

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY AND PRACTICES:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF FUNERAL CEREMONIES
AT THE KOCATEPE MOSQUE AND THE HACIBAYRAM MOSQUE

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ABSTRACT

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In this thesis, I intend to examine differences between religious communities and practices through a comparative study of funeral ceremonies performed at Hacıbayram and Kocatepe Mosques in Ankara. The ethnographic data, which have been collected through eighty-seven funeral ceremony that I attended in these two mosques, shows that there are repetitive patterns among funeral ceremonies performed in the same mosque. When we compare the ceremonial patterns in Hacıbayram Mosque and Kocatepe Mosque, it is observed that funeral ceremonies performed in these two mosques is differentiated in terms of material culture, gender and sentiments. There are different variables for these ritual differentiations, such as the nature and composition of a religious community frequenting a mosque, and the meanings and traditions ascribed to a mosque, which affect the way in which prayers are perceived and practiced.

Besides, it is also realized that repetitive patterns among funeral ceremonies performed in the same mosque may even differentiate, because of social status and worldview of deceased and mourners.

Key words: funeral ceremonies, ritual differentiation, religious communities, Kocatepe Mosque, Hacıbayram Mosque

ÖZ

DİNİ CEMAAT VE PRATİKLER:

KOCATEPE CAMİSİ VE HACIBAYRAM CAMİSİNDE YAPILAN CENAZE

TÖRENLERİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR İNCELEMESİ

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Bu tezde, Ankara’da bulunan Hacıbayram ve Kocatepe Camilerinde yapılan cenaze törenlerinin karşılaştırmalı bir incelemesini yaparak farklı dini cemaat ve pratikler arasında ortaya çıkan farklılıkları incelemeyi amaçladım. İki camide de katılmış olduğum seksen yedi cenaze töreninden toplanan etnografik veriler, aynı camide yapılan cenaze törenleri arasında birbirini takip eden kalıpların olduğunu göstermektedir. İki camideki bu törensel kalıpları karşılaştırdığım zaman, bu iki camide gerçekleştirilen cenaze törenlerinin, materyal kültür, toplumsal cinsiyet ve duygular açısından farklılaştığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu ritüel farklılıkların ortaya çıkmasında camiye tercih eden cemaatin doğası ve nitelikleri ve camiye yüklenen anlam ve gelenekler gibi değişkenler etkilidir.

Bunun yanında aynı camide yapılan cenaze törenlerinde tekrar eden kalıpların dahi ölen kişinin ve yakınlarının sosyal statüsü ve dünya görüşlerinden dolayı farklılaşabildiği de fark edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: cenaze törenleri, ritüel farklılaşma, dini cemaat, Kocatepe Camisi, Hacıbayram Camisi

To Gülru and her mother

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Subject of Discussion:

“You will have a single-prayer-long sovereignty / On the coffin-rest-stone that stands as if it’s your throne” (“Bir namazlık saltanatın olacak/ taht misali o musalla taşında”) says Cahit Sıtkı Tarancı, the prominent poet of the Turkish poetry, in one of his poems. He puts the dead person on the top of temporal power through delineating the funeral as a ritual of acceding to the throne, and the dead person as a king/sultan. Although it is clear enough that Tarancı hasn’t meant any political denotation, his verses in this poem are important since the poem is connotative in terms of seeing how funerals and politics/power interpenetrate each other in Turkey. Political meanings/signs in funerals, especially of those of an esteemed statesman, a martyr or a well-known person, are seen more markedly and mean much more than ordinary protocol. Such a funeral is experienced by strict control of the state and mourning turns into an official atmosphere. Although this atmosphere eliminates distinctions and creates a common sense of unity for a short while, it also involves a tension. Secular values are highlighted or concealed according to world-view of the dead person in these funerals (Bozdemir, 2007: 360). Funerals function so as to bid farewell to the dead person, as much as they serve for sanctification and reinforcement of the world-views of those who are alive.

But then, reign and throne may not have positive meaning for those who prefer not to be bound by state-defined rules and regulations because of their identity, religion,

ethnic origin and ways of lives. Those who want to have their relatives' funerals in accordance with their opinions and beliefs and not in accordance with the rules defined by the state and Sunni Islam, are subject to state sanction. Intolerance of the state and the legal order shown towards differences in the society becomes more visible in funerals. Alevis who want to have funeral ceremonies in compliance of their belief and tradition in their worship places called "Cemevi"; atheists who want their bodies to be burnt; travestites who do not want to have a funeral with Islamic rules, face various grievances because of the State's insistence for funerals with Sunni Islamic rules. For these groups "death" becomes the last stage that the state shows its discriminatory, exclusive and authoritarian face towards them (Kurban, 2010).

There are various experiences in the history of Turkey suggesting how funerals become a field of social tension and dissent. We can easily remember countless events in this respect when we look at our social memories. Funeral of İmran Öktem, who served as the first chairman of the Supreme Court of Appeals from 1966 to his death in 1969, could be regarded as one of the most significant event. In 1966, when İmran Öktem was appointed as the first chairman of the Supreme Court of Appeals, in his opening speech for the beginning of judiciary term, his secularist stance and his targeting the Islamist groups were reacted by these very circles. Reactions of Islamic groups were much more intensified in 1968, when İmran Öktem showed his anti-religion stance in his speeches delivered to dailies due to the 100th anniversary of the Supreme Court of Appeals. İmran Öktem died on the 1st of

May, 1969. On the 3rd of May, 1969, when his coffin was brought to Ankara Maltepe Mosque, a group of people waiting in the yard of the mosque tried to halt the religious ceremony and prevent his body to be buried in a cemetery where Muslim people are buried, depending on Öktem's anti-religious stance. Imams (prayer leaders) acted in accordance with the protesters' demand and refused to lead the prayer. President İsmet İnönü¹, who was stuck in this resentful group, was rescued by a brigadier general who drew his gun towards protesters. After a few hours of disorder another imam was brought from another mosque to lead the burial prayer. This event was perceived as "another 31 March event²" and led to large-scale street demonstrations. Hundred thousands of lawyers and judges coming from all around Turkey and wearing their stuff gowns, organized protest marches against these fundamentalist Islamic groups.

Another similar event was seen in the funeral of Oğuz Atak, who worked as a barman. Oğuz Atak had been killed by two young Idealist/ Right-wings (Ülkücü) due to his tattoo on his back – the word of 'Allah' with Arabic letters –because the young right-wings regarded this tattoo as a "mockery of the religion". When Oğuz Atak's coffin was brought to Istanbul Bebek Mosque for religious ceremony, the imam serving as religious person at this mosque, refused to lead the prayer. The young barman's friends and artists who were present there stated that he had faith in

¹ He is the second President of modern Turkey. He was the comrade of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and "The Second Man" of the Turkish Revolution.

² 31 March Incident: It was a rebellion of reactionaries against the restoration of constitutional monarchy which had revived after 1908 Revolution.

God and that therefore *namaz* should be fulfilled³. Upon this insistence on having the religious ceremony and prayer, another imam was brought from another mosque and religious rules were followed. Afterwards, the mortuary was sent to İzmir, the hometown of Oğuz Atak, with people applauding there. While a group of protesters objected to a religious ceremony to be held for the dead person in İmran Öktem's case, people who were gathered for a funeral ceremony and wished the ceremony to be held according to Sunni Islamic rules and traditions for Oğuz Atak were negatively reacted by 'the imam' who is a state official. These two dead persons, who had been negatively reacted by Muslim groups when they were alive, were seen as 'not religious enough' and therefore not deemed worthy of having a Sunni Muslim funeral ceremony.

Another example of tensions faced in funerals was seen in the funeral of an Alevi origin soldier, Murat Taş, who died a martyr in Eruh in 2009. The family of Taş wanted to organize their beloved son's funeral in accordance with their Alevi belief, in their place of prayer, in 'Cemevi'. While people gathered in Alibeyköy Cemevi and eulogies were given before the prayer, military officials came and stated that an official funeral ceremony would be done in Ataköy Mosque and therefore the coffin should be taken to that mosque as soon as possible. Upon this notice, the aggrieved family accepted the soldiers' demand so that the mourning atmosphere is not interrupted, and ended the ceremony at Cemevi. Thus, the Alevi martyr's funeral ceremony was fulfilled according to Sunni Muslim rules at Ataköy Mosque.

³ According to Sunni Islam, The funeral prayer has to be performed for every deceased Muslim. It is a religious duty. (Bardakoğlu, 2006:354)

The funeral of a prominent Kurdish origin politician, Orhan Doğan, led to tensions that are derived from different funeral ceremony perceptions of people and of the state. Orhan Doğan, a leading figure of the Kurdish movement in his whole life, had been imprisoned for ten years for taking oath in Kurdish in the parliament. Afterwards he became an important figure of Turkish politics, and was seen as a symbol person by Kurdish people. Orhan Doğan died, when he was making a speech in Doğubeyazıt, a township of Ağrı, in 2007. A magnificent funeral ceremony that can rarely be seen was organized for Orhan Doğan. Thousands of Kurds flocking in from all quarters of Turkey arrived in Cizre where he would be buried. Security forces intervened in the cortege before the funeral ceremony started for the reason of pro-PKK slogans and PKK flags. Tens of peoples were injured. The mourning atmosphere was replaced by an intense atmosphere of protest.

No doubt that these examples, which could be raised, marked an “exaggerated” situation. This does not mean that every funeral leads to tensions like the ones mentioned above. However, one can easily observe that these kinds of tensions can be seen in prayers performed in ordinary funeral ceremonies, but in a softer way. All these cases show how social and political problems such as secular-Islamic, Turks-Kurds, Alevis-Sunnis confrontations come out to the surface in funeral ceremonies that are one of the most innocent fields of social life. Moreover, they show how religion and other social domains, (such as policy, economy, and personal relationship) are closely intertwined to each other. It also shows the

dimension of interventions by the state and legal order (law) in “other” cultures that survive within domination of the sovereign culture. Furthermore, it shows how individuals are subject to sanctions even in the moments that they are in the weakest spiritual/emotional situation. Geertz one of the sources of information, states; it is no longer possible to die without causing a political problem (1973, 156).

1.2. Scope of the Work:

The main axis of this work is to analyze ritual differences seen in funeral ceremonies, which is a significant issue that may sometimes lead to tensions in today’s Turkey. Various points such as social status, worldview and the place of the funeral ceremony can be significant in the way these rituals are held. Different rituals can be observed even within the same funeral. This work attempts to outline the characteristics and nature of these differences through funeral ceremonies held in two different mosques of the capital city of Turkey. One of these two mosques is Hacı Hacibayram Mosque where generally “traditional” funerals are seen. The other mosque is Kocatepe Mosque where usually protocolary and official funerals take place.

1.3. Objective:

Analyzing the ritual differences seen in different funerals held in two different mosques is primarily aimed within this study. However, it has been observed during field work that there have been clear differences even in the same funeral of the

same community. Hence, besides ritual differences seen in different places, differences observed in the same place will also be dealt with in this study.

How and in what fields such ritual differences occur will be explained. Details such as symbols and models used in funeral prayers (namaz), position, composition and attitudes of the group of people attending the funeral, women's position in the group of people attending the funeral, their attitudes and behaviours will be focused on.

1.4. Methodology:

For this study, I attended eighty seven funeral ceremonies in between 2008-2010. Thirty five of them were in Kocatepe Mosque and fifty two of them were in Hacıbayram Mosque. During my research, I used the methods which are observation, participation, and expert interviews.

1.4.1. Observation:

Although funeral prayers are one of the most important parts of funeral rituals in Islam, they are performed rapidly. The coffin brings to mosque just thirty minutes before the noon or afternoon prayer. The funeral prayer is performed just after the daily prayer. It takes five minutes, and then the coffin is carried to the hearse as quickly as possible. There is kind of hurry to fulfill all the requirements in the garden of the mosque. The process is developing so fast that it is almost impossible to feel the sorrow and grief for an outsider. At the end of the one month of my fieldwork I realized that trying to comprehend the process and feel empathy with

mourners is almost impossible. I also failed to make interviews with mourners about the ceremony; generally I was rejected politely. Therefore the fieldworks conducted as a “pure” observation, participation and little face to face interviews. I follow this technique in order to evaluate similarities and differences of funeral ceremonies performed in Hacıbayram and Kocatepe Mosque. This technique required by conditions during a ceremony helped me to reveal the repetitive patterns in the funeral ceremonies performed in the same mosque. There are some similarities among funeral ceremonies performed in the same mosque. However, there are considerable differences between the funeral ceremonies performed in Hacıbayram Mosque and Kocatepe Mosque.

1.4.2. Expert Interviews:

I also conducted semi structured interviews with people who are professionals in the field of funeral services in Ankara.

Firstly, I conducted an interview with the medical doctor who is the head of the Ankara Greater Municipality, the Office of Transportation of Mortuary. He explained all process and official regulations that I narrate in the funeral rituals in Ankara section. This interview helps me to comprehend the rigidity of state control on the process beginning just after death and ending with burial.

Secondly, I conducted interviews with head corpse washer in Hacettepe Hospital and Karşıyaka Cemetery. They explained the process of washing and enshrouding

the corpse that I narrate the process in the Funeral Rituals in Islam section. The interview with the (gassals) head corpse washer at Karşıyaka Cemetery was very impressive. He lives an extraordinary life. He has been working in this job for five years and washes approximately two corpses in a day. He confess that

“When I entered the profession, my life changed upside down. But gradually I adopt it. Now, this is not just a job for me. We also perform a religious duty. Washing a corpse nicely, enshrouding it with fragrant shroud and preparing it to other life give also self-satisfaction. However, generally people and even your family do not understand anything about your duty. I feel even my family are scared from me. But I am used to it. I even like this job. Just think, nobody can understand what it means to be dead like me.”⁴

Thirdly, I conducted an interview with the imam of the Hacıbayram Mosque. This interview inspired me to revise this work as a comparative study.

1.4.3. Why These Two Mosques:

This study is based on the project; I prepared in the framework of the course “Seminar on Ethnographic Field Research” in spring academic term of the year 2008, which I enlarged it later. In the field work I did within the context of this seminar, I tried mainly to describe the situation of Hacıbayram Mosque especially during morning prayers and funeral prayers. I was in search of the main reasons for preference of this mosque in morning and funeral prayers. I will never forget the excitement and confusion I felt during the first funeral prayer I observed. It was like

⁴ Personal communication, 4 August 2009

the dead person concerned had been murdered and I was a paranoid private detective who thought that the murderer could be someone around the mosque. I was peeping at people around, taking notes in secret and trying to catch any faulty attitudes of those people. I was in such a feeling in the first days of field work. Later on, I realized that I have been observing routine funeral ceremonies indeed. Knowing more or less what I will see when I was going to the mosque at the weekends had become boring. I was not able to get in contact with the relatives of dead persons and learn the reason for their preference of this mosque and this made me even more and more bored.

At the end of the first month of fieldwork, I had only a few short interviews and descriptive narration of funeral ceremonies which are all identical. A relative of a dead person I spoke, had stated that he had preferred Hacıbayram Mosque because it is situated in a central part of the city and therefore it is easy to reach. When I said “Kocatepe Mosque is even more central” he replied, “It is the place of statesmen’s funerals, it is not for ordinary people like us.” He, indeed, reiterated one of the most common facts. I had come across in news by then, very frequently, that Kocatepe Mosques is the place of funeral ceremonies for people having a higher status in the society, such as soldiers, statesmen, artists etc. In an interview I made with the *imam* (prayer leader) of Hacıbayram Mosque, I noticed that the imam made a comparison between the two mosques and this drew my attention to the funeral ceremonies in these two mosques. According to the *imam* of Hacıbayram Mosque, the popularity of this mosque and mausoleum was coming from its spiritual

atmosphere. Almost all congregation's participation to the funeral prayer and their pray for the dead person's absolution were also very important. When I said "the congregation can be very crowded in Kocatepe Mosque too", he said:

*"Kocatepe Mosque is an area of demonstration; there are funeral ceremonies with brass bands and bands. But here, in Hacı Bayram Mosque, dead bodies are sent along with earnest prayers. Much more people attend funeral prayers here and this is very important for divine mercy. "*⁵

The imam was actually disdained the state and military funeral ceremonies in Kocatepe Mosque. One of my class-mates, Esra Dabağcı, had an interview with a street simit (savory roll covered with sesame seed) seller, where the seller based the difference between the two mosques on the differences between the two regions of the city rather than the difference between state officials and ordinary religious people. He said:

*"Rich and high society people from Çankaya district of Ankara, do not come here. Their funeral ceremonies do not take place here; they take place in Kocatepe Mosque. Soldier funerals do not take place here too... Sometimes noncommissioned officer funerals are seen here. "*⁶

Soon after attending a few funeral prayers in Kocatepe Mosque, I realized that the differences between the two mosques is not limited to the social positions of the communities attending these two mosques and there are also certain differences in

⁵ Personal communication, 20 April 2008.

⁶ Esra Dabağcı's field notes, 5 May 2008

terms of funeral rituals. Thus, the scope of this study was determined to be the differences in funeral rituals in these two mosques.

1.4.4. Emotional Transition in the Field:

During my fieldwork, two inauspicious events have given the chance to comprehend the tiring and wearisome character of rituals and official procedures for relatives of the deceased. I have realized that all the process is like a self-functioning machine that the mourners can not intervene. They find themselves in between official sanctions and ritual sanctions.

Sometime after I began to watch funeral ceremonies, I felt a deep distress in me subsequent to each ceremony. The idea of attending a funeral ceremony was enough to make me depressed and sleepless. Although I was in this situation, I tried to attend funerals on all occasions. In a funeral I attended, I noticed that my depressive mood had reached to an uncontrollable stage. I felt a terrible fear of death that I suffered for subsequent few months after approaching a coffin and reading the date of death on it. Date of birth of the dead person in the coffin was the same date of my birth date. It was for the first time that I had felt that death is very near. I hardly sat down the nearest bench seat. Fear of death had encompassed all my thinking. The more I tried to forget it, the more it was intensified. From the bench seat I sat, I watched every stage of the funeral ceremony as if it was my funeral. Approximately half an hour after the ceremony, I left the garden of the mosque with a terrible fear of death which I didn't know how to cope with.

Two weeks after this incident, another death led to deepen my fears. My mother in law whom I had known only for the last two years had been put in intensive care unit after a brain operation. Tiring and wearisome times started. At the end of the fifteenth day, our mother's heart could no longer resist. Soon after declaration of death by the responsible doctor, the medical attendant called me and started to explain very quickly what should be done from now on and gave me a paper on which was written "death report." I didn't understand anything. He found out that I did not understand anything; he kept on explaining in other ways and then yelled at me saying "go to the morgue and show this paper, they will tell you what to do." Every place I went, sent me to another place for completing the procedure. After filling out a paper given to me by an imam who was responsible for washing and shrouding the dead body of my mother in law, I was told that I had to go to the municipality for fulfilling the requirements to be completed for graveyard and burial. Funeral ceremony and burial was the day after in Karşıyaka Graveyard. Everything between death and burial occurred so quickly and out of our control, we, I and my wife, had actually realized what we had been experiencing, when we look at each other at the end of that day. I realized, for the first time, how difficult is to be obliged to give information to the related personnel about all the process, in a time when even speaking is very hard.

All this process led me to understand two facts which I disregarded (in fact misunderstood) in all funerals I had attended by then. First, relatives of a dead

person were in a much more passive position than it was perceived, in the period between death and burial. Family of a dead person was becoming part of this process that naturally goes on. The other fact was even more important. I was very far from understanding the feelings and tensions of relatives of a dead person. Moreover, I realized that I would never apprehend what they actually feel. As stated in a proverb: "sorrow belongs to the one experiencing it". Everything I lived, I witnessed, changed my way of thinking in funerals I attended later. I was walking around closer to the coffin when I went to a funeral ceremony, and I tried to convey my condolences to the family of death person if the funeral was not an official funeral ceremony.

2. RITUAL AND FUNERAL RITUALS

2.1. Ritual and Funeral Ritual in Social Anthropology:

Religion is the perennial topic of anthropological studies. It is obvious, because religion is cultural universal and indispensable to understand culture completely.

Although it has a crucial position in anthropology tradition, there is no consensus about the generally accepted definition of religion. Nevertheless, the definition of Clifford Geertz, gives some clues about anthropological perspective on religion.

Clifford Geertz defines religion as

“(1) a system of symbols which act to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the mood and motivations seem uniquely realistic.” (1973: 90)

According to Bowie (2006) with this definition, Geertz combines Durkheim's symbolic functionalism-the sense of religion as a social act- with Weber's concern for meaning- presentation of religion as a system for ordering the world. In the article, “Culture as a Religious System”, Clifford Geertz defines his effort as developing the cultural dimension of religious analysis and states the explanation of “meaning” in cultural phenomena. In this sense, Religion is a source of meaning and understanding like commonsense, science and aesthetics.

Just as religion is a key for understanding culture, rituals are the keys for understanding religion. "In a ritual, the world as lived and the world as imagined, fused under the agency of a single set of symbolic forms, turn out to be the same world." The anthropological study of religion is a two-stage operation: first is the analysis of the system of meanings embodied in the symbols which make up religion and relating these symbols to socio-structural and psychological processes. And the second stage is skipping the first causes in order to get to the point of what most needs to be elucidated". (Geertz, 1973: 90)

Religious rituals have been described as the social aspects of religion. (Eriksen: 1995) They may include rich meanings and insight about the tensions and compromises in a society. From subverting the status quo to healing, it has broad effects on society (Bowie, 2006). After recognizing its power to understand social phenomenon, the literature on ritual has rapidly increased and diversified. Complexity and uncertainty of the concept ritual foster the diversification of the ritual literature. Moreover, problem of defining ritual or differentiating this kind of action from practical actions are one of the basic difficult subjects of anthropology of religion. (Emiroğlu, 2003: 100) Defining an action as a ritual always is related to the subjects' intentions. There are not templates to determine whether an action is a ritual or not. Washing hands may become a ritual according to the subject's intention. Therefore, besides his own inferences, an observer always considers the intentions of the subject. But this uncertainty is not seen as a defect only. It can

also be a source of that strength, evocative power, resilience and mutability which may sometimes sustain and preserve ritual performance. (Lewis, 1980: 8-9).

Early sociologists and anthropologists make a great attribution to ritual studies. The myth-ritualist theorist Robertson Smith (1846-1894) is one of the pioneering thinkers who emphasize the primary role of rituals and their importance in generating social cohesion. Later this perspective has been reformulated by functionalist sociologists. Especially Durkheim's theories about understanding the social functions of ritual affect many theories about ritual. In his book *The Elementary forms of Religious Life*, Durkheim (2001) has categorized all religious phenomena into three beliefs and rites. The first ones are states of opinions and the second determines the modes of action and when members of the society participate in a religious rite, they are actually worshipping society. During religious rituals, people can experience a "collective effervescence" and identify themselves with their gods. These actions bind individuals to community and play a key role in constructing the society. Rituals are of primary importance for creating, maintaining and renewal of social cohesion in society. Functionalists, like Malinowski and A.R. Redcliffe Brown have based their ritual theories on Durkheim's perspective that regards ritual as a social fact. Rituals are the tools for establishing solidarity and strengthening social solidarity when it is weakened (Radcliff-Brown, 2004: 151). Another leading functionalist Max Gluckman stresses other characteristics of rituals. According to him, as well as demonstrating and establishing cohesion, many rituals where traditions and the role of participants are reversed, demonstrate antagonism and openly express social tensions. This ritual of rebellions allows for

instituted protest, “and in a complex way, renews the unity of the system. (Gluckman, 1963: 122) Therefore rituals have the power to underpin a society’s equilibrium and secure solidarity. Functionalists mainly defend the idea that rituals rather than beliefs are more powerful vehicles for securing the social unity.

Edmund Leach insists that rituals, as functionalists imply, do not have a unifying function. They support antagonism rather than establishing cohesion and unity. Leach prefers looking at another important role or function of rituals which is communication. All rituals say something. But how can we understand what they say? In this sense, actors’ sayings and researchers’ intuitions are unreliable. Studying ritual is like trying to solve “grammar and syntax of an unknown language, and this is bound to be a very complicated business” (Leach, 1999 (1968): 180) He proposes for examining ritual as a part of the whole complex of communication in society.

While studying rituals of Ndembu Society, Victor Turner expresses the symbolic quality of rituals with a strong emphasis. “A symbol is the smallest unit of ritual which still retains the specific properties of ritual behavior; it is the ultimate unit of specific structure in a ritual context” (Turner, 1967: 15). And a symbol might be an object, activities, relationship, events, gestures and special units. In order to demonstrate this symbolic quality, he summons the girls’ puberty rituals around Mudyi Tree-milk tree- in Ndembu Society. This tree excretes a milky liquid when it is bruised. The Ndembu people attribute several meanings to this tree, such as,

human breast, breast milk and relations between mother and child. An informant of Turner implies symbolic importance of this tree in Ndembu culture as “Mudyi is our flag”. Hence, The Mudyi Tree stands for interrelations between groups and persons and denotes the unity and continuity of Ndembu Society. (Turner, 1967: 20-22) One of the important properties of ritual symbols is their *polysemy and multivocality*. (Turner, 1969)

The triadic models of rituals, which are propounded by Van Gennep, are strongly accepted among social scientists. Well known French folklorist Arnold Van Gennep’s classical study “ The Rites of Passage” was published in 1909, Paris. In this study he examines the life crises ceremonies and conceptualizes these ceremonial patterns as “*rites de passage*”. “Birth, social puberty, marriage, pregnancy, fatherhood, and death” are typical examples of these rituals. From birth to death, an individual must submit to ceremonies whose forms are varied but functions are similar. He also uses the term rites of passages in a broader sense, such as seasonal festivals, territorial rituals, sacrifice, pilgrimage, etc. (Bowie, 2006: 25). Passage from one social status to another has great importance for an individual and society. These passages can be objectified with a territorial passage such as entrance in a house, movement from one room to another etc. (Van Gennep, 1960: 192). It is actualized by means of certain rituals. In all societies the life of an individual consists of some rites of passages and there have been considerable similarity between transitional rituals. These similarities enable us to make a

threefold classification which is rites of separation (preliminal rites), transition rites (liminal rites) and rites of incorporation (postliminal rites).

The preliminal stage, rites of separation, symbolizes the separation of individual from social environment and loss of one's old identity. They are prominent in funerals with few variations and are very simple (Van Gennep, 1960: 114). In this stage, people are detached physically and emotionally from her/his early status. For example, purifying the body (performing an ablution before entering a mosque for prayer), cutting hair, seclusion etc. (Bowen, 2005: 44). At the preliminary phase of a funeral ritual, a corpse is prepared for burial and the mourners are excluded from society or their ordinary life circle.

The second stage is liminal stage, transition rites, which is a stage of marginality. It is especially prominent in pregnancy period. It symbolizes isolation from community. Transitional period continues beyond the moment of delivery and duration are various among different peoples. Expectant mothers are physically excluded from society in some period of pregnancy (Van Gennep, 1960: 42-43). Returning to ordinary life after delivery is actualized by some rituals.

This triadic model of Van Gennep has been extended by the symbolic anthropologist, Victor Turner. He developed his ritual theory on this triadic model, basically focusing on processual nature of rituals. He based his ritual theory on the idea that every ritual is a rite of passage and a rite of passage is a movement from

structure to anti structure and back into structure (Bowie, 2006). He basically focuses on anti structural period- liminal- of rituals. Liminal period is the stage of anti structure and it is a bridge between two structures. In this period, they belong neither to their previous status nor to the new status. They are in “betwixt and between”(Turner; 1969: 90). In normal social life people are segmentalized in different social status, but in the liminal phase, an individual is excluded from his earlier status and segmentation, becoming equal to its fellows. Its roles and status change so as to “develop an intense comradeship and egalitarianism” (Turner, 1969: 95). He introduces the term “communitas” to differentiate this state of nature from “the area of common living”. According to Turner, communitas emerge where social structure is not present” (Turner, 1969: 126).

The last stage is postliminal stage, or rites of incorporation, where a person becomes a member of his/her new community. In this period, a person incorporates a different environment. Therefore, it is expected to act and live differently.

Death rituals are typical examples of life crisis rituals. Relieving the grief causing from losing a relative and shedding light on the perennial obscurities about death and its aftermath are universal in religions. Basically in all societies, death “is not a mere destruction but a transition: as it progress so does the rebirth; while the old body falls to ruins, a new body takes shape.”(Hertz, 2004: 203). Rather than psychological and theological explanation, cultural anthropological perspectives assess the mortuary rituals as a social phenomenon. One of the most important

characteristic of anthropological approaches to death and related rituals is explaining them as a cultural construction rather than psychological and universal. For an anthropologist, even psychological moods and emotions like bereavement and grief following the losing of a young child or a relative can be seen as a part of cultural construction (Scheper- Hughes, 2004).

Robert Hertz is the first anthropologist who emphasizes death and related rituals not only as biological and psychological truths but also as social and cultural facts. His article called “The Collective Representation of Death” has great influences on most anthropological works about death. In this article, he investigates death as an object of collective representation. He is basically interested in emotional impacts of death on society. More importantly, “in one and the same society the emotion aroused by death varies extremely in intensity according to social status of the deceased (Hertz, 2004: 207). Hertz observes the rich variety and complexity of funeral rituals in Dayak of Bourneo peoples and compares these rituals with different peoples’ death rituals.

Especially when a wealthy person or a ruler dies, various rituals are performed around the deceased body and his soul. One of the most characteristic of them is double burial. Just after the death, the body does not reach immediately its final destination. In order to reach the final destination, some rituals have to be performed by the ones alive. Therefore, the relatives offer the deceased a temporary residence until the natural disintegration of the body is completed and only bones

remain (Hertz, 2004: 201). He analyzes this transition period through the perspective of deceased body, the soul and survivors. In this transitional stage a corpse can be regarded both as living and dead. S/he is biologically dead but culturally still alive. The soul also has not reached the final destination. It is in between the survivors and ancestors. It is still in part of society can affect the survivors' life. More importantly, it is capable of inflicting harm to living. During this transition period the relatives of the deceased are excluded from the society, and the length of the mourning varies necessarily according to the degree of kinship. (Hertz, 2004: 200) In brief, death rituals express a passage for the deceased body, the soul and survivors differently.

Hertz's approach to death rituals is systematized and universalized by another French anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep. Like other rites of passage, death rituals are composed of separation, transition and incorporation.

The ethnographies of these gurus are still the zenith point within the literature of anthropology of death and mortuary rituals. But anthropologists' approach to death has changed after these great attributions. According to Fabian (1973), the discipline of cultural anthropology is far away from establishing comprehensive theories on death today. The source of this exiguity appeared with the pioneering of anthropology discipline (Taylor, Frazer, Malinowski, Boas). They analyzed death as a self-contained act, linking it with the exotic and the other. Actually this was a reflection of the assumption of the distance between "we" and "they". According to

Fabian, this causes “parochialization” and “folklorization” of the anthropological inquiry to death. According to Fabian, the question of “how others die” should be reformulated as “how we die”.

Almost forty years has passed over this criticism and anthropological inquiry to death has been broadened and varied. Its success to criticize the grand theories, applying self- reflexive relative style to emphasize reciprocal relations between subject and object should make great contribution to the interdisciplinary literature of death (Robben, 2004: 13).

2.2. Theoretical Framework:

Because of its polysemic and multivocal character, comprehending and interpreting the meaning of funeral rituals will vary sociologically and ideologically. As Meredith Chesson points out the funeral rituals are “a sensuous arena in which the death are mourned, social memories are created and reasserted, social bonds are renewed, forged, or broken, and individuals make claims for individual identities and group membership”(Chesson, 2001: 1).

In the article “Death and Identity: Graves and Funerals as Cultural Communication, Eva Reimars analyses funeral ceremonies and grave designs of immigrants in Sweden and compares them with mainstream Swedish ritual practices. She observes that funeral ceremonies of immigrants are a mix of their own traditions and the Swedish traditions. Hence, two cultures are brought together in one ritual. She

points out that differentiation of these rituals enable immigrants to construct and express individual and collective ethnic and cultural identity (Reimers, 1999: 147). As she implies, “by making choices on how to announce the death and the funeral, the place for funeral, the ritual service..., the bereaved communicate not only who the deceased was but also who they are and where they belong.” therefore, the funeral rituals of immigrants not only emphasize the shared past of the members, but also “forge a new understanding of the present situation that serves as a starting point for self-understanding and actions in the future ...non verbal language tells people where they belong” (Reimers, 1999: 150-163). The identity construction and “place making” roles of the funeral rituals can also be seen in the funeral rituals of Muslims in Britain (Ansari, 2007: 570).

Reimer’s analysis of funeral rituals of immigrants as communicative symbolic actions can be a step further in this study. This differentiation of funeral rituals as a communicative symbolic action for constructing a cultural identity can even be observed in different social groups in the same culture.

According to Cohen, in industrial societies social boundaries are threatened by infrastructural and social change. In this instance, says Cohen, symbolism becomes the most important element in establishing and maintaining the social boundaries of self-consciously distinctive communities (Cohen, 1985: 307).

As Malerney points out, in the post-1954 period Vietnamese Communist Party tried to transform the nature and structure of funeral rituals to create secular, egalitarian

ideology and to celebrate the revolutionary state. According to officials, Pre-revolutionary beliefs and rituals were the major impediment to creation of a modern Vietnam. In order to secularize the ritual practices, they first attempted to eliminate the astrological auspiciousness and then tried to eliminate social inequalities or status differences practiced in the pre-Revolutionary funeral rituals. The funeral music, post funerary feast and exchange relations, gender specific roles and status marking aspects of the funeral ritual were abolished by the party. Yet, some reforms were accepted publicly and some were openly resisted against. Especially, the reforms pertaining to fundamental existential problems such as belief in the other world or spirit beliefs and post-funerary festivals which produce solidarity and sentimental relations were resisted. The state cannot completely control the meanings and the values involved in ritual practices (Malarney, 1996: 555). Besides, the reform campaign achieved some of its aims, such as the egalitarianization, simplification of funerary practices, secularization of funeral times and more importantly transformation of public discourse surrounding the funeral practices. The result was a mix of state implemented activities and pre-revolutionary traditions.

2.3. Funeral Ritual in Sunni Islam:

Islam has been divided into three main sects which are Sunni, Shi'ah and Khawarij. These are also subdivided many subsections. For example, there have been four different schools of thought or religious jurisprudence, called madh'hab, under Sunni Islam. They are Hanafi, Shafi'i, Maliki, Hanbali. Many of the Muslims in

Turkey are Sunni Islam. The Directorate of Religious Affairs predominantly applies Sunni laws and disregards and suppresses others. This discrimination is obvious in funeral rituals, like in other rituals. State officials give funeral services only with the law of Sunni Islam. Cleaning the dead body, shrouding, funeral prayer and burying are conducted by the laws of Sunni Islam. Therefore, different sects' members, such as Shi'ah, have to conduct funeral ceremonies by themselves. In some cases the state may also interfere into these ceremonies. In this study, funeral ceremonies that I have participated in have been conducted by the law of Sunni Islam. Therefore funeral rites and ceremonies refer to Sunni Islamic funeral rituals.

The funeral ceremonies are very important in Sunni Islam. All ceremonies can be grouped under three stages; preparing the body, funeral prayer and burying.

2. 3.1. Preparing the Body:

When a person dies, the body is laid on its back and feet are positioned in the direction of Kaaba. The deceased's eyes are closed and mouth is shut by pushing the chin up. Then it is washed. The deceased has to be washed according to Sunni Islamic law. The male corpses have to be washed by male washers and female corpses by female washers. It is laid on a washing bench where the feet are again positioned in the direction of Kaaba. Genital regions are covered with a piece of cloth down to knees. The washer wraps a piece of clean cotton on his/her right hand and washes the corpse with calm warm water. Water is poured three times all over

the body. The body is turned its right and left for washing the back of the deceased. Therefore all parts of the body are cleaned carefully.

The corpse is enshrouded after washing. Enshrouding process is also different for male corpse and female corpse. The winding-sheet is sprinkled with rose water. Wrapping the corpse to this winding sheet is performed with a great attention. After that, the shrouded corpse is placed in a coffin. The coffin of the military and high rank state officials and martyrs' are wrapped with the Turkish Flag. Coffins of ordinary citizens are generally wrapped with a praying rug or a green rug on which Quran verses regarding death are embroidered. Now, it is ready for funeral prayer.

2.3.2. Funeral Prayer:

The coffin is carried to the garden of a mosque and placed on Musalla Stone⁷. Funeral Prayer has to be performed for every deceased Muslim. It is generally performed just after the daily prayers. For the funeral prayers, Imam stands in front of the congregation and turns his face to the coffin placed at the direction of Kaaba. Congregation forms into lines behind the Imam who loudly recites “Allahuekber” while raising his hands up to the level of his ears and joining his hands together under his navel. The congregation does the same. Everyone first recites some prayers and then the Fatiha sura which is the first chapter of Quran. The imam, without raising his hands recites “Allahuekber” again and the congregation repeats silently. Then everybody recites some prayers silently. The imam again recites

⁷ A Stone on which the coffin is placed during the funeral prayer.

“Allahuekber” loudly and the congregation repeats silently. It is also followed by some prayers. Then the imam recites “Allahuekber” for the fourth time letting his hands down and he turns his head first to the right while reciting “esslamu aleykum va rahmatullah” (peace and god’s mercy be upon you) and then turns his head to the left while reciting the same verse; and the congregation repeats after him concurrently.

Later imam makes a short speech usually mentioning inevitability of death. After that, the imam puts some questions to the community. Words on absolution come after the speech. It is practiced as follows: the imam turns to the community present and asks them, “What sort of a person do you think the deceased was?”⁸ People “He was a good person”⁹. The imam asks again: “Will you witness that he/se is a believer in Islam in the life to come” and people reply “Yes, we will”; this dialog is repeated three times. Finally, the imam makes a short prayer, raising both his hands up to the level of shoulders. Everybody attends this prayer. At the end of the prayer, everybody recite the first chapter of Quran, the Fatiha Sura, silently. So, the prayer ceremony is completed. The coffin is quietly carried to the hearse by the congregation. Then, it is carried to the graveyard and buried speedily after funeral prayer.

⁸ Merhumu nasıl bilirdiniz?

⁹ İyi bilirdik.

2.3.3. Burial:

The graves are digged rectangular in shape. Its height is approximately 1meter 70 cm. The coffin is placed just at the right side of the open grave. Two people open the coffin, hold the wrapped body by the head and foot and lower it into the grave. The congregation remains standing and carefully watches lowering the corpse to the grave. It is laid in east-west direction and slightly inclined towards Kaaba. Slabs of timber are placed vertically on the corpse which is speedily buried. Imam recites some verses from Quran reposing for the deceased's soul. Then, the congregation gives condolence and wishes patience to the bereaved family. The commemoration ceremonies are conducted after 7 and 40 days after the burial.

2.4. Funeral Rituals in Ankara:

The period between a person's death and burial is organized under strict control of the state. There are two different regulations defining all the process of a dead person's preparation for burial. One of the regulations called "Regulation on Transportation and Burial of Mortuary" (Cenaze Nakil ve Defin İşlemleri Hakkında Yönetmelik) is re-issued for ordinary peoples' funeral in 2010. The other regulation called "Regulation on National Funeral" (Devlet Cenaze Törenleri Yönetmeliği) is issued for those people whose funeral are regarded as to be "national" by the President of the Republic of Turkey, the President of Grand National Assembly and the Prime Minister of Turkey or Council of Ministers.

All process for ordinary people's death and burial is organized by the "Regulation on Transportation and Burial of Mortuary" that is issued on 19th January, 2010. According to this regulation, "Approval Certificate for Burial" must be prepared for preparation of the dead person to be buried. There is detailed information in this approval certificate such as education of the dead person, the time of his/her death, the way he/she died, etc. Approval Certificate for Burial is prepared by a doctor if death has taken place in a hospital. If death has happened at home¹⁰, a doctor authorized by a unit responsible for this kind of services under the municipality of the region prepares the "Approval Certificate for Burial". The authorized doctor, who prepares the certificate, also fills in the "Certificate of Death" (Ölüm Belgesi) which is issued by Turkish Statistical Institute (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu). Afterwards relatives of the dead person pay 360.- TL to the municipality for the place where dead person is to be buried.¹¹ Thus, all official requirements are fulfilled and no hindrance is left for the preparation of the death person to be buried in accordance with religious rules.

Washing and shrouding of the corpse is done in all mosques where a special place/room is available for this process. However, today this process is completed mainly in hospitals and graveyards that having such a special place which is called "gasilhane" in Turkish. For instance, approximately 20 corpses are washed and

¹⁰ In an interview I made with a medical doctor at the office of Transportation of Mortuary under Ankara Greater Municipality of Ankara, the doctor stated that the great majority of death incidents occur at hospitals in Ankara.

¹¹ Different procedures are followed if a dead person's body is to be buried in another city. This issue is omitted in this study.

enshrouded every day in the mosque-gasilhane (that is administered by the municipality), in Karşıyaka Graveyard, the biggest graveyard in Ankara.¹² It is also possible for the relatives of the dead person to ask for the preparation of the mortuary at the hospital. Enshrouding of the corpse is preferred to be at the hospital especially if the corpse is to be buried in another city or if the dead body has any kind of leakage.¹³

Preparation of the dead body in accordance with religious rules is done by corpse washers who are trained in this field. These operations are done in hospitals by prayer leaders (imam) who are assigned by the Presidency of Religious Affairs and in graveyards by municipality officials. The most important point in washing and shrouding a corpse is washing it in line with Sunni Islam rules. A family who belongs to another sect or religion may refuse this process to be followed in line with Sunni Islam rules. But it is not possible to fulfill the family's demand for preparation of the shroud in accordance with their own convictions since officials assigned are allowed to prepare the corpse in line with Sunni Islam rules only. An official in Karşıyaka Graveyard stated that this is not a problem especially in a country where the majority of its population is Muslim. When I asked his opinion about the differences in Islam, "there is only one way to prepare a corpse for burial

¹² Gassal (Corpse washer) working at Karşıyaka Graveyard, Personal Communication, 4 August 2009

¹³ Gassal, (Corpse washer) working at Hacettepe University Hospital, Personal communication, 5 March 2010

that is the way we apply here” he said.¹⁴ Another significant point in terms of the preparation of the corpse is the gender of the dead person. According to Islamic convictions, men and women’s corpses are prepared differently. A man’s body has to be prepared by a man and a woman’s body has to be prepared by a woman. Gender of the corpse is defined by the explanation about the “gender” in the identity card of the dead person.¹⁵ Thus, if a travestite person’s body is to be prepared for burial, explanation about the gender in the identity card of the dead person determines the gender rather than the remarks of the family or relatives.

After preparation of the dead person in line with Sunni Islam rules, the coffin is sent to a mosque determined by the family of dead person for prayer. Transportation of coffin is fulfilled in the framework of the regulation mentioned above. Accordingly, all municipalities are responsible for such transportation free of charge. Besides Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, every district municipality in Ankara provides these services. The Approval Certificate for Burial, the Certificate of Death issued by Turkish Statistical Institute and an invoice approving that the required payment has been done for the grave need to be fulfilled for receiving this service. Although they are very few, there are private enterprises providing “transportation and burial of mortuary”.

Funeral prayers (cenaze namazı) are generally performed at Ahmed Efendi Mosque situated in Karşıyaka Graveyard. This is a big place where all the process of

¹⁴ Karşıyaka Cemetery Official, Personal Communication, 5 August 2009

¹⁵ Karşıyaka Cemetery Official, Personal Communication, 5 August 2009

washing/enshrouding and burial are fulfilled. Since all this process can be fulfilled here in Karşıyaka Graveyard where it is quite far from away the city center, this mosque is the most preferred one for funeral prayers. If the family of the dead person has no other preference for the place of funeral prayer, officials of municipality bring the dead person this mosque. Funeral prayer and burial can be done at any time beginning from 10 o'clock in the morning to evening prayer time (akşam namazı). However, funeral prayers are performed usually right after noon and mid afternoon time for prayer. There is generally a kind of apprehension and hurry to fulfill all the requirements of this process rather than a mourning atmosphere. After the funeral prayer, coffin is taken to the grave previously chosen and two people who are in charge of putting the coffin into the grave and an imam fulfill the last stage of the process.

3. FUNERAL RITUALS IN HACI BAYRAM AND KOCATEPE MOSQUES

3.1. Histories of the Mosques:

One of the most famous and visited mosque of Ankara is Hacıbayram Mosque in Ulus district¹⁶. It was built on a hill which had been a holy place since antiquity. Firstly, a temple was built on this hill during the Hellenistic age. It was converted to a Roman temple after the conquest of Ankara by the Roman Empire in 25 B.C. and its name changed to Augustus Temple by the order of first Roman Emperor Augustus. The temple was used as a basilica after adoption of Christianity. The site maintained its sacred role during the Seljukid domination. The processes of “metamorphosis of the sacred” continue after the Ottoman conquest of Ankara. Next to the temple, is a mosque constructed by the founder of the Bayramiye sufi sect, Hacı Bayram-ı Veli in 1427-28 A.C. Bayramiye sect, mostly attended by merchants and framers, became one of the most important sects of Ankara and the Ottoman Empire in a short period and the place became the religious center of the city. In a short period Hacı Bayram became the patron saint of the city. In addition to place of worship, the site carried multiple roles such as a place for debating social and religious issues, bazaar, school, etc. Hacı Bayram died in 1429 and was buried next to the mosque and the ruins of the Roman temple.¹⁷ Thereby, this site became the center of Bayrammiye sect and one of the most important cult sites for Muslims in Ankara. Therefore not only the mosque-shrine complex, but its environs became a holy place for the citizens.

¹⁷ Burying an awliya “friends of god” near a mosque was widespread in Islamic tradition. Therefore the concept of the sanctity extends beyond the building itself. (Arkoun, 2002: 271).

The mosque also played an important role during the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923). The religious sermons about the war of independence were held by famous thinkers, such as Mehmet Akif, in Hacıbayram Mosque. The Grand Assembly was opened at 23 April 1920, in Friday which is the holy day of Muslims. Mustafa Kemal and his deputies prayed Friday prayer at Hacıbayram mosque and the Friday sermon were held by Mustafa Kemal (Tan, 1990: 57).¹⁸ Later, this mosque became the mostly visited mosque by Mustafa Kemal and deputies. Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) under the commander of Mustafa Kemal was carried out by Grand National Assembly founded on 23 April 1920 in Ankara. After the victory of the Turkish side, a series of revolutionary reforms were realized by the Grand National Assembly, i.e the sultanate was abolished (1922), the treaty of Lausanne (1923) declaring Turkish sovereignty in the Anatolia and eastern Thrace was signed; Ankara, the headquarter of War of Independence declared as the new capital city (1923), and most importantly Turkish Republic was proclaimed in 1923. The followers of Bayramiye sect performed their activities in the mosque and shrine complex until 1925 where religious covenants and dervish lodges were declared totally illegal. But, the site still maintained its religious and social role for the citizens of Ankara.

¹⁸ This was very similar to the enthronement ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans after Mehmet the II. The new sultan was announced and sanctified with girding ceremony at Eyyub Sultan Tomb in Istanbul. After that the new sultan visits the tombs of his ancestors. For girding ceremony and Eyüb Sultan Tomb see: (Necipoğlu, 1996)

Modernization of the society which began in the 19th century was given a great impetus during the early republican period (Heper, 2002: xiii). Disengagement from the old regime and its worldview and “creating a nation” were the basic tenets of the reforms. Ankara which was headquarter of the Independence War and hosting of The National Assembly became the model of this creation-of-a-nation process. The reason for changing capital city was breaking the bonds with the symbols of the caliphate and sultanate and establishing a city where modern western lifestyle could flourish. In a sense, the new Republic identifies development of the new capital city with achievements of the new regime (Tekeli, 2000: 320). The first city planning projects, first cooperatives, first skyscrapers were constructed in Ankara. In this respect, it is structured as a model for the other cities of Turkey. It became a sea of symbols with Ataturk monuments, public buildings and street-boulevard names (Kütükçüoğlu, 2009: 93). But this sea of symbols does not always connote a real advancement. Urban symbols and images have changed parallel to social and political changes in the history of the Turkish Republic. In this sense, during the process of symbolization of political inclinations in urban planning, “three considerations have been effective in Ankara: homage to Atatürk; modernization via westernization; and Turkish –Islamic” tendencies (Erdentuğ, Burçak, 1998: 598).

Besides the monuments, public buildings, street-boulevard names, two important sites can be considered as a kind of summary of the capital city of Ankara: Atatürk Mausoleum (Anıtkabir) and Kocatepe Mosque. While the former which is the most

prominent project of the republican period, emphasizing the national identity, secular modernism, interpersonal relationship between the citizen and the founder and offering a new kind of relationship among the citizens with its architectural design; the latter emphasizes modern Islam or the place of Islam in modern Turkey and an intimate relationship among the citizens which is lost during the republican period. Rather than symbolizing an opposition between the modern and the traditional, they display a polemical relationship and alternative symbols (Meeker, 1997).

Even though, the idea of constructing a mosque in Ankara which “represents the Republican period” of the 1930s, it was discussed and implemented in 1944, just after beginning the construction of the Mausoleum (Meeker, 1997: 176). First of all, a building committee was established by wealthy craftsmen and merchants of Ankara in 1943. This committee decided to construct the mosque in one of those three sites; Ziya Gökalp Street, Kumrular street and Güven Park. The same committee organized a design competition. Alnar and Ülgen’s mosque project, designed with early Ottoman style got considerable support. But the sites and the project was rejected and Kocatepe hill was chosen for construction site by Adnan Menderes, the Prime Minister, in 1951. The committee members changed also in this period. The new committee expressed its overall aim as “constructing a mosque in a city where there are no mosques at all (mabedsiz şehir mabed inşa etmek), constructing a mosque which reflects the republican period (cumhuriyet tarihini temsil edecek bir camii) and reflects the idealism and dynamism of the Turkish

youth (Türk gençliğinin idealini ve dinamizmini temsil edecek) (Yılanlıoğlu, 1987: 33-38). The Second design competition was held in 1957 for the same purpose. The projects of Dalokay¹⁹ and Tekelioğlu which proposed a modernist architectural style won the competition. This project was named as Dalokay's Project. Like the Ottoman mosque complex, the project proposed a huge complex in addition to the mosque with a Higher Islamic Institute, library, conference and museum halls, imam houses, two-hundred vehicle capacity car park, a huge garden, a mall and a polyclinic. The design of the mosque proposed a "rind dome" which was totally new in mosque architecture. Despite this new design got some negative reactions from the committee members, construction of supplementary buildings began. During this inconsistency in applying the new mosque style, the first military intervention was staged by military officials against the Government of the Democratic Party on 27 May 1960. This was a real loss for the building committee which obtained the great amount of its budget from state institutions. Just after the coup de'tat, the committee changed the name of the project to "The Revolution Mosque project" (Devrim Camii projesi) and the committee name to "Committee of Building Turkish Revolution Religious Site", (Türk Devrim Diyanet Sitesi Yaptırma Derneği) (Yalçın, 1999: 185). Therefore, this strategic change not only provided continuation of state support but also tripled the state aid. The buildings of Directorate of Religious Affairs and Higher Islamic Institute were constructed between 1960 and 1964. But, suspicions for applying the modernist rind shape design of Dalokay's project were at the committee's agenda again in 1965.

¹⁹ Vedat Dalokay: (1927-1991) was an architect and former mayor of Ankara, (1973-77).

According to the committee, constructing this kind of rind shape dome was very insecure and almost impossible for Turkish construction companies (Yılanlıoğlu, 1987: 9). In 1966 congress of the chamber of Architects, Dalokay made a sensational speech about Hagia Sophia. He said that Hagia Sophia should be converted back into a church and a clerk should be appointed and the people who want to turn it into a mosque should be confessed by its clerk. Just after this, a discussion blew out about Dalokay's project. According to the daily newspaper Tercüman, Dalokay imitated this project from a barroom in Belgium and a car park in Florida. Because of its shape, they labeled the project as "car park- mosque, clam and escargot-mosque" (Tercüman 5 August 1967). Consequently, Dalokay's project was abandoned by the committee upon his speech about Hagia Sophia. The partly built mosque complex was pulled down by dynamite.

A new design competition was announced by the committee in 1967. By this time the committee was on the safe site and clearly explained requirements like "a mosque appropriate to the Capital city, similar to Ottoman and Seljukid mosques and perfect in all sense" (Yılanlıoğlu, 1987: 11). Six projects attended the design competition and Tayla and Uluengin's project which closely resembles an Ottoman mosque was awarded with the first prize. Newspapers announced the new design as "The biggest mosque of the middle east" (Tercüman: 30 October 1969), and "the second biggest temple of the world"(Günaydın:10 October 1969). Construction began in the same year and the lower part was opened as a temporary mosque.

The second half of the 1970s was very hard years for Turkey. Increasing number political assassinations, deteriorating economy and increasing unemployment and left-right conflict led up 1980 military coup d'état. Military government promoted Islamic ideology against socialists, leftists and workers movements; also showing inclination for strict control on Islamic institutions. Kocetepe mosque project was affected from this political turmoil. The government accepted to continue financial aid provided that the building committee transferred all power and responsibility of the committee and the property rights of the mosque to the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı) and Turkish Religious Charity (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı). The parties came to an agreement and the construction of the mosque was carried out by the Presidency of Religious Affairs and Turkish Religious Charity. So, construction of the mosque was completed promptly. The Mosque was officially opened with participation of Turgut Özal²⁰ and other high rank state officials on 28 August 1987 as a “national place of worship” (Meeker, 1997: 177). This opening ceremony hit the headlines of newspapers like: The greatest mosque of the Middle East is opened, the greatest place for worshipping of the century, etc.

Today Kocatepe Mosque comes up to the agenda with mainly funeral prayers of soldiers killed in action (martyrs), high rank state and army officials, and distinguished families. Therefore this mosque is named as “the protocol mosque” (protocol camii). On the other hand, rich folk Islamic practices are held around

²⁰ Turgut Özal (1927–1993) was the eighth president of Turkey. He was known for his close relation with Islamic groups and tariqats.

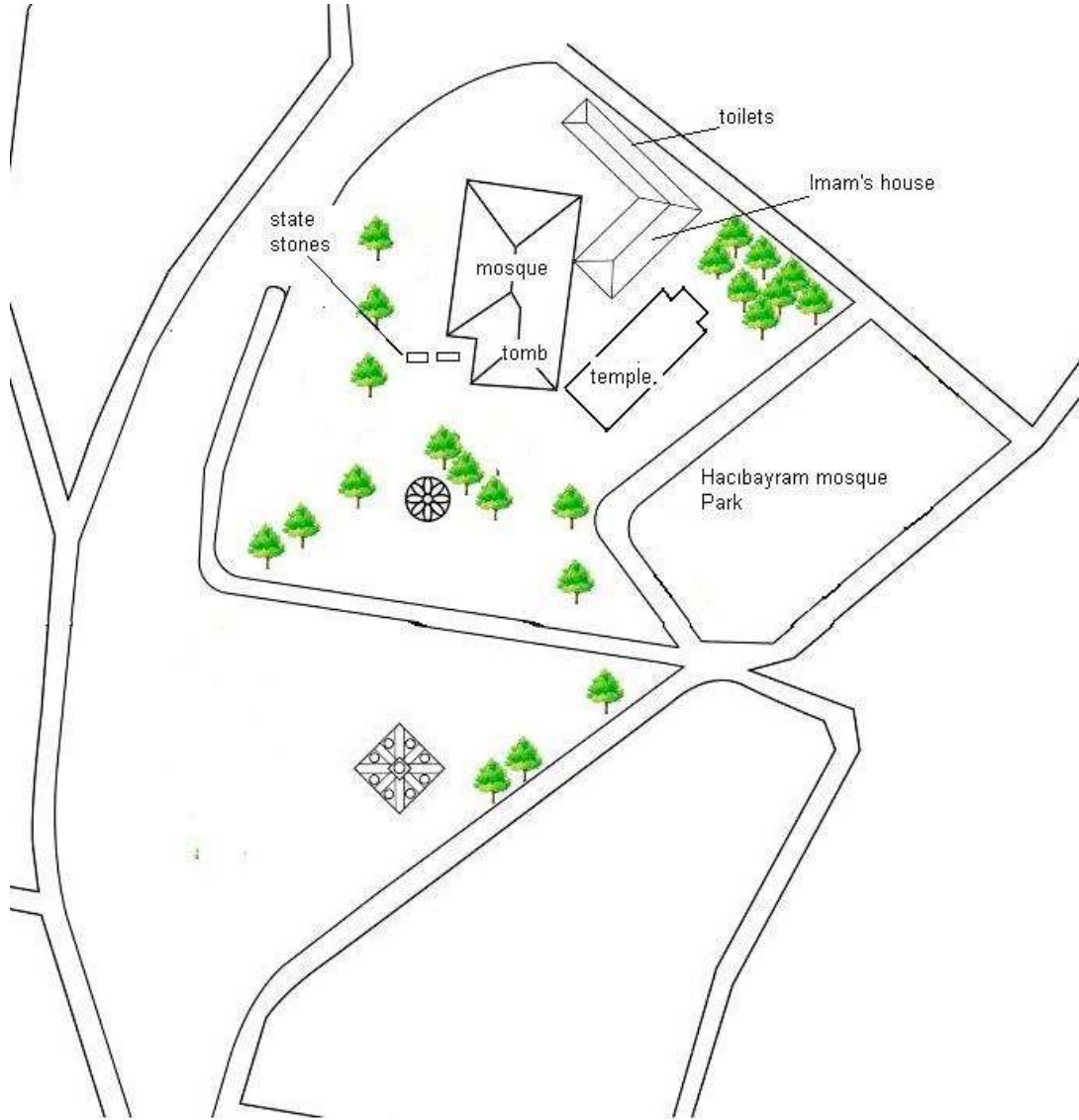
Hacı Bayram mosque/shrine complex by Muslims. The types of activities, like in most of the shrines in Turkey, are related to mundane activities such as adak (vow making), dilek (wish), and individual prayer (dua) etc.

This mosque/shrine complex is also compared with Eyüp Sultan²¹ Shrine in Istanbul which is a well-known and popular religious place in Turkey. The Imam of the Hacıbayram Mosque characterizes this mosque as “Eyüp Sultan Shrine of Ankara”. The relation between these two mosques is clearly indicated by the Islamic daily newspaper Zaman as: Hacıbayram is the root of Ankara and Kocatepe is its bough. (Zaman Ankara, 20 February 2009)

²¹ Eyüp Sultan was a friend of the Prophet Muhammad. He died during the siege of Istanbul by Arabs and was buried next to the city wall (668-669). After conquering of Istanbul by the Ottoman Empire (1453) his grave was found and a mosque shrine complex was built around it. During this time, this complex became the symbol of the conquer of Istanbul. According to some epics and hagiographies, Hacı Bayram had heralded conquering of Istanbul. He also was the teacher of Akşemseddin, the teacher and counselor of conqueror Mehmet II. Therefore, Hacı Bayram and his mysticism are connected to conquering of Istanbul.

3.2. Describing the Sites:

3.2.1. Describing the Hacibayram Mosque:



The Scheme of Hacibayram Mosque

Hacibayram Mosque is situated in Ulus district of Ankara, five minutes' walk from Atatürk sculpture at the centre of the district and Ulus Square. The mosque is situated on a hill and reached from a road that is crowded every hour of the day

with street sellers and the minibus station. On the right side of the hilly road going to the mosque, there is a market place comprising of approximately 50 shops selling religious books, worry beads, prayer rugs and pilgrimage goods. Turning our back to the market place, we can easily see Hacıbayram Mosque and Augustus temple before us with all their magnificence. Southeast part of the mosque have been enlarged in time and transformed into a big garden. This outer garden, usually used as a car park, leads the way to the inner garden of the mosque, usually crowded almost all day long. This inner garden surrounding the west and southeast sides of the mosque is separated from the outer garden by trees and bench seats. There are remains of Augustus Temple on the east side of the mosque. The temple looks like a ruin and is not suitable for visits; thus surrounded by wire fence. It can only be visited by special permission of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations by which the temple is affiliated. The entrance door of the temple which is always kept closed is next to a tomb situated on the southeast side of the mosque. There is a plaque above the entrance door of the temple which explains the history of the temple. Framing the temple with wire fence for preservation creates a mystical atmosphere and gives religious meanings to the temple. It is possible to see people approaching the temple and praying.

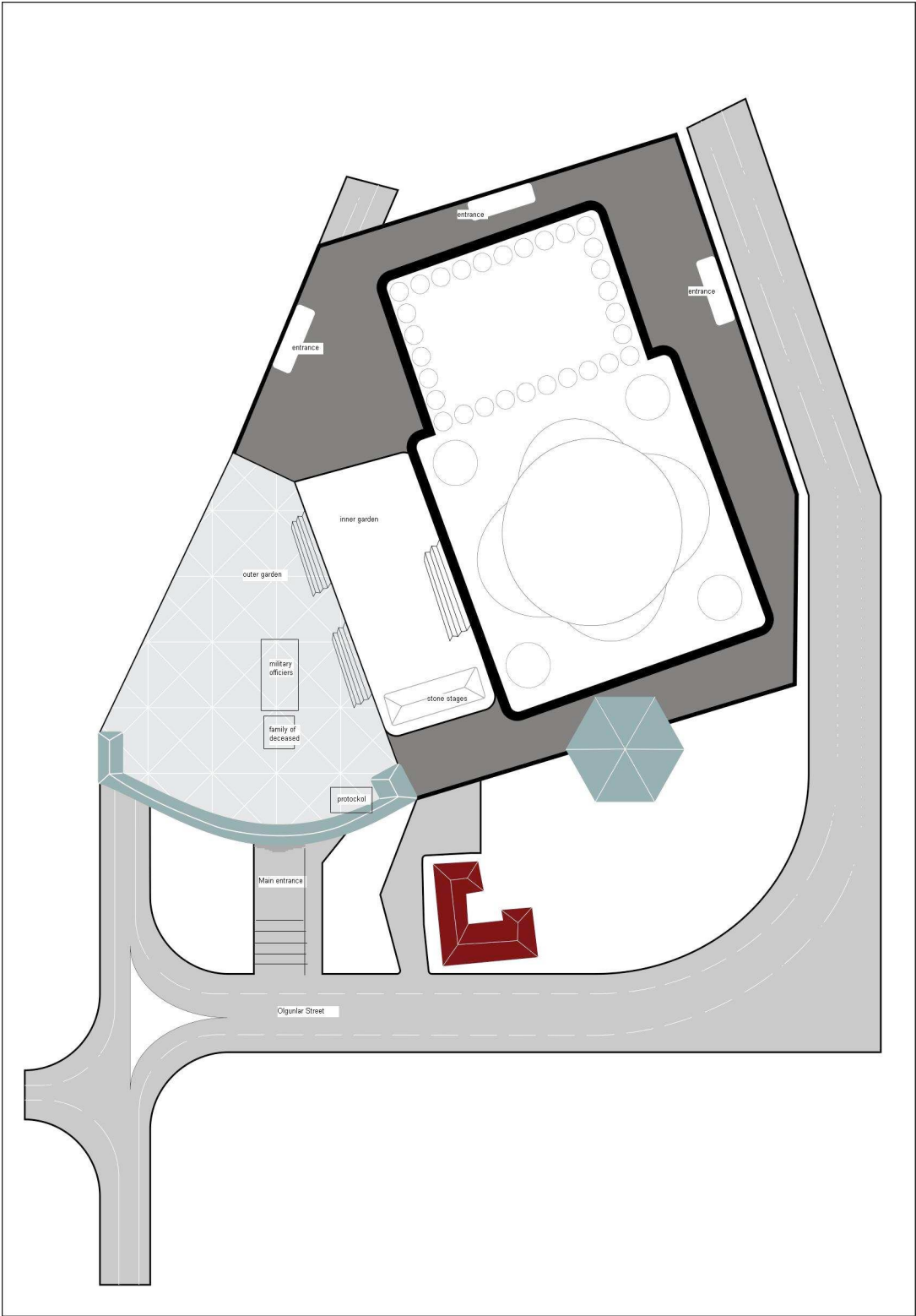
The tomb is constructed on the southeast side of the mosque which is the direction to turn to Kiblah(direction of Mecca) while worshipping, on the adjacent point of the temple and the mosque. It is very unusual to build a tomb on the southeast side, which is Kiblah, in Anatolia and Muslim geography. The tomb is built in square

shape and there are the graves of Hacı Bayram and some of his relatives in it. Entrance door and window of the tomb open to the inner part of the mosque. The tomb is one of the most visited religious places in Ankara. It becomes overcrowded by visitors, especially in those days and nights regarded to be holy. It is possible to see people every time of the day making wishes, kissing the doorstep and walls of the tomb, or people who give out candy and Turkish delight to the people passing through the area.

Hacıbayram Mosque has a rectangular plan with tile roof and brick walls; thus it resembles Seljuck-built mosques with these characteristics. It has been restored many times after being built and has reached its form today with some additions built on its west and north sides. The mosque is entered from three gates located on the north, east and west. The section allocated for men is reached from the north and west side gates and the upstairs section allocated for women, from the east side gate.

Funeral prayers are performed in the inner garden situated on the west side of the mosque. Considering the population of the community coming to the mosque, this square, approximately 7 meters wide and 20 meters long, is very small. In very crowded funeral prayers, the community is too big for the place and therefore has to perform the funeral prayer in the plain area on the north of the mosque.

3.2.2. Describing the Kocatepe Mosque:



The Scheme of Kocatepe Mosque

Kocatepe Mosque, situated on a hill in the central part of the city, is one of the biggest mosques in Turkey, with its area and capacity. It resembles Selimiye Mosque with its minarets and Sultanahmet Mosque with its domes. Kocatepe Mosque is an armored concrete adaptation of classical Ottoman architecture. Because of the height of the hill on which the mosque was constructed, it has a magnificent outlook. This magnificence becomes more remarkable whilst approaching the mosque from across the streets around it. There are prayer places for approximately 15,000 people to pray at the same time. It also has a parking lot for cars, a conference hall, a shopping centre, a library, etc. These premises are hidden under the courtyard surrounding the mosque.

There are four gates located in four different directions, to enter the courtyard of the mosque. The entrance from the southeast is wider and longer than the others. The courtyard is reached up through the stairs, in all gates. Looking northwest, you go ten steps up the stairs and reach a 10- meter-square area. After going up ten steps more, you reach the garden. Walking in this very direction, there is a hilly ground on the right side, where a car can get through. This entrance will be called the “main entrance of the garden” throughout this study.

Other three entrances are located on the northwest, northeast and west, close to each other. However, one cannot exactly describe the most accurate direction of these entrances since the garden has no particular geometrical shape.

The garden of Kocatepe Mosque comprises of an “inner garden” surrounding three sides of the mosque and an “outer garden” with the main entrance of the garden, which is ten steps lower than the “inner garden”.

There are three entrances and bench seats in the inner garden surrounding three sides of the mosque except from the offices of the Presidency of Religious Affairs which is situated on the southwest side. Part of this garden, where the main entrance of the mosque is located and has access to the outer garden with a three-flight stairs, is decorated with marble and has a totally different outlook from the whole view of the garden. On the south west side, there is a rectangular section where the coffin rests (musalla taşı) are located; a coffin rest is a stone where bodies of dead people and their coffins are situated. This section will be called the “funeral ceremony place” throughout this study. There are eight coffin rests here.

The outer garden that opens to the funeral ceremony place via three steps has an irregular pentagonal shape; the main entrance of the garden is located on one of its corners.

3.3. Funeral Rituals at Hacıbayram Mosque:

3.3.1. Basic Characteristics:

Funeral prayers are performed in the inner garden of Hacı Bayram Mosque, situated at the right side of the mosque which serves both as the entrance and exit. Two

coffin rests (musalla taşı) are positioned parallel to the tomb at the centre of the garden, opposite the tomb of Hacı Bayram. This parallel position between coffin-rests and the grave of Hacı Bayram has been a subject to comment on for a tradesman working for 20 years in the book market right across the mosque; he said:

“This connection between the grave of the Master and the coffin-rests is not a mere coincidence. A dead body on the coffin-rest and His Highness Hacı Bayram lie on the same line for a certain period of time. We cannot know what happens there at that moment but we hope that it brings some sort of relief to the dead person waiting for the moment of giving accounts²². Maybe the deceased was a religious man/women when he/she was alive, who knows, he/she may be meeting the spirit of the Highness.”²³

Funeral prayers are generally performed afternoon-time and mid afternoon time of *namaz*. The reason for funeral prayers to be performed afternoon and midafternoon *namaz* is that these times of a day are the most suitable times both for people who want to attend the funeral and for transportation and burial of the mortuary to the graveyard. Mortuaries are brought to the mosque by funeral cars/hearses of Metropolitan Municipality and all other district municipalities. During my fieldwork I saw that all municipalities and mainly the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara bring mortuaries to Hacı Bayram Mosque by their funeral cars. Since there

²² Hesap vermek: It is believed that just after the burial departed soul will retain connection with its own body. S/he is questioned by two angels. In consequence of questioning, it is punished or rewarded. If s/he can answer the questions, the grave becomes the garden of paradise. But if s/he can not, the graves become pothole from hell.

²³ Personal communication, 20 April 2009

is no special place for washing and shrouding dead corpses in Hacı Bayram Mosque, these procedures are completed either in a hospital or in another mosque. The corpses are brought approximately 45 minutes before *namaz* time. Two state stones are allocated separately for men and women and the corpses brought are put on the state stones accordingly; and everybody waits for the end of *namaz* time.²⁴

Namaz starts with the call to prayer (*ezan*); almost all men waiting in the garden enters the mosque to perform *namaz*. There is no one in the garden at this time except for women praying and those waiting next to the coffin on the state stone. Upon completion of *namaz* and declaration of the funeral prayer by imam, people who are present for daily prayer leave the mosque. Short time after, people leaving the mosque begin gathering in front of the state stone for funeral prayer and wait for the *imam*.

The most striking feature of funeral prayers at Hacı Bayram Mosque is that funerals are always very crowded. A considerable part of the crowd is comprised of those who are present there at that moment for some other reasons rather than attending the funeral. Being there for another reason does not prevent people from attending funerals; this is because they believe that attending a funeral ceremony and praying for the dead person is a religious requirement and also a good deed for those who pray. It is also believed that the dead person and the ones who pray for him/her will be forgiven. One of the other important reasons for the crowd of people attending

²⁴ I have never seen this situation where state stones are classified as for men and women in any other mosques.

the funeral is the position of the garden where funeral prayer is performed. A person who gets out of the mosque and wants to visit the tomb has to pass through the garden where funeral prayer is performed. When a funeral prayer is to be performed, the crowd of people in the garden menaces people who pass through the garden. Thus, people find themselves in a crowd gathering there for funeral prayer. I have had to attend funeral ceremonies several times for this reason.

Upon arrival of the imam who will lead the funeral prayer to the state stone, the crowd stops humming. Imam sometimes gives information on how funeral prayer is performed and sometimes doesn't. Upon imam's starting the funeral prayer, a great silence begins at once in the garden. Then the voice of imam saying "Allahuekber" is heard. Funeral prayers last approximately three minutes. Later imam makes a short speech usually mentioning the inevitability of death. Dialogues on being forgiven come after the speech. Then the imam turns to the community present there and asks them what sort of a person was the deceased? People gathering there say "s/he was good". "Will you witness that s/he is a believer in Islam in the life to come" and people reply "Yes, we will". Women in the front of the tomb who are watching the funeral prayer participate in this dialogue between imam and the community gathers. After all, when these ceremonies and dialogues are completed, people hold the coffin on their shoulders and take it to the funeral car. The coffin is usually carried by the men who stand in the first row. Women do not take part in carrying the coffin. The coffin is carried on the shoulders as if it is sliding and placed in the funeral car. All this process lasts approximately ten minutes.

3.3.2. Material Culture:

The most important symbol in funerals is the coffin. According to Islamic and Anatolian traditions, the corpse is not buried with the coffin. Therefore, coffin is an instrument for carrying the dead person from a hospital or his/her home to the place of burial. Coffins are provided by the municipality responsible for transportation and burial of mortuary in Ankara. The name of the municipality and its logo is printed on the coffin in a very striking way. Thus, the municipality related promotes its services. The coffin is usually covered by a green covering on which verses from Koran are printed. Name, surname, date of birth and death written on a paper are usually put on the head side of the coffin. This kind of information is certainly given if the dead person is a doctor, lawyer etc. or has a religious title like “Hacı” (it is used for those people who have visited Mecca). If the deceased is a woman, this is shown by a scarf placed on the coffin. I have observed a scarf placed on women’s coffins at almost all funerals in Hacı Bayram Mosque. The identity and gender of the deceased is as important as in the time of his/her life.

Wreaths are seldom used at Hacı Bayram Mosque. I saw not more than one wreath only in a few high status persons’ funerals held at Hacı Bayram Mosque. Civil society organizations like Foundation of Education (Eğitim Vakfı) and TEMA Foundation (Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, Reforestation and Protection of Natural Habitats) in the area of funeral prepare symbolic wreaths in return for small amounts of donations. However, this is not in demand at Hacı Bayram Mosque; these civil society organizations are at present only during

esteemed and well-known people's funerals. I saw these organizations there only twice.

Relatives of the deceased express their sorrow also through the clothes they wear. The most striking clothes seen at Hacı Bayram Mosque are scarves worn by women. Women coming to the mosque for a funeral and not veiling their heads, wear their scarves in a half-veiled way. This style of veiling is totally different from those who are always veiled in their daily lives. Many of the women wearing their scarves in a half-veiled way take them out after the funeral prayer and turn to their previous outlook.

In some funeral ceremonies, relatives of the deceased give out food and candy prior to the funeral prayer. A relative of a dead person giving *lahmacun* (a kind of pizza made with meat, tomatoes, onion and some spices) and *ayran* (made of yoghurt and water) to the people around, commented on this act as “giving something to the people attending a funeral is a tradition in my village.”

3.3.3. Gender at Funeral:

Hacı Bayram Mosque and the tomb are one of the most popular places to visit for women. It is possible to see women reciting Koran and praying within the tomb, giving out candy in the garden of the mosque for their wishes to be realized every hour a day. The majority of people inside and in front of the tomb are women except for the times of *namaz*. In spite of warnings of authorities, traditional pagan

origin practices such as “unlocking a key” (kilit açma), and “unfastening a spool” (makara çözmek) are practiced around the tomb. Women pray at the back part of the mosque, in a special section allocated to them for prayer. Sermon programs are organized in certain days of the week for women. Rate of participation to these programs which are conducted by women preachers charged by Directorate of Religious Affairs is quite high.

Women are kept away from collective worship practices such as funeral prayer, Friday prayer and *bayram* (religious holiday) prayer although there is no objection according to Sunni Muslim canon law (fıkıh). This tendency can be easily observed at Hacı Bayram Mosque as well. Women do not participate in funeral prayers although they are as active as men in worshipping practices, sermons and in traditional beliefs and practices. Women are in the position of passive observers in funeral prayers.

Male relatives of the dead person gather around the coffin before *namaz*; women come around the coffin only when men enter the mosque to perform the funeral prayer. Women usually stand closer to the coffin than men. If the deceased is a young person or someone who has died tragically, they cuddle the coffin and cry; they speak with the deceased and they touch the coffin with their hands. In some situations, these attitudes may extent to opening the coffin and touching the dead person. Men come back after performing *namaz* within the mosque and approach

the coffin and then women leave the area for funeral prayer to be performed by men.

Women take position at the front of the tomb upon the garden getting crowded by men who are going to perform funeral prayer. Majority of women follow the funeral prayer at this point. Looking at women carefully, it is easy to see that they follow the funeral prayer attentively and that some of them say their prayers silently. They say out the invocation at the same time with the imam and take part in all dialogues mentioned above. Women who are not present physically at the funeral prayer actually take part in it in a different manner.

3.3.4. Sentiments:

The tomb situated in front the garden and *Kiblah* wall of the mosque, is the most crowded place except for *namaz* times. Those who meet and have conversations with each other in the garden and those praying in front of the tomb make the place lively and when a coffin is brought for a funeral prayer it becomes more crowded. The coffin, after being placed on a state stone located in the central part of a garden, becomes the central interest of people present. This central position of the coffin makes it easy for the mourning atmosphere to overwhelm all people in the garden. Degree of closeness between the deceased and those who are alive leads to feeling the death more deeply. In the conversations of people around, the coffin represents a sign of inevitable end. Those who are in their way to enter the mosque and pray, elderly people who sit on bench seats in the garden, and the crowd praying before

the tomb watch the coffin and mournful people around it carefully. The crowd watches the reactions of men and women around the coffin who are close relatives of the dead person very carefully. Mourning of the relatives of the deceased is more striking if the deceased is young or if the death has happened very unexpectedly. In such situations, those who are in the garden watch behaviors of the relatives of the deceased more carefully. When the time for *namaz* approaches and the number of people gathering in the garden increases, the silence in the garden turns into a hurried atmosphere of those directing to the mosque for *namaz*. Women comprised mainly of the relatives of the deceased remain in the garden while the majority of men enter the mosque.

3.4. Funeral Rituals at Kocatepe Mosque:

In an interview with the imam of Hacı Bayram Mosque that I mentioned in detail above, the imam stated that funeral prayers are performed in accordance with traditions while in Kocatepe Mosque, they are performed with brass bands and bands, like a demonstration rather than a religious ceremony. Upon this statement of the imam, I decided to visit Kocatepe Mosque too. The first funeral ceremony I attended at Kocatepe Mosque, was the ceremony of a retired colonel. I realized that I was at a totally different funeral ceremony with its all aspects, beginning from bringing the coffin to the garden of mosque to the end of ceremony. Moreover, differences were not limited to brass bands and bands which the imam of Hacı Bayram Mosque had mentioned. It was possible to observe differences in many areas; for instance the attires of attendants, attitudes of women during the funeral

prayer and the ceremony in the garden of the mosque. My first impression was that there are remarkable differences between funeral ceremonies held in these two mosques. However, I realized that in fact there hadn't been marked differences between the two mosques. When I read my field notes I took at the beginning of this study, I saw that my emphasis on these differences gradually became more and more modest.

I attended 35 funeral prayers at Kocatepe Mosque in the course of field work. The majority of these ceremonies were the funeral ceremonies of people from higher classes of the society such as high-ranking soldiers, doctors, lawyers etc. Statesmen's and martyrs' funeral ceremonies are also held in this mosque. Social status and occupation of the dead person play quite an important role in determining the way of the funeral ceremony to be held. Funeral ceremonies can be held in different atmospheres; for example funeral ceremony of a lawyer/judge can be held in the presence of his/her friends dressed in their stuff gowns; the funeral ceremony of an artist can be held along with the acclamation of his/her friends, colleagues. As Hertz (1907) emphasized, social status of the deceased may lead to changes in emotional situations seen in funeral ceremonies. I also observed that there might be different attitudes in the same funeral ceremonies in Kocatepe Mosque, besides certain differences seen in every individual funeral ceremony. For instance, at the same funeral, a group of people may pray for dead person, while others applaud. Consequently, in almost every funeral, it is possible to see differences in rituals.

Funeral ceremonies can be divided into two groups in terms of funeral process and of symbols used in funerals. The first group is comprised of those peoples' funerals who belong to higher classes of the society but who are not state officials and whose funeral ceremonies are held in accordance with Sunni Islam rules. The second group is comprised of those peoples' funerals who are high-ranking soldiers, statesmen and martyrs. The first group's funeral ceremonies are held mostly in accordance with Islamic rules and world view of the dead person. The second group's funeral ceremonies are held as state funeral ceremony –in addition to religious ceremony- every detail of which is determined by official regulations.

3.4.1. Non-official Funeral Ceremonies

Funeral prayers are performed at the inner garden situated on the right side of Kocatepe Mosque. Funeral prayers are performed mostly after the noon-time prayer. According to the driver of Transportation Vehicle for Mortuary assigned by the Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara, the reason for this is that the noon-time is the best time for both funeral ceremonies and transportation of the mortuary to Karşıyaka Cemetery which is far away from central parts of the city. (Fieldnotes,) Coffins are brought to the garden of the mosque approximately 45 minutes before the noon-time prayer. After placing the coffin on the state stone, the relatives of the deceased stand beside the coffin and receive condolences. This process lasts until the time of funeral prayer. People coming for the funeral ceremony are welcomed by a relative of the deceased at the main entrance of the mosque. A printed picture of deceased is given to those people to attach onto their collars during the funeral.

Usually there is more than one coffin; so, to see who is waiting for which funeral is understood by the pictures people attach onto their collars. If the weather is not rainy, snowy or too hot, people scattered in various corners of the garden converse with each other while waiting for the funeral ceremony. The most preferred parts in bad weathers are vaulted sections of the mosque surrounding the outer garden.

Before noon-time prayer, sermons that can be listened in all mosques of Ankara begin broadcasting via radio frequency from Kocatepe Mosque every day of the week. People waiting for a funeral in the garden of the mosque are able to listen to these sermons via loudspeakers placed in the garden. However, people prefer talking to each other instead of listening to the sermons while waiting. Loudspeakers are left open during noon-time prayer too. Usually Kocatepe Mosque is not crowded during noon-time prayer. Only in the times when a prominent/well-known person or a statesman's funeral prayer is to be performed, the community attending the noon-time prayer and the funeral related becomes quite crowded. If a funeral prayer is to be performed, the ritual of telling one's beads after every day prayers is not conducted. After the announcement of the imam telling that the funeral prayer will be performed, the community gathering for every day prayer begins to leave the mosque. Quite a few people who came to the mosque for everyday prayer attend funeral prayers. Funeral prayer is performed mainly by those who are there for the funeral ceremony. Imam does not explain how funeral prayer is to be performed. After performing funeral prayer, imam reads a death-related verse of the Koran both in Arabic and Turkish. Then he asks the present community

to witness that the dead person was Muslim and to pardon²⁵ the dead person. The community accompanies a short invocation read by imam, holding out their hands. Funeral prayer ends by this invocation. Then, coffins are carried on the shoulders and placed in the mortuary vehicle. Relatives of the deceased compete with each other to carry the coffin at least for a few seconds on their shoulders. After putting the coffin in the vehicle, relatives of the deceased begin hurrying up for getting in their cars waiting out of the garden of the mosque to be able to accompany the mortuary vehicle on the way to the graveyard.

3.4.1.1. Material Culture:

As it is the case in the funerals held in Hacı Bayram Mosque, the name and emblem of the municipality undertaking all this process are printed on coffins. Some symbolic belongings of the dead person showing his/her identity and gender are also placed on coffins. For instance, a scarf placed on a coffin indicates that the dead person is a woman while a flag of a football team on a coffin symbolizes that the dead person is man and was a fanatic supporter of that team. I have also seen some clothes on coffins indicating the occupation of the dead person. In a lawyer's funeral for example, his friends had put his stuff gowns on the coffin. In the funeral of Erhan Bener, a prominent author, held in Kocatepe Mosque, the poster of one of his books "Yalnızlar" had been placed on his coffin. It is also possible to see coffins ornamented with flowers. In the funeral of a young girl, her relatives had brought lots of flowers and placed them on her coffin.

□ Hakkını helal etmek

One of the most used symbols used in Kocatepe Mosque is wreath. Many wreaths are sent by relatives of the deceased, companies, institutions etc. where he/she worked and by civil society organizations, especially in the funerals of well-known figures. For instance, there were over one hundred wreaths in the funeral of İhsan Doğramacı, the President of The Council of Higher Education (YÖK) and the founder of Bilkent University. It is possible to have a general view about the deceased's and attendees' social status through looking at the names of senders of wreaths attached to wreaths. Some civil society organizations also have stands in almost all funerals to make symbolic wreaths in return for donation. These wreaths are made in return for a price calculated in accordance with words to be written and put on the wreath on the demand of person asking of such a wreath.

Mourning in Kocatepe Mosque, is also symbolized visually by attires and various accessories. Dark colored dress suits, sun-glasses, scarves women wear are the most common mourning attires. Common symbol of all funerals is the picture of the deceased attached onto everyone's collars who is present. Picture symbolizes respect for the dead person on one hand and a way of expressing the reason for being there on the other hand. It is also an opportunity for the attendees, who do not know each other but are present there for the same deceased to meet and get in contact.

It was in September, 2009 when I was entering the mosque; I was given the picture of the deceased with a pin to attach onto my collar, by a person responsible for providing this service. I went into the garden and sat on a bench seat and attached the picture onto my collar. Sometime later, another coffin was brought and placed on a state stone. Garden of the mosque became very crowded in a short time. When I approached the people standing close to state stone, me and a mid-age man looked each other. He kept on looking at me with a modest smile in his face, expecting that I would have something to say. He heard nothing from me and said, “Welcome.” I didn’t know what to do but I was approaching him. I shook his hand and I could only say “My condolences to you”.. Without listening to what he exactly said in response to my words, I moved away from the coffin and went to the furthest corner of the garden. It is impossible to know whether this mourner’s close and sincere attitudes towards me were because of the picture I had attached onto my collar. Afterwards, whenever I go to a mosque for a funeral prayer, first, I attach the picture of the dead person onto my collar. I think that the picture I attach onto my collar in all funerals play an important role in hearing “my condolences to you” and receiving sincere and warm greetings from people while waiting in the garden for the funeral ceremony.

3.4.1.2. Gender at Funeral:

Women coming to funeral ceremonies at Kocatepe Mosque, wait at the right side of the entrance of the garden from where state stones are seen. Women can follow funeral prayer clearly from this point. Although there are no signs indicating that

this part of the mosque is for women, in almost all funerals I observed, women followed funeral ceremonies from this point. There are three bench seats here which are for elderly women to sit on during ceremonies. Women who are close relatives of the deceased wait beside the coffin and receive condolences, before the funeral prayer. A woman coming to the garden of the mosque offers her condolences to the relatives of the deceased who stand close to the coffin and walks through the place where women are or through people she already knows. After the end of noon-time prayer, people gather in front of the state stone for funeral prayer and then women go to the point where they should stay and watch the funeral prayer.

The most striking point of those women attending a funeral is their way of dressing. They are usually dressed up in dark colored costumes and as soon as they enter the garden of the mosque they wear the scarves they have with them in a half-veiled manner, not covering their hair totally. Some of them wear their scarves only during funeral prayer and take them out right after.

Women, particularly those who are relatives of the deceased, can attend the funeral prayers held at Kocatepe Mosque. It is possible to see in almost all funeral ceremonies that women also pray with men sometimes at the hindermost and sometimes side by side with men. Women's attendance to funeral prayer is encouraged particularly in military funerals. A soldier responsible for the organization of the funeral, right before funeral prayer starts, comes to the area where women wait and tells them they can attend and perform funeral prayer if they

wish to. Upon this, a group of women take part in the funeral prayer. Women's attendance to funeral prayers sometimes causes problems and discussions. In the funeral ceremony of a high rank military man, a long bearded man coming out of the mosque for funeral prayer stated his annoyance by saying "this is too much, who says it is normal to perform funeral prayer side by side with women!" when he saw a woman next to him. He expressed his discontent a few times. Then a civil functionary warned him saying, "No need for bigotry! You don't have to perform funeral prayer, if you don't want to be here". Upon this discussion, the imam said, "there is nothing wrong with women's performance of funeral prayer but it would be more appropriate to be in the hindmost and to have a certain distance between men and women". Then women moved towards the back and the funeral prayer started.

In some other funeral prayers women perform the funeral prayer in the place where they stand, without standing in the place where the prayer is actually performed. Some of them pray holding out their hands and some watch the ceremony in silence. Right after the end of the funeral prayer all women take part in the ritual of farewell (helalleşme töreni) and subsequent prayers conducted by the imam.

3.4.2. Military and State Funerals:

State funerals in Turkey have remarkable differences in comparison to other funerals. Funeral ceremony conducted for Atatürk is one of the most striking state funerals organized for statesmen, becoming a model for other national funerals.

These ceremonies conducted for statesmen have a mixed outlook; secular references are emphasized besides religious references and sometimes, secular references stand forth. They are different from other funerals. The difference is not only seen in the funeral ceremony but also in the cemeteries chosen. For instance, a state cemetery was prepared for presidents of the Republic of Turkey and commanders of the War of Independence at Atatürk Forest Farm and Zoo in 1988 in Ankara. This cemetery, with its abstract and concrete sculptures, is far from ordinary cemeteries that are built in line with Islamic forms of cemeteries. It resembles a museum of sculpture rather than a cemetery.

The scope and content of funeral ceremonies organized for higher ranks of statesmen was set legally in 2006. According to “Regulation on State Funeral ceremonies regulation that has come into force in 2006, declares that state funerals are organized for those who are regarded “eligible” for state funerals by the President of the Republic of Turkey and, the President of Turkish Grand National Assembly and President and Board of Ministers. At first glance it is seen that these ceremonies are composed of secularly defined rituals articulated to religious funeral ceremonies. However, when it is analyzed in detail, it becomes clear that these state funerals have considerable effects on transforming religious ceremonies.

According to the above mentioned regulation, state funerals are conducted in Ankara unless the family of the deceased wants him buried in another city. Although it has not been cited in this regulation, religious stages of national

funerals, namely funeral prayers, are performed mainly at Kocatepe Mosque. Although the framework of these funeral ceremonies is defined by this regulation, they may have certain differences depending on the worldview of the deceased, his/her institutional attachment, political identity etc.

Consequently, differences seen in state funerals become clearer mainly in two areas. First is the difference between religious stages of state funerals and ordinary funerals and the second is the difference between official stages of national funerals. On this part of the study, we will focus mainly on differentiation of religious stages of national funerals. I have attended/observed 36 national/state funerals of which the majority was military funeral ceremonies, during the field work I have conducted. I will try to explain these differences that become clearer in two main areas, through three different funeral ceremonies I have observed. First, the funeral ceremony of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu held in Kocatepe Mosque on 31st March 2009 will be focused on. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu was the leader/president of an extreme rightist party; Great Union Party (Büyük Birlik Partisi). Secondly, funeral ceremony of Prof. Dr. İhsan Doğramacı held in Kocatepe Mosque on 28th February 2010 will be dealt with. Prof. Dr. İhsan Doğramacı was one of the most well-known scientists and educationists. And finally, as an example of a funeral of high-rank military, a martyr lieutenant's funeral ceremony will be discussed.

3.4.2.1. The Funeral Ceremony Of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu:

Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu was born in 1954 at Sivas. He took the active roles in the youth organization (Grey wolves) of the Nationalist Movement Party (NMP) during university years and gradually was promoted to the deputy director of the same party. He was on trial with the reason for organizing the assassination of seven leftist young students by nationalist-idealists in 1978. But, he was acquitted because of lack of evidence. Later, he was arrested for attending the youth riots in pre-coup d'état period of 1980 and was sentenced to 7.5 years. He resigned from the NMP and found a new nationalist political party named Great Union Party with more intensive Islamic tendencies in 1993. This party does not have an important role in the Turkish political arena. It was only represented in the parliament via an electoral coalition with another rightist political party, Motherland Party (MP) in 1995 and Yazıcıoğlu, the director of GUP, was elected as Sivas representative. The party decided to withdraw from the general elections of 2007 and Yazıcıoğlu was elected as an independent representative of Sivas in the parliament. While he and his team were going to Kahramanmaraş from Yozgat for election campaign, they all lost their lives in a helicopter crash. The wreckage was found 47 hours after the crash. This unfortunate crash, which happened just before four days before the local elections made a tremendous impact in the Turkish media; his poems were read out in TVs channels and articles about his virtues were published in newspapers. Funeral ceremony of Yazıcıoğlu was conducted in Ankara after the sixth day of his demise, on 31 March 2009. The schedule of the ceremony was announced via TV channels and newspapers the day before the ceremony. Ceremony organizers

invited all country to attend the final journey of their leaders. According to the schedule, the coffin was taken from the morgue and carried to the Turkish Grand Assembly for conducting the official ceremony. After the official ceremony, the coffin was carried to Kocatepe Mosque where the religious ceremony was conducted. Then, the coffin was carried to the central building of the GUP which is approximately 500 meters away from the mosque. After the eulogies and farewell, the coffin was carried to Taceddin Mosque and the Museum of the National Anthem (İstiklal Marşı Müzesi) complex where it was buried.²⁶

Starting at the early hours of the morning arrangements began in the courtyard of the mosque. All the streets and avenues near the mosque were pedestrianized. Police investigated the people entering the mosque courtyard. While cleaning workers were sweeping the courtyards of the mosque, undercover policemen were investigating the garbage pails in case of the danger of bombs. The buses carrying the mourners from different cities began to arrive at 09.00 pm. The number of these mourners gradually increased. While the imam was reciting Quran, few people in the mosque silently listened. The voice of imam was reflected to the courtyard via the loudspeakers. The weather was very cold. The crowd got round in the courtyard in small groups. Tiredness and sadness were obvious on their faces. While the two minibuses, on which the party emblems were printed entered the courtyard, people suddenly flocked together around the minibuses and began chanting slogans; “Ya

²⁶ Burying the death, special places out of the cemeteries, the official permission given by council of ministers is needed.

Allah Bismillah Allahuekber”²⁷ (O, God, with the name of God, God is great). A Man got out of the minibus and made a short speech. Firstly, he welcomed the mourners and gave detailed information about the funeral program. He continued with a tearful face “Today the world sees the most crowded funeral prayer ever. Our martyr (Yazıcıoğlu) was taken from the hospital. Tens of thousands of mourners are accompanying the hearse”. The speech was intercepted by slogans of mourners. The speaker continued “Now we decorate this great mosque with flags and pictures of our martyr. Today, the whole Turkey comes to attend the funeral prayer.” The speech ended with the slogans, the Turkish and party flags, posters on which pictures and poems of Yazıcıoğlu were printed were waved from the minibuses by young people who were wearing black suits and black braids on their arms. The flags and posters were firstly delivered the mourners around the minibuses. The speaker gave instructions to young people about delivering the flags. Each young one to deliver these materials was located at the courtyard gates and strategic locations around the mosque. The young man who was responsible for delivering the stuff at the eastern gate of the courtyard had difficulty to carry the flags and other material. I approach to him with the intention of giving a hand. Both he and I delivered approximately a hundred party and Turkish flags, posters and party badges approximately in half an hour.

Ismail, final year student of an industrial vocational high school, was the member of the youth organization (Alperen Ocakları) of GUP. When they received the news of

²⁷ This Arabic slogan is chanted at political demonstrations of Islamist and rightist.

the helicopter crash they went to the Ocak and followed all the process from there. He expressed his sadness when he heard the death news of their leader; “I wish he hadn’t died, instead of him I and my all beloved had died.” If our religion permits to commit suicide, I was able to commit suicide when I heard his death. After the death news, İsmail and his friends went to the central building of the party with the command of their Ocak leader. They were included to the organizing of funeral ceremony. They worked throughout the night; some of them called the local party offices in different cities and informed them about the ceremony program. The busses for carrying the mourners from different cities were arranged. Some of them went to printing houses for speeding up the pressing process of posters flags etc. In the morning, each group was charged to organize different places where the ceremonies were going to be conducted. Twenty people were assigned for Kocatepe Mosque.

Two hours to noon prayer, courtyard was full of people. Moving within the crowd was quite hard. The crowd often chanted slogans, like “Ya Allah Bismillah Allahuekber” or “Şehitler ölmez vatan bölünmez” (Martyrs do not die, country cannot be divided). These slogans were ruled by the people who were wearing a black suit and black braids on their arms. They climbed up a ladder or stood on a bench and ruled the slogans. First, he said the slogan, and then the crowd repeated after him. When the people were tired, this guy recited the poem²⁸ written by Yazıcıoğlu in the jail. It had been recited almost in all TV channels ever since the

²⁸ This poem became the symbol of Yazıcıoğlu and his tragic death.

helicopter crash. The poem was recited in chorus and voices of crying and screaming emanated to all courtyard. A huge Turkish flag was unfurled. Slogans were chanted. All this was strictly ruled by the young party members. They ruled all activities like a conductor.

One hour to noon prayer, it was impossible to move in the courtyard. The tired crowd continued to chanting slogans and reciting the poem. The news about the official ceremony conducted at the courtyard of the Grand National Assembly and crowds in the streets were emanating on the courtyard. Tensions among people were suppressed by young Alperens. When the hearse approached the mosque, the crowd fell in a state of impatience. In order to control this state of impatience, all people in the courtyard were made to chant Takbir, Allahuekber. Screaming of the mourners emanated through the courtyard when the takbir was ended. With the entrance of the hearse into the courtyard, the crowd got out of control for a while. Everyone tried to move towards the hearse. The coffin which was covered with the Turkish flag and was carried by six policemen wearing ceremony uniforms to be placed on the stone states. Religious officials announced that “lamenting, screaming and slogans cannot reach the soul of the deceased; the only thing that reaches him is sincere prayer to God for forgiving the dead. Meanwhile, the president, the prime minister, ministers and commanders began to enter the courtyard. Attention of the crowd and the media moved to the officials. With the Ezan (call to prayer) beginning, the tired crowd had a rest for a while. Almost everybody in the inner garden performed the noon prayer on marble ground. Just after the noon prayer, the

imam came to in front of the coffin and started the funeral prayer. The funeral prayer was performed by the director of the Presidency of Religious Affairs (PRA) who is the upmost religious authority in Sunni Islam in Turkey. Just after the funeral prayer, the crowd chanted “Ya Allah bismillah allahuekber.” The director of the PRA announced condolence and made a short speech about death and dying in Islam. He asked the present community to witness that the dead person was a Muslim and the crowd replied “Yes we will”. And imam continued “Do you give your blessing?” (Hakkınızı helal edermisiniz?). People replied “Yes, we do”. This was repeated three times. Just after this, the official announced the GUP central building, which is approximately 1 km away from the mosque, as the place for the next ceremony to be held. Some people fainted and could hardly be carried to ambulances. The hearse arrived at the GUP center building in more than one hour, because of the stampede in the streets.

The ceremony in front of the GUP central building was also conducted in an emotional, stressful atmosphere. The videos of Yazıcıoğlu were screened on giant screens. The community continued chanting slogans. But, this time they had more political content such as, “Martyrs do not die, country cannot be divided” (Şehitler Ölmez vatan bölünmez)” and “Our Chief Muhsin” (Başbuğ Muhsin). The emotional speech of the deputy director of GUP, Yalçın Topçu created emotional stress and tension among the crowd. During the speech, he fainted. Screaming and lamentations emanated through the community which was hardly appeased. After a while, friends and relatives of Yazıcıoğlu delivered a short emotional farewell

speech. Quranic suras were recited. The coffin was carried huge crowd accompanying to Taceddin Dergahı for burial.

3.4.2.2. Funeral Ceremony of Ihsan Doğramacı:

Ihsan Doğramacı who was born in 1915 in Erbil which is in the border towns of modern Iraq now, was one of the famous and successful doctors and scientist of Turkey. After he graduated from the Istanbul University, The Faculty of Medicine, he had his education in Ankara University and then in Harvard University in the field of pediatrics. He returned to Turkey and began his career at Ankara University in 1947. He was promoted to the position of associate professor in 1949 and professor in 1957. He established the Hacettepe Children's Hospital as a department of Ankara University in 1958. This hospital underlies the Faculty of Medicine and then The University of Hacettepe. He was the Dean of Ankara University between 1963 and 1965. He was the Head of Board of Trustees of Middle East Technical University between 1965 and 1967 and was the Dean of Hacettepe University between the years of 1967 and 1975.

After 1980 military coup d'etat, he played an active role in remodeling higher education in Turkey. The military leaders of the coup were strongly biased against university students and planned to make radical reforms in the higher education system. They organized a group for planning to constitute a reform in higher education. Doğramacı was one of the most active members of this reformist group. They legislated the "Law of Higher Education, number 2547" which offered to

establish a new umbrella institution to rule and control all the universities in Turkey. Thus, The Council of Higher Education was established in 1981 and Ihsan Doğramacı became the first Head of this Council. This council had the authority in all fields of university life, such as promoting deans to universities and dress code for academicians. Doğramacı held this title until 1992.

By the amendment to Higher Education Law, it was permitted to establish foundation universities in 1983. The first foundation university, Bilkent was established by “Ihsan Doğramacı Foundation” in 1984. Doğramacı continued to be the Chairman of the Board of Trustees and the President of Bilkent University. He was the Honorary President of International Pediatric Association, Turkish National Committee for UNICEF and International Children’s Center.

Doğramacı was a member of the executive comities of “International Higher Education Conference” and “Standing Conference of Rectors, Presidents and Vice-Chancellors of the European Universities”. Due to his effort and contribution in the field of culture, education and medicine, he was awarded by various states and institutions with awards and prizes. He died in 25 February 2010 at Hacettepe University. The same day, Cabinet of Ministers decided to conduct an official funeral ceremony for Doğramacı.

The ceremonies for Doğramacı were conducted at Hacettepe and Bilkent Universities on 27 February. The first ceremony was conducted in the conference

hall of Sıhhiye Campus of Hacettepe University, held for academicians and personnel of Hacettepe University. It was broadcasted on web site of the university. The coffin which was covered with the Turkish flag was placed in the middle of the stage and decorated with hundreds of carnations. The cassock of Dođramacı was stretched on the coffin and a smiling portrait of Dođramacı was placed in front. The entire hall was in dark except the stage. The ceremony began with reciting the life story of the deceased, with classical music and photos of Dođramacı accompanying. Then, classical music group took stage and performed Summer part of Vivaldi's Four Season. Eulogies were given by two close friends and Ali Dođramacı, Ihsan Dođramacı's son. After eulogies, everybody in the hall came to stage in sequence and saluted the coffin with Chopin's music accompanying. Each one to salute the coffin took a stand in front of coffin and saluted it with his/her head. But, some of them only saluted the coffin where some held out his/her hands and prayed for the deceased and some realized both. The entire saluting ceremony took approximately 30 minutes. After that the coffin was carried to hearse for transporting to Bilkent University where another ceremony was conducted. The ceremony was like a commemoration meeting, very similar to the first ceremony. Life story of the deceased was recited, eulogies were given and a short classical music concert was performed by a pianist. Lastly, academic ceremonies ended with salutation ritual and the coffin was carried to the hospital morgue.

Two more ceremonies were conducted for the deceased on the following day. The first ceremony was conducted at the garden of the Council of Higher Education of

which he was the founder and ex-president. Eulogies were given by the Minister of Education and the head of CHE. Then the coffin was carried to Kocatepe Mosque for the religious ceremony. First religious, and then official state ceremonies were conducted at Kocatepe Mosque. Finally the coffin was carried to Dođramacı Ali Paşa Mosque²⁹ for burying.

Ceremony arrangements began at early morning hours around Kocatepe Mosque. Policemen checked people who wanted to enter the mosque. The wreaths were also checked by police. Soldiers arranged the outer garden for protocol; fixed umbrella which is in middle of the outer garden was opened and seats were arranged for mourners by soldiers. Civil society organizations like Foundation on Education (Eđitim Vakfı) and TEMA Foundation (Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats) opened stands in the garden to prepare symbolic wreaths in return for small amounts of donations. Press members and correspondents took place to follow the ceremony. Two men delivered the portrait picture of the deceased with a pin to attach onto collars. There were few people who were reciting individually in the mosque. Two hours to noon prayer, all preparations for official ceremony were completed and Olgunlar Street lying on southeast of the mosque was closed to vehicular traffic. The place where protocol and relatives of the deceased watched the ceremony was surrounded by red ribbons. Two hours to the ceremony, a few well-dressed men and women came to the courtyard. The hearse came to the mosque 45 minutes before the noon prayer.

²⁹ It was constructed by Ihsan Dođramacı foundation and opened in 2008 at Bilkent. It is an example of modern mosque architecture. There is also a synagogue and a church in this complex.

Just after that, the number of the comers increased suddenly. After the family of the deceased took their place, the condolence ceremony began. Next to Dogramacı family, approximately one hundred army officials attended the official ceremony. Politicians and high rank soldiers began arriving ten minutes before noon prayer. President, Prime Minister and the Chief of General Staff entered the courtyard with ten safeguards. They first conveyed condolences to Doğramacı family and waited for the funeral prayer in front of the coffin. Small talks among these officials were broadcasted as breaking news of newscasts. I heard over many different subjects spoken of among the people in the crowd; a young scientist summarized his last article to his colleagues, some discussed latest political developments, etc.

Call for the prayer (Ezan) began at 12:10 and a few people went into the mosque for noon prayer. The number of the people on the courtyard was more than the people in the mosque. Many people preferred to wait for the funeral prayer at the courtyard. The voice of the imam and muezzins could be clearly heard from the courtyard, owing to the loud speaker system. When the noon prayer ended, people who wanted to attend the funeral prayer came together in front of the coffin. Most of the people in the courtyard did not attend the funeral prayer; they preferred to watch the funeral prayer. Doğramacı family, military officials and most of the attendants followed the funeral prayer from the outer garden in great silence. I performed the funeral prayer. One man next to me, referring to the people standing at the outer garden, said “Look at this, they are said to be literate. They even do not know how to behave and pray in a funeral.” After the funeral prayer, imam

delivered a short speech about Dođramacı and his services for Turkey and the whole world, which was pretty much like the eulogies given the day before. Then, imam asked the community if they will witness that he is a believer in Islam in the life to come (ahiret). The crowd replied “Yes, we will”. It was repeated three times. The imam again asked “Do you give your blessing to the deceased?” (Haklarınızı helal edermisiniz) and the community replied, “Yes”. It was also repeated three times. Finally, the imam held out his hands and made a short pray to end the religious ceremony. Almost all the people in the courtyard, whether performing funeral prayer or not, participated in these dialogues and the last prayer. After the funeral prayer, high rank officials conveyed condolences to Dođramacı family. Meanwhile, Olgunlar Street where the main entrance of the courtyard opens, was ready for the official ceremony.

After the protocol members, officers and relatives of the deceased arrived at the street for the official ceremony to be conducted; and finally ceremony of carrying the coffin by soldiers began. A soldier from the military music band gave start, before the coffin was carried on the shoulders by soldiers. Thus, the official ceremony began. A commissioned commander at the foremost, two soldiers carrying the picture and honorary medals of Dođramacı right behind the commander and a team of six-soldiers carrying the coffin take the coffin out of the mosque with small and rhythmic steps. This official state ceremony was very similar to a funeral ceremony of a high rank military official where the coffin was carried on a gun carriage and the funeral music was a composition of Chopin played

by the military band. The coffin was taken from the gun carriage and placed in the hearse to be taken to Doğramacızade Ali Pasa Mosque where it would be buried. People who wanted to attend the burial ceremony used allocated busses. The coffin was carefully placed on the mausoleum by soldiers. People were queuing in front of the mausoleum for presenting their respect and the mausoleum was full of thousands of white and red carnations.

3.4.2.3. Military Funeral Ceremonies:

Compared to ordinary and/or other kind of state funerals, there are significant differences in military funeral ceremonies. Military funeral ceremonies are conducted according to Article 73 of “Regulatory Statute on Military Ceremonies and Protocol”. Military hierarchical system is strictly applied in these funerals.

For instance, coffins of brigadier generals, lieutenant generals and martyrs are placed on gun carriage while lower rank militaries’ coffins are placed on ordinary hearses. Funeral ceremony of a military whose rank is lower than majors and colonels is not conducted in the accompaniment of a military band. The number of soldiers to attend to the military funeral ceremony is determined by the rank of hierarchy. For example, a battalion of soldiers participate in a brigadier general’s funeral while a subdivision of soldiers (approximately 85-100 soldiers) participates in the funeral ceremony of a colonel. If the deceased is a retired military, his funeral ceremony is conducted in accordance with the last rank he had when he was retired.

All coffins are covered with the Turkish flag regardless of the deceased military personnel's rank.³⁰

State funeral ceremonies conducted after religious funeral ceremonies are conducted in an atmosphere of military muster parade. Marching (uygun adımlarla yürümek) soldiers as it seen in parades held on national holidays, muster parade accompanied by music band, rhythmic steps of the soldiers carrying the coffin and homage ceremony are watched with noticeable attention of those around. This ceremony resembles to a military parade rather than a funeral ceremony. These ceremonies are conducted as a theatrical performance that has been rehearsed many times.

Military funeral ceremonies are comprised of two parts: religious ceremony and official ceremony. Majority of military funeral ceremonies in Ankara are conducted in Kocatepe Mosque. Religious ceremony takes place in the garden of the mosque while the official ceremony takes place in Olgunlar Street that goes up to the mosque. Before Kocatepe Mosque was constructed, all military and official funeral ceremonies were held in Hacıbayram Mosque. An author who has passed by Hacıbayram Mosque many times depicts these ceremonies as follows:

The most festive times of Hacıbayram Mosque were the times when funerals of high-rank bureaucrats and military were held. In those days there were military music bands and brass bands. Funeral march composed by Chopin was played

³⁰ Pursuant to Article 6 of "Law on Turkish Flag" that was issued in 1983, Turkish flag is permitted to be placed on the coffins of deceased people who have made presidency of the Republic of Turkey, who are martyrs and those military and civilians who are determined by statute. Except for the mentioned above, it is prohibited to cover a coffin with the Turkish flag.

while the community marched along slowly, after the coffin was placed on the hearse.

Music band and brass band were rather interesting and a subject of admiration for the people always coming to Hacıbayram Mosque to perform their daily prayer, especially for the elderly ones. Another point which drew the attention and admiration of the community of Hacıbayram Mosque were cartridge belts with big fasteners (*geniş tokalı palaska*) that generals and other high-rank military officials wear and stars with the daphne branch on their shoulders and the dark red gilded cockades on their collars. (Bilgi, 2000: 300-301)

15 of the 35 funeral ceremonies I attended in Kocatepe Mosque were military funerals. I witnessed the funerals of almost all ranks of militaries', from retired generals to martyr soldiers. As I have pointed above, these ceremonies are conducted in different ways depending on the rank of militaries. I will try to describe the general process of military funerals, outlining the funeral of a martyr lieutenant.

Preparation for funeral ceremony starts two hours before noon-time prayer. Olgunlar Street where state ceremony is to be conducted is closed to the traffic. The place where protocol and relatives of the deceased will watch the ceremony is determined and rounded by ribbons. Wreaths are placed in the second garden. As it is seen in Map 2 the right side of the main entrance is organized as "the protocol section", framed by ribbons. High-rank officials watch the funeral ceremony at this point. The place across the entrance gate, in the middle of the second garden is

organized for family and relatives and for the ceremony battalion. Chairs are arranged for this place for the family and relatives to sit and watch the ceremony. There is an umbrella system here that can be used in rainy and/or hot days. The outer garden of the mosque becomes the central point of military funeral ceremonies, while the place where state stones are located and the funeral prayer is performed, is the central point in ordinary funerals. The cortege composed of officials from different ranks of the military force is positioned in the second garden. Except for the cortege and the family and relatives of the deceased, no one is permitted to enter the second garden. Civilians who are not relatives of the deceased watch the crowd lined up orderly in the second garden carefully. Half an hour before the noon-time prayer, the coffin wrapped by the Turkish flag is brought by soldiers with slow and rhythmic steps and placed on the state stone. There is the name, military rank and registration number of the dead person on the coffin. Two soldiers stand on guard at the head and foot sides of the coffin. These soldiers standing at attention are changed over every ten minutes in a ceremonial way. Civilians watch this ceremonial change with great attention. This ceremony is sometimes even recorded by mobile phones and cameras. Citizens coming for the funeral ceremony or noon-time prayer are able to watch soldiers in the second garden from the first garden allocated to them or from the entrance stairs of the mosque. The garden is quieter than it is in other funerals. Together with *ezan* (call to prayer) for noon-time prayer, those who are waiting for prayer in the garden begin entering the mosque. Garden of the mosque becomes more crowded than the inner parts of the mosque during *namaz*. Commanders and high rank military

officials begin coming to the garden of the mosque right after *namaz*. Those who are going to perform the funeral prayer line up in front of state stone. The foremost line is allocated for high rank military officials and statesmen. Security officers line up right behind them. And the line behind the security officers is for citizens to perform funeral prayer. Three or four of the top rank military officials take part in funeral prayer. Others follow the ceremony from the second garden. A short invocation is heard from the imam right after the end of the funeral prayer. All of the soldiers, those who perform the funeral prayer and those waiting in the second garden hold out their hands and participate in the invocation. Religious ceremony ends with this invocation.

Soldiers especially those who are close to the exit gate and officers standing in the second garden go out to the street where the official ceremony will take place. After the protocol members, officers and relatives of the deceased take their places at the street where the official ceremony is conducted, ceremony of carrying the coffin by soldiers begins. Citizens in the area watch the ceremony of coffin carrying with great interest. A soldier from the military music band gives a start before the coffin is carried on the shoulders by soldiers. So, the official ceremony starts. A commissioned commander at the front, a soldier carrying the deceased's picture right behind the commander and a six-soldier team carrying the coffin take the coffin out of the mosque with a slow march. The most important part of the official ceremony starts as soon as the coffin is brought to the place of ceremony. The street

where the official ceremony takes place is closed for traffic three hours before the ceremony starts.

The official ceremony starts from the stairs of the garden of the mosque and continues for 50 meters to end at the end of the street. There are two groups comprising of 80 soldiers in front of the funeral cortege. The military music band is right behind them. A soldier carries the picture of the dead person behind the band. Relatives of the deceased, high rank military officials and finally ordinary citizens follow them.

Salutation and muster parade are executed before placing the coffin on the carriage. The coffin that passes through those standing on the right and left sides of the road is saluted by soldiers in line with military rules while the ordinary citizens pray. During this ceremony of salutation, ordinary citizens, military officials and statesmen and relatives of the deceased are located on the right side of the coffin while media representatives stand on the opposite side. The right side is divided into three sections by ribbons. Signboards placed in front of each of these three sections indicate the group for whom the area is allocated. The coffin passes in front of the ordinary citizens. Some of the citizens try to record these moments by their cameras while others pray. Later, the coffin passes before the section where high rank military officials and statesmen stand. Military officials greet the deceased in line with military rules, while civilian statesmen greet the coffin, taking their bows. When the coffin passes by the section where the relatives of the deceased stand,

people crying and screaming are heard. Media and press members waiting across the road get in a race to take the best picture of the ceremony. Then, the coffin is placed on the carriage. Funeral procession starts moving at a slow pace with the funeral march composed by Chopin played by the music band. Right behind the funeral carriage, relatives of the deceased, soldiers, statesmen and citizens keep walking slowly. Here, after salutation of the coffin by the military music band, state funeral ceremony ends. The coffin is taken from the gun carriage and placed in the hearse to be taken to the graveyard. The last ceremony takes in the graveyard for burial. Ceremony military subdivision, military band and military personnel get on military buses allocated for the ceremony and go to the graveyard. After the ribbons on the ceremony street are collected, the street is opened to traffic again.

Funeral ceremonies of esteemed people from various social circles are conducted at Kocatepe Mosque. Religious aspects of these funeral ceremonies, which I have tried to analyze in the light of the three funerals mentioned in detail above, differs from ordinary peoples' funeral ceremonies. There are variations among themselves too. Symbols and signs used in funerals, situation of attendees, the sentimental atmosphere are among the kind of differences.

3.4.2.4. Material Culture at Military and State Funerals:

One of the most common symbols used in the three funerals I have analyzed is the picture of the deceased onto the collars of attendees. Generally, the date of birth and death are written under these pictures of passport photograph size. The pictures

distributed especially in the funeral ceremonies of Yazıcıoğlu and Doğramacı were attached onto almost everyone's collars. However, it was not that common for military funerals, since pictures of the deceased were distributed only to military personnel and relatives of the deceased.

Another widely used symbol is wreaths. Representatives of Great Union Party (Büyük Birlik Partisi-BBP) had declared a day before the funeral that no wreath should be sent to the ceremony of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu and donations should be made to charity institutions instead. Despite this announcement, there were quite a lot of wreaths at the funeral. They had been sent mostly by political parties and politicians. After the funeral prayer, flowers on these wreaths were taken and placed on the coffin. Although there are a number of wreaths also in military funeral ceremonies, those that are sent by military commander headquarters are of great importance. A soldier keeps guard continuously standing by these wreaths. The wreaths are taken from the garden of the mosque after the religious ceremony is completed to be taken to the place of the state ceremony and then to the cemetery. Wreaths are collected by people responsible for cleaning, in other state funerals except for the military ones. Among the funerals I attended, the maximum number of wreaths was in the funeral ceremony of İhsan Doğramacı. There were more than one hundred wreaths at the area of funeral that day.

Widely used symbol at the funeral of Yazıcıoğlu in Kocatepe Mosque was Turkish flags distributed by BBP. Many flags of various sizes were used at the funeral. It

was possible to come across other Turkic republics' flags and party flags during the ceremony. Furthermore, flags of Turkic republics founded previously in the history were also carried by Alperen Ocakları (Alperen Associations) behind the funeral car. Buildings, pedestrian bridges on the way of the funeral car were full of flags and posters of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu. The youngsters of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) had declared their political identity and differences clearly with flags of their party in their hands. Young members of BBP had also black braids on their arms. All these led to a political meeting atmosphere in the garden of the mosque.

3.4.2.5. Gender at Military and State Funerals:

In state funerals, it is common to express one's sorrow and sadness also through dress and finery. I saw many times that majority of attendees to the funeral of a medical doctor or a writer wearing suits. When I was walking in the crowd in the garden of the mosque before the funeral of Dođramacı, the first thing I had noticed was that the majority of people around me had suits on. The most common attire in military funerals is military uniforms worn by military officers and soldiers. Uniforms in different colors worn by army officers, naval officers and air force officers and by subdivisions create a feeling as if the garden of the mosque is a military ceremonial area.

Women participate in funeral prayers at Koctape Mosque, especially in the funeral prayers of esteemed people. They participate in funeral prayers, if they wish, side by side with men. They wear dresses in dark colors and black sunglasses in the

funerals of esteemed people. Some wear their headscarves and cover their hair as soon as they enter the garden of the mosque while some others wear them only during the funeral prayer.

There were only very few women except for Yazıcıoğlu's relatives and some state officials in the course of the religious ceremony that was held in the garden of the mosque for Yazıcıoğlu. Women were directed to the special place allocated for women in the second garden of the mosque soon after the courtyard of the mosque became crowded. There were no flags, placards and posters of Yazıcıoğlu in this part of the mosque. Women watched the crowd around with grief and silence.

There were women who had covered their heads in a way that their hair could not be seen; but there were also a number of women veiling their heads not as strictly and whose hair could be seen. Some of the women accompanied the funeral prayer from the point they stood. Majority of women participated in the invocations after *namaz*. In the funeral ceremony of İ. Doğramacı, women were present in every corner of the mosque. Some of these women wearing dark colored dresses and black eyeglasses covered their heads with scarves they had in their bags in a way not to cover their hair totally. In military funeral ceremonies, women usually watch funeral ceremonies from a place allocated for the relatives of the deceased.

3.4.2.6. Sentiments at Military and State Funerals:

In funerals, there are a number of ways to express one's sorrow. Reactions to death of a person are usually linked to the degree of closeness to the deceased. Very close relatives of the deceased express their sorrow usually by crying and screaming while distant relatives and those who do not personally know the deceased express their sorrow waiting quietly in the garden of mosque, with their attires suitable for mourning. Intense atmosphere of mourning turns into a quieter and calmer attitude while the distance in relation to the deceased increases.

The most emotional reactions I have seen among all the funeral ceremonies I have observed were in the funeral ceremony held for Yazıcıoğlu. Lament atmosphere could be seen in every corner of the garden of the mosque. Slogans chanted and poems read out were directed by those wearing suits and having black crapes on their arms. Those people who led the crowd for chanting slogans and repeated "Allahu Ekber" were able to keep the emotional situation of the community under control. For instance, they read the poem written by Yazıcıoğlu in tears when the community was tired of chanting the slogans. This poem touched people deeply and even caused some of them to scream. From time to time another person read verses from the Koran. Some people were enthusiastically giving information to others about the place of the funeral car waiting, the time of the arrival of the funeral car to the garden of the mosque, the crowd where the car was passing through etc. There were also a lot of people who were praying on their own and/or reading Koran in a corner of the garden.

Emotionally, the most edgy times were the ones when the ceremony took place in front of the General Headquarters of BBP. A giant screen was placed on a platform in the front of the Party building and when the pictures of Yazıcıoğlu were screened, the volume of cries and screams coming from the crowd increased. Touchy statements by Yazıcıoğlu's friends intensified the lament atmosphere. The speech made by the General Secretary of BBP in tears and his subsequent faint led to cries and clamors to be heard more. Slogans chanted right after this incident took minutes. Weeping and screams were heard more when the coffin was carried on the shoulders after a long invocation.

Atmosphere of lament was limited only to the family of the deceased, at the funeral of Dođramacı. Those who were in the garden in small groups were in conversation in a low voice. This made the ceremony a commemoration ceremony rather than a funeral ceremony. In military funerals too, atmosphere of lament was limited to close family members of the deceased. Military officers waiting in file next to the family members stood in silence during the ceremony. Thus, military funeral ceremonies are conducted more silently than the others. Such silence deepens the atmosphere of lament in the garden of the mosque. In addition, military officers' stand, their official uniforms and the funeral procedure lead to an official atmosphere.

4. CONCLUSION

Like other religious rituals, funeral rituals are intricately intertwined with other domains of life, like economy, politics etc. Simplifying these rituals only to private beliefs and worshiping, precludes the polysemic and multivocal character of funerals. Therefore, these rituals fulfill mundane roles as well as religious duties. Funeral rituals have the capacity to renew social boundaries, create social memories and consolidate individual identities and group membership (Chesson, 2001). Especially among immigrant or minority communities, funeral rituals and their symbolism enable reproducing collective cultural identity and solidarity (Reimers 1999, Cohen, 1985). Borders among communities can be highlighted through rituals. In this study, it is presented that differentiations in funeral rituals can even be observed within the same belief system. The place of the ceremony, social status of the deceased is important for these differentiations to emerge. Through these differentiations a community reproduces its collective identity and emphasizes who they are and where they belong.

This thesis attempts to examine the differences between religious communities and practices through a comparative study of funeral prayers held at the Kocatepe and Hacıbayram Mosques. There are different parameters which affect the way prayers are perceived and practiced, such as the architecture of the mosque, the nature and composition of the religious community visiting the mosque, and the meanings and traditions ascribed to the mosque.

Hacıbayram Mosque is located on top of a hill next to the temple of Augustus in Ulus district, which is one of the central districts of Ankara. It was constructed in the 15th century by the founder of Bayrami sufi Sect, Hacı Bayram-ı Veli. He has been respected as one of the most distinguished Sufis of the Ottoman Empire. When he died in 1429, he bequeaths a couple of hymns and one of the most powerful sufi sects of the Ottoman Anatolia. He was buried on the point where the mosque and the temple of Augustus intersect. Afterwards, the mosque/shrine complex became the nucleus of Bayramiye sect and the centre of attention for the citizens. The sect performed their activities until 1925 when dervishes' lodges were declared totally illegal. However, Hacıbayram Mosque and shrine is still one of the most visited cult sites in Turkey. Today, many visitors from all around Turkey come to the Hacıbayram Mosque/Shrine to visit the grave of this distinguished Sufi and to perform folk-Islamic practices such as making a vow, kissing the doorstep and walls of the tomb for healing and good health, giving out candy and unfastening a spool for good fortune and making a wish.

Kocatepe Mosque is another important symbolic mosque in Ankara. It is located on the top of Kocatepe hill at Kızılay district, the center of modern Ankara. The idea of constructing a mosque which “represents the republican period” began in 1940s. Firstly, it was decided that the new mosque should be a modern interpretation of the classical mosque style. Therefore, the modernist joint project of Vedat Dalokay and Nejat Tekelioglu was applied. Then, the project was cancelled on the grounds of

deficiency of the shell dome style. The partly constructed mosque was pulled down. A new project in classical Ottoman mosque style was awarded with first prize and within 20 years its construction started. Due to long lasting controversies about the place and architectural characteristic of the new symbol mosque and political and economical instabilities, it was finished in 1987 and opened with a splendid state ceremony. The mosque is very similar to the Ottoman imperial mosque form, resembling Selimiye Mosque and the Blue Mosque. The shopping mall, parking lot, the library, the conference hall and management offices are supplementary sections of this gigantic mosque.

Although the funeral prayers and ceremonies are well defined rituals in Islam, it is observed that there are considerable differences among funeral ceremonies performed in these two mosques. Even though there are also some differences among the funeral ceremonies performed in the same mosque, remarkable differences can be observed at funeral ceremonies held in these two mosques. The funeral ceremonies that I observed can be divided into two parts; official/state funeral ceremonies which include secular rituals in addition to religious rituals and ordinary funeral ceremonies. Official funeral ceremonies are held for high rank state officials and soldiers. While these protocolary and official funeral ceremonies are mostly held at Kocatepe Mosque, “traditional” and “orthodox” funeral ceremonies are generally held at Hacıbayram Mosque. Twenty five of the thirty five funeral ceremonies that I have attended at Kocatepe Mosque were the funeral ceremonies of deceased people from higher classes of the society such as high-rank soldiers,

soldiers killed in action (martyrs), politicians, doctors, lawyers etc. However, only four of the fifty two funeral ceremonies that I have attended at Hacıbayram Mosque were the funeral ceremonies of the deceased coming from higher classes, which were very similar to other ordinary funeral ceremonies performed at Hacıbayram Mosque.

This basic differentiation seen at funeral ceremonies held in these two mosques, can be analyzed under the articles such as basic characteristics, material culture, gender and sentiments.

Basic Characteristics:

Funeral prayer is the most important funeral ritual in Islam. It has to be performed for all Muslims just before burial. It is formally well-defined by Sunni Islamic canon laws. Therefore, there are no considerable differences between the funeral prayers that are performed at Kocatepe and Hacıbayram Mosques. The time when funeral prayers are performed is also similar in these two mosques. It is especially performed just after noon and afternoon prayer in both mosques. Moreover, similar to the most of the mosques in Turkey, the funeral prayers are performed at the courtyards of these two mosques.

But, the differences can be easily noticed at official funeral ceremonies. Almost all official funeral ceremonies are performed at Kocatepe Mosque. Therefore this mosque is known to be the “protocol mosque of the capital”. Official ceremonies

held before and after the funeral prayer is the most obvious difference of these ceremonies. Location of the mourners and the participants in the garden are strictly defined by the officials. The coffin is carried by ceremonial battalion taking small and rhythmic steps. Generally, politicians, ministers, high rank state officials attend these ceremonies. The courtyard of the mosque is very crowded but, few of the crowd attends the funeral prayer; whereas, official funeral ceremonies are not observed at Hacı Bayram Mosque. Although very rare, funeral prayers of lawyers, doctors etc. are performed at Hacıbayram Mosque. Yet, they are not noticeably different from other funeral ceremonies held at this mosque. The funeral ceremonies are also very crowded at Hacıbayram Mosque; however, unlike the funeral ceremonies performed at Kocatepe Mosque, everybody at the courtyard attends the funeral prayer and collective prayers for salvation of the deceased. Even some people, especially women, who are not relatives of the deceased and being at the mosque not with the purpose of attending the funeral prayer, but some other purpose, can participate in weeping.

Material Culture:

Coffin is the most common instrument for carrying the deceased at the ceremonies in these two mosques. But, what the coffins are covered with can be different. In Hacıbayram, the coffin is usually covered by a green covering on which verses from Koran are wrought. On the other hand, the coffins are covered by the Turkish flag at official funeral ceremonies and the picture of the deceased with the birth date on is attached to the coffin at Kocatepe Mosque.

The pictures of the deceased attached onto the collars of the people who are present for the ceremony is the most widespread practice in funeral ceremonies held at Kocatepe Mosque. These pictures are the symbol of mourning. The pictures and honorary medals belonging to the deceased are carried in front of the coffin. These symbols are not common in the funeral ceremonies held at Hacıbayram Mosque. Another, popular symbol in funeral ceremonies is the wreath. It is popularly used in the funeral ceremonies performed at Kocatepe. The number of the wreaths is parallel with the status of the deceased. There were over one hundred wreaths at the funeral ceremony of İhsan Dogramacı. On the contrary, wreaths are much less used symbols at Hacı Bayram Mosque. Instead, candy and traditional foods like lahmacun (Turkish pizza) are given out to the community by mourners commonly at Hacıbayram Mosque. These are given out for salvation of the deceased and consumed with saying the prayers.

There are also some differences with respect to appearance of the mourners. The people attend the ceremony usually wearing black clothes, suits and dark sun glasses at Kocatepe Mosque. Yet, expressing sorrow through appearance is not common in Hacıbayram Mosque. More importantly, political symbols are intensely used at the funeral ceremonies of political leaders. There were hundreds of Turkish flags and posters at the funeral ceremony of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu held at Kocatepe Mosque. This ceremony was also like a political demonstration of the party.

Gender:

Both in Kocatepe and Hacıbayram Mosques, women and men are located in different places at the courtyard of the mosque during the funeral ceremony. Usually women follow the ceremony at a more distant point than men and cannot take part in the funeral prayers freely. Nevertheless, they are freer at Kocatepe Mosque than at Hacı Bayram Mosque. For instance, women can attend the funeral prayers at Kocatepe Mosque, but this is not possible at Hacıbayram Mosque. They usually take a passive position at Hacıbayram Mosque; following the ceremony from a distance, accompanying prayers and salvation dialogs in silence. At Kocatepe Mosque, women reflect their emotions through appearance such as wearing black clothes and dark sun glasses; whereas in Hacıbayram Mosque, women express emotional reactions more by mourning, weeping, touching the coffin and talking to it.

Sentiments:

Emotional reactions might be various in a funeral ceremony. The degree of sorrow and grief in a funeral ritual is closely related to some variables related to the deceased and mourners. Age of the deceased, type of death being sudden or slow all affect the degree of sorrow and grief in the ceremony. Moreover, it is also observed that physical structures of the courtyards and the place of the state stones can also affect the emotional atmosphere. For instance, the state stone, and consequently the coffin, are at the central position in the courtyard of Hacıbayram Mosque. When a coffin is placed on the state stone, it suddenly becomes the center of community,

representing the inevitable end. People talk more silently, elderly people seated on bench-seats quietly watch the coffin. The sorrow and grief emanates through the garden. On the other hand, the state stones at Kocatepe Mosque are not at the centre of the garden and only the head mourners stand close to the coffin. The sorrow atmosphere is limited only to the family and close relatives of deceased. But, lament atmosphere can be seen in every part of the garden especially at the funeral ceremonies of the soldiers killed in action and of political figures such as Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu.

Although the funeral ceremonies are well defined rituals in Islam, differences are practiced at the funeral rituals performed at two popular mosques of Ankara. It is observed that Hacıbayram Mosque is preferred by people who want a more “traditional” and “orthodox” funeral ceremony and Kocatepe Mosque is preferred for official and protocol funeral rituals.

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