

## **AN URBAN MEMORY LOST IN AMNESIA: RIVERSCAPE OF ANKARA**

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### **ABSTRACT**

History often exhibits that the origins of human settlements are correlated with bodies of water. Rivers, in this respect, are denominated as forces that shape physical patterns as well as human activities in the design and planning literature. Operating as a source for different layers of activities, urban rivers have become a locus for memories to be formed. Yet, the path for urban rivers has transformed with the advent of the industrial age. The problems related to urban rivers are managed with singular remedies, causing the disappearance of riverscape together with its memory.

Considering the age-old relationship between rivers and habitation, it is possible to argue that Ankara set a precedent in the sense that first; the city and its riverscape were in a subtle harmony regarding the economic, social and physical patterns of the city, resulting this collectivity to grow into a significant part of urban memory systems, and second; this urban memory was a subject to amnesia due to ruptures imposed on riverscape. The changing economic and spatial structure bringing along rapid and unplanned urbanization process, indirectly caused the disappearance of the riverscape of Ankara.

It is expected that the paper will resolve the question that how riverscape with its multi-faceted dimensions is unfolded within the urban memory systems. Archive materials representing the spatial history of Ankara is investigated through the concepts of the study. With this, it aims to analyze the process as to how a riverscape, as part of an urban memory, might transform into an urban amnesia. In doing this, the paper explores the memory of Ankara's riverscape in three stages. As an initial step the riverscape as an intrinsic value of the inhabitants in terms of economic and social activities are dwelled on. Subsequently, the making of riverscape is analyzed in light of the early plans and maps of Ankara considering the paradigms of the modern era. Finally, "how the riverscape of Ankara as an urban memory diminished" is examined through ruptures.

**Keywords:** Urban memory, riverscape, amnesia

### **1. INTRODUCTION**

History often exhibits that the origins of human settlements are correlated with bodies of water. Starting from ancient settlements of Mesopotamia to the post-modern metropolises rivers

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played critical role in shaping urban space as well as social life. The manifold attributes of rivers forming the space necessitated a new definition to emerge: riverscape. Referring to the nested relationship between rivers and urban space, the term riverscape denotes a framework encompassing the multi layered dimensions in which the components of space are unraveled. In that, the manifold nature of riverscape could be deciphered in terms of the physical space related to the form of the cities, and social practices.

Although riverscape is a constant phenomenon considering the age-old relationship of cities and rivers, changing paradigms observed in the course of history imply variety of operations exerted on riverscape. The effect of these implications on the dynamics of riverscape vary in the interval of the dichotomies; continuation and rupture, accession and subtraction, appearing and disappearing. The changes in the riverscape implies a duality; either transformation of spatial knowledge into meaningful forms, or loss of information related to space. Although the former is favored, the destructive effect of the latter is encountered in the history of cities.

Based on the challenging state of temporality occurred in the riverscape, the paper is grounded on a concept which would substantiate the reading of the changes in the riverscape: memory. The concept of 'memory' is often unfolded in many forms through the interpretations delivered in the fields varying from sociology, anthropology, history, architecture, urbanism, and so forth. Engaged in diversifying perspectives of different disciplines, the multitude of terms have been put forward by scholars as a means of deconstructing the term. The multitude of terms have been put forward by scholars. Among the definitions ascribed to memory, its association with temporal or spatial frameworks calls for attention.

The study is based on the statement that interventions exerted on riverscape causes amnesia leading further problems related to place attachment, and meaning of place. It is within this framework the main question of the paper is formed as an attempt to formulate relationship between space and memory within the context of riverscape. In conjunction with the question, a part of the inquiry addresses the research problem originated in field related with the practice, while the other part reflects the reconceptualization generated in theory. The objective of the paper is to engage the memory theories with the spatial discourse of rivers, as well as evaluating changes in the riverscape which locates itself on the interval of dichotomies through the concept of memory. Thereafter, reading of the space within the frame of memory makes possible the evaluation and guidance of the further implications in urban design theory and practice.

To reify the study, the concept of memory affluently researched in the theoretical domain is reappraised in this paper through the riverscape of Ankara since the rivers; first set the stage for activities to shape the memory, and then situated on the focus of forgetting.

## **2. ON THE CONCEPT OF URBAN MEMORY**

### **2.1. The Formation of Memory in the Urban Space**

Halbwachs sets the stage for the scholars who seek for the intermingled relationship of memory and urban space (Boyer 1994). Employing the term 'collective memory', for Halbwachs the structure of the memory is composed in a bilateral nature. On the one hand, he called attention to the role that the physical space have in structuring the collective memory (Halbwachs 1992, Wang et al. 2016). On the other, he revealed the influence of intangible resources of a group as a part of the double nature of collective memory. The symbolic forms manifested within the spatial environment are emphasized in the discourse of collective memory by Halbwachs. The latter perspective takes its roots from the Durkheimian approach, in the sense that the concrete

social experiences of groups in the form of rites and rituals superimposed on the physical realm as a denominator of intangible resources give shape to collective memory (Boyer 1994).

His twofold approach influenced the subsequent contributors who touched upon the interwoven characteristic that memory inherit with regard to the symbolic and physical form. Nora, as an instance, employs *material* and *non-material* (Nora 1989) as a concept replacing *physical* and *intangible*.

The factors that interact and form collective memory conceptualized by Kansteiner are significant in grasping the structure and the actors in the formation of collective memory. A threefold structure in the formulation of collective memory is put forward within which the interaction among the components play constitutive role; “the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all of our representations of the past, the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions, and the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform such artifacts according to their own interest.” (Kansteiner 2002)

Initially, he puts forward the intrinsic component through the implication of **‘the intellectual and cultural traditions’**. Kansteiner’s contribution inherently refers to the works set forth in broader disciplinary field. The socially vested framework structuring the collective memory refers to the approach of Le Febvre who dwells on the view that ‘constructed places needs to be socially produced’ (Le Febvre 1991). It is also possible to reveal the Durkheimian influence on Kansteiner, in the sense that the aforementioned traditions are in relevance with the rites and rituals (Durkheim 1995) performed by society as a key component of societal construct. In addition, his perspective could further be traced in the field of psychology through the works of Carl Jung. The concept of ‘collective unconscious’ (Proffoff 1953) as a component of the structure of the psyche constituting the content that is transferred from the past lays the foundation for Kansteiner’s statement. Therefore, the actor holding the key role in the intrinsic quality of collective memory could be interpreted as the members of past generations who contributed to and passed along the tradition to the following by the acts.

Advancing the discussion on the intrinsic factor which forms the collective memory found in Kansteiner, Burke’s approach in which he unravels ‘the means for social organization of transmission’ comes to the forefront: *oral traditions*, ‘memoirs and written records’, ‘pictorial or photographic, still or moving images’, ‘actions and rituals such as commemoration’ and *space* (Sak 2013) It could be deduced from that the experiences and acts of groups finding their meaning in space as a process of memory formation could be transmitted through oral traditions and space itself. In that, the method of analysis in search for an urban memory could be based on oral traditions.

Moving on to the following factor, Kansteiner puts forward the component within which the external influence is involved: ‘the memory makers’. The external effect is performed through ‘the selective adoption or manipulation’ of the aforementioned traditions (Kansteiner 2002). The adoption or manipulation is operated as a twofold process; either as a production of an alien reality to the socially constructed ‘traditions’, or as a reinforcement of the ‘tradition’ through appropriation within the shifting context. The actor who selectively interprets the oral traditions and integrates in the agenda of a program or a project could be named as *mediator* (Burke 2004) who come into being as architects, planners, etc. Therefore, plans, drawings, diagrams, illustrations aiming for future development becomes a medium to investigate on the operations of ‘memory makers’.

Parallel to the Kansteiner’s statement, the significant role that the plans have in the process of unraveling spatial decisions employed as a tool to reshape memory is remarked by Christine Boyer (1994). Boyer states that the memory could be traced through the analysis of the urban fabric drawing on the past media utilized in the spatial production. It is related with Kansteiner

in the sense that the visions and acts of memory makers who operates on the memory through the implications in the urban fabric could be revealed through deciphering maps and plans. Boyer's contribution on conceptualization of memory and space is significant since she calls an attention on the complex nature of relationship between memory and space, and therefore utilizes more concise concept of **urban memory systems**.

Proceeding on to the third factor that interacts with the urban memory system<sup>2</sup>, Kansteiner dwells on the subject who is exposed to the environment produced as a result of the interplay of agents of previous factors. He locates the subject on the position of consumer. He states that the future continuation or disruption which will eventually affect the intrinsic factor of traditions is determined by the acts of 'memory consumers'. Their role could not be separated from the memory makers since their future practices are related with the former factor. It is clear that a rigid separation of factors is not plausible due to the interwoven nature embedded in the urban memory systems.

## 2.2. The Dialectic of Remembering and Forgetting

The motive inherited in the acts of memory makers and the practices of memory consumers is manifested as **the dialectic of remembering and forgetting**; a coherent conceptualization noted by Pierre Nora (1989). To provide a generic framework which demonstrates the division in the history of memory proposed by Nora, the three epochs should be recalled: premodern, modern, postmodern condition. Briefly; premodern time encompasses the epoch that the memory phenomenon operates within the framework of intrinsic factor signified by Kansteiner. As cited in Kansteiner (2002) for Nora; "Premodern times are characterized by a natural, unself-conscious relation between people and their past. Their environments of memory sustain traditions and rituals that provide a stable sense of being in time for the members of local memory communities."

The breaking point in the history of memory emerges in the nineteenth century through industrial and social modernization when economic, social, and political restructurings are realized. The ritualistic patterns embedded in traditions appropriated within the economic and social practices of everyday life are dissolved within the altered context (Brockmeier 2002). This process results in the condition that most scholar referred as crisis of memory (Boyer 1994, Crinson 2005). The condition is prepared as the critical agent, *mediator* that Burke refers to, who selectively manipulates the traditions creates distortions in memory. Influenced from the perspective of Boyer, Crinson (2005) poses a criticism against the process of 'mediation' which results in crisis by stating: "We have lost the interpretative means to 'translate memories and traditions into meaningful contemporary forms.'"

Constructing her view on the discussions held by Poëte, Boyer (1994) points to the pathological signs that the memory loss have on cities. 'The wholeness' created through the incarnation of physical space as an extension of traditions is degraded as the partial structures is introduced by memory makers. The condition of amnesia, therefore, refers to the space that is detached from its context (and lost its foundational meaning) without the prowess of reformulation, since it does not function as a part of everyday rituals rooted in traditions anymore in the altered system.

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<sup>2</sup> This conceptualization of Boyer is adapted in the paper as a key terminology in the following parts, since it points to the multiplicity of variables structuring the relationship of memory and space.

### 3. RETHINKING THE CONCEPT OF URBAN MEMORY THROUGH THE RIVERSCAPE OF ANKARA

#### 3.1. Riverscape as Socially Constructed Space

Intangible resources of a group (Halbwahcs, 1992) as the initiator in the formation of urban memory could be exemplified in pre-planned Ankara. The space formed along river system enables the intellectual and cultural traditions (Kansteiner, 2002) to be exercised.

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One could initiate tracking down the riverscape of Ankara as a nexus for social and economic activities from early drawings as a part of *oral traditions* within which the most salient image is found. A rough sketch and two engravings lay the foundation for concluding on the riverscape of Ankara as an urban memory.

The earliest known sketch of Ankara is found in the itinerary book of German voyager Hans Dernschwam dated in 16<sup>th</sup> century. Depicting a rough image of Ankara in the sixteenth century, the hilltop that the citadel of Ankara is laid, the structures of the citadel, and the valley portrayed through the river are remarked in this sketch drawn as partially silhouette and partially plan (Figure 3). It is possible to identify the river as *Bentderesi* from the annotation inscribed on the sketch. Dernschwam also states that the economic structure of the territory thrives with the mohair industry where *Bentderesi* becomes the nexus for washing the materials fabricated from angora<sup>3</sup> wool in the process of production (Dernschwam 1992, Sülüner 2004). The observations of Dernschwam address the greater role that the rivers have in formation of social and economic structure.

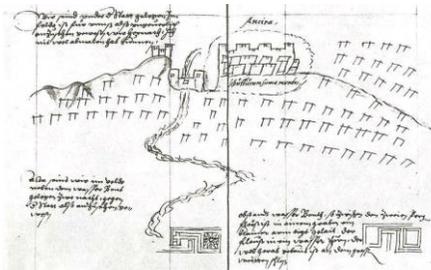


Figure 3 (left) Sketch drawn by Dernschwam

Figure 4 (right) View of Ankara

Source: Günel and Kılıcı (2015).

An Ankara engraving exhibited in the Rijksmuseum could be brought into discussion as the image of the city in the following century. Called as “View of Ankara” (Figure 4), a spectacle constituted the prosperous urban landscape, the vibrant social life, the robust economic

<sup>3</sup> It could be claimed that the name of the city ‘Ankara’ is evolved from the ‘angora’ which is a vital source for economic production.

activities<sup>4</sup> along with the riverscape are engraved autonomously dating in the range between the beginning of eighteenth and nineteenth century.

The earliest known city map of Ankara, drawn by Von Vincke in 1839 (Figure 6), provides geographical information on rivers. The major aspects of the map demonstrate the geomorphology; hillsides and rivers, urban fabric; street pattern and important public structures, rural fabric; agricultural lands and flatlands. For the first time, the location and the pattern of rivers are revealed; *Çubuk* River extending in east-west direction bifurcates at the northwestern part of the settlement generating two rivers enframing the city; *Bentderesi* on the northern part, and *İnce Su* River on the southern part of the city. It is visible through the map that the agricultural lands are irrigated through *Bentderesi* on the northwestern edge of the city. It is possible to remark on that the outer citadel coalesces with *Bentderesi* in a way to create fortification on the northeastern edge of the city.

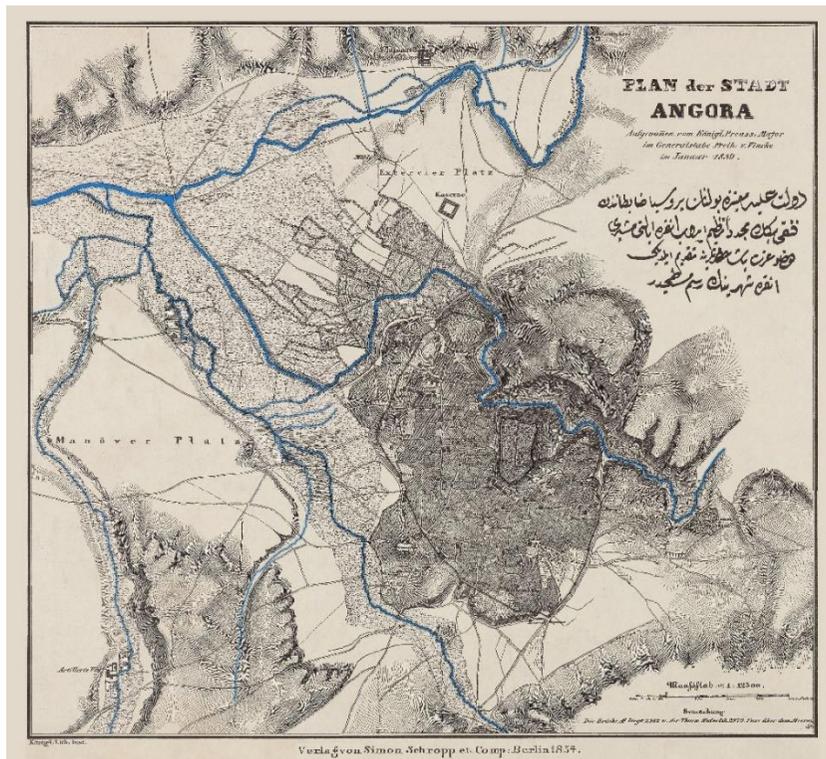


Figure 6. Map of Von Vincke. Source: Günay personal archive (2017).

Apart from the engravings, maps, sketches, the medium of photography helps to conceptualize the riverscape as a part of urban memory. Selected photographs (Cangir 2007) reveal the multi-faceted interaction of the *Bentderesi* and the inhabitants in the first decades of twentieth century. In that, it is seen that the riverscape indicates a locus for economic activities; animal husbandry, mohair fabrication<sup>5</sup>, agriculture, as well as a place for collective activities;

<sup>4</sup> The various stages of wool production from the indigenous Angora goats as the major economic activity is demonstrated at the bottom of the right corner.

<sup>5</sup> One of the photographs demonstrate Mohair Guild is located at the riverside.

celebrations<sup>6</sup>, domestic chores, and recreation. Regardingly, one could argue that the riverscape and such interactions constitute the components of a memory nested in the approach of Halbwachs; as the riverscape implies a ‘physical space’ and the activities denote ‘intangible resources of a group’. Furthermore, the intrinsic factor, ‘intellectual and cultural traditions’ in the formation of memory is reflected through the photographs (Figure 7).

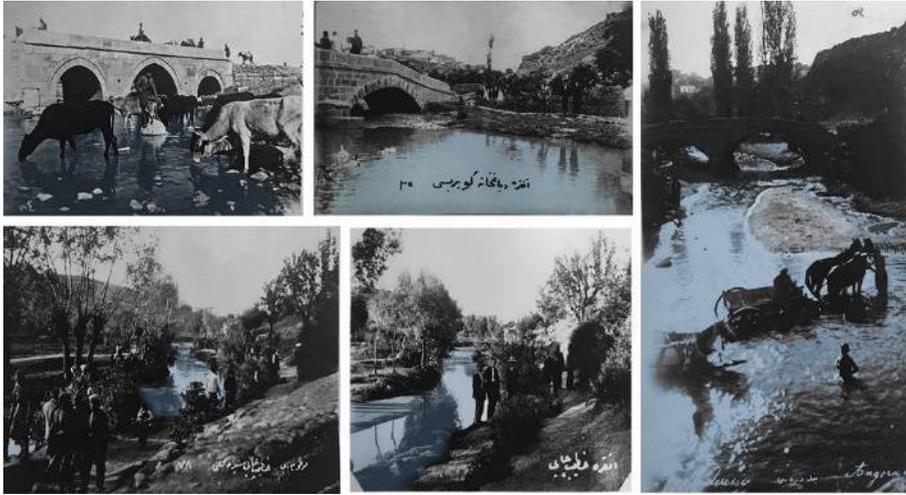


Figure 7. Collage work of selected photographs by the author. Source: Cangir (2007).

### 3.2. The Making of Riverscape

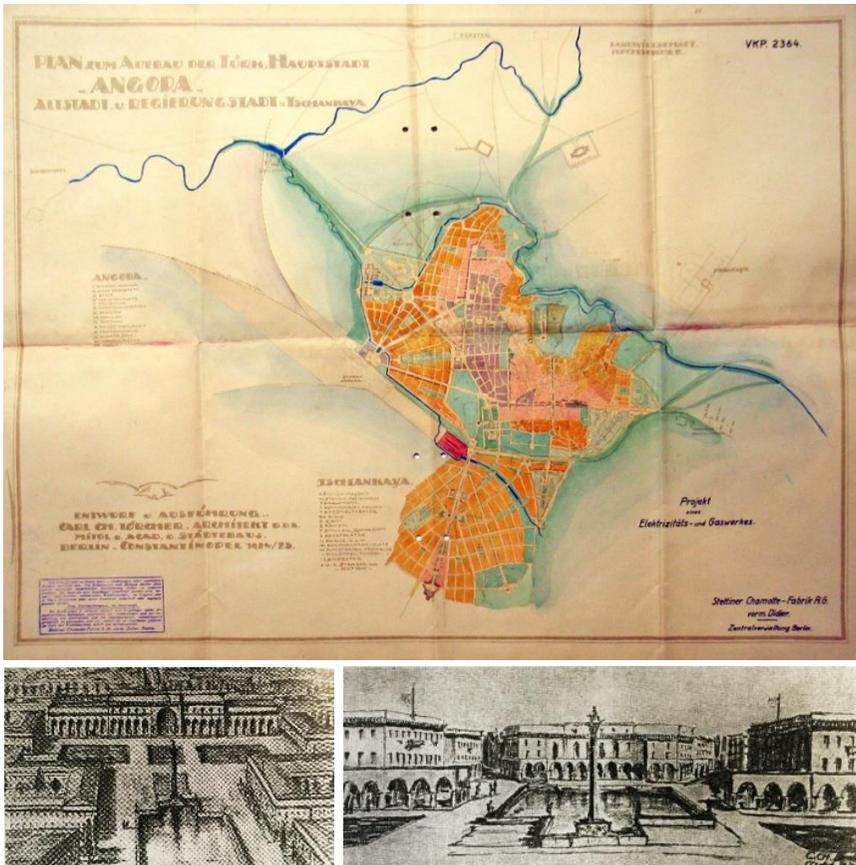
The fundamental breaking point which brings Ankara through the second phase in social, economic, and spatial restructuring starts instantly after the foundation of Republic premising the transformation of the small town of backward Anatolia into a modern capital of young Republic of Turkey. In that, the visions of growing Ankara into a modern capital led to establish the modern institutions which will organize the processes of recovery and development. The spatial formation of Ankara as a capital city necessitated preparation of spatial plans and programs for the future development.

In the phase of making of riverscape, the transformation of spatial knowledge shaped by traditions into contemporary forms of spatial arrangements influenced from the paradigms of the era is succeeded by whom could be designated as ‘memory makers’. The plans produced to give form to the environment, therefore, could be the medium where the process is observed. The first plan of capital Ankara was laid down by Lörcher in 1924 through the utilization of Ankara Şehremaneti 1924 Map as a base. It is of significance to conceptualize the first plan in terms of the dominating paradigm of the epoch which influenced the main matters and the overall strategies of the plan in hand, and the reflections of the plan in the context of Ankara. The first half of the twentieth century, the theory and practice of urban planning witnessed new discursive formations in the production of space. One of the dominating paradigm of the epoch denominated as ‘Garden City’ (Howard and Osborn 1965) has become influential in the principles and strategies of Lörcher plan. It is reflected in the plan report by Lörcher that if the natural assets of the city are utilized properly, the city which appear to be arid and stagnant

<sup>6</sup> The photograph placed in the middle of the left column depicts the festivity of ‘hidrellez’, an old Turkish celebration of spring.

could be transformed into a garden city surrounded by a green belt. The method he proposed in that is based on the utilization of the riverine system as a reference to structure an open space network starting from the outer periphery and gradually penetrating into the core of the city (Cengizkan 2004).

Lörcher sought for a systematical design strategy prioritizing the piece and whole relationship influenced from the concept of ‘organic analogy’. The idea that every spatial activity unfolds as a part of the greater system is reflected through the open space network functioning as a vessel for hierarchy of spatial activities in transition from rural to urban space. These approaches are substantiated along the two main rivers in the projection of future Ankara: *Bentderesi* delimits the city as its valley creates a topographical edge on the northeastern shore of the city. Through the northwestern periphery *Bentderesi* is integrated within the urban system in the form of an urban park. *Ince Su* River, similarly, entering the city from the park, is monumentalized in the form of a natural pool on the station square. It limits the city on the western edge generating a spine for open spaces in ‘Yeni Şehir’, and buffers the city on the southeastern periphery with gardens (Figure 8).



**Figure 8.** Lörcher Plan and sketches of the pool in front of the Station Square  
Source: Cengizkan (2004).

The ongoing challenge of planning and designing the new city was managed in collaboration with foreign experts through design competitions. The project of Hermann Jansen was selected by the commission for implementation. Similar with the Lörcher, Jansen was influenced from the ‘Garden City’ movement which previously laid the foundation for the principles that transform cityscape. Although the structure envisioned by Lörcher did not have a major change, the former projection was revised in terms of proposing transportation and circulation network oriented development<sup>7</sup>, emergence of new residential quarters with social apprehension, fostered open space network enabled through the series of public programs (Figure 9). It is seen that the approach on structuring the open space network along the *Bentderesi* and *İnce Su* Rivers was carried on in the following plan of Jansen so that their potentials in production of modern capital could be appraised (Jansen 1937). In the report that the fundamental concerns of the plan are put forward, Jansen called attention to two points on the formation of riverscape. First, he proposed manifold implications on riverscape in the form of designing ponds, expanding the width of rivers at certain intervals, creating waterfalls at inclined surfaces. Second, he aimed to enable healthy, vibrant and playful environment through the open spaces merging in the riverscape (Cengizkan 2004). Additionally, Jansen mentioned that the river valleys should be prevented from being exposed to construction.

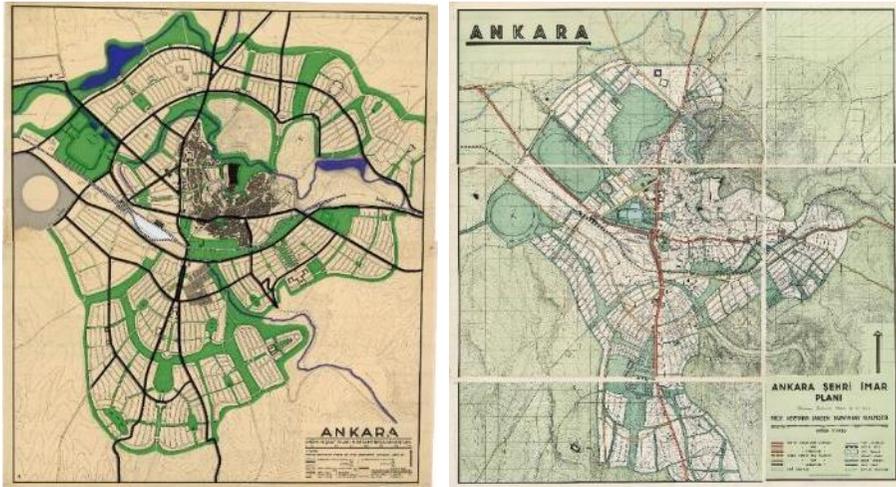


Figure 9. 1928 and 1932 Plans of Jansen. Source: Günay personal archive (2017).

It could be interpreted from the final form of the plan that; *Bentderesi* created a threshold with its valley on the northeastern edge of the city guiding the penetration of open spaces in the city in the form of small gardens and yards through the north. The drawings produced by Jansen prove that the arrangements implied on *Bentderesi* River were considered to perpetuate the image of the city along with the citadel on the north (Figure 10). Joining to *İnce Su* River on the northwest, *Bentderesi* has defined the Hippodrome. *İnce Su* River, on the other hand, has been manifested as a grand pond in the Youth Park located in the core. In the southeastern corridor, *İnce Su* River has given shape to Sanitation Institute, *Fidanlık*, and a high school

<sup>7</sup> Jansen’s disposition towards structuring the city through the hierarchical network of circulation and transportation is inferred from his statement that “As you could observe, almost all of the European cities are built before motor. Motor resulted in a change in the old regulations and understandings. I am bringing to you the final words of the art of urbanism.”

campus (later known as Maarif or TED Koleji –Figure 11). Furthermore, a forest farm was planned on the Basin of Ankara River in a broader scale in which the rural production operated as an interface in the transition from rural to urban environment. Overall, it could be inferred that the river system has created a spine governing the series of public programs which will form a space for socialization in the modern capital.

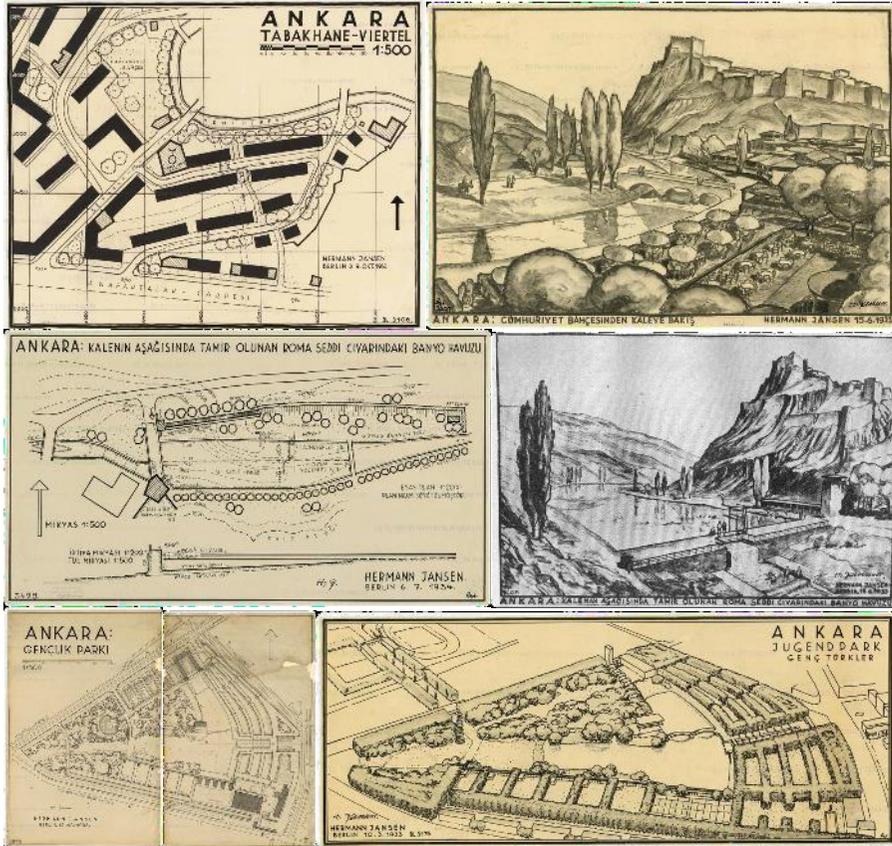


Figure 10. Drawings of Tabakhane Quarter, Bentderesi Pond, Youth Park by Jansen.  
Source: Tunçer (2013).



Figure 11. İnce Su River flowing through the Atatürk Boulevard and School Campus (TED)  
Source: Günay personal archive (2017)

It is clear that Lörcher and Jansen attempted to integrate the riverscape of Ankara to take part in urban memory systems. As ‘memory makers’ by Kansteiner’s definition, the traditions unfold in the riverscape are appropriated through the plans and programs in the production of ‘modern utopia of Republic’ and attributed a new value filtered by the paradigms of the epoch. The riverscape as a component of urban memory system embedded in the plans of Lörcher and Jansen could be explained through César Daly’s framework on monumentalization and open space relationship. Daly asserts that a unified city is composed of program of public works as governing structure in the form of streets, canals, railroads, etc. Such production of space generates advice for civic inspiration, eventually playing part in urban memory systems (Boyer 1994). It could be concluded that in the plans of Lörcher and Jansen, the rivers of *Bentderesi* and *İnce Su* were utilized as governing structure for public programs with monumental impact merging as a part of the riverscape, so that the civic inspiration generating an urban memory of ‘modern utopia’ could be succeeded.

### 3.3. The Ruptures in the Riverscape

Prior plans and programs giving attention on the integration of riverine system with the urban development drawing on the riverscape partially succeeded to structure the open space network of the city which survived until today despite the speculations. However, the formation of riverscape intended to provide the link between the open space programs is lost in the second half of the century. It is vital to dwell on two events which have cause and effect relationship in order to reveal the ruptures that caused vanishing of riverscape. The first could be traced through the report prepared by Yücel and Uybadin, and the second could be linked with a natural disaster which is alleged for diminishing the riverscape.

Although Jansen’s Plan laid the foundation for spatial organization of civic society, the population of Ankara increased rapidly than estimated due to intense migration. The civic lifestyle, job opportunities, qualified health and education services offered in the modern capital attracted flow of people from respectively underdeveloped parts of Turkey. This led to an increasing housing demand in such a short time that could not be supplied by the state. As a result, informally produced residential areas emerged in the periphery or in the disadvantageous sites nearby the urban core.

The intense population outbreak necessitated a new masterplan which will restructure the decomposed urban macroform. Another competition was set, eventually assigning the masterplan of the city to Nihat Yücel and Raşit Uybadin. Yücel & Uybadin Plan within which the new structure of the city is determined in north and south direction focused rearrangement of major issues in transportation network and residential development.

One could track down the diminishing riverscape through the statements prepared by Yücel & Uybadin in the Masterplan Report dated back to 1957 (Figure 13). It is observed that the rivers considered by Jansen as the major components governing the public programs of sports and recreation unfolded in an open space network was taken into account in Yücel & Uybadin under the category within which the sewage system is dwelled on. Although the public programs proposed by Jansen such as Hippodrome, Youth Park, Health Institutes, and Fidanlık had been realized until the epoch, the core idea based on the production of riverscape was diminished. The major problems dominating the agenda as rural migration and thereafter population increase beyond carrying capacity could be linked with the transformation of riverscape into a sewage system.

In the report, Yücel and Uybadin emphasized the insufficiencies in the sewage system as one of the most problematic issues. Partial implications were realized in certain zones of newly emerging *Yeni Şehir* between 1945 and 1947, whereas other parts of the city were deprived

from a modern sewage system. It is emphasized that the areas without a proper infrastructural system caused sewage to be interfused with the *İnce Su*, *Bentderesi*, *Hatip*, and *Çubuk* Rivers posing a risk for public health. Considering the issue, three points were emphasized in the plan; first, to plan a sewage network within the borders of planning territory, and to permit for development if the area has a proper sewage facility, second, to prevent the sewage to be fused with the rivers in any ways, and third, to allow the refined and decontaminated water processed in the proposed water treatment facility to be drained into the river system (Yücel and Uybadin 1957).

Although Yücel and Uybadin signified the problem and proposed a solution within the limits of the plan, the estimated population which is the determining factor of planned development was exceeded 35 years before the plan targeted. This resulted in fragmented and unplanned development and hinder the attempts of achieving a modern city.

Regarding the newly developing capital city faced with haphazard development and infrastructural problems, it is not possible to claim that the city was well prepared for dramatic natural events. The flood that took place in 1957 could be an example to this. With the considerable amount of casualties, the flood was mentioned to be resulted from an intense rainfall and overflow in the rivers, especially *Bentderesi* River. The measures taken by the municipality favored covering *Bentderesi* River in order to transform the watercourse into a part of the highway system.

After the implications on *Bentderesi*, the decay in *İnce Su* riverscape has resulted in the transformation of *İnce Su* waterway into an asphalted road in the beginning of 1970's.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Returning to the discussion that every memory unfolds in a spatial setting, it is worthy to reveal how space operates as a syntax for memory to be formed as an extension of social patterns emerged autochthonously. Furthermore, regarding the disciplinary framework of spatial production, how interventions exerted on space introduce a new meaning interacting with memory or create ruptures resulted in amnesia is yet to be explored. Within the scope of the urban context, an age-old relationship providing a basis for economic and social patterns to be shaped requires reconceptualization through the filter of urban memory systems: the context of riverscape.

The riverscape of Ankara appears as a prevailing case regarding the manifold structure of urban memory systems defined by Kansteiner (2002). First, it demonstrates the notion that space becomes a nexus for memory to be formed through social processes with reference to riverscape. The autochthonous formation of urban memory through 'intellectual and cultural traditions' manifests itself in the maps, engravings, and photographs. Second, the making of riverscape through the changing paradigm of the epoch is observed as Ankara was envisioned as a capital representing the locus of modernization. This resulted in the utilization of riverscape as the main structure within which the open space programs as an ultimate spatial necessity for a civic and modern environment.

The quest into the urban memory systems through the riverscape of Ankara is not limited with remembrance and appraisal but extended through the dialectic process of forgetting remarked by Nora (1989). The traces which signal the crisis of memory reveal that the socially acknowledged meaning of riverscape has been diminished through ruptures. Due to the incompetency in reformulation of memory with its physical and intangible components shaping riverscape into contemporary ones, the rivers have been detached from the context of urban memory. This dysfunctionality resulting in the collapse of the holistic system hindered

the legibility of riverscape as a part of the socially and spatially redefined urban memory entailing to the final chapter of forgetting: amnesia.

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