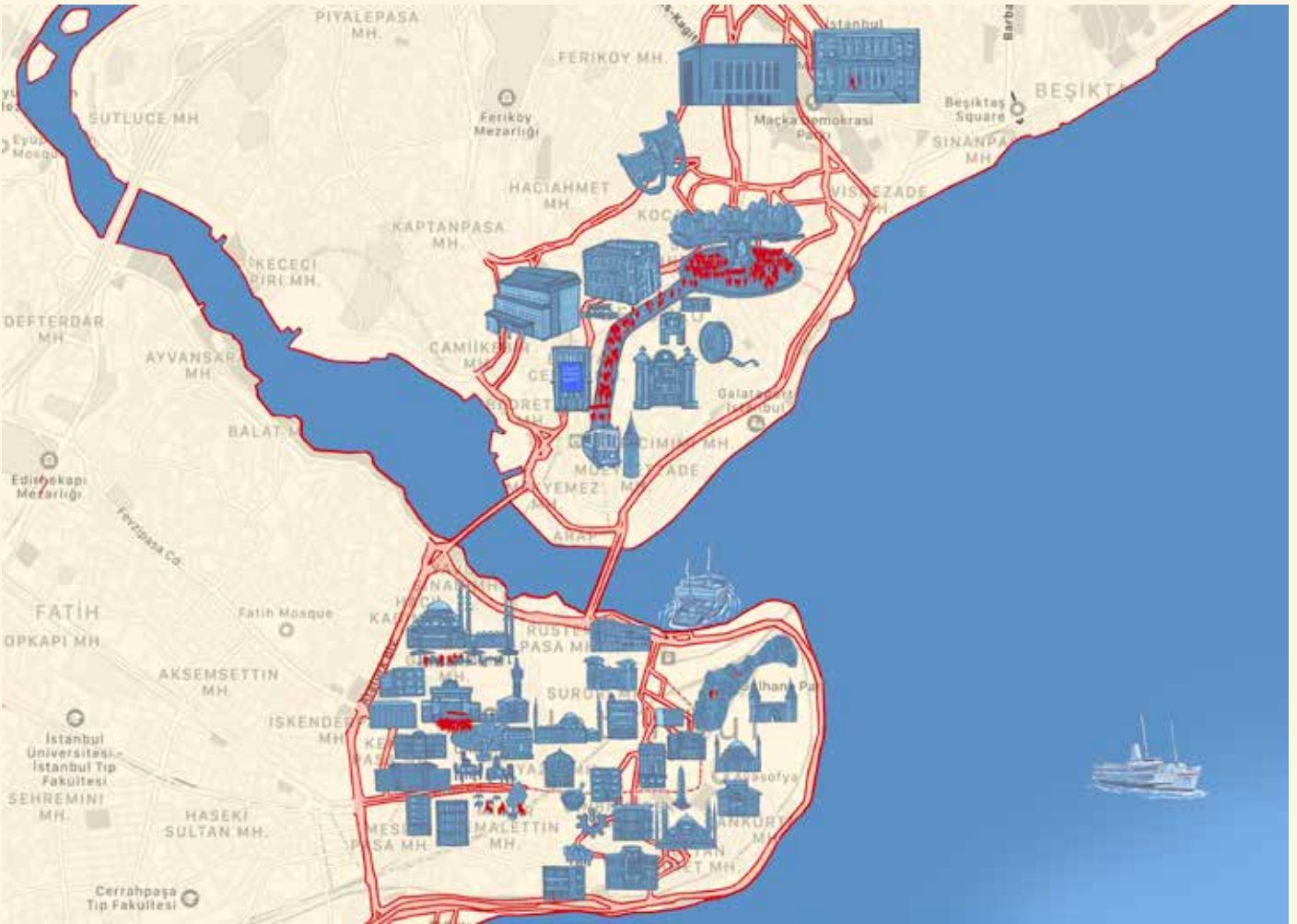


SITES OF MEMORY FROM BEYAZIT SQUARE TO TAKSİM SQUARE

10 Years of Revolutionary Student Movement (1975-1985)

TURKEY REPORTS – 2022



A Preliminary Report
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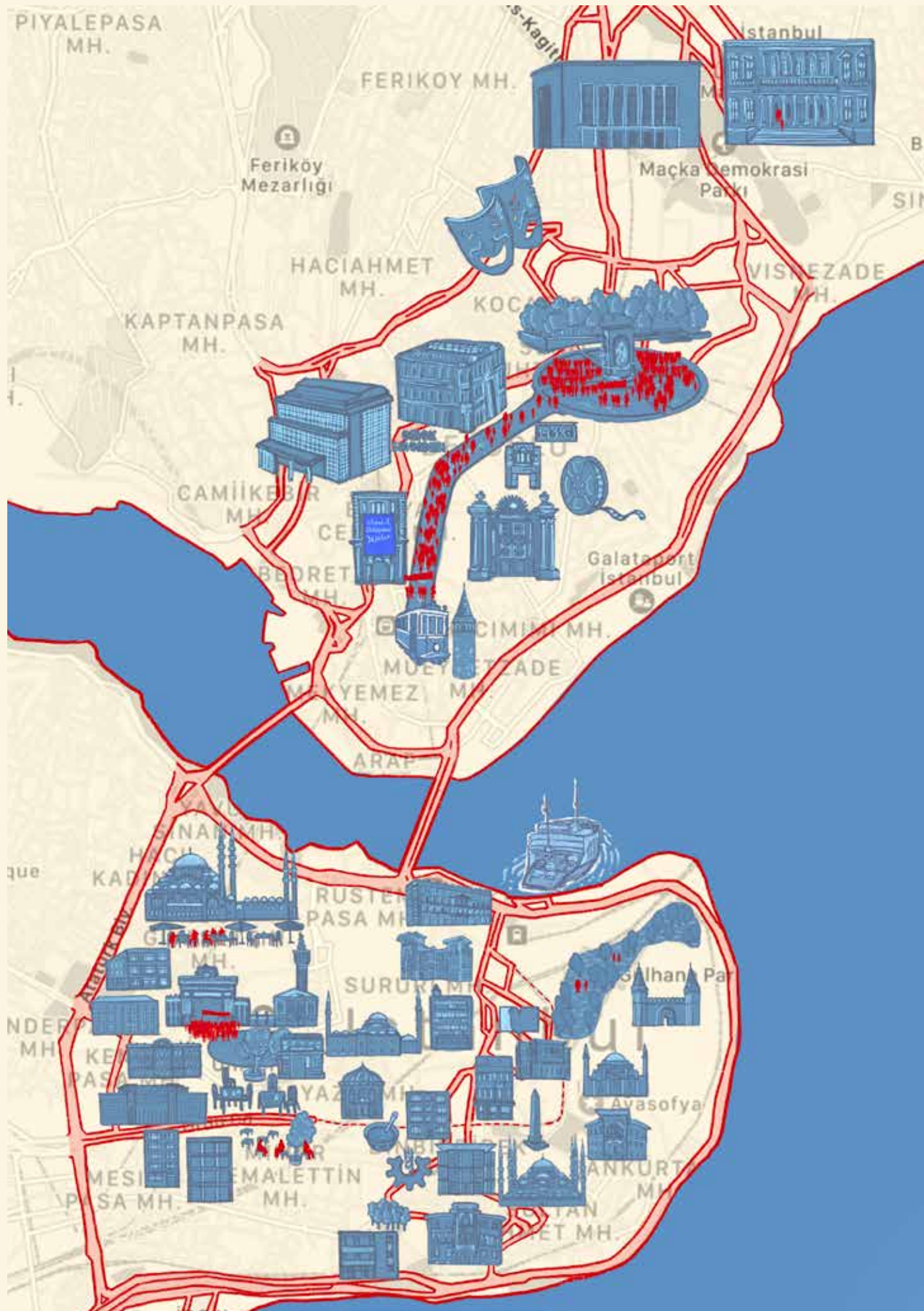
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RIT Team and Feza Kürkçüoğlu



content

Why did we conduct this study?	6
Our method	6
Our future expectations of this preliminary project	8

Sites of Memory from Sultanahmet to Sirkeci	9
Beyazıt Square	10
Istanbul University	12
Coffeehouses in Beyazıt Square	16
Second-Hand Book Bazaar	18
Istanbul University Medico-Social Center	20
Famous bean restaurants in Süleymaniye	22
Vezneciler Site Student Dormitory	24
Istanbul University Faculty of Letters	25
Istanbul University Faculty of Science	26
Küllük and Marmara Coffeehouses	28
Denizli Student Dormitory	29
Beyazıt High School of Finance and Accounting	30
Çemberlitaş and Cennet pudding shops	31
Kadirga Student Dormitory	32
Çorlulu Ali Paşa Madrasa (School of Islamic Teachings)	34
Balıkesir Student Dormitory	36
Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) Headquarters	37
Sultanahmet Courthouse	38
Sultanahmet Square	40
Sultanahmet Prison	42
Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences	44
Tarihi Sultanahmet Köfteci (Historical meatball restaurant in Sultanahmet)	45
YAZKO (Turkish Writers and Translators Publishing and Production Cooperative)	46
Istanbul Chamber of Physicians	48
Istanbul High School for Boys	50
Forensic Medicine-Morgue buildings	52
Sanasaryan Han	54
Sirkeci Ferry Boat Pier	56

Sites of Memory from Taksim to Tünel (district)	58
Taksim Square	59
Republic Monument	64
Istanbul Sports and Exhibition Hall	66
Turkish Cinematheque Association	68
Istanbul Technical University (ITU)	70
İstiklal Avenue	72
The İstanbul Higher Education Culture Association (İYÖKD)	76
Küçük Sahne (theater on İstiklal Avenue)	78
Çiçek Arcade / Çiçek Pasajı (a historic passage on İstiklal Avenue)	80
Galatasaray High School / Galatasaray Square	82
Baro Han (Istanbul Bar Association)	86
Dostlar Theater	88
Tepebaşı Experimental Stage (Tepebaşı Deneme Sahnesi)	90
Emek Movie Theater	92

Why did we conduct this study?

Prepared as part of the 1980 Coup d'État studies of the Research Institute on Turkey (RIT) Collective Memory Working Group, this preliminary report focuses on the Beyazıt-Taksim route in Istanbul known for housing various sites of memory where the youth movement, the revolutionary struggle of the era, as well as systematic attacks aiming to break the anti-fascist resistance occurred. Our objective is to mark these sites of memory along this route located on the European side of Istanbul which hold traces of the 1980 Coup. Based on the mapping (pins) of this preliminary study, we would like to recall the places that had been home to the revolutionary movement, understand what they have turned into as sites of memory in the past 42 years and observe the changes within the specified timeline that we define as remembering, forgetting, and re-creating public space.

Our method

The foundation of this work is the oral history research conducted between 2012-2022 covering the 1980 Coup as part of the RIT Collective Memory Working Group. During the research, in which the testimonies of the era were recorded, we were able to see the past relationship of the witnesses with the sites, how they relate to the very sites today, and their ways of remembering past events based on their perception of the places, which all proved these sites do exist robustly in their memory. Therefore, we decided that the first route would include Beyazıt Square, Taksim Square, and the different paths linking the two squares. Instead of defining a single main route between the two most significant squares of Istanbul, we specified sites of memory from several paths that lie within the vicinity of these squares and/or link them together. This marking work is the product of a preliminary study that can serve as a report.

¹ Delikanlı Eylem, Delikanlı Özlem, Project Left Behind – 1980 Coup D'État Oral History Research, RIT Collective Memory Working Group, 2012 – 2019
Delikanlı Eylem, 1980 Coup D'État Oral History Research, RIT Collective Memory Working Group, 2020-2022

The main objectives of this work are sharing related information and documents in the future, identifying unmarked sites or the ones that went missing in the first place, transforming these practices into a more collective and grounded act of remembering. On the above-mentioned route, we identified 42 sites of memory. We documented these sites with photographs and videos, executing an extensive archival work where we made a great effort to reach the visual and written material related to these sites' histories as long as the circumstances allowed. There is no doubt that these sites which are the embodiment and public stages of dissent are not limited to this inventory. However, at this stage, we had to limit the research with marking these 42 sites since what we strive for is more than a specific memory, but more of seeking either the official or unofficial history of the very space where in some cases no content was available.

One of the primary reasons for choosing to identify the recent history of social struggle on these two squares is that both sites have been the arenas where Turkey's most significant social transformations manifested themselves in. Another significant point is that the revolutionary student movement, which was considered the driving force and even the backbone of the revolutionary organizing in Istanbul between 1975 and 1985, had organized mainly on this route involving the two squares and the linking paths since 1968.

Following the Military Memorandum of March 12, 1971 which mainly targeted the revolutionaries, revolutionary parties, and labor unions to silence the rising opposition sparked by the student movement in 1968, the revolutionary student movement once again started to re-organize after 1973. With the general amnesty in 1974, the revolutionary student and labor movements had opened a considerably important path of struggle even under the toughest circumstances. Organizing between 1974 and 1977 to resist various attacks, the student movement had become the main body of the political movements that emerged in 1977 and onwards. At that time, the left-wing movement active in schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces was split into numerous factions. The fact that most of the individuals who were detained and arrested in the 1980 Coup were mainly high school or university students can be considered as a strong indicator in that sense.

Despite the huge bloodbath of the 1980 Coup, it was unable to completely eradicate the revolutionary student organization, which partially maintained its presence around Beyazıt and Taksim. Beginning to regroup after 1983, the left organized the students in universities in 1988 leading to several great protests some of which are against the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) and the boycott of Istanbul Technical University (ITU) students. However, since the old meeting spots (coffeehouses, pudding shops, etc.) became exposed at that time, after 1983, gatherings began to take place in venues near the Laleli neighborhood rather than the old ones near Beyazıt Square. Meanwhile at Taksim, meetings were held at coffeehouses in inner corners of nearby streets, because these places were rather inconspicuous. As for the 1990s, the political party buildings, foundations, art houses, and coffeehouses became the spots for revolutionary students to meet and organize. Another hot spot for revolutionary student activities was İstiklal Avenue which hosted cultural activities in cinemas, theaters, and art houses as it did before the 1980 Coup.

Questions of how the authentic traits of both squares and their peripheries reflect on space and how the uses of these spaces have changed before and after the coup have been explored in the context of the student movement's practices of organization, resistance, and struggle.

We observed that some of the 42 sites in the preliminary report either transformed years ago or are in the process of change. Due to the change of the original functions of these buildings over the years, not only the ties between the buildings and memory had been torn apart, but also their architectural features had been altered, or are currently being transformed. For instance, Beyazıt Square, the heart of Beyazıt district where some of the markings on the Sultanahmet-Sirkeci route are situated, is going through another transformation, after countless ones. To mention another example from Beyazıt, the street where Denizli Dormitory stands on and the collateral streets now look completely different than what they used to be. With all the old buildings gone today, they share a generic look with any other street in the neighborhood, even the sidewalks, and façades of the current buildings look alike. Being used by different institutions over the years, Sanasaryan Han and Forensic Medicine-Morgue buildings, despite having been restored already, are today again in restoration to be handed over to other institutions. Taksim area, our marking area for sites of memory between Taksim Square and Tunnel Square, was not any different either. We cannot say for sure if the square can handle another arrangement, or if its historical features can be preserved in the case of one, however, its ties with the past were already broken. As for İstiklal Avenue, even the traces of the 1990s were long gone, let alone the 1970s. The popular cinemas, theaters, and bookstores of İstiklal had to close to leave room for “brand” stores, resulting in massive alteration of building façades (which used to be an important architectural element of İstiklal Avenue). In this preliminary report, we solely observed the two squares, the change within the districts they lie in, and how the relationship between buildings and memory has been torn apart. Other districts of Istanbul also had their share of this very situation.

Our future expectations of this preliminary project

We hope to achieve the following with our mapping work:

To enrich the information and documentation regarding sites of memory where the anti-fascist movement was organized in;

To trace the continuity of these urban policies, which adopt a gentrifying and erosional nature regarding urban memory by keeping a record of destroyed sites or the ones that had been gradually transformed;

To enable the possibility of making connections between sites of memory and historical events which might seem unrelated in the beginning;

To ceate a tech-supported mapping and the sound-walk project featuring the sites’ authentic narratives;

As part of our collaboration with local authorities, discovering physical/virtual domains in a collective manner where these sites can be experienced and remembered within their historical background;

To understand an important part of the recent past based on these sites and transferring this cumulative information to future generations through “memory tours” based on these sites.

Sites of Memory from Sultanahmet to Sirkeci

- Beyazıt Square
- Istanbul University
- Coffeehouses in Beyazıt Square
- Second-Hand Book Bazaar
- Istanbul University Medico-Social Center
- Famous bean restaurants in Süleymaniye
- Vezneciler Site Student Dormitory
- Istanbul University Faculty of Letters
- Istanbul University Faculty of Science
- Küllük and Marmara Coffeehouses
- Denizli Student Dormitory
- Beyazıt High School of Finance and Accounting
- Çemberlitaş and Cennet Pudding Shops
- Kadırga Student Dormitory
- Çorlulu Ali Paşa Madrasa (School of Islamic Teachings)
- Balıkesir Student Dormitory
- Workers’ Party of Turkey (TİP) Headquarters
- Sultanahmet Courthouse
- Sultanahmet Square
- Sultanahmet Prison
- Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences
- Tarihi Sultanahmet Köftecisi (Historical meatball restaurant in Sultanahmet)
- YAZKO (Turkish Writers and Translators Publishing and Production Cooperative)
- Istanbul Chamber of Physicians
- Istanbul High School for Boys
- Forensic Medicine-Morgue buildings
- Sanasaryan Han
- Sirkeci Ferry Boat Pier

Beyazıt Square

Beyazıt Square was built to be the largest square of the city during Emperor Theodosius' time in 393. Called the Forum of Theodosius in Byzantine times, the square got severely damaged during Latin occupation like the rest of the city, turning into a wreck.

On the north side of the square stood the Old Palace, the first Ottoman palace built by Fatih Sultan Mehmed, which does not exist today. In the 16th century, (Ottoman Sultan) Bayezid II had a külliye (building complex) consisting of a mosque, madrasa, sıbyan mektebi (Ottoman primary school), imaret (Ottoman soup-kitchen), fountain, and a hamam built in the square. The square in front of the complex then began to be called Beyazıt Square.



Beyazıt Square in the 1940s
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive

As one of the city's biggest squares during the Ottoman and the Republic times, Beyazıt Square had been home to numerous events. During World War I, British aircraft bombings caused craters across the square where state ceremonies and public executions took place. In 1924, an elliptical pond with a fountain was built on the spots where craters occurred. In 1957 the pond was removed as part of the urban planning activities of (the incumbent prime minister) Adnan Menderes.

The square was the site of demonstrations before the 1960 Coup d'État and it was later named "Hürriyet (Liberty) Square" after student Turan Emeksiz was killed there (Turan Emeksiz, following his death, was declared as "Liberty Martyr"). Following the 1980 Coup, the name of the square was changed back to Beyazıt Square upon Kenan Evren's statement: "There is no need to rename the square only because someone was shot, killed there".

Having held countless public meetings and demonstrations in the 1960s, the square became carved in the urban memory as the place for revolutionary student meetings, demonstrations, and funeral ceremonies after 1974. Following the Coup, the square had a relatively quiet period which could only last until anti-YÖK protests started in the 1990s.



Beyazıt Square landscaping works, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Although the foundation of Istanbul University is claimed to date back to 1453 based on the common thought that it was an extension of “Sahn-ı Seman Madrasa” built on Fatih Sultan Mehmed’s order in 1453, the university was actually built in 1933 as the first and only university of the Turkish Republic. Starting as an Ottoman academy in the 19th century, Darülfünun had been reestablished under different names in 1863, 1869, 1874, and 1900, finally was closed in 1933 due to the University Reform, giving place to Istanbul University.

The main building of Istanbul University was built by the architect Bourgeois between 1864 and 1866. Significant for its baroque architectural style, the building started to be used as the Ministry of War in 1879. Following the Istanbul earthquake in 1894, the building was repaired by architect Raimondo d’Aranco, then renovated by architect Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, and today houses the Rectorate building, Dean’s offices of Economics and Law faculties, and administrative offices.

Istanbul University has an important place in the history of the revolutionary student movement. Although the student movement emerging in the 1940s faced great resistance, students could organize through the unions and federations they had established. Clashes and boycotts had continued in the faculties until the 1980 Coup, a pivotal moment and milestone. Yet, the 1980s had been the period for the students to re-organize and establish unions.

Before the 1960 Coup, on April 28th, 1960, a forestry student, Turan Emeksiz, was killed by the police, and his body was secretly buried the next morning during the demonstrations against Democrat Party’s oppressive regime. However, despite all efforts, they could not stop Emeksiz from being commemorated as the “Liberty Martyr”.

The revolutionary students of Istanbul University started a boycott and occupied the main building with a demand of “reform in education” on June 12th, 1968, and following that they performed another occupation with a demand of a “democratic university” on December 26th, 1968. On September 23rd, 1969, a leader of the revolutionary student movement and the ‘68 generation, Taylan Özgür, was killed in front of the Istanbul University building.



The main gate of the Istanbul University Central Building in 1930s
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive



Students protested Rector Ekrem Şerif Egeli during the boycott and occupation which started on 12 June 1968
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

The front gate of İstanbul University Faculty of Pharmacy, where the 16 March 1978 Massacre took place, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



The murder of the Vatan High School of Engineering student Kerim Yaman by Turkish ultranationalist Grey Wolves (Ülkücüler) after the 1971 Military Memorandum led to another occupation of the İstanbul University main building. The following day, his body was carried from Beyazıt to Sirkeci along with a cortège of around 50.000 people and sent to his hometown.

İstanbul University's main building was, once again, occupied when another massacre happened on March 16th, 1978. The March 16th Massacre (also known as The Beyazıt Massacre) became one of the darkest days in the revolutionary student movement's history. In 1978, Grey Wolves were putting great effort to prevent revolutionary students from attending classes in the İstanbul University Beyazıt Campus, as they did in other universities. As a solution to that, law students would commute to the campus in company with students from faculties of Economics, Law, Pharmacy, Management, and the Schools of Journalism and Foreign Languages, which stood in close proximity to of the Beyazıt Campus.

When revolutionary students who left the campus at noon on March 16th, 1978 and arrived in front of the Faculty of Pharmacy, they were first targeted with a cluster bomb then were raided with automatic weapons. While students Hatice Özen, Baki Ediz, Hamit Akıl, Ahmet Turan Ören, Abdullah Şimşek, and Murat Kurt were immediately killed at the scene of the attack, Cemil Sönmez who was taken to hospital in a severely wounded state, could not be saved. 7 students were killed in the massacre, and 44 students got wounded.



Students were in the Taksim Square on Mayday 1978 for their friends murdered on 16 March 1978
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

As the perpetrators of the massacre fled, the main building got occupied by the revolutionary students. A general boycott was declared across all universities in İstanbul, and thousands of people filled the university building, mourning and singing anthems until the next morning. On the morning of March 17th, protesters from universities and high schools came together with members of democratic mass organizations in Beyazıt. Towards noon, a funeral cortège of about 40,000 people began to march towards Sirkeci. The bodies collected from the morgue were bid farewell along with slogans and sent from Sirkeci ferry terminal. At that time, the cortège was extending from Beyazıt to Sirkeci. Sirkeci Square was swarming with people arriving with the cortège, one group after another.

Following the March 16th Massacre, the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) declared a two-hour general strike on March 20th. An anti-fascist demonstration took place with the attendance of all democratic mass organizations to condemn fascism with hundreds of thousands of people across the nation.

A lawsuit was filed after the massacre. However, the long-running case/cases had somehow been stretched, made to go on and on for years without any defendants or witnesses, finally to let the perpetrators walk away without any charges due to "lack of evidence". Some lawyers, who were students in the time of events, later filed new lawsuits, however, their efforts came to a dead-end because cases were dismissed in 2010 by the Court of Cassation for "their statute of limitations had run out".

Coffeehouses in Beyazıt Square

Beyazıt Square is not only famous for the Beyazıt Mosque and Istanbul University, but also for the Beyazıt State Library, coffeehouses, and the Secondhand Book Bazaar which are all vivid hubs. Taking their names from the plane (Çınar) trees that encircle the Beyazıt Mosque, the Çınaraltı (“under the Çınar trees”) outdoor coffee houses’ history dates back to the period of Suleiman the Magnificent (Ottoman Sultan reigning between 1520 and 1566).

Another coffeehouse associated with Beyazıt Square is the famous Küllük Coffeehouse. Küllük Coffeehouse became popular when Darülfünun opened in 1923 and continued to get attention also from foreign teachers and intellectuals after 1933, which led to its functioning almost as an academy in a way. The square offered a new face and atmosphere in its surroundings between the 1930s and 1950s. Küllük Coffeehouse and Emin Efendi Restaurant have probably enjoyed their golden years during this period. The small bazaar adjacent to Küllük Coffeehouse and the mosque were also demolished between 1957 and 1958, during the time of Adnan Menderes.

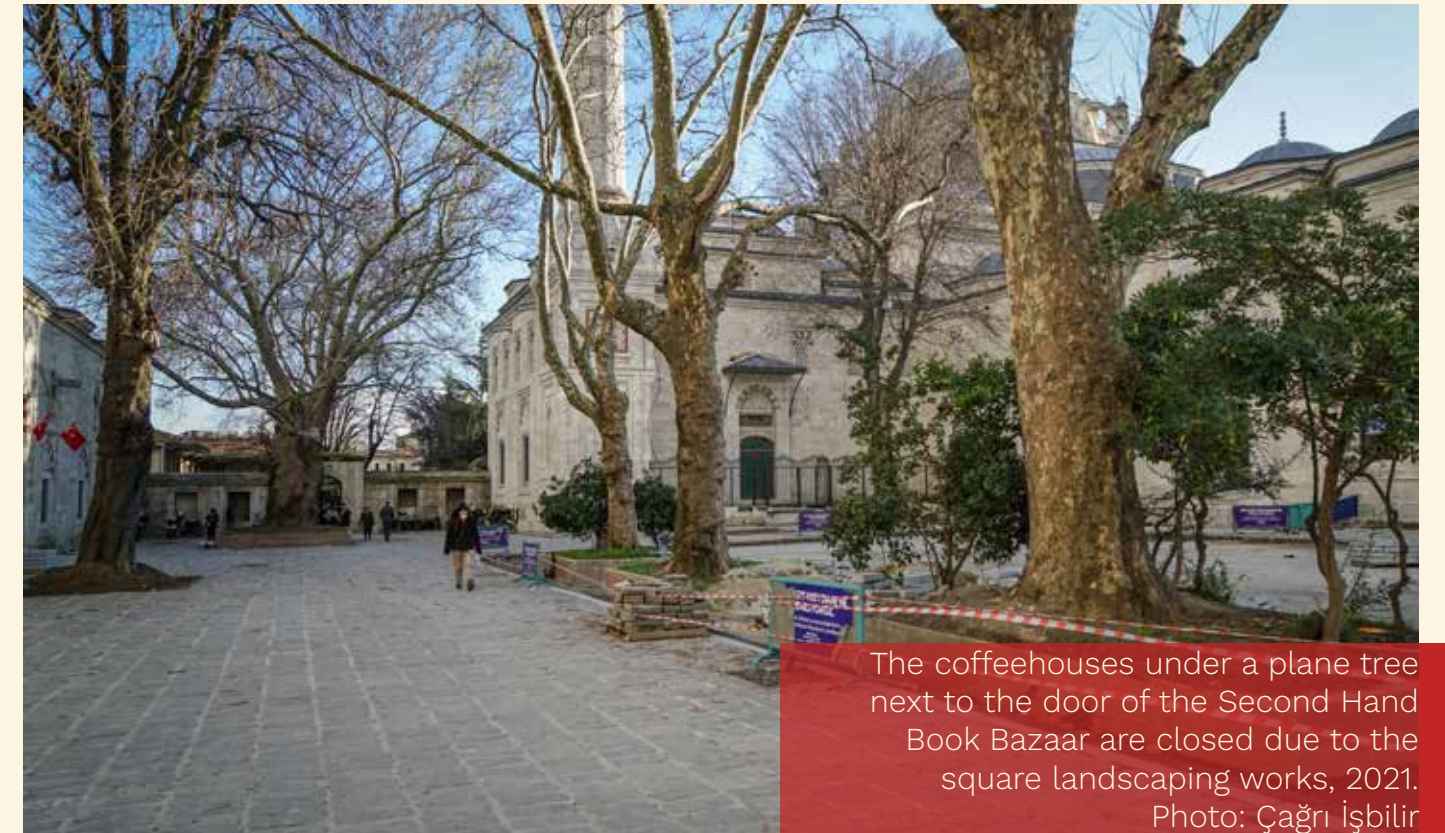
Starting from the 1930s, Çınaraltı coffeehouses had become one of the best spots for Istanbulites and revolutionary students. After the 1980 Coup, revolutionary students began to gather in other neighborhood coffeehouses this time.



Küllük coffeehouse in an ancient photo
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive



The famous Küllük Coffeehouse of
Beyazıt Square in 1930s
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive



The coffeehouses under a plane tree
next to the door of the Second Hand
Book Bazaar are closed due to the
square landscaping works, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

Second-Hand Book Bazaar

Serving booklovers since the 15th century, the Second-Hand Book Bazaar is one of the oldest bazaars of Istanbul. Second-hand booksellers started operating within the Grand Bazaar which was built in 1460, then after the 1894 earthquake, they moved to their current location which was called Hakkaklar Bazaar back then. The bazaar, where old books and distinguished calligraphy works are traded, was destroyed during the fire that occurred on January 6th, 1950. After being re-built, the bazaar opened again on October 3rd, 1952. The bazaar had maintained its significance until the beginning of the 1980s.

Until the 1980 Coup, the Second-Hand Book Bazaar had lasted as a favorite spot for book-lovers, students, people who had limited budgets or had trouble finding certain books. As the bazaar was collapsing due to the banning of books in certain years, (it is no coincidence that) today there are very few second-hand booksellers in it.



Today, textbooks replaced the secondhand books once sold in this bazaar, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



A second-hand book shop in the bazaar
in the 1930s
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive

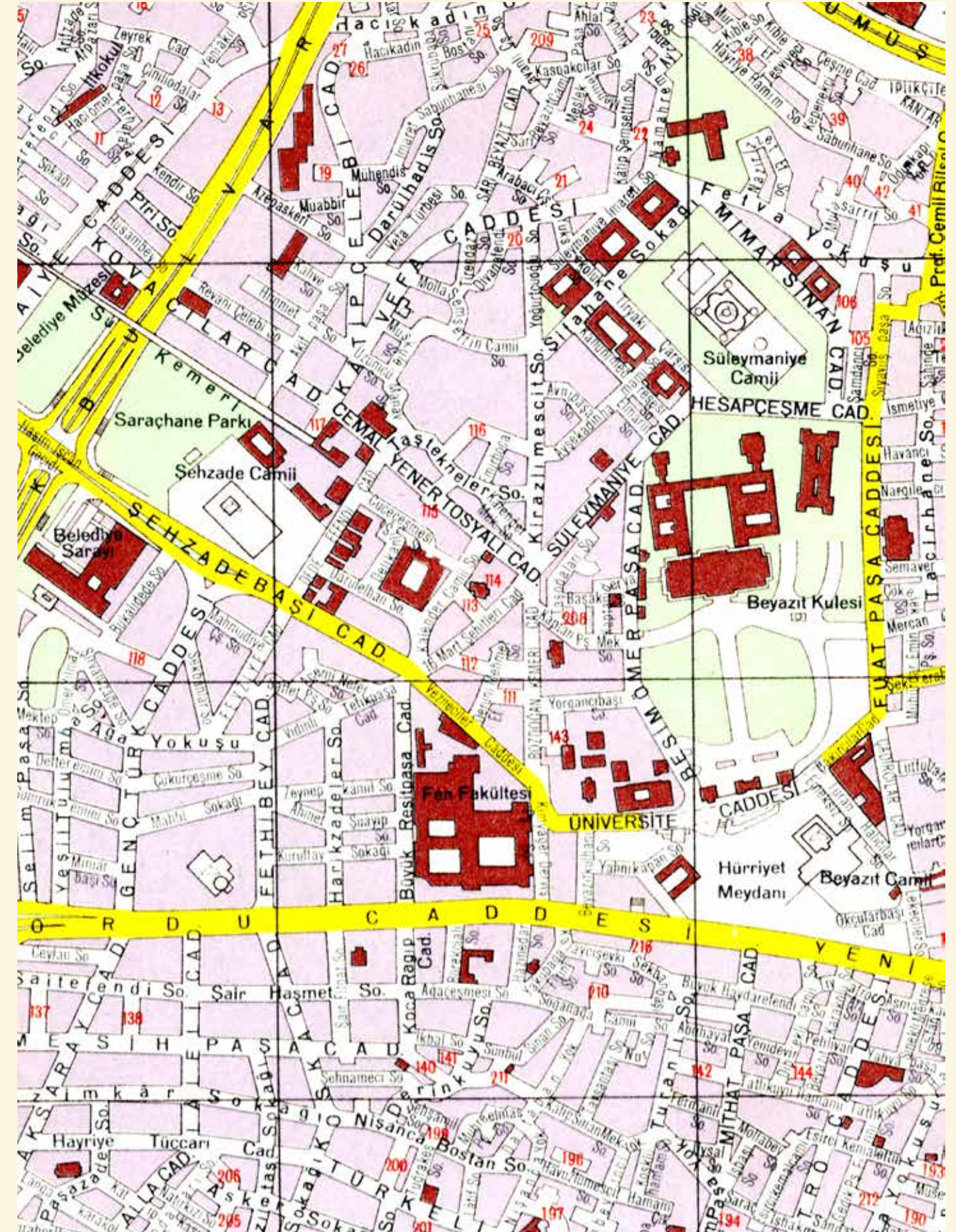
Istanbul University Medico-Social Center

Built in 1961, İstanbul University Medico-Social Center not only provided the university students with basic health and cultural services but also had served as a place for the cultural and artistic activities of the revolutionary student movement for long years.

From 1974 until the 1980 Coup, the revolutionary students had organized, either in official units within the university or in the associations they formed and performed activities in areas like theater, music, (Anatolian) folk dancing, and sports. Between those years the students arranged festivals, night events, concerts, and plays, “İstanbul University Culture Festival” in March 1980 being their last activity in the center.



Medico Social Center is located close to the faculties of İstanbul University, 2021. Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Famous bean restaurants in Süleymaniye

Known as Tiryaki Bazaar, the row of adjacent stores across the Süleymaniye Complex consists of (traditional) bean dish serving restaurants and coffeehouses. Running since 1924, Erzincanlı Ali Baba Beans Shop stands at the entrance of the bazaar where university students and Süleymaniye Complex visitors usually come for a bite or drink. In addition to Ali Baba, which still exists today, coffeehouses in the bazaar and the vicinity of Süleymaniye Complex had been the favorite places of revolutionary students until the 1980s.



Süleymaniye was the center of bean restaurants and coffeehouses until the 1990s. Currently, this neighborhood is still famous for bean restaurants even in larger numbers 2021.

Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



The shops under the First Madrasa of Süleymaniye Complex
SALT Research, Ülgen Family Archive

Vezneciler Site Student Dormitory

Opened in 1955, Vezneciler Site Student Dormitory is one of the older dormitory buildings that survived to this day. As the main base of the revolutionary student movement in the region since 1968, the dormitory also became one of the most important centers for the movement near Beyazıt for hosting seminars and meetings between 1974 and 1977.

It faced several attacks by the Grey Wolves between 1974 and the year it was closed in 1977, and in some of these attacks three people got killed: the dorm staff Abdi Gönen on April 24th, 1975, and Cerrahpaşa (prominent medical school of Turkey) medical students Hüseyin Yavuz and Baki Ünlü on January 25th, 1977. In those years, the name of Site Dormitory was often mentioned because of the conflicts with the Grey Wolves staying in the nearby Sivas Dormitory.

The dormitory was closed in 1977, then re-opened as the Vezneciler Dormitory for Girls in 1978, and still continues to serve. Coffeehouses located near the Site Dormitory and the Faculty of Sciences were also among the gathering places of revolutionary students between 1975 and 1980.



Site Student Dormitory of the time now serves as Vezneciler Girls' Dormitory, 2021.

Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

Istanbul University Faculty of Letters

Just like the Faculty of Sciences, Istanbul University Faculty of Letters started its academic operation in the Zeynep Hanım Mansion in 1933, and from 1952 up to this day has continued in its own building. Mostly renowned for the boycotts held in 1968, the Faculty of Letters had been occupied by Grey Wolves between 1974 and 1978. As it happened in the Faculty of Law before, students of the Faculty of Letters stood against the attacks by commuting together and broke the occupation in 1978. Yet, clashes went on between the Grey Wolves and Revolutionaries starting from the beginning of the 1980s.



Istanbul University Faculty of Letters in 1950's.
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive



Just the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Letters is also still active in its first building, 2021.

Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

Istanbul University Faculty of Science

With its history dating back to Darülfünun-i Osmanî (the first Ottoman higher education institution with a modern curriculum), Istanbul University Faculty of Science started its academic operation initially in the Zeynep Hanım Mansion, which completely burned down in a fire in 1942. Education continued in the Faculty of Sciences and Letters building which was built by (distinguished) architects Emin Onat and Sedat Hakkı Eldem.

The Faculty of Science had been another location for resistance against the Grey Wolves attacks, starting from 1968, and between 1975 and 1980 revolutionary students were actively engaged in this resistance.



Istanbul University Faculty of Science, Beyazıt 1960
SALT Research,
Photograph and Postcard Archive



From 1909 to 1942, the Faculty of Science and Letters was established at Vezneciler in the Zeynep Hanım Manor which was later burned down.
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive



Entrance of Istanbul University Faculty of Science, still active in its historic building, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

Küllük and Marmara Coffeehouses

Facing Beyazıt Square, the Küllük Coffeehouse had been a popular gathering place for the Grey Wolves from the 1970s to the 1980s. Even though the coffeehouse was closed, the Grey Wolves did not leave the neighborhood and settled in other venues in its vicinity like the Platin Pool Hall, Marmara Coffeehouse, and other coffeehouses nearby.



Denizli Student Dormitory

In the development of the revolutionary student movement, dormitories played a major role. Some of the dormitories that were abandoned after the 1971 Military Memorandum had been occupied by the Grey Wolves. Between 1974 and 1980 there were repeated attacks on the dormitories where revolutionary students stayed in. Denizli Dormitory, Balıkesir Dormitory, and Kadirga Dormitory were powerful supporting elements of the anti-fascist resistance in Beyazıt to such an extent that the area enclosed by these three buildings was called as the “Communist Devil’s Triangle” by Grey Wolves.

Denizli Dormitory was a private dorm, meaning it was not controlled by the General Directorate of Higher Education Credit and Dormitories. Located on the back streets of the Faculty of Letter’s neighborhood, the dormitory building became an important base for the revolutionary student movement in Beyazıt after Site Dormitory was closed down in 1977. Having suffered numerous attacks between 1975 and 1980, Denizli Dormitory served both as a place for collective life including social and cultural activities, and a center for the organizing of shoemakers in Gedikpaşa. Today the building functions as a hotel.



Beyazıt High School of Finance and Accounting

The Academy of Finance and Accounting was also a prominent base for the student movement with mostly revolutionary students and their resistance against the assaults between 1975 and 1980. Established by the students, the Finance and Accounting Research Association (MAMAD) was a gathering spot not only for the Academy but also for the general community of revolutionary students in Beyazıt.

In 1982, Galatasaray Management Academy, Aksaray Business School, and Beyazıt Finance and Accounting Academy were incorporated under Istanbul Academy of Economics and Administrative Sciences which was continued to run under the name “School of Economics and Administrative Sciences” after joining Marmara University. Academy of Finance and Accounting building was used as Marmara University’s Vocational School of Social Sciences which was established in 1984, then moved in 2013.



Çemberlitaş and Cennet Pudding Shops

Historical Çemberlitaş Pudding Shop was located in the building known as Darüşşafaka Passage or Çemberlitaş Passage between the 1970s and 1980s. Along with İpek and Şafak cinemas, which were also located in the same passage, the pudding shop is among the go-to places of the student community. The passage has been renovated and subjected to excessive changes.

Cennet Pudding Shop across the passage, just like the one in the passage, was frequented by the students after 1980 as well.



Kadirga Student Dormitory

Having hosted revolutionary students since the 1960s, the Kadirga Dormitory also played a significant part in the organization of the left movement thanks to the seminars and forums taking place there between 1974 and 1980.

During that time the dormitory had been attacked and bombed countless times, while the police used every opportunity to raid the building. Emerged as the focus of the organizations within Kumkapı-Yenikapı districts, the dorm also provided great support for the anti-fascist movement in Beyazıt.



Kadirga Student Dormitory is still active under the same name as in the 1970s, 2021, Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Kadirga Student Dormitory, 1963
SALT Research,
Doğan Tekeli-Sami Sisa Archive



Kadirga Student Dormitory, 1963
SALT Research,
Doğan Tekeli-Sami Sisa Archive

Çorlulu Ali Paşa Madrasa (School of Islamic teachings)

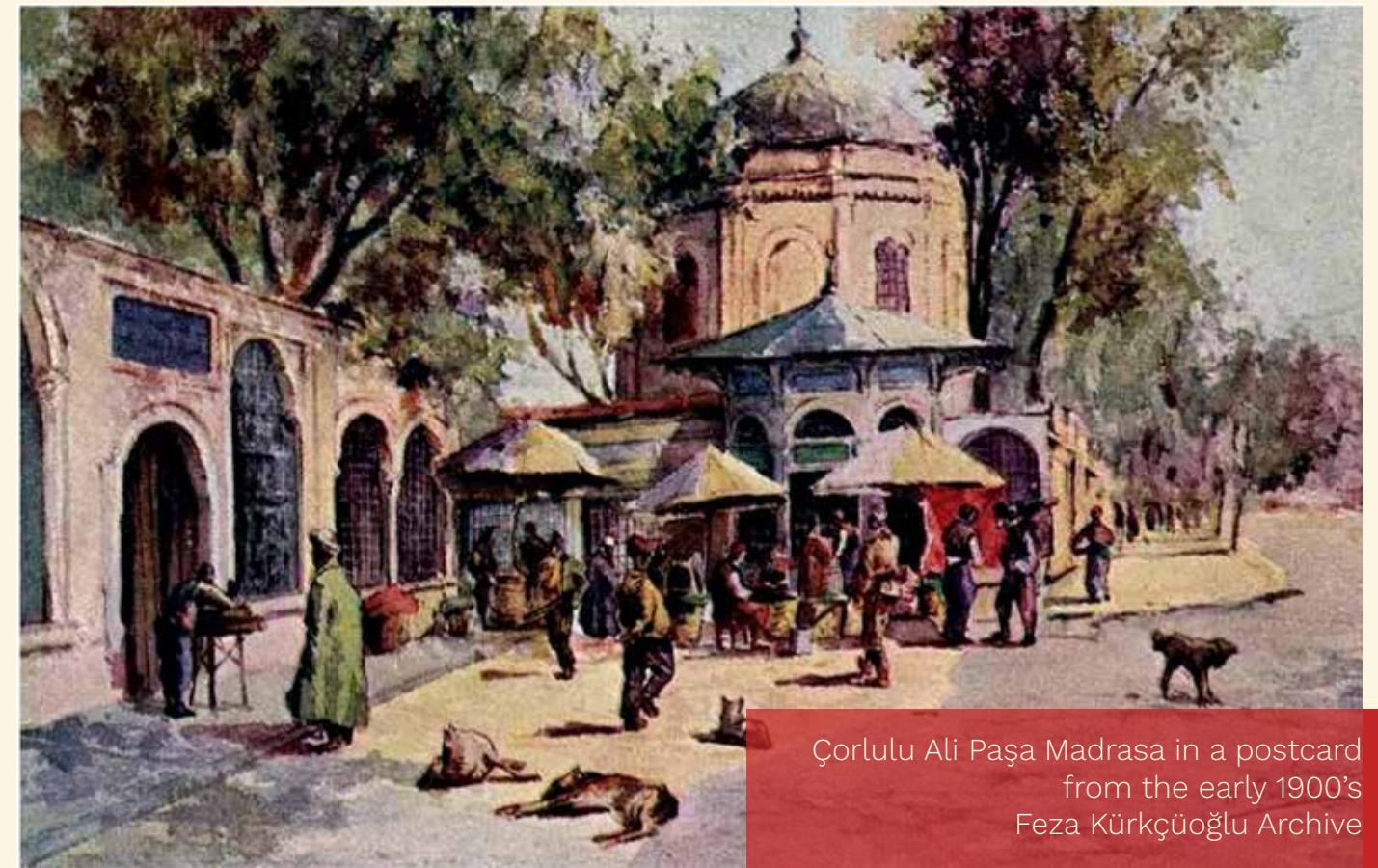
The complex which stands on the main street in Çarşıkapı district was built between 1707 and 1709 on Sadrazam (Grand Vizier, the government head) Çorlulu Ali Pasha's order. The Madrasa within the complex was repaired in 1910 and 1965. Famous for the hookah place in its courtyard, the madrasa had become increasingly popular among students and tourists since the 1970s. It was renowned as a student location after 1980 as well.



The coffeehouses in Çorlulu Ali Paşa Madrasa welcome students and hookah lovers today, as they did in the past, 2021 Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Çorlulu Ali Paşa Madrasa in an ancient photo
SALT Research, Ülgen Family Archive



Çorlulu Ali Paşa Madrasa in a postcard
from the early 1900's
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

Balıkesir Student Dormitory

Located at the entrance of Piyerloti Street, Balıkesir Dormitory housed revolutionary students between the 1960s and 1980s. It has suffered many attacks because of its central location. Niyazi Tekin, a revolutionary student, was killed in the dorm during a Grey Wolves raid in 1971. Being another critical location of the anti-fascist struggle, between 1974 and 1980, the building was used by the Eminönü District Governorate after the dorm was closed.



The building, known as Balıkesir Student Dormitory for many years, serves as a business center today, in 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) Headquarters

During the 1970s, the building numbered 21 on Piyerloti Avenue served as headquarters of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) and its Istanbul Provincial Organization as well as the office of the Union of Writers at one stage. Huzur Coffeehouse on Piyerloti Avenue's Dostluk Street is also known as a hangout where revolutionary students used to meet.



The front cover of a brochure published in 1978 by Turkish Workers' Party publishing located at Piyerloti Street, Number: 21/3 at Çemberlitaş. Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

Sultanahmet Courthouse

Sultanahmet Courthouse on İmran Öktem Avenue on the way to Sultanahmet Square was used as the “Judiciary Center of Istanbul” between 1955 and 2012. The building which burned in a fire in 1939, was reconstructed by Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Professor Emin Halid Onat in 1955. When the judiciary was moved to a new building in the Çaglayan district in 2012, the Istanbul Directorate of National Education began to use the old building.

Sultanahmet Courthouse was the site of frequent confrontations between the revolutionary and ultra-nationalist students in the years around 1968. The judiciary hall once again became a stage for revolutionary vs ultra nationalist clashes during trials between 1974 and 1978. When martial law was declared in Istanbul and many other cities in Turkey, the trials were held by military courts from December 26, 1978, until the termination of martial law in Istanbul on November 19, 1985. With the military coup of September 12, 1980, another martial law was declared that would last for years.



Sultanahmet Courthouse, 1948
SALT Research, Edhem Eldem Archive



The building, previously known as Istanbul Courthouse or Sultanahmet Courthouse, is currently used by the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of National Education, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Students are in front of Istanbul Courthouse carrying the mockup coffin of Vedat Demircioğlu who was killed in the dormitory of Istanbul Technical University in 1969.
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive

Sultanahmet Square

The famous square of the district situated at the tip of Istanbul's Historic Peninsula and taking its name from the "Sultanahmet Mosque," was called the "Hippodrome" during the Byzantium era, "Horse Square" during the Ottoman period, and "Sultanahmet Square" during the Republican Era. The square is almost an open museum with its monuments dating back to Byzantium and surrounding Ottoman structures.

At this square stands the German Fountain (The Kaiser Wilhelm Fountain) unveiled in 1901, the Obelisk brought from the Temple of Karnak in Egypt in 390, the Serpent Column moved from the Temple of Apollo in Delphi in 324 and the Walled Obelisk built by Constantine VII in the 900s.

Sultanahmet Square was the scene of several incidents and protests, beginning from the Nika Riots of 532. It is remembered as the place where rallies against the occupation of Istanbul took place and where revolutionary students' protests, and marches began or ended between 1968 and 1980.

Sultanahmet Square in
an ancient postcard
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive



Sultanahmet Square is one of the least
changed places in Istanbul, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Sultanahmet Square in
an ancient postcard
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive

Sultanahmet Prison

Sultanahmet Prison, located next to Topkapı Palace in Sultanahmet, has been serving as the Four Seasons Hotel since 1996. Sultanahmet Prison was constructed in 1918 and 1919 between the streets of Tevkifhane and Kutlugün, whose names were derived from the prison itself. The architect of the building, which was opened with the name “Dersaadet Homicide Detention House”, is believed to be Vedat Tek. Two-floor buildings with high ceilings on both sides of the entrance to the prison open to inner yards. The buildings with prison wards meanwhile have three floors. Over a period of time, auxiliary buildings were added to enlarge the prison which had a capacity of 1,000 prisoners.

“Dersaadet Homicide Detention House” is known as a prison where thousands of convicts served their time from the day it opened to 1969. A big majority of resistance movement members who opposed the occupation of Istanbul, the defendants in the Navy Case of 1938 and 1951 Arrest and Detention of the Communists were jailed in this prison which remained vacant for a long time after Bayrampaşa Prison was opened in 1969. It was re-opened in 1980 to incarcerate political prisoners and was used until 1986 as a military prison where large numbers of political detainees were kept in the aftermath of the September 12, 1980 coup.



After functioning as a prison for many years, the Sultanahmet Prison building is currently used by a hotel, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

Among those who were confined at the Sultanahmet Prison that was the subject of several novels, memoirs and poems are the names such as Nazım Hikmet, Aziz Nesin, Rıfat Ilgaz, Şefik Hüsnü, Kemal Tahir, Çetin Altan, Orhan Kemal, Mehmet Ali Aybar, Mihri Belli, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Nail Çakırhan, Vedat Türkali, Zekeriya Sertel, Fethi Naci, Ruhi Su, Sıdika Umut (Su), Can Yücel, Deniz Gezmiş and Yılmaz Güney.

Following the September 12, 1980 Coup, the “Uniform Dress Code” rule was first imposed at the Sultanahmet Prison. Convicts were forcefully undressed and made to wear a single type of uniform under beatings and torture. This requirement was enforced for one year after which it was revoked by the prison administration as a result of prisoners tearing up the uniforms. Waiting all day in the coffeehouses across the prison for news about their children and other protesting prisoners, families of the prisoners appeared in the newspaper headlines from time to time.

The prison was closed in 1986 and taken over by the Ministry of Culture in 1990. Efforts to turn this historic building into a museum or cultural center produced no results in 1992. Sultanahmet Prison was renovated and transformed into a 65-room luxury hotel by the Four Seasons Hotel chain in 1996.



Sultanahmet Prison when it was Dersaadet Homicide Detention Center
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences



The history of the building and school known as Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences, located at the end of the Sultanahmet Square dates back to 1883. The structure was constructed by Architect Raimondo D'Aronco as the “Ministry of Agriculture” building and later used as Hamidiye Ticaret Mekteb-i Âlîsi School of Commerce. Burned down in an arson attack in 1977, the building, which had 98 rooms was entirely reconstructed in 1984, except for outer walls. It began to serve as the rectorate building of Marmara University which was formed by merging the academy with some other faculties in 1983.



The building of Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences that was burned down in 1977.
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive



The building of the Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences is currently used by Marmara University, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

Tarihi Sultanahmet Köftecisi (Historical Meatball Restaurant in Sultanahmet)



The Historical Sultanahmet Meatball Restaurant which has been serving as a restaurant of Turkish-style grilled meatballs in Sultanahmet since 1920, overlooking the Sultanahmet Square, is one of the places frequently visited by workers and students. Although other restaurants using the same name were later opened, “Selim Usta’s” shop is known as Istanbul’s most famous meatball restaurant.



Historical Sultanahmet Meatball Restaurant, operating in the same place since 1920, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

Writers Cooperative (YAZKO) building currently used by a bank, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

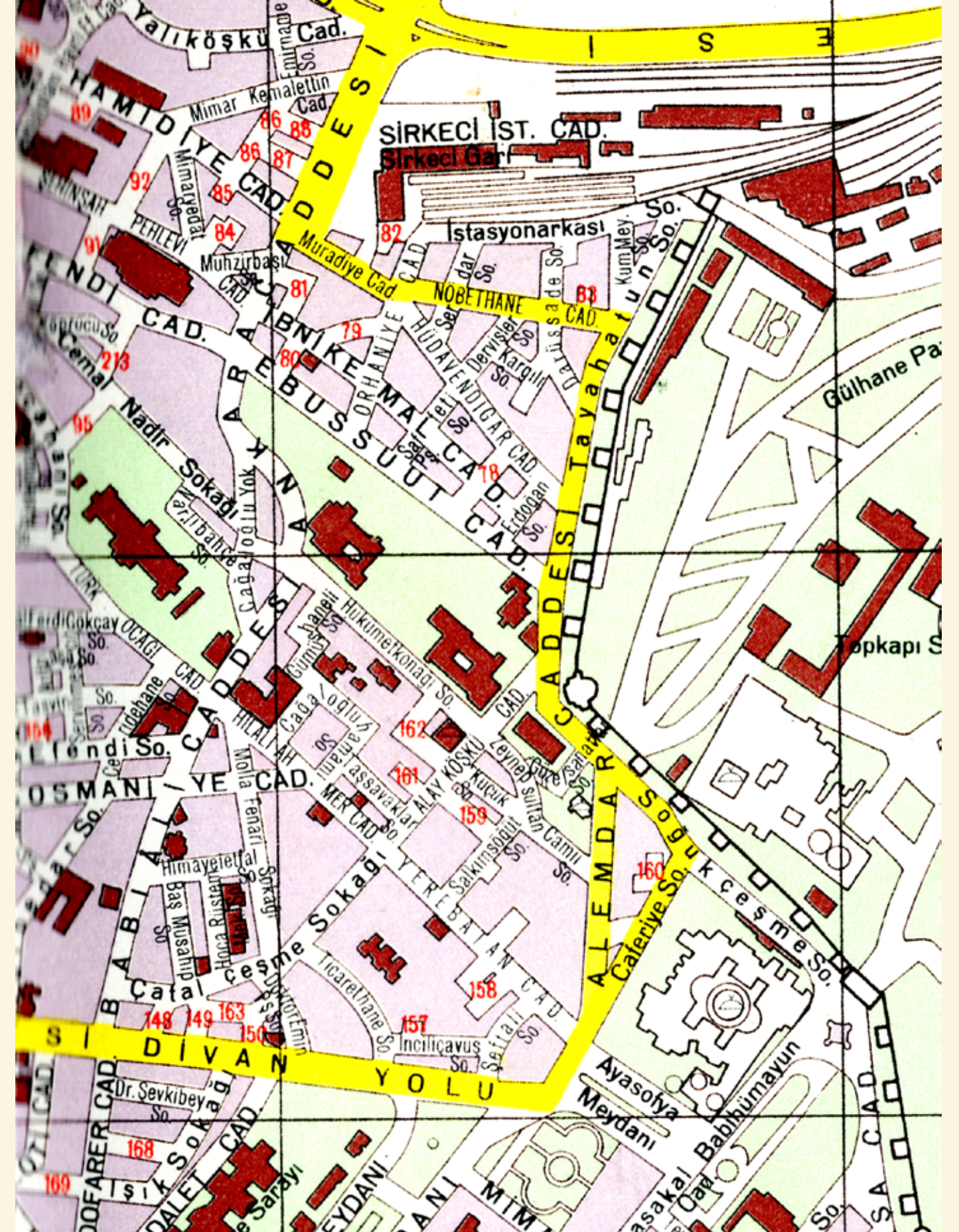
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Istanbul Chamber of Physicians

Turkish Chamber of Physicians was set up in Istanbul in 1953. Istanbul Chamber of Physicians was one of the 23 chambers active across the country at the time. The building where it is based today was built in 1975. The chamber's administration also changed during this year of growing social opposition. Istanbul Chamber of Physicians was an institution that took a stand in human rights and torture issues after the September 12, 1980 Coup as it did between 1975 and 1980, and still maintains its position.



Istanbul Chamber of Physicians
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Istanbul High School for Boys

Constructed by Architect Alexandre Vallauri in 1897, the building previously belonged to Düyun-u Umumiye (Ottoman State Public Debts Agency) and today it is used as İstanbul High School for Boys. On the other hand, the school's history dates back to the opening of Numune-i Terakki in 1884, whose name was changed to İstanbul High School for Boys in 1923, followed by a relocation to its current historical building in 1933.

The school stood out amongst others in the revolutionary students' movement from the 1970s, became a focal point with boycotts and occupy protests while an adjacent club became an organizing hub for students. Society of İstanbul High School for Boys Graduates which was formed in 1931, continues its activities as the Association of İstanbul High School Graduates since 1987.



Forensic Medicine-Morgue buildings

The former Institution of Forensic Sciences - Mortuary, situated across Gülhane Park, was a place which revolutionary students frequently went to pick up the bodies of their friends who were killed between 1975 and 1985.

The building was built as “Soğukçeşme Military Junior High School” in 1875 and subsequently allocated to the use of many public institutions. It was briefly used as a telegram office before becoming “Sirkeci Encampment” for the French during the occupation of Istanbul in 1918, and later as “Mekteb-i Mülkiye” (School of Civil Service) and as the Institution of Forensic Medicine-Morgue buildings for many years after the foundation of the Republic. It was used as a “State Security Court” between 1985 and 1994 and later as a “Court for Juvenile Crimes”, becoming “Gülhane Campus of Istanbul University, Faculty of Political Sciences” in 2017 and presently allocated to Fatih Sultan Mehmet University.

The building which is currently under renovation is sadly remembered by revolutionaries from Istanbul as a place where they retrieved the bodies of their friends for a funeral.



After many years of functioning as Forensic Medicine-Morgue, the building is being restored, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



The building which was used as Forensic Medicine - Morgue in an old photo.
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive



This ancient photo shows the “Soğukçeşme Military Junior High School” building which was used as Forensic Medicine and Morgue building for many years after 1923
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive

Sanasaryan Han

One of Istanbul's historic commercial buildings in Bahçekapı neighborhood of Sirkeci, Sanasaryan Han was constructed by Architect Hovsep Aznavur in 1895 for merchant Mıgırdiç Ağa Sanasaryan. The building was known as “Sanasaryan Han” when it was built and its revenues were donated to The Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople to be used for the education of Armenian children.

The neo-classic style masonry building has six floors, including a basement and a stone-clad central courtyard. Sanasaryan Han was used as headquarters of the British Occupation Forces during the armistice period and as Istanbul Police Headquarters for a long time after 1937. It was confiscated by the Ottoman State in 1915 and was mentioned in court cases opened after 1928 between the Armenian Patriarchate and government institutions.

During the time it was used as Police Headquarters, Sanasaryan Han's name frequently came up with cells that were referred to as “torture” and “coffin” cells. Defendants of the “1944 Turkism and Pan-Turanism Case,” including names like Alpaslan Türkeş, Zeki Velidi Togan, Reha Oğuz Türkkan, and Nihal Atsız, were tortured in basement cells which were



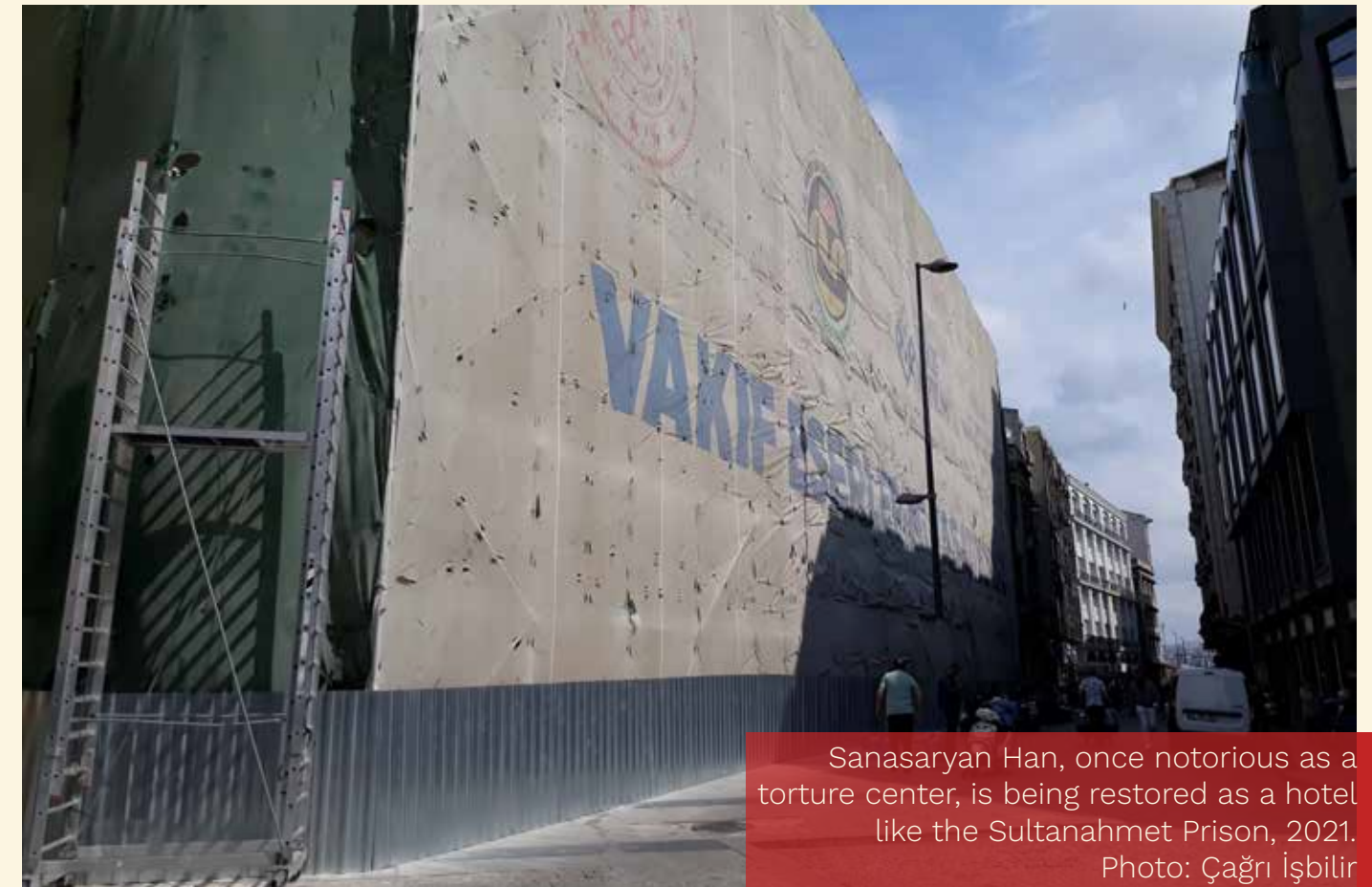
Sanasaryan Han in late 1990s
SALT Research,
Photograph and Postcard Archive

called “coffin cells” because they looked like upright coffins due to their dimensions - 60 cm width, 1.8 m height and 40 cm depth.

During the 1951 Arrest and Detention of the Communists which targeted the Turkish Communist Party (TKP), more than 100 people, including Enver Gökçe, Mübeccel Kıray, Arif Damar, Ruhi Su, Sıdıka Umut (Su), Behice Boran, Şükran Kurdakul, Vedat Türkali, Ahmet Arif and Sadun Aren were subjected to interrogations under torture for months, even years by the branch of police called “Political Department” or “Communist Desk.”

Nazım Hikmet, Sabahattin Ali, Aziz Nesin, Hasan İzzettin Dinamo, Ece Ayhan, Nuri İyem, İlhan Selçuk were also added to the list of those “interrogated” in Sanasaryan Han as well as names including Deniz Gezmiş and Cihan Alptekin from the Generation ‘68. Just as several revolutionaries suffered tortures during the March 12, 1971 Military Memorandum, Generation ‘78 were among those who were forced to make frequent trips to the building before and after the September 12, 1980 Coup. Sanasaryan Han was also recorded as the center of “operations” conducted against homosexuals, transvestites, and transsexuals just after the Coup.

Sanasaryan Han, which also housed the notorious “2nd Branch”, was briefly used as Sirkeci Courthouse after the Istanbul Provincial Police Department was moved to another location. Once again and instead of turning it into a museum, the building is currently being renovated to be converted into a hotel just like the Sultanahmet Prison.



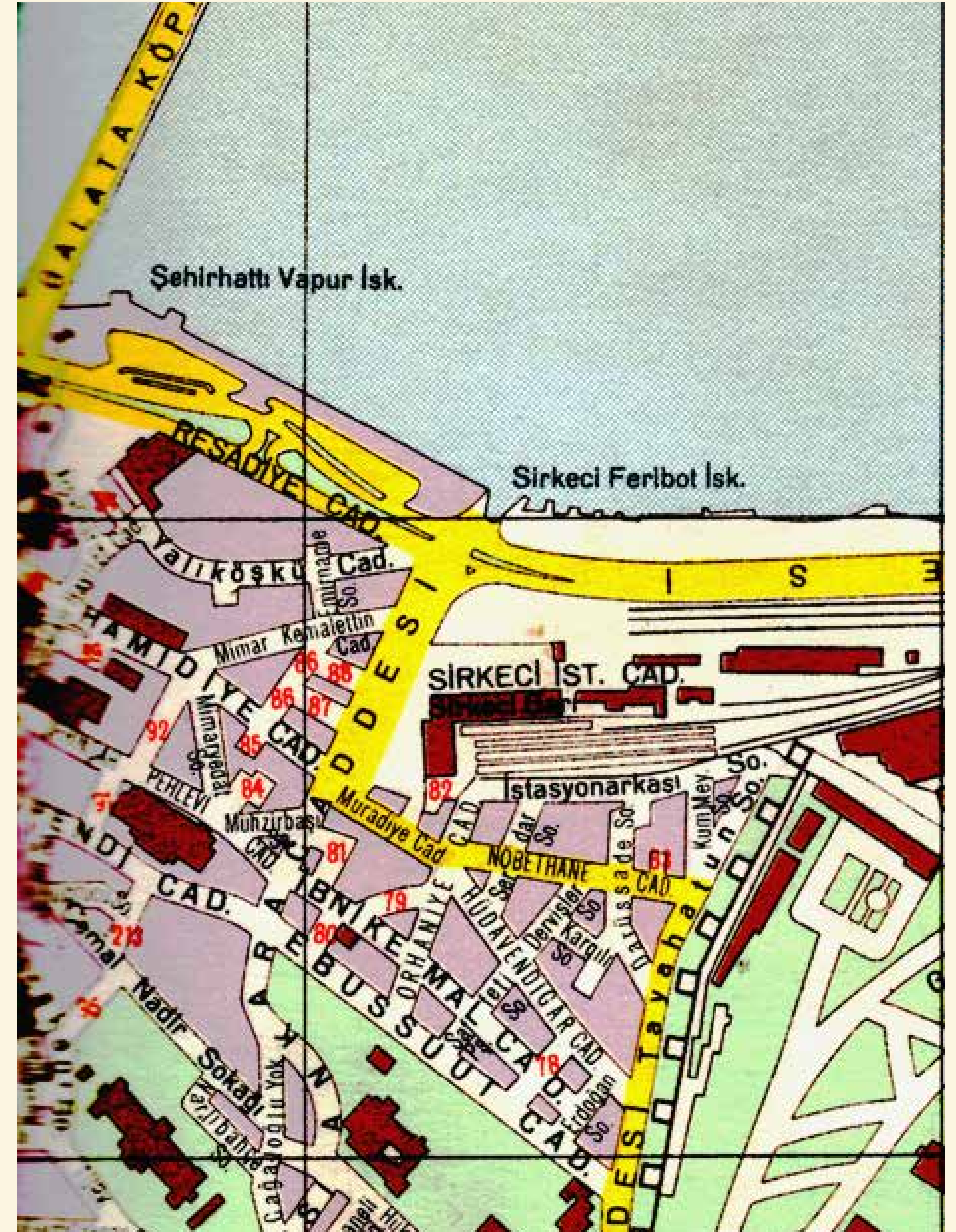
Sanasaryan Han, once notorious as a torture center, is being restored as a hotel like the Sultanahmet Prison, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

Sirkeci Ferry Boat Pier

The pier in Sirkeci, which serves ferries carrying passengers and cars between Sirkeci and Harem districts since 1961, has become an unforgettable spot for particularly Generation '78 as the pier where farewells were bid to revolutionaries killed in the anti-fascist struggle and being sent to their homes for burial.



Sirkeci Ferry Pier with a renewed quay, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Sites of Memory from Taksim to Tünel (district)

Taksim Square

Republic Monument

Istanbul Sports and Exhibition Hall

Turkish Cinematheque Association

Istanbul Technical University (ITU)

İstiklal Avenue

The İstanbul Higher Education Culture Association (İYÖKD)

Küçük Sahne (theater on İstiklal Avenue)

Çiçek Arcade / Çiçek Pasajı (a historic passage on İstiklal Avenue)

Galatasaray High School/Galatasaray Square

Baro Han (Istanbul Bar Association)

Dostlar Theater

Tepebaşı Experimental Stage (Tepebaşı Deneme Sahnesi)

Emek Movie Theater



Taksim Square can be depicted as a gate to Beyoğlu, and also the junction point of the roads connecting many districts (on the European side) of Istanbul. The history of Taksim Square dates back to Taksim Maksemi after which the square was named. Taksim Maksemi, the structure where Beyoğlu's water was distributed within the region, was opened in 1731. Opened in 1806, Taksim Military Barracks was the second biggest structure to be built on the square. After it was left empty in 1921 its courtyard was transformed into a football field. In 1940, Taksim Gezi Park was built replacing the barracks which were demolished in 1939. Another structure facing the square is the Hagia Triada Greek Orthodox Church built-in 1880.

Republic Monument, which was unveiled in 1928, in the Republic era, became a landmark of Istanbul. The buildings located on southeastern Ayazpaşa side of the square were demolished in 1946 and there began the construction of "Istanbul Cultural Center". Completed in 1969, the building started to function by the name "Opera House", however, it was completely destroyed in the great fire in 1970. Rebuilt and opened in 1972 with the title "Atatürk Cultural Center", the building was closed in 2008, and finally demolished in 2018. The construction of the new building is recently completed and it was officially opened on October 29th, 2021.



Taksim Square on a postcard
from the 1940s
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

The tallest building facing Taksim Square, The Marmara Taksim Hotel, was opened in 1975 under the name Intercontinental. The building was renamed several times such as; Etap Marmara Hotel, The Marmara Istanbul Hotel, and The Marmara Taksim Hotel. It was renovated in 2016. The last structure to be built on the square is Taksim Mosque, the building process of which was quite a hassle since 1968. Its construction began in 2017, and the mosque was opened in 2021.

The prominent location for ceremonies and official visits, Taksim Square hosted mass meetings and protest marches of political parties or various organizations, as well as May Day rallies. The series of organized events where Istanbul's Greek community was assaulted and their properties were looted, namely İstanbul Pogrom, started in Taksim Square on 6-7 September 1955. The historic "Bloody Sunday" on February 16th, 1969 also happened on Taksim Square. Reactionaries, with the backing of the police, attacked the revolutionary students who were protesting against the American Sixth Fleet at the Square. At the time of the events two protesters, Turgut Aytaç and Duran Erdoğan, both workers, were killed, and 200 people were injured.

Not long after the Bloody Sunday in 1969, another bloody Sunday took place. The largest rally that took place in Taksim Square on May 1st, 1977, and what happened after went down in history as the May Day Massacre. Taking place for the first time in Taksim Square in 1976, the May Day rally was organized by the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) and 150,000 people participated. The following year, 500,000 people would participate in the rally that was again organized by the Confederation (DİSK). Marches started in two routes, Beşiktaş and Sarıyer, towards Taksim. The square was completely full when the president of the Confederation (DİSK) Kemal Türkler started his speech around 18.45. As it was nearing 19.00 and Türkler was almost finished with his



Taksim Square, "Bloody Sunday" attack on 16 February 1969
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive

speech, a gunshot was heard from the Tarlabası side (of the square), two more gunshots followed. Then, more gunshots were fired from the Directorate of Water Supply building and the upper floors of the Intercontinental Hotel (now The Marmara Taksim Hotel), while machine guns started raiding the area from inside two cars. Police intervention with water cannons, sound bombs, and tear gases only caused more panic. The square was filled with people running from one side to another. Taksim Square was evacuated while people who were crushed, injured, and dead still laid on the ground. Protesters who ran for their lives toward the Kazancı Slope which has direct access to the square were killed there, and the injured were carried to Taksim's main emergency hospital (Taksim İlk Yardım) and other hospitals.

Officials announced 34 killed and 136 injured, however, the numbers provided by the Prosecution and Police offices and the newspapers were inconsistent. DİSK declared that 36 people were killed and hundreds injured. Following the massacre, government and pro-government media outlets adopted a manipulative narrative, blaming the left-wing factions for inner conflicts. May 1st, 1977 was a massacre organized by the counter-guerrilla aiming to suppress the growing public opposition and revolutionary movement. And this massacre became a turning point of the revolutionary movement.



Taksim Square, May Day Massacre, 1 May 1977
Photo: Coşkun Aral

For many years there no definitive statements made regarding the number of people killed in the May Day Massacre, except for some inconsistent numbers. According to the Deputy Secretary General of DİSK Fahrettin Engin Erdoğan's research in 2016, 41 people lost their lives at the scene: Ahmet Gözükara, Aleksandros Konteas, Ali Sidal, Ali Yeşilgül, Bayram Çıtak, Bayram Eyi, Bayram Sürücü, Diran Nigiz, Ercüment Gürkut, Garabet Akyan, Hacer İpek Saman, Hamdi Toka, Hasan Yıldırım, Hatice Altun, Hikmet Özkürkçü, Hüseyin Kırkın, Jale Yeşilnil, Kadir Balci, Kadriye Duman, Kahraman Alsancak, Kenan Çatak, Leyla Altıparmak, Mahmut Atilla Özbelen, Mehmet Ali (Mustafa) Elmas, Mehmet Ali Genç, Mehmet Ali Kol, Meral Cebren (Özkol), Mürtezim Ortulu, Mustafa Ertan, Nazan Ünalı, Nazmi Arı, Niyazi Darı, Ömer Narman, Özcan Gürkan, Ramazan Sarı, Rasim Elmas, Sibel Açıkalin, Tefik Beysoy, Yücel Elbistanlı, Ziya Baki and an unknown 35-year-old man.

Following that, “the May Day Lawsuit” was filed where DİSK executives and revolutionaries who were caught trying to escape from the square were named as defendants. In the long-running case, neither the ones who caused the whole bloodshed nor the panicmongers faced trial. Following the May Day Massacre, one of the deadliest massacres where the “perpetrator was not-unknown”, May Day was celebrated in Taksim Square in 1978 with the participation of hundreds of thousands. May Day celebrations were prohibited in 1979 and 1980. However, illegal demonstrations were organized in Istanbul's different districts.

The history of the Surp Agop Armenian Cemetery lying on the area extending from Hilton to Taksim Gezi Park dates back to 1560. Part of the cemetery was expropriated in 1912 for road construction. After winning the lawsuit filed in 1939, Istanbul Municipality began demolishing and building the area extending from Gezi to Harbiye. Having been rezoned



Gezi Resistance, 2013
Photo: Mehmet Kaçmaz (NarPhotos)

several times since the Republic, the square survived the demolitions of Adnan Menderes and Bedrettin Dalan and remains intact today.

Another historic event regarding Taksim Square is the Gezi Resistance. A group of young protesters started a sit-in at the Gezi Park when some trees were cut down and a wall was demolished to start the redevelopment plan that involved the rebuilding of Taksim Military Barracks. The police used disproportionate force in the eviction of the protesters which sparked public outrage, then resistance grew to a point where it became a mass demonstration. The park was occupied, and the “Gezi Resistance” spread across the country. During the protests Mehmet Ayvalıtaş, Abdullah Cömert, Ethem Sarısülük, Ali İsmail Korkmaz, Ahmet Atakan and Berkin Elvan were killed. According to official numbers, 2.5 million people have participated in the protests and there are still ongoing cases against many of them.

Having survived numerous renovations since the early years of the Republic, as well as the demolition acts of Adnan Menderes and Bedrettin Dalan (former Istanbul Mayor), Taksim Square is the most prominent one among Turkey's famous squares. Another design proposal for the square appeared on the urban agenda after the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality organized a design competition in 2021. Following a preliminary evaluation, three short-listed projects were presented to the votes of the Istanbulites and it was decided that the top-voted project would be constructed. However, this urban design project also lacked connections with historic events like the May Day Massacre, that altered urban memory tremendously and missed to address the criticism or expectations regarding this matter. The idea of a monument to be designed collectively, taking a multitude of components and dynamics into consideration, still awaits as a valuable opportunity to carry the Square's history to today.



Taksim Square and its new remodelling with its recently built Taksim Mosque, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

The Republic Monument

As one of Istanbul's symbolic structures located in Taksim Square, the Republic Monument is an important landmark which reflects the Young Republic's Westernized face. The construction of the monument commissioned by the Istanbul Municipality to sculptor Pietro Canonica took more than two years. Canonica constructed the monument with his aides Sabiha Bengütaş and Hadi Bara while architect Giulio Mongeri designed its surrounding space.

The monument has statues on four fronts, with the one in the direction of Harbiye depicting the "War of Independence" and another in the direction of Galatasaray representing "Turkey as a Republic". The monument was financed by donations of the residents of Istanbul and opened by the Parliament Speaker Kazım Özalp on August 9, 1928 with a ceremony attended by 30,000 people. Taksim Square also underwent massive redesigning and landscaping after the monument was erected there. Taksim's Military Barracks was demolished and Taksim Gezi Park was built as part of architect Henri Prost's project.

This iconic monument which people pose in front of it for photographs the most also became the meeting spot for official and unofficial ceremonies and holidays from the day it is unveiled. The monument is the site where the Pogrom of September 6-7 was set in motion with attacks on non-Muslims, burning and ravaging that continued throughout Istanbul. It is also remembered as the place where revolutionary students took oaths in the 1960s and revolutionaries were killed on May 1, 1977.



Republic Monument under construction
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive



Taksim Republic Monument, a landmark
of Istanbul, after renovation, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Official ceremonies have been held
in front of the Republic Monument
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

Istanbul Sports and Exhibition Hall

Located in Harbiye, Istanbul Sports and Exhibition Hall was opened with the 1949 European Wrestling Championship and it was also the venue for Istanbul International Fair of Commerce and Industry the same year. Indoor sports competitions such as basketball, volleyball, handball, wrestling and boxing matches were held and dance and circus shows were staged in the big hall in the ensuing years. As Istanbul's only indoor sports and exhibition center for many years, the Istanbul Sports and Exhibition Hall also hosted concerts and festivals organized by revolutionary associations between 1975 and 1980.

The building was renamed as Istanbul Lütü Kirdar Sports and Exhibition Hall in 1988 and converted into an international conference center in 1996 and today it continues the same function under the name of Istanbul Lütü Kirdar International Conference and Exhibition Hall.



Istanbul Lütü Kirdar Sports and Exhibition Center, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Sports and Exhibition Palace
opened in 1949
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive



Sports and Exhibition Palace and
Open Air Theater in the early 1950s
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

Turkish Cinematheque Association

The Turkish Cinematheque Association was established in 1965 under the leadership of Onat Kutlar. It is known for the movie screenings, panels and exhibitions organized initially at its location on the Mis Street on İstiklal Avenue, then at Şişli Kervan Theater and at the Cinematheque Theater on Siraselviler after 1970. Classics as well as Turkish movies were featured at the Turkish Cinematheque Association which also organized film festivals like “Chekhov Adaptations”, “French New Wave Movement” and “Italian Neorealism”. The Turkish Cinematheque Association also published monthly magazines titled New Cinema between 1966 and 1970, Film 70, Film 71 and Film 72 between 1970 and 1972, besides books about cinema.

The Turkish Cinematheque Association brought non-American cinema cultures of the time to the revolutionary youth by organizing film festivals between 1975 and 1980. Movies from Europe and socialist countries, particularly films made by Soviet, Hungarian and Czech cinemas attracted the viewers’ interest. After the September 12, 1980 Coup, the Turkish Cinematheque Association was closed along with many other associations.



The building where the Cinematheque Association was active between 1970 and 1980 (basement of the middle building), 2021.

Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

SİNEMATEK MAYIS 1974 PROGRAMI

1 Çarşamba	16.30—19.00	Potemkin Zırhlısı / Bronenosetz Potiomkin / Sergey M. Eisenstein
2 Perşembe	16.30—19.00	Uç Kuruluşluk Opera / Dreigroschenoper / G. W. Pabst
3 Cuma	16.30—19.00	Gorki'nin Çocukluğu / Dietsvto Gorkogo / Mark Donskoi
4 Cumartesi	16.30—19.00	Gorki'nin Çocukluğu / Dietsvto Gorkogo / Mark Donskoi
7 Salı	16.30—19.00	Sarsılmaz Kuvvet / Nihat Usay
8 Çarşamba	16.30—19.00	Sarsılmaz Kuvvet / Nihat Usay
9 Perşembe	16.30—18.00	Kısa Filimler I — Canlandırma Sineması (Tonguç, Tan, Okkoş, İlhan, Cemal Erez, Sezer Tansuğ)
10 Cuma	16.30—18.00	Kısa Filimler II — Profesyonel Sinemacılar (Fuat Uzkınay, Hazım, Kemal İnci, Mengü Yeğin)
11 Cumartesi	16.30—18.00	Kısa Filimler III — Genç Sinema (Mutlu Parkan, Muammer Özer, Ahmet Soner)
14 Salı	16.30—18.00	Kısa Filimler IV — İstanbul Üniversitesi Filmcilik Merkezi (İpşiroğlu, Eyüpoğlu, Albek)
15 Çarşamba	16.30—18.00	Kısa Filimler V — T.R.T. Ödülleri Kazanan Filmler ve Öğretici Filimler Merkezi Filimleri
16 Perşembe	16.30—19.00	Kumarıcı / Hostler / Robert Rossen
17 Cuma	16.30—18.00	Kısa Filimler VI — Hisar Yarışmaları Filimleri

PIYALEPASA Istanbul Technical University (ITU)

Istanbul Technical University (ITU) is our country's first technical university and its history dates back to "Mühendishane-i Bahr-i Hümayun" set up in 1773. It was renamed "Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi (High Engineering School)" in 1928, using Gümüşsuyu Barracks as well as Taşkişla and Maçka Armories. In 1944, it was restructured as Istanbul Technical University (ITU).

ITU Gümüşsuyu was the leading school where the Generation 68 was well organized. While the revolutionary student movement's protests which began in 1968 against the Sixth Fleet of the US continued, a student named Vedat Demircioğlu was killed in a police raid on a dormitory in 1969 and subsequently, the dormitory was closed.

Between 1975 and 1985, ITU Gümüşsuyu stood out as a school where revolutionary students were in majority, struggling for academic and democratic rights. It was an important site for both the school and Taksim district in the ongoing anti-fascist struggle.



Istanbul Technical University Taşkişla building, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

ITU-DER which was set up by students in 1975 played an important role in organizing students and also carried out similar activities in the Taksim region. As students attending school in ITU Gümüşsuyu, ITU Taşkişla and ITU Maçka campuses had some joint classes, they got together to repel attacks by the Grey Wolves.

In 1977, revolutionary students took control of the ITU Sports Club located in Gümüşsuyu and they organized cultural and arts events alongside sports competitions. They founded the "Folk Dances Festival of Universities" and "ITU Festival" which attracted a lot of interest. The ITU dormitory which was closed down in 1969 as a result of student protests demanding more dormitories, was later reopened in the Maçka campus.



Gümüşsuyu Barracks, which was converted to the Gümüşsuyu building of Istanbul Technical University in 1944, seen in the early 1900s
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive



Maçka Occupation at Istanbul Technical University, 1975.
Photo: Coşkun Aral

İstiklal Avenue

İstiklal Avenue which connects Taksim Square and Tünel Square is one of İstanbul's most famous main avenues. The region was covered with vineyards and gardens during the Byzantium era and settlements began to appear in 1491 with the construction of Mevlevi Lodge and Acemioğlanlar Barracks which would later become Galatasaray High School. The avenue was called “Cadde-i Kebir,” meaning “Grand Avenue” before the Republic was formed and was also referred to as “Grand Rue de Pera”.

It developed into its present-day form in the second half of the 19th century, becoming the “modern face” of not only Pera but İstanbul itself. Apartment buildings that were built with ground floors allocated to shops in the form of arcades after the Beyoğlu Fire of 1870 constituted the backbone of the new avenue. Over time, İstiklal Avenue with its apartments, arcades, embassy buildings, places of worship, schools, hotels, shops following the latest fashions, theaters, cinemas, cafes, restaurants, and taverns rising on both sides became a buzzing avenue at almost every hour of the day for more than a century.



“Grand Rue de Pera”
on an ancient postcard
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive

İstiklal Avenue where people with diverse views gathered for political marches and demonstrations since the 1950s, also witnessed one of the most shameful pages of our recent history. The Pogrom of September 6-7, 1955, cooked up under the pretext of reaction to incidents in Cyprus, broke out as masses that gathered in Taksim Square ransacked businesses, homes, schools, and churches belonging to citizens of Greek origin along İstiklal Avenue. Spilling over to various districts of İstanbul, the incidents continued with fires, lynchings, rapes, and even ravaging of cemeteries in the wake of fires, burnings, and lootings that took place along the avenue.



İstiklal Avenue is one of the most famous
avenues of İstanbul, 2021
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

The downfall of İstiklal Avenue began as a result of non-Muslim communities leaving the area, followed by the changing of its face due to domestic migration in the 1970s. Night clubs opened on adjacent streets while beer houses with names like Forest and Brother-in-Law were on the main avenue. Erotic films, even porn, were showing at movie theaters along the avenue which came first to one's mind when people spoke about cinema. The avenue lost its identity during the period from 1980 to the 1990s before regaining its old multicultural, multi-faith and multicolored spirit as bookstores, cultural centers, theaters, cafes, and bars started to open after the 1990s. From the 2000s onward, stores belonging to big brands began replacing old shops as historic and commercial buildings and passages were “renovated.” Cinemas and theaters disappeared into history one by one and İstiklal Avenue lost its old face as restrictions were imposed on bars and taverns.

Coffeehouses, cafes, associations, foundations, party centers where revolutionary students used to meet from the 1960s until the military coup of September 12, 1980, and from the beginning of the 1990s to the present day also closed one after another. İstiklal Avenue has been the scene of protests, meetings, and illegal demonstrations since 1975 and also became a venue for public announcements, marches, and protests made by the feminist movement in the 1990s. In the following years, demonstrations by women's groups and the LGBTQIA movement as well as the “March 8 International Women's Day” continue to take place on the Avenue.



İstiklal Avenue is one of the most famous avenues of Istanbul, 2021
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Feminist Night March, 2017
Photo: Çiğdem Üçüncü (NarPhotos)

The İstanbul Higher Education Culture Association (İYÖKD)

İYÖKD was the first organization set up by the revolutionary youth after the Military Memorandum of March 12, 1971. Established in 1973, İYÖKD carried out its first campaign by requesting general political amnesty, which was later known as the “1974 Amnesty.” It was followed by the “No to NATO” campaign. With these campaigns, İYÖKD took important steps in organizing young students, reaching many of those studying in universities of İstanbul by 1975.

İYÖKD organized the funerals of İYÖKD leaders Şahin Aydın on December 18, 1974, Kerim Yaman on January 23, 1975, Cezmi Yılmaz and Halit Pelitözü on December 1, 1975, attended by huge crowds of revolutionary students as well as holding rallies, boycotts, and occupation protests. İYÖKD was headquartered in the Aksaray district of İstanbul and its branch offices were on Taksim’s Ahu Dudu Street (now Sadri Alışık Street) and İpek Street for organizational purposes.

İYÖKD was closed by State Security Court in the summer of 1976 before it was replaced by the newly formed Association of İstanbul Higher Education (İYÖD). İYÖD became the center for young people’s anti-fascist struggle before it was also closed in 1977.



Sadri Alışık Street, formerly Ahu Dudu Street, where İYÖKD was located, 1987
SALT Research, IFEA Archive

Küçük Sahne (Theater on İstiklal Avenue)

Küçük Sahne was established on the upper floor of Atlas Arcade on İstiklal Avenue. Hagop Köçeoğlu Estate which was constructed after the Beyoğlu Fire of 1870 was sold in 1940 and its ground floor was renovated as a passage before the reopening in 1948. Atlas Cinema was built inside the arcade and quickly became Istanbul's largest and most famous movie theater.

Küçük Sahne Ensemble was formed by Muhsin Ertuğrul on the first floor of the building in 1951 raising its curtains in a newly built 295-seat theater chamber. The chamber was used by Küçük Sahne Ensemble until 1957 and was home to many more theater companies thereafter.

Dormen, Mücap Ofluoğlu, Ulvi Uraz, Gülriz Sururi-Engin Cezzar, Ayfer Feray, Dostlar, Ali Poyrazoğlu, Aydemir Akbaş, Ferhan Şensoy and Ortaoyuncular, Nokta, Salih Kalyon, Bizim Tiyatro and Sadri Alışık were the theater companies that used this little stage chronologically after 1957.

“Şahları da Vururlar” (“They Also Shoot Shajs”), a play depicting the Iranian Mullah Revolution, written and directed by Ferhan Şensoy who also acted within Ortaoyuncular company. They staged plays in Küçük Sahne for many years. The play began to be staged in 1980 and continued in the aftermath of the 1980 Coup. Küçük Sahne shared the same fate as other theaters and cinemas on İstiklal Avenue and closed in 2018.

Küçük Sahne, like other theaters on İstiklal Avenue, was one of the sites that contributed to the artistic and cultural background of the revolutionary youth.



Small Stage is located on the first floor of the recently restored Atlas Arcade, 2021. Video-Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Atlas Passage in the 1970s
SALT Research, Photograph
and Postcard Archive

Çiçek Arcade / Çiçek Pasajı (A Historic Passage on İstiklal Avenue)

Çiçek Arcade, one of the most famous passages of İstiklal Avenue, was built by Architect Kleanthis Zannos for banker Hristaki Zografos in 1876. “Cite de Pera” was opened as a complex consisting of three apartments, each having 18 flats, and 24 shops located in the arcade section.

Its ownership passed to Grand Vizier Küçük Said Pasha in 1908 and the arcade began to be referred to as “Çiçek Arcade” due to several flower shops that opened there during the years of the armistice. Led by Degüstasyon restaurant which opened in 1928, new restaurants and taverns moved into the arcade. Beginning in the 1940s, Çiçek Arcade became famous for its taverns and beer houses where artists and performers were regulars, causing the flower shops to relocate in adjacent streets. The arcade retained its fame until the 1970s but collapsed suddenly on the night of May 10, 1978.

It remained in ruins for many years until its reopening in 1988. Çiçek Arcade was renovated again in 2005 but is no longer the old arcade of modest taverns where people can go for a beer and chat while standing up. Nevertheless, the passage continues to serve as a historic structure identified with its taverns, although not in the same form as its old days.



Çiçek Arcade in the 1920s.
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive
İstanbul İstiklal Caddesi.



Çiçek Arcade has been active since 1876,
2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Çiçek Arcade, which was reopened after
1988, 2011.
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

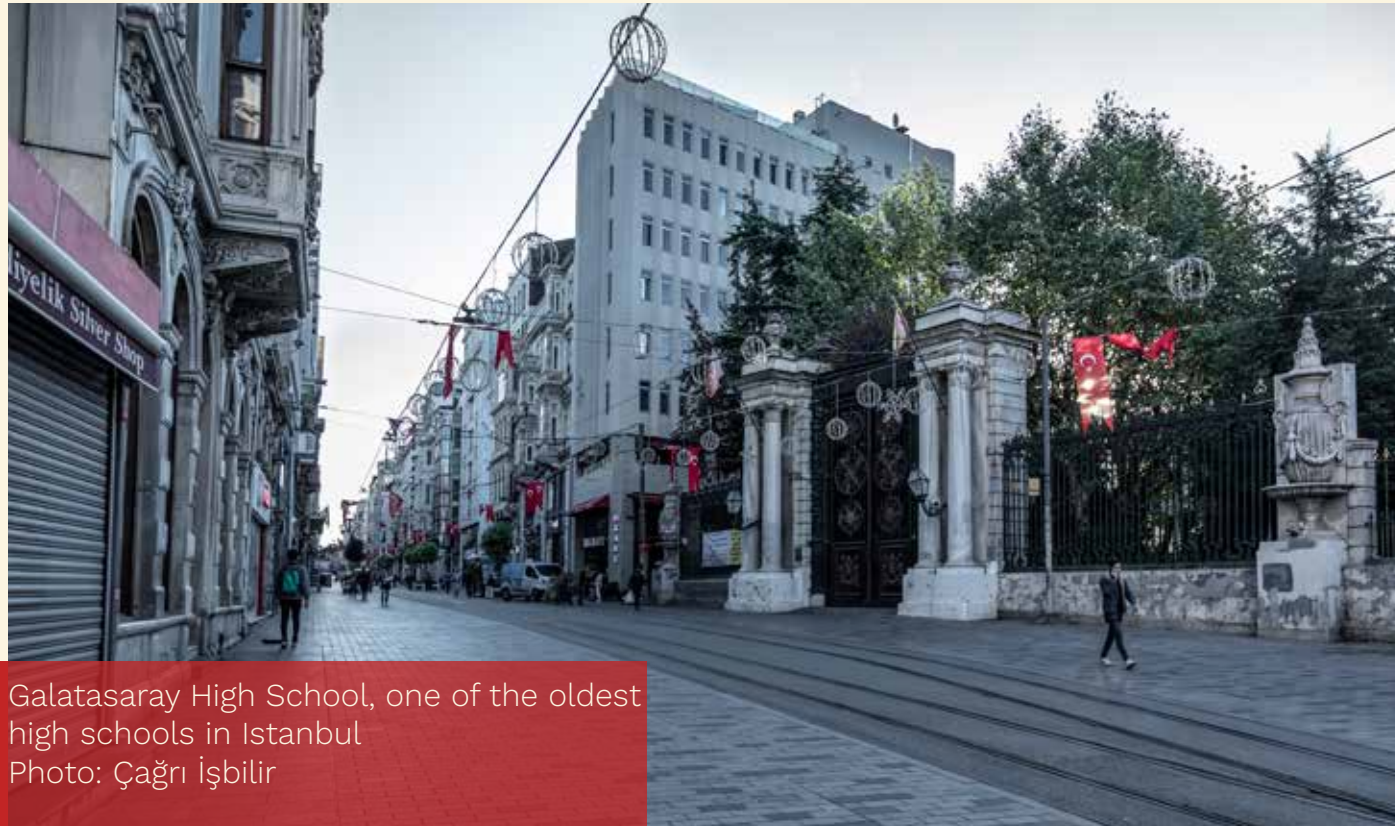
Galatasaray High School/Galatasaray Square

Located on the Galatasaray Square, Galatasaray High School has its roots back in the time of Sultan Beyazıt the Second in the 15th century. The school was first founded in 1481 as “Galata Sarayı Hümayun Mektebi”, closed in 1826 and reopened in 1838 as a medical school by the name of “Galata Sarayı Tıbbiye-i Şahane Okulu.”

The foundations of Galatasaray High School were laid with the establishment of “Mekteb-i Sultani” in 1868. The school’s teachers and students were drafted as soldiers during the Balkan Wars of 1912 while the teachers and students themselves volunteered to fight during the Çanakkale War of 1915 and 1916. The school led the way in the introduction of modern education in our country and was renamed as “Galatasaray High School” after the Republic was founded with a curriculum taught in French and Turkish. The school which provided primary, middle, and high school education programs as well as boarding, began to admit girls as students in 1965. Galatasaray Institute of Education was founded in 1992 for developing higher education and since 1994 it has been operating under the name of Galatasaray University Galatasaray High School.

Besides education, Galatasaray High School is a milestone in our sports history. Galatasaray Sports Club was established in 1905 by Galatasaray High School student Ali Sami Yen and his friends.

Galatasaray High School also stands out as one of the high schools where the revolutionary youth movement was on the rise between 1976 and 1980.



Galatasaray High School, one of the oldest high schools in Istanbul
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Galatasaray Square,
where Saturday Mothers/People
have been gathering since 1995, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Plaza de Mayo Mothers
at Galatasaray Square to support
Saturday Mothers/People, 1995
Ali Öz Archive

Members of the Human Rights Association (IHD), relatives of the missing persons, and “Don’t Touch My Friend Initiative” came together on May 27, 1995, for a sit-in protest at the Galatasaray Square. The group that meets every Saturday which is now referred to as Saturday Mothers/People consists of relatives and friends of the victims of the enforced disappearances in detention by state security forces during different periods. Families of the victims of enforced disappearances in detention throughout the 1980 Coup are also among the Saturday Mothers/People. Saturday Mothers/People continued their “quiet protests” at Galatasaray Square despite bans, attacks, and detentions, demanding that the fates of sons, mothers, fathers, siblings, spouses, and friends they lost between 1995 and 2018 be revealed and the perpetrators of this crime against humanity, as well as those accountable, be punished. The police attacked once again during the 700th meeting of the Saturday Mothers/People on August 25, 2018, repeated their attacks during the 800th weekly meeting. Since that day, the square is under a police siege and is closed to the relatives and friends of the missing people. Saturday Mothers/People keep up their protests relentlessly on every platform until they get access to their square.



The interior of the Mekteb-i Sultani
in the 1900s
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive



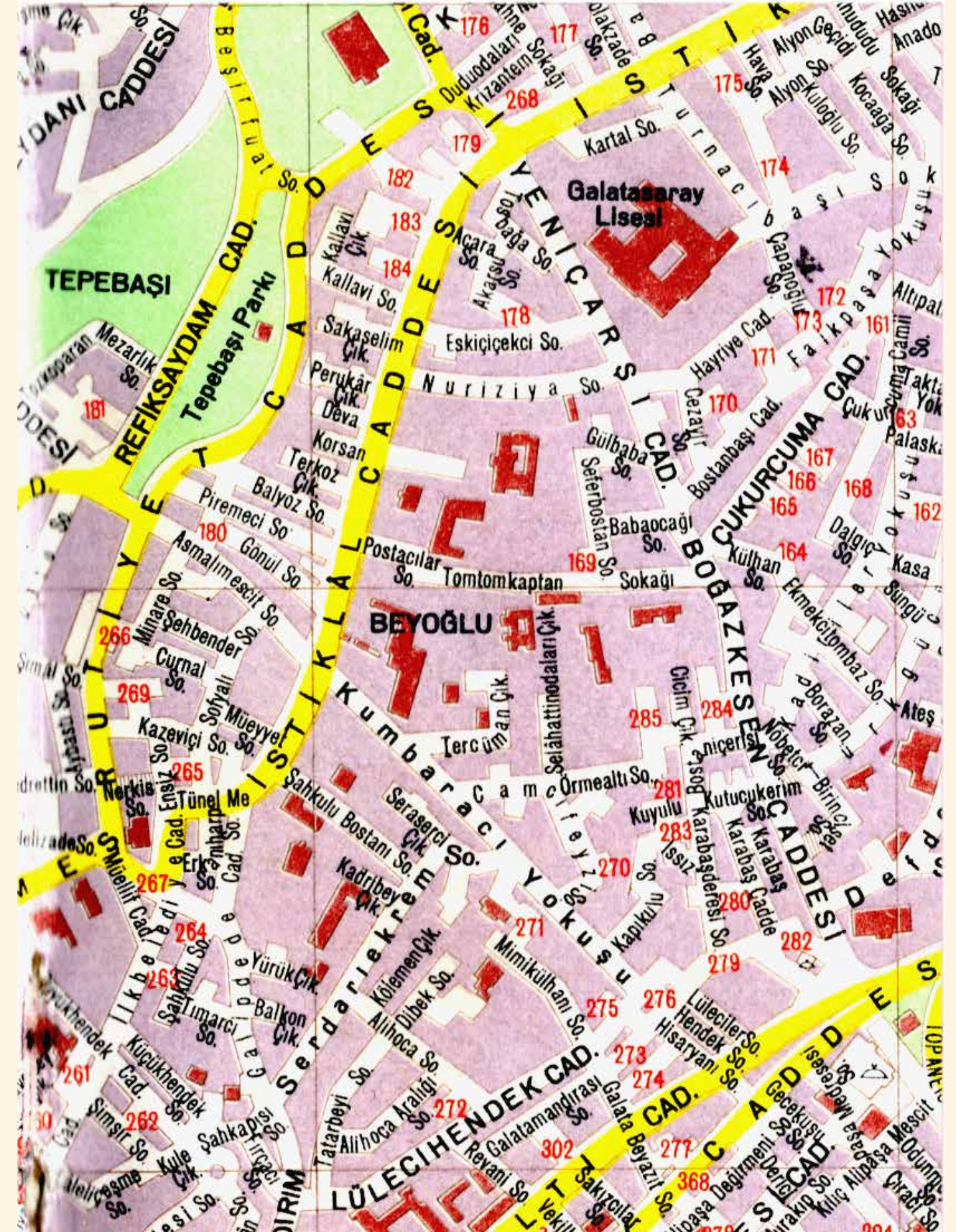
Saturday Mothers/People have been
gathering at Galatasaray Square
since 1995 with photos of their relatives
Ali Öz Archive

Baro Han (Istanbul Bar Association)

Baro Han which was built on İstiklal Avenue during the 1960s began to be used as the headquarters of İstanbul Bar Association. Renovated in 2017, Baro Han still serves as the building of the İstanbul Bar Association today. İstanbul Bar which stood up against , anti-democratic laws and implementations, human rights abuses, cases of torture during and after the military memorandum and coup of March 12, 1971, and September 12, 1980, is based in Baro Han. It is remembered as a site frequently visited by revolutionaries and their families from the 1970s until the 1990s when political lawsuits were filed in the aftermath of the September 12, 1980 Coup.



Baro Han, where the İstanbul Bar Association is located, 2021.
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Dostlar Theater

Dostlar Theater is a company set up by Genco Erkal in 1969 and continues to stage plays for the past 52 years based on the concept of progressive and socialist realist art. Dostlar Theater has become a base for culture and education with the Amateur Workers Theater Group and Contemporary Folk Dances Group founded within its frame while it stages plays from contemporary world literature as well as those by Turkish authors.

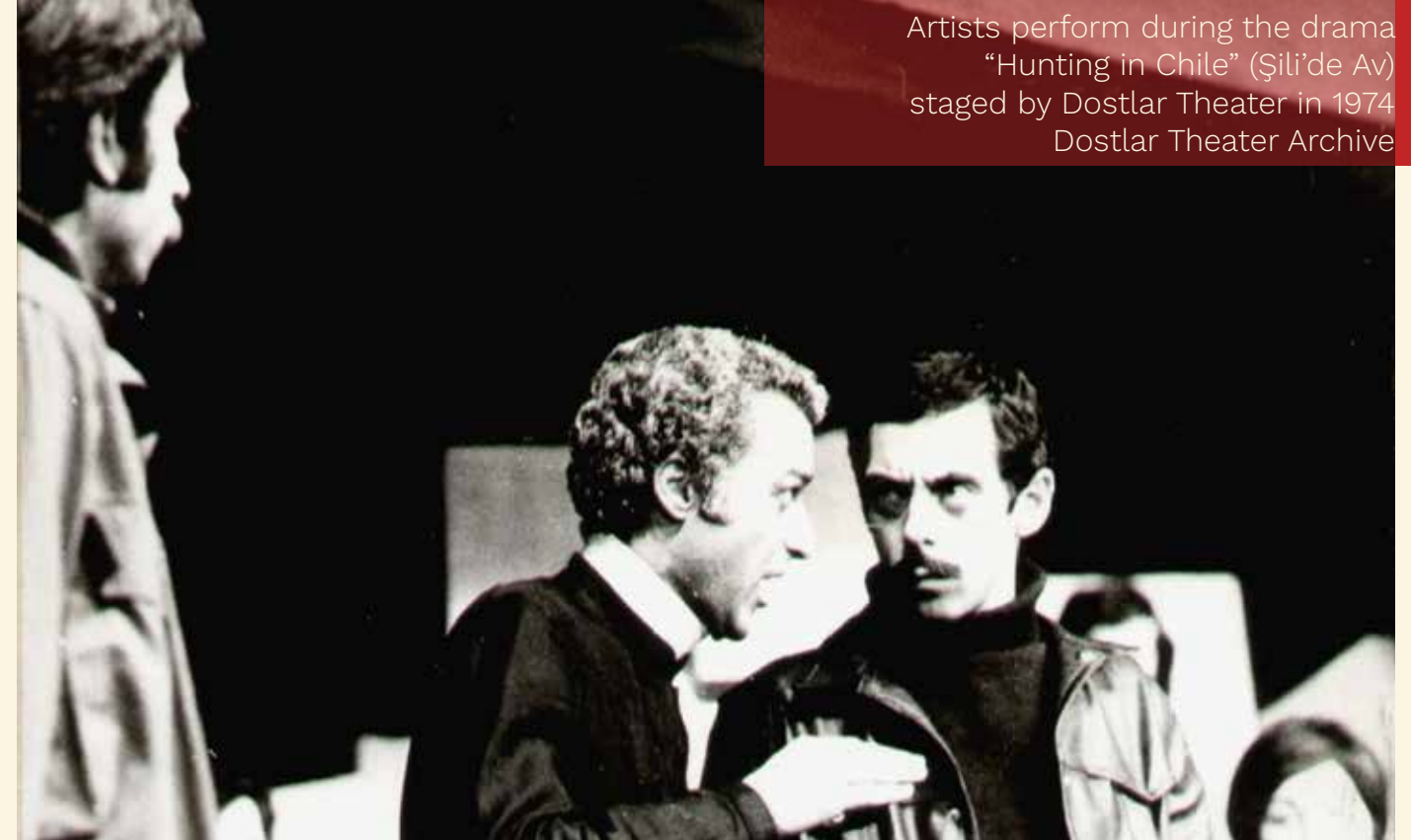
Since its foundation, Dostlar Theater company has performed at venues starting with Harbiye Yapı Endüstri Merkezi and followed by Küçük Sahne, Şişli Ümit Theater, Elhamra Theater, Baro Han, and Muammer Karaca Theater, all of which are located between Şişli and İstiklal Avenue, and has been performing at different venues since 2012.

Dostlar Theater has earned a significant place in our world of culture and arts through plays which attracted huge interest from revolutionaries, such as “Rosenbergler Ölmemeli (The Rosenbergs Shouldn’t Die)” in 1969, “Asiye Nasıl Kurtulur (How Can Asiye Be Saved)” and “Havana Duruşması (The Havana Trial)” in 1970, “Abdülcanbaz” in 1972, “Şili’de Av (Manhunt in Chile)” in 1973, “Brecht-Cabaret” in 1978, “The Caucasian Chalk Circle” in 1979 and “Ağrı Dağı Efsanesi (The Legend of Ağrı Mountain)” in 1981.

Literature, theater, and cinema have been influential in creating a political conscience among young people and attracting them to the revolutionary movement. Dostlar Theater is the leading company whose plays staged in Istanbul since the 1960s were followed by revolutionaries, both individually and in groups.



Zeliha Berksoy and Elif Türkan Çölok perform in Dostlar Theater’s “How can Asiye be saved?” (Asiye Nasıl Kurtulur) at Küçük Sahne Dostlar Theater Archive



Artists perform during the drama “Hunting in Chile” (Şili’de Av) staged by Dostlar Theater in 1974 Dostlar Theater Archive



Maxim Gorky’s drama “Enemies” (Düşmanlar) played by Dostlar Theatre, 1975 Dostlar Theater Archive

Tepebaşı Experimental Stage (Tepebaşı Deneme Sahnesi)

Tepebaşı Deneme Sahnesi which belongs to Istanbul City Theaters was active between 1975 and 1983. A woodshop that was left standing at the site of a fire that burned down Tepebaşı Drama Theater in 1971, was later turned into a 300-seat “free” chamber entirely different from a classical theater. Deneme Sahnesi was founded by Beklan Algan and opened with a performance of “Adsız Oyun (Nameless Play)” by Zeynep Oral.

Tepebaşı Deneme Sahnesi where plays like Bertolt Brecht’s “Mother Courage and Children”, Peter Weiss’ “Marat/Sade” and “Salozun Mavalı (Gesang vom lusitanischen Popanz)”, Shakespeare’s “Bahar Noktası (A Midsummer Night’s Dream)” were performed was deemed unfavorable in the wake of the September 12, 1980 coup and its name was changed to Tepebaşı Stage in 1981 and closed in 1983. It was totally demolished in 1984, a TRT (Turkey Radio Television Institution) building and a parking lot were built in its place.

Istanbul City Theaters also staged social and political plays that attracted the strong interest of revolutionaries between the years 1975 and 1980, besides private theater companies like Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu (Art Theater) (AST) and Dostlar Theater.



In the place of the Istanbul City Theaters Tepebaşı Experimental Stage, there is a building of building of the state television (TRT) and a parking lot, 2021. Photo: Çağrı İşbilir



Istanbul City Theater's Tepebaşı Experimental Stage opened in 1975
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive



Zeynep Oral's drama "Untitled Play" at Tepebaşı Experimental Stage, 1975
Feza Kürkcüoğlu Archive

Emek Movie Theater

One of the most magnificent buildings in Beyoğlu is the “Serkldoryan” building which was built by the architect Alexandre Vallauray on Abraham Pasha’s order. In this large, five-story building with an interesting façade, the “Serkldoryan Club” (Cercle d’Orient) was founded, which later became the name of the building itself. Serkldoryan also housed an arcade and a number of adjacent stores in addition to the Inci Bakery and Rüya Movie Theater on the Istiklal Avenue.

On the site of the Emek Movie Theater, which could be reached from Yeşilçam Street, a skating rink called “Skating Palas” was opened in 1909. In 1924 the Melek Movie Theater was opened which was named after the two Art Nouveau angel paintings on both sides of the stage. The Melek, Ipek and Sümer Movie Theaters were housed in this building in the 1930s. The Serkldoryan building became a property of the Istanbul Municipality during The Wealth Tax times, and a property of Pension Fund in 1957.

Renamed as Emek Movie Theater in 1958, the movie theater with its 875 seats, balcony and large foyer became one of the most important theaters in Beyoğlu. It became one of the most distinguished theaters, showing the best films of the season for many years, as well as the screenings of the Istanbul Film Festival which began in 1982.

Until the 1980 Coup d’état, the Emek Movie Theater was a place that the revolutionary students often visited for a good movie experience in a beautiful theatre, and then as a venue for the Istanbul Film Festival.

In 2009, Emek closed its curtains, never to be opened again. Despite the efforts of the “Emek Is Ours” initiative established by the cinephiles and mass organizations to save the movie theater, the Serkldoryan building was demolished due to a “renewal” decision and a shopping mall was built in its place in 2016.



Ticket to 'Irish Girl' movie, 1973.
Çağrı İşbilir Archive



Emek Movie Theater hall, 1940
Feza Kürkçüoğlu Archive

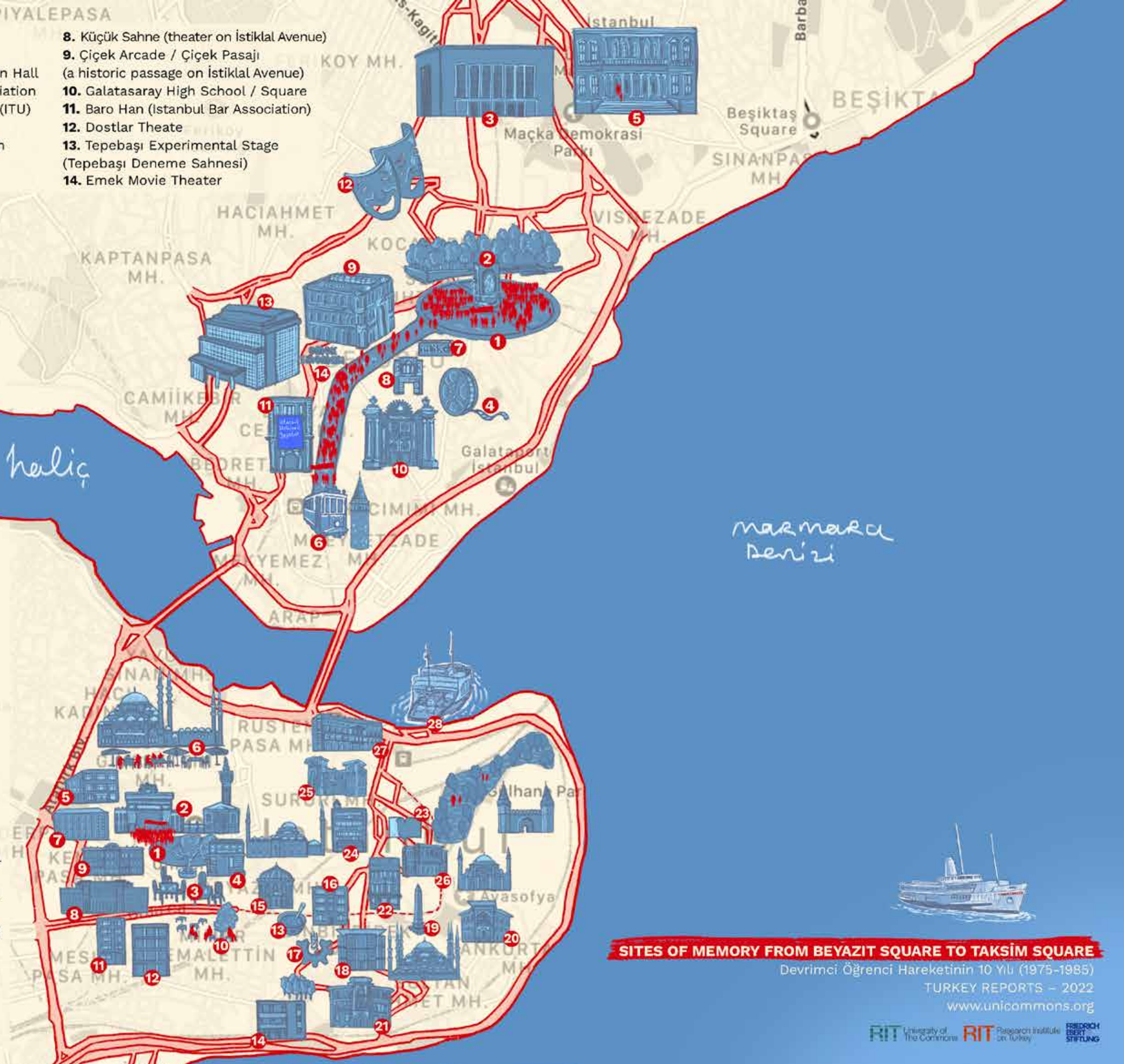


Emek Movie Theater street, 2021
Photo: Çağrı İşbilir

1. Taksim Square
2. Republic Monument
3. Istanbul Sports and Exhibition Hall
4. Turkish Cinematheque Association
5. Istanbul Technical University (ITU)
6. Istiklal Avenue
7. The Istanbul Higher Education Culture Association (IYÖKD)

8. Küçük Sahne (theater on İstiklal Avenue)
9. Çiçek Arcade / Çiçek Pasajı (a historic passage on İstiklal Avenue)
10. Galatasaray High School / Square
11. Baro Han (Istanbul Bar Association)
12. Dostlar Theate
13. Tepebaşı Experimental Stage (Tepebaşı Deneme Sahnesi)
14. Emek Movie Theater

1. Beyazıt Square
2. Istanbul University
3. Coffeeshops in Beyazıt Square
4. Second-Hand Book Bazaar
5. Istanbul University Medico-Social Center
6. Famous bean restaurants in Süleymaniye
7. Vezneciler Site Student Dormitory
8. Istanbul University Faculty of Letters
9. Istanbul University Faculty of Science
10. Küllük and Marmara Coffeehouses
11. Denizli Student Dormitory
12. Beyazıt High School of Finance and Accounting
13. Çemberlitaş and Cennet pudding shops
14. Kadirga Student Dormitory
15. Çorlulu Ali Paşa Madrasa (School of Islamic Teachings)
16. Balıkesir Student Dormitory
17. Workers' Party of Turkey (TİP) Headquarters
18. Sultanahmet Courthouse
19. Sultanahmet Square
20. Sultanahmet Prison
21. Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences
22. Tarihi Sultanahmet Köftecisi (Historical meatball restaurant in Sultanahmet)
23. YAZKO (Turkish Writers and Translators Publishing and Production Cooperative)
24. Istanbul Chamber of Physicians
25. Istanbul High School for Boys
26. Forensic Medicine-Morgue buildings
27. Sanasaryan Han
28. Sirkeci Ferry Boat Pier



SITES OF MEMORY FROM BEYAZIT SQUARE TO TAKSİM SQUARE

Devrimci Öğrenci Hareketinin 10 Yılı (1975-1985)

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