.
g. Yabancı yer adları Türk dilindeki karşılıkları verilmek suretiyle değiştirilmez. Ancak; eski ad, o yeri doğal ve topografik bir yönüyle anlatıyorsa Türkçe'ye çevrilerek bırakılabilir.
h. Yabancı yer adları değiştirilirken, söyleniş benzerliğiyle değiştirilen eski adı anımsatacak adlar verilmez.
ı. Bölge halkınca verilmemiş, uydurma olduğu sanılan ve uzunluğu (çok sözcüklü oluşu) nedeniyle, harita yazım ve üretimini güçleştirdiği görülen adlar kısaltılır veya değiştirilir.
j. Aynı sözcükle adlandırılmış, birbiriyle ilgili doğal yer adları gereksiz yere uzatılmış ise topografik durum ve ilgilerine göre kısaltılarak değiştirilir.
k. Tabii yer adları aslının niteliğine uygun olarak düzeltilir.

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

Muğla ikinci okul 5-inci sınıf
talebeleri:

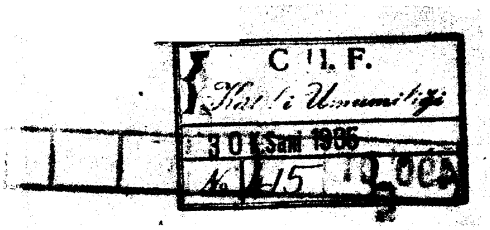
Atatürk ve İnönünün adlarının
kentlerimize verilmesini yalvarı-
yorlar ve Meselâ İzmirin (Atatürk)
şehri deye adlandırılmasına müsade
buyurulmasını yalvarıyorlar.

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

Dinarda mütekait kaymakam Ş. Öztürk :

Ankarayı dolaştığını ve beğendiğini bildiriyor yanlız şehrin eski adile anılmasını doğru bulmuyormuş arzediyor ve'Atatürk' adına eklenecek öz türkçe bir şehir adile ismin değiştirilmesini belediyeye teklif etmiş,Fırkadan bu teklifin kabülü için belediyeye emir vermesini dileyor.

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ



C.H.F. yüksek başkanlığına

Bir ay kadar Ankarada kaldıktan sonra Dinara döndüm Ankarada bulunduğum zeman zarfında bu yeni kurulmakta olan Ankara şehrinin her tarafını gezdim, gördüm . telaşmadığım bir yeri , bir sokağı kalmadı . bu görüşümden ettigim sonunç yeni ankaranın esgi Ankarayı yuttuğu ve beğmuş olduğu yolundadır. böyle olduğu halde bu şehire tarihin çok eski bir devrinde verilmiş olan Ankır, Ankuvaß gibi adları almış olan Ankara adıle anılması bu gün, hiçde yerinde degildir . yeni kurulan ve düzeltilen şehirlerin kurucuların adıle anılması her yerde adet olduğuna göre bizim kurtarıcımız ve kurucumuz olan(AtaTürk) tarafından yeniden kurulan ve her dürlû asar medeniyyetile süslenen bu şehrin, kadim adıle anılmasını yolunda görmedigim için bu şehrin (AtaTürk) adına öz türkceşehir manasına gelen eklerden birinin ilavesile mesela (AtaTürk) Kent gibi bir adla anılmasını yerinde bulduğum için bu ciheti şehir adının bu esas dairesinde deyiştirilmesine Ankara belediyesine 22.I.935 tarihinde teklif ettim . esasen kurtarıcımıza ve tarihe karşıda Türk ulusuşun bir vazıfesi olan ve fırkacada hoş görüleceğine kani olduğum bu adın degiştirilmesi işinin tez çabuk görülerek Tamimi için Ankara belediyesine buyuruk verilmesini öz ve arı sayğı ve sevgilerimi sunarım .

27.I.935

Dinar
Erkânı harp kaymakamı Mütekaidi
S. Öktik

II
Ö 6-II-35

Sıvkla
9 II 935

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
Raif Nezih CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

Ziraat Vekâleti mütercimi

Ankaraya (G. M. Kemal) denmesi hakkında belediyeye verdiği mektup kopyasını takdim ediyor .

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CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

C. H. F.
Umumî Kâtibliği
21 Temmuz 1934
No 43258 2

2/2

Oğuz Fırkamın yüce umumî kâtibi

Recep B. B. Hz.

Ankara Kenti, nin « Ş. M. Kemal »
çağrılması için Belediyesine ikinci
Sınağında dayaklarını da bildirdim, ki
bir sureti yüce ellerinize de ilişikte
sunulmuştur. Dilekçenin yerine getirilmesine
umulu yardımlarını yalvarırım, B. B. Hz.

Ziraat Vekâleti
müterjimi:
Raif Oğuz

Izmir tarihi
müellifi.

24 X 4

Ü.

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

BELEDİYE REİSLİĞİNE

(Ankara) nın (Gazi Mustafa Kemâl) çağırılmasını, bundan evvelki sunuğumla dilemiştim . Dayaklarım da şunlardır :

TARİH BAKIMI :

(Şerl Taksiye) ,(Küçük asiya) bitiğininde diyorki :

(Pausanyas) a göre : (Ankara) ,(Gemdüs) ün oğlu (Midas) tarafından kurulmadır ve (Jubiter) [redacted] (Gemilenguri) Ancyre) de bu hükümdar tarafından keşf edildiği için , şehre (Ancyre) adı ta kaldı .

(Kurya) lı müverrih (Apellenes) da Ankaranın daha eski bi r şehir olduğunu, (Gemilengerinin) de daha evvelki bir zamana âit ve büsbütün başka bir vak'aya dayalı bulunduğunu söyliyor .(Galatlar), Asiyaya geldikleri vakit (Ariarsan) da(Mytridath) la harbetmişler (Ptelémée) de bunların üzerine mısırlılardan mürekkep bir Ordu göndermiş, bu Orduyu bozgunluğa uğratarak gemilerine kadar sürmüşler ve kopmuş olan gemi lengerlerinden birini zafer nişanesi olarak alıp getirmişler , şehirlerinde saklamışlar şehirlerinin adına da(Ancyre= Gemilenguri) demişler .

Fakat , İskender zamanında da bu şehrin , yine bu isimle mevcut olduğu , İskenderin (Galatlara) dan gelerek Suriyeye giderken (Paflagonya) meb'uslar heyetini kabûl için bu şehrin önünde durduğu söylenir? Efsanelere bürünen şu üç rivayet de : (Angürü - Ankara - Ancyre) isminin (Gemilenguri)demek olduğunu , hususile eski Yunan efsanelerine dayalı bulunduğunu gösteriyorki , bunlar da Ankara yerine (Gazi Mustafa Kemâl) adının ne kadar isabetli düşeceğini göz önüne koymağa kâfi gelir .

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İNKİLÂP BAKIMI :

Ulunun Yarattığı bütün eserlere (Gazî) adının verilmesi kadar tabiî bir şey olamaz . Çünkü hepsinde o eşsiz benlik ve kudreti parlamaktadır . Sayısız büyük eserlerinin biri de , hiç şüphesiz eski Ankara topraklarında kurulmuş olan şu yepyeni türk şehridir . İçinde yaşayanlar, hemen her lâhza onun ululuk heyecanlarile çağıl çağıl oldukları gibi , dışındakilerde onu şartık (Ankara) değil, (Ulu[illegible] benliğini temessül etmiş ve ondan doğmuş yepyeni bir inkilâp abidesi bilmektedirler . Ankara denilince , derhal , bir şimşek sür'atile (Ulugazîyi) kim hatırlamaz ve ona halâ (Gazi Mustafa Kemâl) denilmemiş olmasına kim şaşmaz . Hususile Ankara , (Gazi) adını almakla , bir gazetede ileri sürülmüş olduğu gibi , (Gazinin) o erişilmez tarihi yerini kaybetmiş olmıyacağı ve hatta biri İzmirde, diğeri Bursada iki eski kazanın kurtuluştanberi o büyük adı taşımakta oldukları bir hakikattir . Gerçi tarihî büyüklerin en büyüğü olan gazi , hatta dünya tarihinde bile ebedî yerini almıştır . Fakat bu , kendi eserlerine onun büyük adının verilmemesi için bir sebep teşkil etmiyeceği gibi, bil'kis büyük eserlerini onun büyük adıyile anmak için en kuvvetli sebebi teşkil eder . Burada (Vaşington) , (Leningrat) , (Roma) ve benzerleri gibi birçok Kent isimlerinin , her münevverin bildiği adlanma sebep ve hadiselerini izah lüzumsuz olacaktır .

Hem ileri sürülmüş olan aykırı düşünce doğru ve tabiî olsaydı, büyüklerin hatırasını ebedileştirmek için yer yüzünü süslemekte olan ve her biri bir büyüğün adına taşıyan eserlere ne lüzum kalırdı. Halbuki Gazîyi bütün büyüklerin en büyüğüdür . Her büyük eseri , onun büyük adını taşımalıdır ve taşıyacaktır . Dileğimin yerine getirilmesi büyük bir bundur [illegible] Ankaradaki açık sebeplerden ötürü heyecanla tekrarlayor ve bekliyorum, Beyefendi hazretleri. 15. 10. 934

Ziraat Vekâleti müsteşarı
ve
İzmir tarihi müellifi
Raik Nezih

34444

İzmir : A. Firuz)

Ankara adının (Gaziyuva) ya çevrilmesini teklif ediyor .

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CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

6 İzmir 9 Eylül 1933

C. H. F.
Yüksek Umumi Reisliği
16 Eylül 1933
No 34114

Gaziyuva

Kalbimde yer tutanlarin sevgisinden başka hiç bir şeyi hissetmediğimi bilmiyorsun. Bu his bana hayatımda ilk defa temiz bir fikirle başbaşa geldi.

Geçen haftasında bilgilere müsaade edildiği gibi, çok değil yalnız bir gün, Ankara valisi-Belediye reisi olmayişima nisbetlenmek hissettiğim denilen o acıyı ben de tattım.

Cümhuriyetin Onuncu yıl dönümünün kutlulanacağı büyük günden evvel, öyle bir müsaade benim için mümkündü bir şeref olmaydı, yapılacak geniş temsillere, şenliklere " gam sakini şeben agamgnai kabilinden"ilave edilmek ve Cümhuriyetimizin Büyük Reisine takdim edilmek üzere, şu kanaati Vilayet meclisine teklif ve kabul ettirmeye çalışırdım:

(Ankaragı Gazi Baldu. Gaziyuva" Ankaradan doğdu. Hikayet, Cümhuriyetin 10 senelik yaratıcı kuvvetile, eski Ankara..Gaziyuva Oldu.)

& & &

Bu fikrimi nihayete etmek için uzun uzadıya " esbabı mucibe" yazmaya mecbur olacağımı hiç zan etmiyorum.

Bu gün başdan başa betonlaşmış bir şehir, asri bir şehir halinde yükselen Gaziyuvanın yanında eski Ankaradan ne kalmış ve ne kalacaktır ?

Yeni Türk tarihinin,sinesinde olup biten, kuvvetlice ve kuvvetlice savaşlarını yükseklere ibret ve tehdir gözü ile seyr etmiş olan Ankara kalesi,bir hüve ve bütün azametile gibi, eski izzetini muhafaza edecektir.

Fakat şehir, Türkiye Cümhuriyetinin yaşamaya yeniliyecek bundan büyüyen ve yenileşen bir başkenti, inkilabın mukaddes yuvası olan yeni şehir Gazinin ismile şereflenmek için ambarsüzlüğünü atıp kahkahalarla güleceğim.

& & &

Türkiye başşehri şimdiye kadar Konya başa, Kastamonu Konya başa

490 01 502 2018 1

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CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

(8)

isimleriyle ölümsüz hizmetler,hasletler kayıt etti. Türk teşekkül ve kadir - şinaslığı büyük Mustafa'ların kıymet ve şanına hürmet temin eyleyen hatırası için yer yer heykeller dikti.

Şüphesiz bunların hepsi zamanında yapılmış güzel eserler ise de, Ankara isminin Genişlemeye tebdili fikrinde şükranımızın daha toplu ve daha ebedîleşmiş bir şekil vermek arzusu vardır.

Bu gün Newyork zamanın Washington ne ise, yarın İstanbul ve Türkiye için de Genişleme' O olacaktır.

Gelecek nesillerin zihinlerinde bütün bir inkilap devrini ebedileştirecek olan bu tarihî ismi tekrarlarken, İskenderiye ve Kostantiniye gibi adların tarih ve coğrafyanın bilgilerdeki sahifelerdenberi bişaktıkları silinmez te'siri düşünüyorum !!

* * *

Fikrin esasi kabule layik görüldüğü halde kelime ve şekli için bizce münakaşa edilebilir. Genişleme - Genişleyiş veyahut daha güzeli bulunmak şartıla,her halde Ganili diğer bir isim de olabilir.

1933 senesi 29 Teşrini evvel Cümhuriyet bayramında kanıyla zamanına başlanmadan evvel, bir Kanunla' yapılmak üzere şöyle 3 maddelik kısa bir tatbik programı tanzimi münasibdir.

1.- Geçen sene alınış olan işçiler vasıtasıyla sabahleyin Ankara istasyonundaki levha üzerine Genişleme ismi yazdırılacaktır.
Haydarpaşadan o gün hareket edecek trenlerin üzerindeki Ankara ismi üstüne de kısmen bir ek işaretile Genişleme yazılır. Sonra bu levhalar yenileriyle değiştirilecektir.

2.- Bilgin yazılarında ilk sayfasında altı kısmenle gizlenen kısa cümleler güzel bir buluş,madem levhaya hük" ettiğimiz 9 şün Geçit resminden evvel Başbakanlık Genel kayıtlarının münasip bir makamına tevdi edilecektir.

3.- Ankara Radyosunda Türkçe ve Fransızcayı mükemmel ve ahenkli bir şive ile söyleyebilecek bir zat tarafından keyfiyet bütün dünyaya ilan edilecektir.

Bu kitabın aynı zamanda çok faydalı bir propaganda vesilesi

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de olabiliz. Bu münasebetle eski Ankara ile Gaziyuva aşağıdaki nüfus, imar, teşkilâti ve teşekkül farklarini gösteren mukayeseli grafikler, istatistik-ler okuyunuz. Cümhuriyetin muvaffakiyet ve icraati hakkında umumi malumat vegileblilir.

Hükümetin yeni hâtıtlari ümeyindeki Ankara kalmesi hâtipler ve dahili lolar tarafından bir kalem ve makine darbesiyle değiştirilebilecekinden, kayitlara ve kiytasiyeye tamalluk edecek özü müşkülleri, böyle bir fikrin tatbiki zimnında elbette düşünülmez. Bir iki sene de her şeiy yerini bulur.

* * * * * * * * *

Cümhuriyetin 10 ncu yil dönümü bayramında süpriz yapilmiş olmak arzusuna beyaber, her şeyden evvel Büyük ve saygili isim sahibinin yüksek tasvibine arz olunabilmesi içindir ki fikrimi gazete sütunlarina aksettirmedim.

Yakan bendeniz, Beiş Ümumumuz Gazi hazretlerinin her şeyi millete imâ ve bahş eyleyen büyük teveccühü karşisinda her kes gibi şükr hayran ve minnettâr bir vaziyette bulunmuş olmasam, Gaziyuva ismini yalniz Ankaraya değil bütün vatan hayitnai ümeyine yandiğimak emelinde bir dakika teşebbüs etmez idim.

Derin sevgi ve saygilarda :

A. Fikrizan

Dosya V
N. A
1917 1992
2 X 7

P.S.

Yaverum, Deniz kuvvetlerimizin iştirakile bu sene cidden parlak bir surette yapilmiş olan Dokuz Eylül bayramının samimi duygulari ... bendenize de bu fikri, ilhamı verdi. Onu Cümhuriyetin 10 ncu yil dönü-münü kutlulamak üzere siz. takdime cesaret ediyorum. Bir hizmet vesile isenis yüksek kumisyonda icabına bakarsiniz ef. A.F.

APPENDIX F

(Köyünüzün hikayesini, bildiğiniz kadarıyla anlatır mısınız?)
Esas adı Gundşeyh yani şeyhin köyü demek, 329 yıl önce büyük dedem orayı ağasından 70 altına satın almış o bölgeyi, köyü. İki oğlu oraya yerleşip hayvancılık yapmışlar ve tarımla uğraşmışlar. İlk önce mevsimsel olarak kullanmışlar sonra yerleşik düzene geçmişler. İlkbahardan sonbahara kadar tarım-hayvancılık yapıp kışın, esas köylerine Şalvan köyüne gidiyorlarmış. Fakar artık su getirilmiş, ev bark kurmuşlar, çocuklarını evlendirmişler. Tabi bu 329 yıl önce, şeceremiz var, yedinci babada biz oraya erişiyoruz. Orayı kuran Şıh Mahmudun yedinci kuşaktan torunuyuz. Oraya şıhın köyü manasında, Gundşeyh demişler. Sonra 60 ihtilalinden sonra, kürt coğrafyasında bütün bölgenin dağlarının, ovalarının, köylerinin ismi değişmiş. Bizim köyde bunların arasında. Sonra bizim köy, Akdoğmuş köyü olmuş. Bu yeni ismin bir tarihçesi yok, bir yere dayanmıyor. Rastgele bir isim vermişler. Mesela bizim köyümüz üzümcülük alanında iyi, pekmezi meşhur. Belki Pekmezciler köyü deselerdi, bir ilgi oluşurdu, fakat Akdoğmuş koymuşlar. Köye yakın tuzlak var, yüze yakın küçük havuzlar var. Kuyulardan tuzlu su çıkarıyorlar, temmuz ağustos güneşin altında kalıyor, su buharlaşıyor, tuz kalıyor. Bölgenin tüm tuz ihtiyacı bizim köyden karşılanıyor. Tabii Ermeni katliamından sonra… Onlarda dağıldılar gittiler, onların arazileri hep çevre köylere kaldı ya da devlet el koydu, şimdi onlar tekele bağlı, şimdi bu son dönemde özelleştirdiler. Tekel tuzlasını özelleştirdiler. Siirt, Eruh Şırnak, tüm bölgenin tuz ihtiyacını bizim köyden karşılarlar. Dolayısıyla orada çalışan işçiler var, memurlar var, çoğu bizim köyün insanıdır. Tabii aynı zamanda hayvancılığını yapıyor, arazisini ekiyor, bağ bahçesini ekiyor. Hem de devletten maaş alıyor, o tuzlada çalışıyor. Ekonomik olarak iyi durumda, önde gelen köyüz.

(Tuz işine evvelden Ermeniler bakıyordu, Ermenilerden biraz anlatır mısınız?)
Tabii... Araziler ve kaynaklara katliamdan sonra, civar köylere, devlet el koyuyor. O dönemde askerlikte olan onbaşı ya da çavuş, onlarca yüzlerce asker var öyle. Hasan onbaşı Davut onbaşı falan gibi. O dönemde askerlere demişler ki gitmeyin, size arazi vereceğiz, Ermenilerden kalan araziler var. Onlar kalıyorlar. Halen onlarca yüzlerce Yozgatlı, Niğdeli var. Orada kalmışlar, orada evlenmişler. Devlet arazi verince kalmışlar. Bi de yerli olanlarla hükümet arasında bağ kuruyorlar, çünkü mesela köyde kalıyor, o köyün türkçe bilen insanı o olunca devletle halk arasında bir bağ oluşturuyor. Ya da onları hizaya getirmeye çalışıyor. Bakın devletin dediğini yapmazsanız, cezaya çarptırılırsını diyor. Aynı zamanda köylüleri zapturapt altına almaya çalışıyor, şimdinin köy korucuları gibi. Mesela Hakkı Efendi var, Bursalıdır, ona Sağırsu dediğim köyü vermişler. Şimdi onun çocukları avukat olmuş, mühendis olmuş. Mesela onun çocukları Milli Nizamdan, Refahtan seçime giriyorlar. Halka yüzleşince biz Eruhluyuz diyorlar, devletle yüzleşince biz Bursalıyız diyorlar. Bu yerle alakamız yok, biz Hakkı Efendinin çocuklarıyız, torunlarıyız diyorlar. Böylece hem devletten yararlanıyorlar.

(Ermenilerin mal varlıkları belki el değiştirdi, belki tahrip edildi, peki şimdi Ermenileri hatırlıyor musunuz?)
Hatırlanıyor tabii. Şu bahçe Ermeni Georg bilmemkimindi, tabi köylüler biliyor. Mesela Kelhe var, bizim köye yakın, bir kale, ermenilerden kalmadır. O kalenin bitişiğinden su getiriliyor bizim köyümüze. 63-64'te ben çocuktum gençtim, dediler oradan su getireceğiz, ermenilerin su kanalları vardı yeraltında, kendi köylerine getirmişler Sedah ismine ermeni köyü, hala kalıntıları var. Kısmende o göçerler var

şimdi orada, konaklıyorlar. Hem araziden hem de su kaynaklarından faydalanıyorlar, bir de birkaç ev var. Babam anlatıyordu, daha önce şen şakrak bir köymüş, hem arazi hem suyu… Katliamlardan sonra hiçbirşey kalmamış. Şimdi göçebeler faydalanıyor, hem araziden hem sudan. Bir kısmını da bizim köye aktarıyorlar. Ben gençken kazıntıda bakmıştık yeraltından su kanalları geçiyor, taştan oymuşlar. Dağdan getirmişler. Biz de orada borularla köyümüze kadar getirmiştik, bir kısmını içme suyu. Ermenilerden kalma kanallardan. Bizim köyden çıkan su tuzlu sudur, kazıyorsun denize yakın yerlerdeymiş gibi, tuzlu su çıkıyor. O yüzden tuzla olarak kullanılıyor zaten.

(Etraftaki köylerin isimleri nasıl?)
…bütün bölgeyi kapsıyor tabii. Birkaç istisna olabilir, ama genelde rastgele verilen isimler bizim köyde ve etrafındaki bölgede. Mesela Ekmekçiler köyü var bizim köye yakın. O köyde, ekmek çok yenir, bir oturuşta yedi tane tandır ekmeği yiyen olur. Belki o yüzden Ekmekçiler köyü. Mesela o köyün suyu az geliyor, sessiz gelen bir su var köyün içinde, Sağırsu yapmışlar. Binelvan köyüdür, Ekmekçiler köyüdür. Nilvan köyü var, adını Çizmeliköy koymuşlar. Neden Çizmeli demişler bilmiyoruz. Orada Buzikan köyü vardır, adını Cintepe koymuşlar. Neden bu ismi vermişler belli değil. Asimilasyon politikasının gereğidir. Bu isimler yaklaşık elli altmış sene evvelinden değiştirilmiş. 60 ihtilalinden sonra. Bizim oradakiler 62-63'te değiştirildi. Elli seneden fazla olmuş, hala alışamadık. Mesela Akdoğmuş diyoruz, hangi köydür diyor başka biri. Kürtçe ismini biliyorlar. Elli sene geçtiği halde yeni isme alışılmadık. Halk buna hazır değildi demek ki, hala alışamadı. Ama resmiyette onu öyle kullanıyor. aynı zamanda eski ismi yazsaydı, belki gene olurdu. Bizim köyün ahalisi bilir, yakın çevre bilir ama Türkçesini hemen hemen hiçkimse bilmiyor. Elli kilometre ötedeki başka bir köy bilmiyor. Eruh'a bağlı doksan muhtarlık var. Belki ismini bunlardan yakın olan 30 tanesi biliyordur.

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