# PROCEEDINGS

# THE REPUBLIC, ARCHITECTURE & THE CITY:

## THE LEGACY OF 100 YEARS

**June 2024**

# THE REPUBLIC, ARCHITECTURE & THE CITY

## THE LEGACY OF 100 YEARS

international symposium,istanbul kültür university, october 12-13,2023

**ISTANBUL KÜLTÜR UNIVERSITY**

**FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE**

# PROCEEDINGS
# THE REPUBLIC, ARCHITECTURE AND THE CITY: THE LEGACY OF 100 YEARS

**12-13 October 2023**

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- **Johan de Walsche,** *Prof. Dr., University of Antwerp, Belgium*

## Keynote Speakers

**Esra Akcan, Prof. Dr., Cornell University, USA**

Esra Akcan is Professor in the Department of Architecture and resident director at the Institute for Comparative Modernities at Cornell University. She completed her architecture degree at the METU-Turkey, and her Ph.D. and postdoctorate at Columbia University in New York. She taught at UI-Chicago, Humboldt University in Berlin, Columbia University, New School, and Pratt Institute in New York, and METU. Akcan received awards and fellowships from the Einaudi Center for International Studies, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Studies at Harvard University, Graham Foundation (3 times grantee), Canadian Center for Architecture (2 times scholar), American Academy in Berlin, UIC, Institute for Advanced Studies in Berlin, Clark Institute, Getty Research Institute, CAA, Mellon Foundation, DAAD and KRESS/ARIT. She is the author of Landfill Istanbul: Twelve Scenarios for a Global City (124/3,2004), Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey and the Modern House(Duke UP, 2012); Turkey: Modern Architectures in History (Reaktion/Chicago UP, 2012, with S.Bozdoğan); Open Architecture: Migration, Citizenship and the Urban Renewal of Berlin-Kreuzberg by IBA-1984/87 (Birkhäuser/De Gruyter UP,2018), and Abolish Human Bans: Intertwined Histories of Architecture (CCA,2022). Currently, she is editing Migration and Discrimination (with I.Dadi) and writing Right-to-Heal: Architecture in Transitions After Conflicts and Disasters.

**Sibel Bozdoğan, Prof. Dr., Boston University, USA**

Sibel Bozdogan is Visiting Professor of Modern Architecture and Urbanism at Boston University. She holds a professional degree in architecture from Middle East Technical University, Ankara, and a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. She taught architectural history-theory courses at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, GSD-Harvard University and also in Turkey, at Bilgi and Kadir Has Universities in Istanbul. Her interests span trans-national histories of modern architecture and critical theories of modernity across the Global South, with a focus on Turkey, the Mediterranean and the Middle East. In addition to several articles, her publications include Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic (University of Washington Press, 2001), which was the recipient of the 2002 Alice Davis Hitchcock Award of the Society of Architectural Historians, and Turkey: Modern Architectures in History (Reaktion Books, 2012, co-authored with Esra Akcan). In 2018, she received the Turkish Chamber of Architects' National Award for "lifetime contribution to architecture in Turkey". Most recently, she published Coastal Architectures and Politics of Tourism: Leisurescapes in the Global Sunbelt (Routledge, 2022, co-edited with Panayiota Pyla and Petros Phokaides) and served as a Master Jury member in the 15th Cycle of the Aga Khan Architectural Awards.

**Oya Atalay Franck, Prof. Dr., ZHAW School of Architecture, Design and Civil Engineering, Switzerland**

Prof. Dr. Oya Atalay Franck is an architect, architectural historian, and educator. She is the president of EAAE/AEEA European Association for Architectural Education since 2017 and a professor of architecture, the Dean and managing director of the School of Architecture, Design and Civil Engineering at ZHAW Zurich University of Applied Sciences in Winterthur in Switzerland. Her teaching covers the theory and history of architecture, urbanism as well as design studio (a.o. at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute Troy NY, ETH Zurich). Her current research focuses on design research methods/research by design, interface education/research/practice, as well as higher education politics. Her recent publications address research methodologies and design doctorate programmes. She acts as an expert in various scientific organizations, a.o. the Swiss National Foundation of Research (SNF), the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO), the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT) as well as in peer review committees, quality audits, professional project competitions.

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https://www.snv.ch/en/about-us/board.html

# Table of Contents

# Table of Contents

**PREFACE**

An Evaluation on "The Republic, Architecture and the City: The Legacy of 100 Years International Symposium" ..... 1

*Neslihan Dostoğlu*

**ÖNSÖZ**

"Cumhuriyet, Mimarlık ve Kent: 100 Yıllık Miras Uluslararası Sempozyumu" Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme ..... 4

*Neslihan Dostoğlu*

**KEYNOTE PAPERS**

Global Legacies of Modern Architecture: View from Turkey ..... 7

*Sibel Bozdoğan*

A Different Kind of Impact: Shifting Priorities in Architectural Education ..... 23

*Oya Atalay Franck*

**PAPERS**

**OCTOBER 12,2023 THURSDAY**

**1ST SESSION: SPATIAL POLICIES OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD**

**Chair: Prof. Dr. Ayşen Ciravoğlu**

Encounters with the Public Spaces of the Modern Nation: Municipal Park and Republic Square in Muğla ..... 37

*İlke Tekin, Öncü Başoğlan Avşar, Bora Yasin Özkuş, Yılmaz Bozkurt*

Imagination of Transformation from Architectural Pattern to Urban Open Space in Sivas: The Links of the Practice of Destruction and Reconstruction ..... 54

*Pınar Koç, Uğur Tuztaşı*

Losing the Field: A 100-Year Retrospective on the Prominent Sports Locales in Ankara ..... 67

*Bilge Beril Kapusuz Balcı, Bengi Su Ertürkmen Aksoy, Nihan Oya Memlük Çobanoğlu*

The Republican-Ideology-Based Transportation Axis: Rapid Cultural Development of Istasyon Street, Konya ..... 84

*Feyza Topçuoğlu*

**OCTOBER 12,2023 THURSDAY**

**2ND SESSION: SPATIAL POLICIES OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD**

**Chair: Prof. Dr. Evrim Özkan**

Setting the minimum to inhabit and the maximum to aid: Public Housing Standards as a tool for housing policy of the 1960s in Türkiye ..... 103

*Elif Cemre Çelikcan Yozçu, Fatma Ahsen Özsoy*

A Constant Element of the Turkish Republican Town: Ziraat Bankası Branch Buildings ..... 116

*Ayşe Merve Çilingir*

Visual Construction of the Early Republican Era: Reading the Architectural Photographs of La Turquie Kemaliste Magazine ..... 131

*Şeydanur ÖZCANLI, Ceren Katipoğlu Özmen*

On Urban Aesthetics and Socialization: Revisiting Türkiye in the 21st Century ..... 151

*Saadet Kök, İpek Akpınar*

**OCTOBER 13,2023 FRIDAY**

**3RD SESSION: ACTORS WHO SHAPED ARCHITECTURE DURING THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD**

**Chair: Prof. Dr. Zeynep Kuban**

Traces of the Traditional "Turkish House" in the Practice of Yılmaz Sanlı ..... 167

*Suzan Sanlı Esin*

The Housemaid's Room: Mapping the spaces of paid female domestic labour through the lens of Ottoman-Turkish printed media (1908 -1928) ..... 191

*Damla Göre*

A Semiological Perspective on Bruno Taut's Concept of Proportion ..... 206

*Hande Tombaz*

Reconstructing the Republic: Emlak ve Eytam Bankası and its Effects on the Development of Housing Practice During the Early Republican Period ..... 218

*Zeynep Erdeveci*

1923-1980 Historiography of Architecture in the Republican Era ..... 230

*Emine Nisa Öztürk, Zafer Sagdic*

**OCTOBER 13,2023 FRIDAY**

**4TH SESSION: CONSERVATION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD**

**Chair: Asst. Prof. Dr. Yıldız Salman**

Modern Museums on Medieval Foundations: the reuse of Seljuk edifices for local collections in the Early Turkish Republic ..... 241

*Michelle Lynch Köycü*

First National Architecture Movement Structure: Bandırma Palas ..... 264

*Eser Çalıkuşu*

Different Approaches On The Conservation Of Modern Architecture: Discussion Through Ankara University Faculty Of Sciences And Faculty Of Law Buildings ..... 280

*Azize Elif Yabacı*

Collective (Re)Construction of Urban Memory and its Mapping as a Palimpsest: Ankara Atatürk Boulevard Case ..... 301

*Abdullah Eren Demirel, Saliha Erdurmuş, Gülçe Sözen, Arzu Özen Yavuz*

**OCTOBER 13,2023 FRIDAY**

**5TH SESSION: DEISGN ISSUES IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD**

**Chair: Prof. Dr. Orhan Hacıhasanoğlu**

A Republican Dream For Space And Future In Yeşilçam ..... 316

*Hande Tulum, M. Dilara Yildirim, Zeynep Ceylan Gezer Çatalbaş*

Confrontations in Close Proximities: Experiments Among Postwar Architectural Competitions in İstanbul's Historical Palimpsests ..... 331

*Öncü Özalp*

Tracing the Bauhaus from the Republic to the Present: From Gazi University Department of Resim-İş to the Department of Architecture ..... 344

*Gülçe Sözen, Arzu Özen Yavuz*

Hygienic Design of Schools as a Medium for Negotiating Modernity and Preventive Medicine in the 1930s Turkey ..... 358

*Cansu Değirmencioğlu*

**OCTOBER 13,2023 FRIDAY**

**POSTER SESSION**

The Water Problem That Istanbul Has Experienced Since the Establishment of The Republic of Turkey ..... 371

*Levent Öztürel*

Echoes from an Empire to a Republic: Hereke Factory Campus (1925-1950) ..... 372

*Didem Yavuz Velipaşaoğlu*

An Architect and Academician from the 1950s; Orhan Safa ..... 373

*Aylin Akçabozan Taşkıran, Can Şakir Binan*

Urban Design Competitions in Turkey: Searching Climate Resilience Approach ..... 374

*Esin Özkılıç, Ezgi Yıldırım, Ece Yorulmaz*

Reflections of Housing Problem in Turkish Popular Culture in the 1980s ..... 375

*Ceren Yıldırım Yargıcı*

The First Years of The Republic (1923-1950) in Tavşancil Based on Archival Documents ..... 376

*Şeyda Arslan Ercan*

**SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PARTICIPANTS** ..... 377

# PREFACE

## An Evaluation on "The Republic, Architecture and the City: The Legacy of 100 Years International Symposium"

**Prof. Dr. Neslihan Dostoğlu**

Dean, Istanbul Kultur University, Faculty of Architecture

The Republic, Architecture and the City: The Legacy of 100 Years International Symposium", Organization Committee Chair

On the occasion of the centenary of the founding of the Republic of Türkiye, the Faculty of Architecture at Istanbul Kültür University organized "The Republic, Architecture and the City: The Legacy of 100 Years International Symposium", on October 12-13, 2023, with the contribution of the academicians and students of the Department of Architecture and the Department of Interior Architecture and Environmental Design. This symposium aimed to draw a multi-scaled picture of the history of spatial design in the Republican period.

The changes experienced in the design practices with the establishment of the Republic in 1923, and the evolution of design ideas through the different political and economic periods in the one hundred year old history of the Republic, were evaluated during the sessions of paper presentations, exhibitions, panels and workshops, in order to better understand the past, present and future of architecture and related fields of design and planning in Türkiye.

The papers and posters within the disciplines of architecture, city planning, interior architecture, industrial design and landscape design across different time periods of the Republic, addressed the following topics:

- Spatial policies of the Republican Period,
- Actors who shaped architecture during the Republican Period,
- Conservation of the architectural heritage of the Republican Period,
- Design issues in the Republican Period

The symposium was the collective work of the academicians and students of the Faculty of Architecture, supported by İstanbul Kültür University Rectorate and the Board of

Trustees. The Organization Committee included Prof. Dr. Neslihan Dostoğlu, Prof. Dr. Esra Bostancıoğlu, Prof. Dr. Esin Kasapoğlu, Prof. Dr. Rana Kutlu, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Armağan S. Melikoğlu Eke, Asst. Prof. Dr. Ceren Göğüş, Asst. Prof. Dr. Bilge Şan Özbilen, Res. Asst. İdil Akkuzu, Res. Asst. Berkay Oskay, and Res. Asst. Kadir Yesir from the Departments of Architecture and Interior Architecture within the Faculty of Architecture. Research assistants İdil Akkuzu, Berkay Oskay, and Kadir Yesir worked as members of the Secretariat team. The Scientific Committee comprised faculty members from universities in different countries and in Turkey, in addition to the faculty members of Istanbul Kültür University.

Furthermore, collaborations were made with a number of international and national groups and organizations during the organization process of this symposium, i.e. EAAE (European Association for Architectural Education), Chamber of Architects and Chamber of Interior Architects in Turkey, SALT Culture and Research Center, DOCOMOMO-TR (Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement), Binat Architecture Media Group, Yapı Architecture Design Culture Art Journal, XXI Architecture Design and Space Journal, IKU Architecture Club, and İKU Interior Architecture Club. Within İstanbul Kültür University, we collaborated with the Faculty of Art and Design for the organization of an exhibition of DOCOMOMO posters in İKU Art Gallery which was inaugurated on October 11, 2023, one day before the Symposium started, following a panel organized by DOCOMOMO-TR. In the panel, which was moderated by Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan, the framework of the documentation works which were exhibited was presented, the protection of modern heritage in Turkey was discussed within the framework of current problems such as urban transformation and earthquakes, and the sustainability of modern heritage was evaluated , by the panelists Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ebru Omay Polat, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilüfer Baturayoğlu Yöney, Asst. Prof. Dr. Yıldız Salman and Dr. H. İlke Alatlı. In addition to the DOCOMOMO exhibition at İKÜ Art Gallery, an exhibition consisting of the results of the workshops carried out at SALT, prepared by Asst. Prof Dr. Ceren Göğüş, Lec. Elif Gelmez Demir, Lec. Şeyda Şen, Res. Asst. Furkan Evliyaoğlu, Res. Asst. Armağan Gülhaş, Res. Asst. Merve Aksoy Oral, Res. Asst Berkay Oskay and students from various schools, was also organized.

During the symposium, three keynote speakers, one from Switzerland, and two from the United States, who are experts on various aspects of modern architecture in Turkey, made presentations related with the themes of the symposium. Prof. Dr. Oya Atalay Franck who is the President of EAAE, and the Dean of ZHAW in Zurich made her presentation entitled “A Different Kind of Impact: Shifting Priorities in Architectural Education” in Akıngüç Auditorium at İstanbul Kültür University. Prof. Dr. Sibel Bozdoğan from Boston University with her presentation “Global Legacies of Modern Architecture: View from Turkey” and Prof. Dr. Esra Akcan from Cornell University with her presentation

“Hundred Years of Architectural Opposition in Turkey” joined the audience online from the United States. There were also 21 paper and 6 poster presentations during the symposium. The sessions were chaired by Prof. Dr. Ayşen Ciravoğlu, Prof. Dr. Evrim Özkan, Prof. Dr. Zeynep Kuban, Asst. Prof. Dr. Yıldız Salman and Prof. Dr. Orhan Hacıhasanoğlu.

Another highlight of the symposium was the Panel entitled “Architectural Profession in the Republican Era” moderated by Prof. Dr. Ayhan Usta to which 4 important contemporary Turkish architects, Melike Altınışık, Emre Arolat, Murat Tabanlıoğlu and Han Tümertekin, participated on October 12. In this panel, these important contemporary Turkish architects, who grew up with the achievements of the Republic and have an important place in Turkish architectural culture not only with their designs but also with their discourse, shared with the audience their experiences and impressions through their projects, and answered questions.

To sum up, October 2023 being the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic of Türkiye, Istanbul Kültür University Faculty of Architecture organized an international symposium, during which the results of the reforms aimed at improving the physical and social conditions in Türkiye by improving the economy, law and education systems were re-evaluated. During the symposium, which took place with wide participation and richness created by means of collaborations with various institutions and individuals, a multi-dimensional picture of the history of spatial design in the Republican era was drawn through paper presentations, exhibitions, panels and workshops, and clues to new research areas for the future emerged.

On this occasion, I would like to thank my colleagues from Istanbul Kültür University Faculty of Architecture, who comprised the Organization Committee of the "The Republic, Architecture and the City: The Legacy of 100 Years International Symposium", the Scientific Committee members from Turkey and various countries of the world, the session chairs, the DOCOMOMO-TR team who enriched the symposium with exhibition and panel organizations, the SALT Culture and Research Center that opened its doors to Istanbul Kültür University for workshops, the famous architects who participated in the panel titled "Architectural Profession in the Republican Era", Istanbul Kültür University Rector Prof. Dr. Fadime Üney Yüksektepe and İKÜ Chair of the Board of Trustees Dr. Bahar Akıngüç Günver, for their support in the realization of this event. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to our invited speakers Prof. Dr. Esra Akcan, Prof. Dr. Sibel Bozdoğan and Prof. Dr. Oya Atalay Franck and other participants for their qualified presentations, and to everyone who contributed to the panel and symposium process with their comments.

# ÖNSÖZ

## “Cumhuriyet, Mimarlık ve Kent: 100 Yıllık Miras Uluslararası Sempozyumu” Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme

**Prof. Dr. Neslihan Dostoğlu**

İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi Dekanı

“Cumhuriyet, Mimarlık ve Kent: 100 Yıllık Miras Uluslararası Sempozyumu” Organizasyon Komitesi Başkanı

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunun yüzüncü yılı münasebetiyle, İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi, Mimarlık Bölümü ile İç Mimarlık ve Çevre Tasarımı Bölümü akademisyen ve öğrencilerinin katkılarıyla, 12-13 Ekim 2023 tarihlerinde “Cumhuriyet, Mimarlık ve Kent: 100 Yıllık Miras Uluslararası Sempozyumu”nu düzenlemiştir. Bu sempozyum, Cumhuriyet dönemi mekan tasarımı tarihinin çok boyutlu bir resmini çizmeyi amaçlamıştır.

1923 yılında Cumhuriyetin kuruluşuyla birlikte tasarım pratiklerinde yaşanan değişimler ve tasarım düşüncesinin yüz yıllık Cumhuriyet tarihinde farklı siyasi ve ekonomik dönemlerde geçirdiği evrim, Türkiye'de mimarlığın ve ilgili tasarım ve planlama alanlarının dünü, bugünü ve geleceğini daha iyi anlamak amacıyla, bildiri sunumları, sergiler, paneller ve çalıştaylarda değerlendirilmiştir.

Mimarlık, kent planlama, iç mimarlık, endüstriyel tasarım ve peyzaj mimarlığı disiplinlerinden bildiri ve posterlerde Cumhuriyetin farklı dönemlerini içeren aşağıdaki konular ele alınmıştır:

- Cumhuriyet Dönemi mekan politikaları,
- Cumhuriyet Dönemi mimarisini şekillendiren aktörler,
- Cumhuriyet Dönemi mimari mirasının korunması,
- Cumhuriyet Dönemi tasarım sorunları

Sempozyum, Mimarlık Fakültesi akademisyenleri ve öğrencilerinin ortak çalışması ile İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü ve Mütevelli Heyeti'nin desteğiyle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Organizasyon Komitesi, Mimarlık Fakültesi bünyesindeki Mimarlık ile İç Mimarlık Bölümlerinden Prof. Dr. Neslihan Dostoğlu, Prof. Dr. Esra Bostancıoğlu, Prof.

Dr. Esin Kasapoğlu, Prof. Dr. Rana Kutlu, Doç. Dr. Armağan S. Melikoğlu Eke, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ceren Göğüş, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Bilge Şan Özbilen, Arş. Gör. İdil Akkuzu, Arş. Gör. Berkay Oskay, Arş. Gör. Kadir Yesir'den oluşmuş, sekreterya çalışmaları araştırma görevlileri İdil Akkuzu, Berkay Oskay ve Kadir Yesir tarafından yürütülmüştür. Bilimsel Komite'de ise İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi öğretim üyelerinin yanısıra farklı ülkelerdeki ve Türkiye'deki üniversitelerden değerli öğretim üyeleri yer almıştır.

Ayrıca, bu sempozyumun organizasyon sürecinde EAAE (European Association for Architectural Education), Türkiye Mimarlar Odası ve İç Mimarlar Odası, SALT Kültür ve Araştırma Merkezi, DOCOMOMO-TR (Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement), Binat Mimarlık Medya Grubu, Yapı Mimarlık Tasarım Kültür Sanat Dergisi ve XXI Mimarlık Tasarım ve Mekan Dergisi, İKÜ Mimarlık Kulübü ve İKÜ İç Mimarlık Kulübü gibi çeşitli uluslararası ve ulusal birim ve kuruluştan destek alınmıştır. İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi bünyesinde ise, Sanat ve Tasarım Fakültesi ile işbirliği yapılarak, Sempozyum başlamadan bir gün önce 11 Ekim 2023 tarihinde İKÜ Sanat Galerisi'nde DOCOMOMO-TR posterlerinin sergisi açılmıştır. Sergi açılışıyla birlikte organize edilen panelde, Prof. Dr. T. Elvan Altan moderatörlüğünde Doç. Dr. Ebru Omay Polat, Doç. Dr. Nilüfer Baturayoğlu Yöney, Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yıldız Salman ve Dr. H. İlke Alatlı tarafından, sergilenen belgeleme çalışmalarının çerçevesi sunulmuş, kentsel dönüşüm ve deprem gibi güncel sorunlar kapsamında Türkiye'de modern mirasın korunması ele alınmış ve modern mirasın sürdürülebilirliği değerlendirilmiştir. Ayrıca, İKÜ Sanat Galerisi'ndeki DOCOMOMO sergisinin yanı sıra, İKÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi'nden Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ceren Göğüş, Öğr. Gör. Elif Gelmez Demir, Öğr. Gör. Şeyda Şen, Arş. Gör. Furkan Evliyaoğlu, Arş. Gör. Armağan Gülhaş, Arş. Gör. Merve Aksoy Oral, Arş. Gör. Berkay Oskay ve çeşitli okullardan gelen öğrenciler tarafından hazırlanan, SALT'ta yürütülen atölye çalıştaylarının sonuçlarından oluşan bir sergi de düzenlenmiştir.

Sempozyum sırasında, Türkiye'de modern mimarlığın çeşitli boyutları konusunda uzman olan, biri İsviçre'den, ikisi ABD'den olmak üzere üç değerli davetli konuşmacı sempozyumun temalarıyla ilgili sunumlar gerçekleştirmiştir. EAAE Başkanı ve Zürih'te ZHAW Dekanı olan Prof. Dr. Oya Atalay Franck "A Different Kind of Impact: Shifting Priorities in Architectural Education" başlıklı sunumunu İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Akıngüç Oditoryumu'nda gerçekleştirmiştir. Boston Üniversitesi'nden Prof. Dr. Sibel Bozdoğan "Global Legacies of Modern Architecture: View from Turkey" ve Cornell Üniversitesi'nden Prof. Dr. Esra Akcan "Hundred Years of Architectural Opposition in Turkey" başlıklı sunumlarını ABD'den online olarak yapmışlardır. Sempozyumda ayrıca 21 bildiri ve 6 poster sunumu da yer almıştır. Oturum başkanlıklarını Prof. Dr. Ayşen

Ciravoğlu, Prof. Dr. Evrim Özkan, Prof. Dr. Zeynep Kuban, Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Yıldız Salman ve Prof. Dr. Orhan Hacıhasanoğlu üstlenmiştir.

Sempozyumun öne çıkan bir diğer özelliği de moderatörlüğünü Prof. Dr. Ayhan Usta'nın üstlendiği, Melike Altınışık, Emre Arolat, Murat Tabanlıoğlu ve Han Tümertekin'in katıldığı, 12 Ekim'de düzenlenen "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mimarlık Mesleği" başlıklı panel olmuştur. Bu panelde Cumhuriyet kazanımları ile yetişmiş ve sadece tasarımları ile değil söylemleri ile de Türkiye mimarlık kültüründe önemli yeri olan bu önemli çağdaş Türk mimarları deneyimlerini ve izlenimlerini projeleri üzerinden dinleyicilerle paylaşmış ve soruları yanıtlamıştır.

Özet olarak, Ekim 2023'ün Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunun 100. yıldönümü olması nedeniyle, İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi tarafından düzenlenen uluslararası sempozyumda, ekonomiyi, hukuk ve eğitim sistemlerini geliştirerek Türkiye'deki fiziksel ve sosyal koşulları iyileştirmeyi amaçlayan reformların sonuçları yeniden değerlendirilmiştir. Çeşitli kurum ve kişilerle yapılan işbirliklerinin yarattığı zenginlikle ve geniş bir katılımla gerçekleştirilen sempozyumda, bildiri sunumları, sergiler, paneller ve çalıştaylar aracılığıyla Cumhuriyet dönemindeki mekan tasarımı tarihinin çok boyutlu bir resmi çizilmiş ve geleceğe yönelik yeni araştırma alanlarının ipuçları belirmiştir.

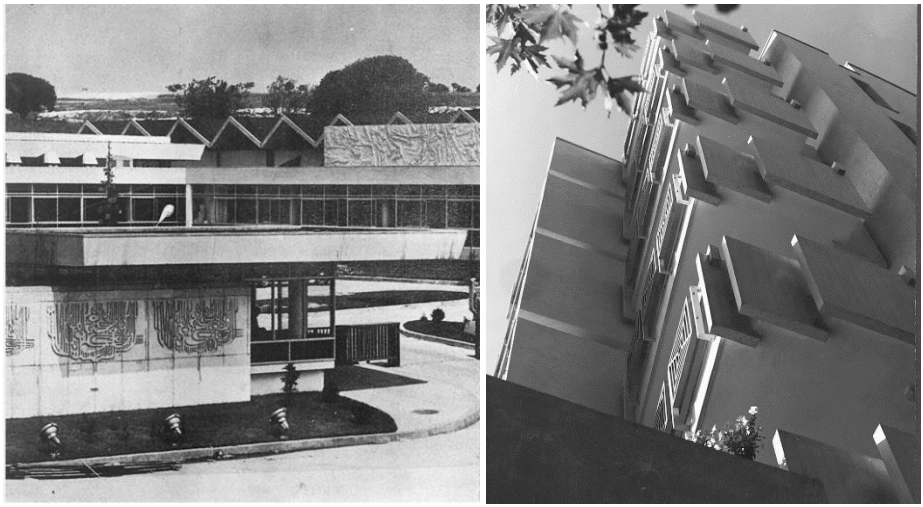
Bu vesileyle "Cumhuriyet, Mimarlık ve Kent: 100 Yıllık Miras Uluslararası Sempozyumu"nun Organizasyon Komitesi'ni oluşturan İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Mimarlık Fakültesi'nden kıymetli çalışma arkadaşlarıma, Türkiye'den ve dünyanın çeşitli ülkelerinden Bilimsel Kurul'a katılmayı kabul eden, oturum başkanlığı yaparak katkıda bulunan değerli akademisyenlere, sergi ve panel organizasyonları ile sempozyuma renk katan DOCOMOMO-TR ekibine, çalıştaylar için kapılarını İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi'ne açan SALT Kültür ve Araştırma Merkezi'ne, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Mimarlık Mesleği" başlıklı panele katılan ünlü mimarlara, İstanbul Kültür Üniversitesi Rektörü Prof. Dr. Fadime Üney Yüksektepe'ye ve İKÜ Mütevelli Heyeti Başkanı Dr. Akıngüç Günver'e bu etkinliğin gerçekleştirilmesindeki destekleri için teşekkür ederim. Çağrılı konuşmacılarımız Prof. Dr. Esra Akcan, Prof. Dr. Sibel Bozdoğan ve Prof. Dr. Oya Atalay Franck'e ve diğer katılımcılara nitelikli bildirileri için, panel ve sempozyum sürecine yorumlarıyla katkıda bulunan herkese içten teşekkürlerimi ayrıca iletmek isterim.

# Global Legacies of Modern Architecture: View from Turkey

## Sibel Bozdoğan

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At this historic moment that is the centenary of the Republic, I wish I could give you a celebratory and forward-looking account of Turkey's modern architecture and urbanism, or for that matter, of the Republican project of modernity in general. Alas, as we are all sadly aware, for at least a decade now (Gezi Park protests being a symbolic turning point), both the modernist architectural/urban heritage of the country and its foundational ideals of social and cultural modernity are in a palpable state of despair and erosion.



Vakko Factory, Haluk Baysal, 1969 (demolished 2007), Macka Hotel, Yilmaz Sanli, 1966 (demolished 2002)

Leaving aside the contentious question of whether the current urban landscape in Turkey represents a new stage of "modern architecture" or (as I am more inclined to think) a total repudiation of what "modernism" as a social and aesthetic project was all about, I will

limit my talk to a historical perspective and offer you some retrospective reflections on: first, the historiography of modernism in peripheral geographies of the Global South, and secondly on the question of where the legacy of Turkey's modern architecture sits within this broader framework. Although modern architecture in Turkey is mostly associated with the more "heroic" and historically symbolic early Republican period (my own book included), I'll focus my discussion primarily to Turkey's mid-20th century modern architecture, roughly from the 1950s to the 1970s –a period of which some of the most remarkable buildings are already sadly lost to the development boom since 2000. This period, as I will argue, is one of revisionist and diversified modernism that marks the internalization, naturalization, and wider popular acceptance of modernism in Turkey.

## The Global Modern

I will begin with historiography, to briefly recap how far the field has come in the past two decades or so in writing global histories of modern architecture. As observed in a recent edited volume on the topic, "the exploration of global modernism is not just a question of including "non-Western" examples in established canons, but a rethinking of the very mechanics of the origins, dissemination and iterations of modernist ideas and forms in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan locations".[1] The "ball of wool" that is on the cover of this book is an apt metaphor for these intertwined histories of East and West, North and South. What is needed then, is a perspective that the Indian art historian Partha Mitter has compellingly articulated in his seminal 2008 essay as "De-Centering Modernism" –that is, reconceptualizing modernism as plural, heterogeneous and worldwide, hence the property of everyone rather than of a privileged Western "center".[2]

If we look at our region for example, "de-centering modernism" is a relatively new project. 20th century modern architectures of countries like Turkey, Lebanon, Egypt, Iran, Iraq and the Gulf states were, for a long time, "doubly-marginalized" as I called it in my 2001 book[3] -by both historians of Islamic architecture who did not look beyond 1800 and by historians of modern architecture who did not look beyond Europe and North America, both groups dismissing these "other" modernisms as imitative or, at best, derivative of an original Western discourse and practice. It is only in the last twenty years or so that efforts

[1] Vikram Prakash, Maristella Casciato, Daniel Coslett ed, Rethinking Global Modernism. London: Routledge, 2022, p.3
[2] Partha Mitter, "De-Centering Modernism: Art History and the Avant-garde from the Periphery", The Art Bulletin, v.9, n.4, December 2008, pp.531-548
[3] Sibel Bozdogan, Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001

to reclaim and own the modern architectures of these countries have intensified, drawing international attention to the topic. For example, a 2022 book on modern Arab architecture launched in Germany or the 2021 Exhibition Cairo Modern opening in New York City point to this increasing international visibility of the topic.[4]

Perhaps still tentative and incomplete, but the marks of "decentering modernism" are nevertheless everywhere today, expanding the field to encompass what we now call "the global modern". The Reaktion series of books for example (to which Esra Akcan and I have also contributed), while still framed by the nation-state as its structuring device, and still focused largely on European and North American countries (with the exception of India and Brazil which have acquired canonic status due in no small measure to the legacy of Le Corbusier), nevertheless challenges the universalizing vision of classical histories of modern architecture by presenting "modern architectures" in the plural, with all the formal, cultural and political complexities of each case.

Docomomo -the central international organization dedicated to the documentation and conservation of the Modern Movement, has also embraced this paradigm shift. Its events and publications since the 2000s (including the 2006 international conference which convened in Turkey with the theme "Other Modernisms") entail not just a geographical expansion of scope to include the Global South, but also a conceptual revision of canonic histories of modern architecture to include non-canonic forms, vernacular modernisms, brutalist buildings, and entire urban complexes, while recognizing uneven histories, time-lags and multi-directional exchanges between different regions of the world.

This "global turn" of architectural history is deeply interested in the entanglements of modern architecture with the politics of nation-building, especially with postwar decolonization when modern architecture became truly "global" in its outreach. Contrary to allegations of modernism being an alien and imported discourse unsuitable to local cultures, case studies of postwar modern architectures from around the world show remarkable practices of localization, adaptation and innovation, as much by a talented generation of native architects as by better-known foreign experts working in those countries. Above all, this modernist legacy effectively reconnects the politics of decolonization and nation-building with cosmopolitanism, projecting the idea that nationalism does not need to exclude ways of thinking, feeling and acting beyond one's particular society. It provides us with built reminders of the brief but exciting moment of

[4] George Arbid and Philip Oswalt eds., Designing Modernity: Architecture in the Arab World 1945-1973. Berlin: Jovis, 2022; and Mohammed ElShahed curated "Cairo Modern", Center for Architecture, NYC, 1 October 2021 – 12 March 2022.

optimism for many newly independent countries partaking in the promise of a modern, secular, rational and scientific worldview that was shared across the ideological divides of the Cold War, as well as among the Non-Aligned nations of the Global South.

A central theme in this reconceptualization of postwar modernism, which also applies to Turkey and the Middle East (albeit "post-imperial" rather than postcolonial), is the historical linking of global modern architectures with the international dynamics of postwar modernization theory and development economics. Recent scholarship reveals that modern projects from this period were aspirational symbols of the post-colonial interconnectedness of the world and, often, the product of multi-directional, trans-national exchanges of design and construction expertise across global "contact zones" as Tom Avermete has put it, turning the architect and urban planner into a kind of "development expert".[5] Historian Frederick Cooper, who designates the period 1950 to 1970s "the Development Age," observes that with the onset of decolonization, newly independent states could now "shop around" for funding and expertise in a diversified field that now included, in addition to the old colonial powers Britain and France, newcomers to the scene, the US, the Soviet Union, and other nation-states, including Germany, Israel and multiple Eastern Bloc countries.[6] In his recent book on the work of architects from the socialist bloc in African and Middle Eastern countries, Lukascz Stanek, via the social theorist Henri Lefebvre, calls this a "mondialization" (with multiple actors and networks), rather than "globalization" (which often implies the uni-directional hegemony of the capitalist world).[7] A recent theme issue of the Harvard Design Magazine titled "Today's Global" also highlights the term "mondialization" as "a better framework that suggests the possibility of a universal that is not standardized", i.e. not a ubiquitous "International Style" that is the same everywhere.[8]

One of the surest signs that "decentering modernism" is gaining traction in architectural culture is the recent 2022 MOMA Exhibition The Project of Independence: Architectures of Decolonization in Southeast Asia 1947-85 which the curators define as a period of architectural production shaped more by secular and statist goals, than later culturalist

[5] Tom Avermaete and Cathelijne Nuijsink, "Architectural Contact Zones: Another Way to Write Global Histories of the Postwar Period?", Architectural Theory Review, Online Journal 9 July 2021. See also Ayala Levin, Architecture and Development, Durham: Duke University Press, 2022 and Arindam Dutta et. Al. eds, Architecture in Development: Systems and the Emergence of the Global South (Aggregate Collaborative Publication), London: Routledge, 2022
[6] Frederick Cooper, "Writing the History of Development" in Journal of Modern European History v.8, n.1, 2010, pp.5-23
[7] Lukascz Stanek, Architecture in Global Socialism, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020
[8] Harvard Design Magazine, Special Issue "50: Today's Global", Spring/Summer 2022

agendas. (The same can be said for Turkey in the same period). Selected modernist practices from India, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka and Bangladesh were featured as "…speaking not only to the immediate needs of the newly formed nation-states and their respective desires for self-representation, but also to the aspiration to be part of a larger international conversation about modernity".[9] For example, illustrating this "international conversation about modernity", a major focus of the exhibition is the wide-spread use of concrete in the Global South (with an interior image of Raj Rawal's Hall of Nations in New Delhi, 1970-1972, demolished in 2017 on the cover of the catalog) --a rather appropriate and cost-effective material for these countries, according to the curator Martino Stierli, given the relatively cheap ingredients it requires and the abundance of local labor that can be deployed.[10] Indeed, concrete has been frequently referred to as the "Third World material" par excellence --or the material for an "Architecture of Poverty" as Brazilian architect Villanueva Artigas called it, giving us a superb example with his Faculty of Architecture and Urbanism building in the University of Sao Paulo campus in 1961-1969.

Of course, concrete's domination of construction industry in the Global South is rightly criticized today for closing off alternative paths of research and innovation in other more traditional materials (such as wood, bamboo, rammed earth etc.) --something we were tragically reminded again with the recent devastating earthquakes in Turkey and Syria.

Nevertheless, as the MOMA exhibition highlighted, concrete structures designed by many post-independence generation native architects like Artigas in Brazil or Raj Rewal and Charles Correa in India show remarkable innovativeness and engineering ingenuity within the constraints of local building industries, available materials and labor. They represent "de-centered modernisms" that transform metropolitan architectural concepts and produce something entirely new, thereby becoming co-producers (my underline) of modern architecture rather than its passive importers. Sadly, Rewal's Hall of Nations, a concrete re-interpretation of a steel space frame, was demolished in 2017, while Correa's remarkable structure, the Cricket Stadium in Ahmedabad is threatened by demolition as we speak, in spite of its inclusion in the World Monuments Watch list in 2020.

Although a time lag of some two decades separates the encounters of Turkey and India with modern architecture, they are frequently cited as classic examples of the strong political and ideological charge of modern architecture in the Global South --as powerful

[9] Martino Stierli and Anoma Pieris eds. The Project of Independence: Architectures of Decolonization in Southeast Asia 1947-8, New York: MOMA, 2022, Introduction pp.6-9
[10] Martino Stierli, "The Politics of Concrete: Material culture, global modernism and the project of decolonization in India", in Vikram Prakash, Maristella Casciato, Daniel Coslett ed, Rethinking Global Modernism, London: Routledge, 2022, pp.275-289

symbols of new regimes and new beginnings, or as Dilip Goankar put it in 2001, as "allegories that narrate the paradoxical crossings of newness and nationhood".[11] Unlike in India and other postcolonial countries however, where modern architecture continues to be a source of national pride associated with independence from a foreign colonizer (as highlighted in the MOMA exhibition I just mentioned), in today's Turkey, sadly the ruling government and much of the public opinion tend to view modern architecture as a foreign intruder dissociating the culture of the country from its own imperial/Ottoman roots. It is, therefore, even more urgent for Turkey to engage with this larger historiographical project of "de-centering modernism" and to reclaim the country's modern architecture as part of a "global" rather than exclusively Western legacy.

## Modern in Postwar Turkey

Let me now turn to Turkey. By 1950, modern architecture was no longer "new" or "revolutionary" in Turkey, nor limited only to representative state programs. It became mainstream and ordinary through new programs like hotels, offices, shopping centers and above all, apartment housing --a pervasive "modern vernacular" that would shape Turkish cities thereafter. We can say that the period from the 1950s to 1970s is when modern architecture truly disseminated in Turkey, by a new generation of modernist architects eager to engage with international architectural trends at large.[12]

Modern architecture's entanglements with development economics and Cold War geopolitics were complicated and fraught with contradictions in Turkey. On the one hand, the country's postwar re-positioning as part of the US led western alliance, through the Marshall Plan of 1947 and full NATO membership in 1952, continued the Republic's foundational identification with the West. On the other hand, with a renewed emphasis on the country's Muslim identity, Turkey also joined the Baghdad Pact established in 1955 by US and the UK against Soviet expansion into the Middle East. Beginning in the 1950s, leading American social scientists heralded Turkey as one of the most successful models of a universally defined process of modernization, better known in social sciences as "modernization theory." It postulated a linear and universal path of development that all societies would inevitably follow resembling western societies along the way (indicators being increased literacy, mobility, spirit of enterprise, urbanization, and

[11] Dilip Gaonkar ed, Alternative Modernities, Durham: Duke University Press, 2001
[12] For an anthology of this generation of architects see Enis Kortan, 1950ler Kuşağı Mimarlık Antolojisi, İstanbul: Yem Yayınları, 1997. See also Meltem O.Gurel ed. Mid-Century Modernism in Turkey: Architecture Across Cultures in the 1950s and 1960s, London and New York: Routledge, 2016

consumption culture). Generous packages of US development aid and technical assistance were channeled to Turkey for infrastructural modernization, especially the building of Turkey's highway network to transition the country from early Republican reliance on railroads to motor transportation, encourage car ownership, jump start agricultural modernization and improve tourism as a national development strategy. Most famously, the canonic Istanbul Hilton Hotel, an inter-governmental project jointly financed by Turkish and the US governments (and designed by Skidmore Owings and Merril in collaboration with Sedad Eldem as the local architect) is widely recognized as the textbook case of modern architecture's role in postwar geopolitics.

Recent English-language scholarship on postwar Turkey offers empirical evidence to complicate simplistic accounts of mid-century modern architecture as an unequivocal manifestation of "modernization theory" or an uncritically received "Americanization", instead highlighting the role of local agency. Political scientist Begum Adalet, for example, argues that, far from being a smooth and uncontested process, encounters between the imported knowledge and technologies of highway engineers from the US Bureau of Public Roads and the local knowledge and practices of their Turkish colleagues often entailed conflicts, compromises, and revisions along the way.[13]

Similarly, in his book on the foundation of Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Burak Erdim shows how the "technocosmopolitan" idea of training local experts (or "inperts" as the UN economist-planner Charles Abrams called it), frequently turned into arenas of confrontation and compromise between imported ideologies of development planning and local actors' conceptualizations of nationhood.[14] Erdim recounts how, in the case of METU, the campus plan prepared by a University of Penn team lead by Holmes Perkins was eventually discarded at the end of a long and contentious process, in favor of the realized project by Behruz and Altug Cinici. The campus was built in the early 1960s as one of the first successful use of brutalist exposed concrete and other home-grown constructional innovations or rather, "improvisations", with available materials and within very tight time and budget constraints. Particularly innovative for the time were the "waffle slabs" of the Faculty of Architecture building, not unlike what Artigas used in the FAU building of the University of Sao Paulo around the same time. In other projects as well (for example ARTUR Vacation Village, Burhaniye), Cinicis' experimented with

[13] Begum Adalet, Hotels and Highways: The Construction of Modernization Theory in Cold War Turkey. Stanford University Press, 2018
[14] Burak Erdim, Landed Internationals: Planning Cultures, the Academy and the Making of the Modern Middle East. University of Texas Press, 2020

concrete as a modern material that can combine new constructional possibilities with local and vernacular sensibilities.



Middle East Technical University Campus, Ankara by Behruz & Altug Cinici, 1962-1980 –waffle slabs and interior of the Faculty of Architecture

Tourism architecture is arguably the best mirror to reflect the proliferation of the global modern in the postwar period. In a recent book that I co-edited with Pani Pyla and Petros Phokaides, we explored the mobility-leisure-consumption nexus that defined American liberal restructuring of postwar economies everywhere, shaping highway building programs and mid-century modern hotels across the eastern Mediterranean in particular.[15] Our case studies (including not just Turkey and Cyprus but also Greece, Yugoslavia, Israel and Egypt) revealed very similar, but intricately contested dynamics of coastal development. This is also when a defining relationship emerged between highway construction, urban expansion, and hotel building. In Istanbul, as well known to this audience, new highways and increased car ownership expanded the urban imaginary to a new metropolitan scale far beyond the historic core, and variations on Hilton, designed by modernist Turkish architects, spread along this stretched shoreline from Yesilkoy to Kilyos. Here I would like to evoke Alice Friedman's point that what we think of as "mid-century modernism" was not so much a stylistic category but rather, the aesthetic expression of "moods and experiences" suggested by these forms: namely, glamour, luxury and American ideal of "good life".[16] This mood was an important backdrop in the reception and indigenization of the Hilton type in Turkey.

[15] Sibel Bozdogan, Panayiota Pyla and Petros Phokaides eds. Coastal Architectures and Politics of Tourism: Leisurescapes in the Global Sunbelt. London and New York: Routledge, 2022
[16] Alice Friedman, American Glamour and the Evolution of Modern Architecture, Yale University Press, 2010

As early as 1958 however, negative assessments of Hilton were proliferating within the architectural community and within the left-leaning architectural profession critical of foreign experts and capitalist infiltration. The late Sevki Vanli, who coined the term "Hiltonism" (Hiltonculuk) wrote: "this easy rationalist template of Cartesian honeycomb façade grid has become a mainstream domestic typology to be repeated thousands of times. For almost every building type, repetitive cells and balconies are projected on the façade and monotonous horizontal prisms have filled our cities".[17] He called it a "perfection of mediocrity" (mükemmel vasatlık). Even Sedad Eldem, who collaborated with SOM on the design of the Hilton, would later complain that "buildings started to look like boxes, drawers or radios invading Anatolian towns".




TUSAN Chain hotels along newly opened highways and close to historical touristic sites, 1960s (Architect Ertem Ertunga) [Photo Credit: Gokcecicek Savasir and Zeynep Tuna Ultav]

While expressing a justified frustration with the generic reinforced concrete blocks that later became the hallmark of mainstream commercial and residential architecture in Turkey after the 1950s, I have argued that this criticism overlooks many creative local responses and adaptations by several Turkish modernist architects, little known

[17] Sevki Vanli, "Hiltonculuk", Kim, 28 Kasim 1958

internationally. Part of the historiographical project is to salvage them from obscurity. The design of hotels, motels and resorts across the country, for example, entailed many regional experimentations, transforming and diversifying the initial "Hilton typology" of urban hotels to scaled-down, regionalized versions. As researched by Zeynep Tuna Ultav and Gokcecicek Savasir,[18] the case of TUSAN chain hotels along coastal highways is a compelling example of such indigenization that have only recently began to enter "global histories of modernism".



Anadolu Club, Prince Islands, Istanbul, 1951-57 (Architects Turgut Cansever and Abdurrahman Hanci)

I have proposed in earlier work that, rather than the assumption of a one-way "influence" that the derogatory term Hiltonizm implies (i.e., a dominant party giving its goods to a passive receiver), it is possible to think of influence, as an active dialogical interaction among multiple parties involving choice and fruitful exchange –as for example, Turkish architects experimenting with innovative façade articulations that alter Hilton's signature orthogonal grid, thereby establishing dialogues with global modernisms from Brazil to India and Southeast Asia. In residential buildings as well as in tourism architecture, they have introduced double height volumes, open galleries for exterior circulation and several "tropical modernist" variations on the brise soleil –perforated bricks, pre-cast concrete screens etc., or the traditional wooden kafes in otherwise proudly LeCorbusian buildings.

[18] See Gokcecicek Savasir and Zeynep Tuna Ultav, Mobility, Modernity and Hospitality: TUSAN Tourism Initiative in Postwar Turkey, in S.Bozdogan, P.Pyla and P.Phokaides ed. op.cit, pp. 215-230

The iconic Lawyers' Cooperative Apartments (1960-61) by the prolific practice of late Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsel illustrates the productive appropriation and re-processing of international influences in the positive sense of the word "influence" that I mentioned. With explicit homage to LeCorbusier's L'Unite d'habitation in Marsailles, the stacked duplex units with interlocking floor plans create variations on the façade grid of the exposed concrete apartment block, while adapting it to the local urban context with the public programming of the ground floor. More significant, however, is the learning process, adaptation, and subsequent iterations. In a later project for a Cooperative Housing scheme in Yesilkoy, the architects would manipulate the same interlocking section of the Corbusean block, but this time replacing the corridor with an open-to-sky walkway, giving Istanbul a rare example of low-rise, high-density housing, around the same time that this typology was adapted for most progressive public housing schemes in Europe.



Lawyers' Cooperative Apartment block in Istanbul, 1960-61 (Architects Haluk Baysal and Melih Birsel), Cooperative Housing, Yesilkoy, Istanbul, 1970s (Architect Haluk Baysal)

Today, when there is a renewed appreciation of those low-rise high-density morphologies and brutalist concrete buildings in the world at large (as for example, in London where postwar public housing schemes like Alexandra Road Terraces or the Barbican Complex are once again highly desirable places to live), our few comparable examples like the Yesilkoy project are suffering from indifference, neglect and slow deterioration, their proposed models of collective living and shared common spaces no longer carrying much currency in a profit-driven neoliberal housing market.

The Lawyers Cooperative project brings me back full circle to Partha Mitter's compelling critique of the reductionist criteria employed by art historians to describe the reception of Western avant-garde art in the periphery -what he calls the "Picasso manque syndrome".[19] Citing how Picasso's use of African sources did not pose a problem for his

[19] Partha Mitter, "De-Centering Modernism: Art History and the Avant-garde from the Periphery", The Art Bulletin, v.9, n.4, December 2008, p.534ff

identity as a European artist, Mitter wrote how, by contrast, "the use of Cubism, a product of the dominant West, by an Indian artist who belonged to the colonized world, immediately locked him into a dependent relationship, the colonized mimicking the superior art of the colonizer". He was writing about Indian cubists of course, but his point applies equally to Turkish Corbusians. "While successful imitation [was seen] as a form of aping" he continues, "imperfect imitation represented a failure of learning". In other words, artists or architects in the Global South could never get it quite right; their modernisms are seen as either imitative or inferior. Re-phrasing Mitter's words, we can say, unlike LC, whose use of Turkish sources did not compromise his integrity as a European architect, Baysal and Birsel's use of a Corbusian typology is more easily interpreted as an imitation resulting in the loss of their selves as Turkish.

A small but telling example appeared in social media in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake in February, when the scapegoating of modern architecture in general and concrete buildings in particular reached its frenzy. One Twitter user juxtaposed the image of Le Corbusier's L'Unite d'habitation, with the collapsed carcass of the "Renaissance Residences" in Hatay, blaming this tragic result on "architects who have imported new forms and techniques [from the West], turning their backs to the characteristics and culture of their own geography".[20] That Docomomo-TR had to issue a rebuttal of this absurd comparison and remind its author of the many high-quality modern buildings that exist in the country, is a rather sad commentary on the state of public discourse on architecture in Turkey.

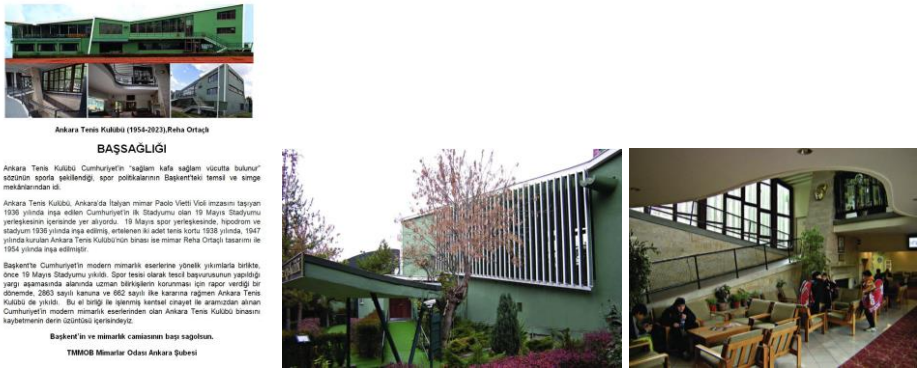
It is not of course, only in Turkey that mid-century modern architecture, especially exposed concrete brutalist buildings, have been treated as ugly "eyesores" better demolished than retrofitted or preserved. The famous case of Robin Hood Gardens Social Housing Estate in London by Alison and Peter Smithson (1972, demolished in 2017), two prominent Team 10 architects, is one such victim of anti-modernist policies and public opinion. Its recent demolition in favor of a brand-new housing development offers a compelling (and for me rather depressing) lesson in what has been lost in the process: not just the building itself, but the progressive ideals of collective living and shared common spaces that informed it. The renderings of the proposed new projects meanwhile, display the ultimate triumph of individualism, the real estate market, and the economic logic of development -a story that is sadly too familiar for us in Turkey.

[20] Posted on Twitter on 22 February 2023

## Modern as Heritage

Let me then conclude with some remarks on the seemingly oxymoronic phrase “modern heritage” and the challenges of preserving 20th Century modern architecture in Turkey and everywhere. The question raised on the cover of NYT Magazine in 2005 touches on why modernism sits uncomfortably with the practice of preservation. What does it mean to preserve an architecture rooted in avant-garde ideas of transience, ephemerality and change –an architecture that exalted its newness? How can “modern” be a “period style”?

The short answer is that “modern” is NOT a “period style” but rather, a “living heritage” as Maristella Casciato describes it -a living heritage that is global in its geographical reach, plural in its formal and material expressions, including the iconic as well as the ordinary and spanning multiple scales from individual buildings to large complexes.[21]



Ankara Tenis Kulubu, 1954-2023 by Reha Ortacli

Although Turkey engaged with modernism earlier than other countries in the Middle East, it is no secret that early- and mid-20th century modernism is a fast deteriorating and threatened architectural heritage in Turkey. Some of the damage is not new of course: the constructivist aesthetic of Sevki Balmumcu’s Ankara Exhibition Hall, for example, was already destroyed in the 1940s when converted into the Opera House by Paul Bonatz and Rukneddin Guney’s elegant Taksim Gazinosu (1939) was replaced by Sheraton Hotel in the 1960s. The elegant modern restaurant of the Cubuk Dam was still standing

[21] Maristella Casciato and Emile D’Orgeix, Modern Architectures: The Rise of a Heritage. Wavre, Belgium: Mardaga, 2012.

when I wrote my book in 2001, albeit transformed beyond recognition by ugly additions, facing a dried out reservoir. It was entirely demolished in 2016 –an "act of architectural vandalism" as the Turkish Chamber of Architects described it. Today, everyday brings fresh news of more such "architectural vandalism" directed not only at larger, iconic and more symbolic structures but also at more ordinary residential and commercial buildings, with total disregard of pleas and campaigns from academic circles, preservationists and above all Docomomo TR. Turkish Chamber of Architects too has been mostly powerless to stop demolitions other than initiating drawn-out lawsuits and issuing "building obituaries" which are heard more by the already mourning groups like us than by the real culprits. A case in point is the most recent demolition of the Tennis Club of Ankara from the 1950s -Reha Ortacli's "innovative dialogue with Oscar Niemeyer" as Enis Kortan had described it.

While the economic calculations and profit motives of neoliberal urban development policies since the 1980s are primarily responsible for this state of affairs, the deliberate and revanchist targeting of modernism by the populist-nativist-Islamist worldview that is rampant in today's Turkey plays a major role as well. Mirroring the foundational orientalism of European historians, the nationalist-nativist (and increasingly Islamist) outlook of many local officials, historians, commentators and the general public has largely succeeded in casting modernism as an "alien" and "imported" discourse imposed upon traditional societies –an alleged onslaught of cultural Westernization that needs to be reversed in favor of "authentic traditions" (as if these are easily identifiable!).

The task in front of us as architectural historians then, is not just documenting works, but also producing new cosmopolitan narratives about modernism capable of challenging this nativist, reductionist and much-maligned view of modern architecture. As I tried to argue, many mid 20th century modern buildings in Turkey display remarkable skill in selectively appropriating and re-processing international influences and adapting them to local practices – "de-centered modernisms" we can call them, co-produced as much by their Turkish architects as their Western interlocutors. They constitute a "national heritage" worthy of appreciation in the same way that the country's Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman heritage is valued. Most importantly, they are constitutive sites of everyday modernity to which we look back with considerable amount of nostalgia today –sites that no longer exist in our lives, lost in the last two decades to the twin forces of neo-liberal privatized development and rampant Muslim conservativism.

My overview today was not meant as an outdated glorification of 20th century canonic modernism, which has, of course, proven hugely deficient in the face of new social and environmental challenges. Today we talk about lighter materials than concrete, more

sustainable and renewable attitudes to nature than its total domination and more participatory processes than the technocratic rule of experts. Rather my aim was to draw attention to the revisionist and "de-centering" trends that already existed within postwar modernism in Turkey, to highlight their connections to a larger global discourse and to reiterate the heritage value of these modern buildings and urban spaces. Above all, I wanted to revisit the brief period of optimism and "cosmopolitan nationalism" (yes, not an oxymoron!) which is irretrievably lost today.

In the most recent cycle of the Aga Khan Architectural Awards (in which I served as a jury member), we sought to make a deliberate point of highlighting the need for Muslim countries to re-claim their modern architectures as national heritage. Two renovation and adaptive reuse projects --Oscar Niemeyer's guest house for the 1963 Tripoli Fair in Lebanon and a small concrete shell structure from the 1970s in Sharjah, UAE were awarded and shortlisted respectively. We agreed that, postwar structures like these are refreshing reminders of more confident times when Muslim countries harboured no qualms about building a Brasília-like fairground in Lebanon or experimenting with a Nervi-esque concrete shell structure in Sharjah, seeing them as opportunities for joining the larger international conversation on modernism and modernity.[22]

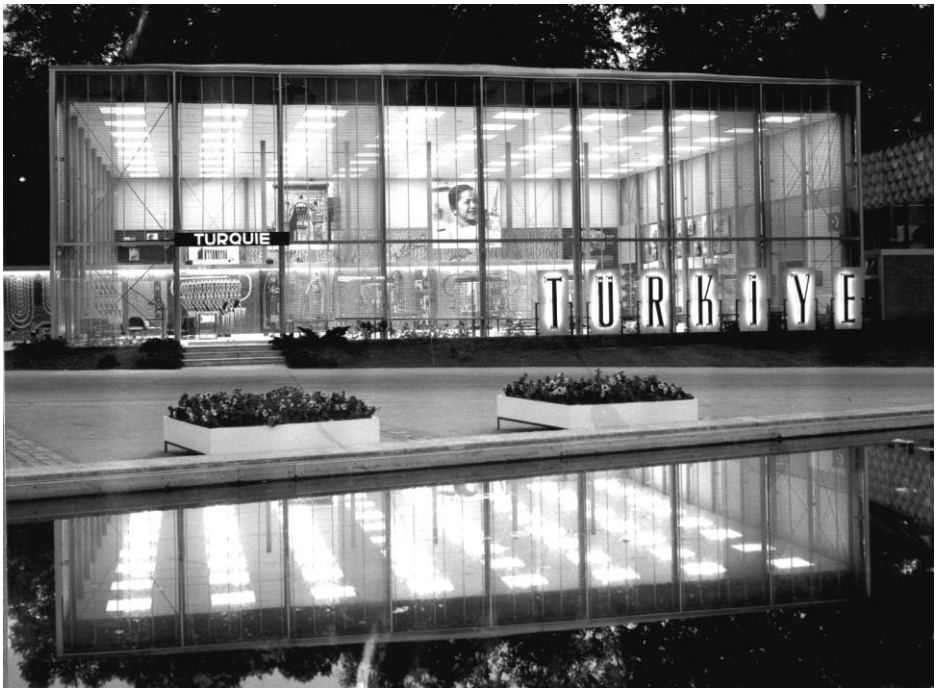


Niemeyer Guest House Renovation (Architects Nicolas Fayad and Charles Kettaneh, recipient of AKAA 2022, "Flying Saucer" Rehabilitation of a 1970s concrete shell structure, Sharjah (Architect Mona El Mousfy) –Shortlisted in AKAA 2022

Our counterpart to them, if we were able to preserve it, would have been the Turkish Pavilion in Brussels Expo'58, a long-lost building, marking a brief moment in time when young Turkish architects embraced the supranational aesthetic of international modernism as their own expression of national progress, with full belief in the possibility

[22] I discussed this in my contribution to the Award book. See Sibel Bozdogan, "Reclaiming the Modern" in Sarah Whiting ed. Inclusive Architecture (AKAA 2022), Berlin: ArchiTangle, pp.174-183

of reconciling them. Let me therefore end with this image and with the words of Andreas Huyssen (and I apologize for repeating this quote too many times, but it is exactly to my point): “We are nostalgic for the ruins of modernity because they still seem to hold a promise that has vanished from our own age: the promise of an alternative future.”[23]




Turkish Pavilion, Brussels Expo, 1958
Architects: Utarit Izgi, Muhlis Turkmen, Hamdi Sensoy and Ilhan Turegun (dismantled and lost)

[23] Andreas Huyssen, “Nostalgia for Ruins”, Grey Room (2006): 6-21

# A Different Kind of Impact: Shifting Priorities in Architectural Education*

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## Introduction

Ernst Egli, Swiss architect, was one of the key figures of early Turkish modern architecture. He came to Turkey in 1927 as Head Architect of the Ministry of Education. In 1930, he was also charged with the reform of architectural education at the “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi” in Istanbul, at that time the only school of architecture in Turkey.

In this article, I would like to give you a personal input on the question of the “legacy” of the early Turkish Republic, from the point of view of my current activities related to the education of architects. However, I must specify beforehand: my input will not center on the development of architectural education in Turkey since the 1930s, for this is another topic to be covered in deep and is not at the center of this text.

Here, the focus will be on the one hand, on Ernst Egli and his educational activities, and on the other hand, on the future and on questions such as: How do we have to educate the next generation of architects today and tomorrow? Which topics are in the foreground? What skills, what basic knowledge and what methodological abilities must be taught today – and in the end what can Egli's work in Turkey and afterwards tell us about this?

## Ernst Egli: architect, planner, educator, urban historian

When Ernst Egli came to Turkey in 1927 - very much by chance - he was a young middle Euorpean architect, 34 years of age, with no particular track record. He had no great architectural oeuvre to show. His fame - if one may speak of it - was limited to the Viennese scene. Beyond that, he was of no particular importance at that time - in the Austrian context, and in the international context anyway.

His essential asset - and the reason why he was invited to Turkey - was that he had been Clemens Holzmeister's assistant at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. Actually, Holzmeister should have been given the position of chief architect in the Ministry of Education. But Holzmeister could not - or did not want to – take over, and suggested Egli instead.

Up to this point, Egli had had little contact with other cultures. His father was Swiss but lived in Vienna; his mother came from Bohemia, then part of the Austrian Empire, and to some extent Viennese “hinterland” - both backgrounds were not fundamentally different from the Viennese environment in which Egli grew up and went to school.

Turkey - especially Anatolia - with its completely different landscape and topography, society and culture, its different climatic zones and its altogether unfamiliar diversity and otherness compared to the Alpine country of Austria, was completely new to Egli.

The stay in Turkey, which eventually lasted 13 years, opened his eyes. Direct contact with the founder of the state, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, also contributed to Egli becoming an ardent supporter of the republican modernization project, nation building. He truly internalized the principles of this project.

Egli eventually stayed in Turkey until 1940. After his beginnings, which were undoubtedly very successful, he became increasingly marginalized in the architectural scene. He and other European experts in Turkish exile were blamed by young Turkish architects for “monopolizing” the large-scale building contracts for state infrastructure, thus robbing the new generation of the possibility to show its worth.

Egli was a moderate modernist, not a creative visionary. Nor did he have a big ego like Holzmeister, which would have carried him through the crises. He was preoccupied with very specific themes, which he studied in depth on the basis of Turkey: the role of landscape and place, morphology of towns; moving in space; the typology of the residential house as the basic unit of human settlement; the influence of climate and culture on building tradition.

Egli's work in Turkey was multifaceted: as an architect for the Ministry of Education, he was responsible for the design of serial elementary school buildings for the rural villages of Anatolia as well as for large educational projects for the new capital city of Ankara, which were also important in terms of their symbolic relevance for society: the new Academy of Music; the School of Commerce; the İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü and the Girls' Lyceum; the campus of the Faculty of Agriculture and the College of Administration.

In addition, Egli also received commissions from parastatal organizations such as Türk Hava Kurumu for its headquarters in Ankara and the aviation school in the suburb of Etimesgut.

Egli had the chance to visualize his new building style in privately commissioned work, such as the exquisite little villa for Ragip Devres in Bebek, right on the Bosporus. By the way a bijou of modernist urban villa typology.

In subsequent commissions, Egli was finally able to demonstrate his understanding of a modernity that was adapted to Turkey and its vernacular traditions and typologies: in the Villa Fuat Bulca in Ankara, for example, and above all in the embassy buildings for Switzerland and Iran in Cankaya, he incorporated programmatic and stylistic elements of the so-called “Türk Evi”.

Probably even more important for the national project and the development of a republican architecture in Turkey was Egli's activity as director of the Architecture School of the Academy of Fine Arts – the “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi” – in Istanbul. The Academy is the precursor of today's Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi. It was at that time the only dedicated school of architecture in Turkey.

From 1930 until his resignation in 1936, Egli reorganized the education of young architects on behalf of the state. The resignation was a result of the cuts at the budget for the school, but as mentioned before - increasingly intense criticism of foreign domination by the Turkish architectural community and the waning influence of Atatürk, Egli's protector and patron.

Many of Egli's students and collaborators at the Academy, such as Hamit Kemali Söylemezoğlu, Asım Mutlu, and Behçet Ünsal, subsequently became teachers themselves, either at the academy or at other schools of architecture that were gradually emerging throughout the country. Thus, they multiplied the ideas that Egli had brought from the Central European context and implemented in the school's program.

Unfortunately, there is little factual knowledge on Egli’s teaching concept and on the programmatic shift of the school that he masterminded. One can assume that the teaching was largely oriented on the Central European curricula that Egli himself was exposed to at the Kunstakademie in Vienna.

I received some anecdotal information from contemporary witnesses whom I was able to talk to at the beginning of my research into Egli, who have unfortunately perished in the meantime.

Important information such as course descriptions and annual reports are missing and are probably lost for good, as the entire archive of the Academy fell victim to a fire in 1948. As a result, and as far as I know, there is almost no information available regarding the curriculum of the school headed by Egli - the design studios and topics, the focus of the teaching, the subjects and modules offered, the structure across the study years, and the skills and methods taught.

Insights can also be gained in a very limited way from the publication and commentary of student papers in the journals and magazines of the period.

## Principles of Architecture

More interestingly, but in the end quite enigmatic, are Egli's notes for his own lectures that are accessible, in the form of a typescript conserved at ETH's archives, written in German, and prepared for publication. This typoscript is titled "Grundsätze und Betrachtungen zu einer kosmischen Architektur. Eine Einführung in die Baukunst" – or "Principles and Observations on a Cosmic Architecture. An Introduction to the Art of Building". The script was never published. One reason may be that Egli's text shows a very obscure, almost spiritual attitude towards architecture, which is not evident in his buildings, and which may have felt foreign to Egli's editors. Egli formulated his doctrine in nine principles, including the following:

- Landscape is the "mother of architecture"; all spatial ideas are embedded in it.
- Man interweaves the natural order with an order of human position/condition, and sequences of states. Resting or moving in the landscape is the beginning of architecture.
- Through various kinds of boundaries -- meaning walls, ceilings, rows of columns, etc. -- transform human condition into spatial organization.
- Building materials and construction techniques serve to embody the barriers of space.
- There is a "basic order" of space detached from architecture. Architecture is the variation and extension of this basic order manifested in the landscape.

I paraphrase these principles, but try to remain quite closely to the original wording. (I could go on interpreting or translating these statements into an architecture theory, but this would require much more time.)

Egli saw his idea of the new architectural language only partially realized in modernism. In this regard, he held: “We have abandoned a language that is several thousand years old, which has varied its style manifold in the history of European mankind, and we do not yet speak another. Modern architecture is the technical preparation of an art yet to come.” Let’s speculate: It is important to note two aspects – architecture space belongs to a larger order; we could say part of nature? And that the technology will naturally lead to a different architecture?)

Of particular interest for an understanding of the teaching at Egli's Academy is also the so-called Milli Mimarı seminar, which originated at that time and served to study the typology of the vernacular Turkish House.

This seminar is primarily linked to the name of one of the greatest architects of the Turkish Republic: Sedad Hakkı Eldem. The seminar’s purpose was to capture and record for posterity the traditional Turkish architecture as manifested, for example, in the old town houses in Beyoğlu and other cities, or the famous Yalı, the weekend houses of the Ottoman elite along the Bosphorus.

Eldem was also Egli's collaborator at the academy at the time. In Egli's account, it was he who gave the initiative to establish the seminar. Eldem, on the other hand, never mentioned Egli. He monopolized this topic to a certain extent with his seminal two-volume work on the “Türk Evi”.

As evident in his “Grundsätze” – “Fundamental Principles”, Egli had an almost “biological” (and cyclical) understanding of landscape as a matrix or substrate on which, or from which, architecture and urban development flourished. With the backdrop of the overwhelmingly positive impressions of his host country on Egli (which are also expressed in his memoirs), it is obvious that the climate as a “constant” of a specific landscape, a seemingly fixed characteristic that would change only in the very long duration of centuries or millennia, was of special importance to him.

This connection between climate and landscape on the one hand and building on the other (both at the scale of “individual housing units” and at the scale of “cities”) may have been obvious to Egli. However, it was clearly not a major topic in urban design theory at that time.

## Landscape and Climate

Egli devoted himself to it in a book that appeared in 1951 in Switzerland in a bilingual edition - German and English. The German title was “Die neue Stadt in Landschaft und

Klima", which literally translates as: "The New City in Landscape and Climate" – the English title being less poignant: "Climate and Town Districts: Consequences and Demands".

Egli's approach of relating settlement and habitat forms on the one hand and climate on the other was novel. None of the theory and textbooks on urban planning that I know of, that had been published in the decades before Egli's publication or around that time – from Camillo Sitte to Josef Stübben to Siegfried Giedion and Edmund Bacon – placed the climatic influences on architecture and urbanism in such a way in the foreground.

Despite its innovative character, Egli's book has its distinct limitations, which may have contributed to its low circulation: the somewhat haphazard structure; the illustration of the principles set forth primarily by Swiss and Middle Eastern examples; the apparent incompleteness of the categories; and the somewhat shallow analytical depth of the investigations.

The idea of these principles did not emerge overnight, but it was substantially triggered by Egli's encounter with Turkey; which helped to get matured. It already shows up in lectures Egli gave at the Volkshochschule (the People's University; an institution of continuing education in the German-speaking realm) in Vienna, but also in the analysis of Protestant church building, which was the subject of Egli's dissertation.

Unfortunately, there is no way of telling whether these ideas also found their way into the curriculum and program of the Academy, due to the destruction of the archives of the Academy in a fire in 1948.

It would be most interesting to learn more about this, for reasons that will hopefully become obvious to you in a moment.

If we speculate a bit about Egli's ideas on landscape and climate and their possible inclusion in the academy's teaching program, what might we learn from the beginning of modern architectural education in Turkey, which he helped to shape?

Let's now make a big leap in time, straight to the present, to the year 2023.

## Architectural Education Today

The mission of a school of architecture is to educate future architects and urbanists; it always has been and always will be.

But what does that mean in concrete terms?

It means, first, and quite trivially, that a professional training service must be provided that prepares the architecture students for their later professional activity in the best possible way. In the context of architecture, this means working as architects and urban planners.

In this context, two essential questions arise quite decisively:

- First: What challenges will shape building and thus architectural design in the near future? What problems arise, how are they to be solved?

This is the question regarding the general relevance of architecture and urban design, their achievements for today's and tomorrow's society: its development, its overcoming of challenges and its wellbeing.

- Second: What will be the role of the graduates of our schools in their professional environment? What services will have to be provided by the architect? What must she be able to do, what skills does she need, what basics?

This is the question regarding the image of the profession of the architect, her role and function in the building processes.

It is obvious that the conditions for the education of architects and urban planners and the challenges the profession faces are radically different today than they were at the end of the 1920s, the beginning of the 1930s.

Then, the focus was on the process of nation building, the establishment of the modern state based on Western models and all the necessary new governance and administrative structures and processes. At that time, the main concern was to consolidate the young republic against its internal and external opponents and to provide the infrastructure needed for the prospering of the new state and its people.

Today, one issue dominates all others and is at the forefront when it comes to the major challenges facing society – climate change and its consequences:

- The meltdown of the ice caps of the poles and the glaciers, leading to rising sea levels thus endangering densely populated coastal areas on all continents of flooding.
- Rising water temperatures in all oceans, which destroy marine flora and fauna and could wreak havoc on today's global system of currents such as the Gulf Stream and El Niño, which in turn would have a drastic impact on continental climates.

- The reaching of absolute temperature limits regarding the habitability in certain subcontinents (especially India, Central Africa and the Arabian Peninsula).
- A dramatic loss of biodiversity throughout the entire food web (insects, birds, mammals), with potentially severe impacts on food production for humans (pollination of crops).
- All sorts of consequences to our “normal” lives?

Global key issues at least partially related to climate change are:

- Global population growth and related explosive growth of megacities: as of now, 55% of the world's population live in cities today; this rate is expected to be close to 70% by 2050, a development which has a whole sequence of related problems such as governability and social unrest.
- Climate- and demography-induced migration
- Demographic changes in the Western world as well as to some extent in emerging economies: Aging, individualization of society, termination of the “social contract”
- The finiteness of important resources, such as energy carriers, water, minerals – but also of living space.
- And, finally, Digitization, with all its facets such as Big Data and Data Privacy and Artificial Intelligence. This, too, is a topic that was far beyond the horizon in 1930 and, accordingly, could not have been part of the curriculum of the architecture schools of the early republic.

Climate change must be of particular concern to architectural education. After all, construction is one of the most important drivers of climate change. Globally, construction and the built infrastructure contribute around 40% to the total of CO2 emissions.

Many factors play a role for the importance of the building sector when dealing with the climate crisis:

- First of all, of course, that the building infrastructure is elementary and ubiquitous for society and the state.
- Then there is the fact that construction, with all its sectors and divisions, also makes up a substantial part of society's production. In addition, building construction as a whole (including the production of raw materials such as concrete and steel) is very energy intensive. After all, buildings that serve as human dwellings also have to be cooled and heated - this also consumes energy.

In any case, it seems obvious that architectural education today - at least in part - must have different priorities and emphases than it had a hundred years ago, or even 50 years ago, and that a major focus must be dealing with climate change and biodiversity and social justice.

It is equally obvious, however, that the architect cannot respond to all of today's challenges through his or her professional activities: Migration and demographic changes in population structure, for example, can only be influenced to a very limited extent by the architect and urban planner through their contributions to the building infrastructure. They must therefore concentrate on those areas in which they can have an impact with their actions, where adapted building can also change something.

In connection with my work for EAAE, I have become more closely acquainted with many schools of architecture in Europe and also in North America. I have also visited various schools in different countries as an assessor and peer reviewer. In all these activities, I repeatedly took advantage of the opportunity for professional exchanges with colleagues, including on issues of curriculum, educational focus, and instructional programming, pedagogies.

At various schools in Europe, the topics of “sustainability” and “CO2 neutrality” have a high priority in the design of the curriculum. At my own school in Switzerland, of which I am the director and dean, I am also constantly confronted with these issues at the strategic and operational levels.

I will take the liberty of presenting you some thoughts on the current demands on architectural education in the last part of my talk.

The goal of any job-related training such as architectural education is to impart basic knowledge and fundamental skills and to deepen these during the course of study. Ideally, such an educational program orients itself on the role the professional will play in the business processes, the “Leitbild” or guiding image of the profession. But what fundamentals and what in-depth knowledge are required for today’s Leitbild of the architect – the role of the architect?

It goes without saying that, even with the current challenges such as climate change and digitalization, certain core competences of the architect continue to be required: spatial imagination and the capacity to design space; understanding the way loads are carried by a building’s elements; a knowledge of the basic principles of building physics; a fundamental knowledge of the history of art and culture of the society for which a work of architecture is designed; etc.

## New Competences for Architects?

In addition to all these perennial competences, the teaching of new competences must be integrated into the curricula and course syllabus, competences which are geared towards combating the overriding threat of climate change to human existence. These are primarily systemic competencies and knowledge about processes and interrelationships:

- First and foremost: understanding sustainability in all its perspectives: ecological, economic, cultural, social and political.
- Second: economics and ecology, and cyclic thinking, i.e. understanding the process of building in all its phases.
- Third: awareness of the importance of resilience - the resistance to adverse influences - of buildings and urban structures.

The demands regarding the load-bearing capacities of a building, the protection of its inhabitants from the elements, the functionality and the aesthetics still apply today and always will. The appropriate competencies will have to be taught in the future as they are now. As also the civil engineer will still be the best sparring partner of the architect.

In addition, there are the requirements of sustainability in all the dimensions mentioned and of the reduction of the carbon footprint of buildings and structures: not only the footprint of the initial construction, but also that of a possible conversion and of the structures dismantling – and also the footprint of the building's use.

In fact, building today necessarily means "climate-friendly building", and by that, I mean two different demands:

- On one hand, the construction industry and thus architecture and urban design must help to ensure that carbon emissions are massively reduced throughout the lifecycle of a building or a city quarter.
- At the same time, architects and urbanists must use their designs to provide intelligent approaches to the resilience of buildings against adverse microclimatic conditions: Being able to cope with local warming and helping to improve the microclimatic conditions of an urban neighborhood or area - for example by cleverly arranging structures so that they do not impede natural air flows which help balancing temperatures locally.

I cannot stress enough the importance of critical use of design strategies aimed at improving sustainability and climate-friendly building include (and I am only making a very sketchy list here, with no value judgments), among many these:

- Circular design; that is design that takes into consideration the entire life cycle of a building or an urban neighborhood, focusing on the five (or more) R's: Reuse, Reduce, Recover, Recycle, Repurpose …
- Energy-efficiency
- Biophilic design
- Passive design
- Regenerative design
- Smart urban design
- Low-impact development
- Community-centered design…

All strategies, methods, and conceptual approaches for improving the sustainability and climate-friendliness of buildings require corresponding awarenesses, knowledge and skills. These must be imparted to future architects and urban planners in the classroom.

This can be done in different ways. Here are a few examples that I know of, how these issues are incorporated in educational programs:

- At the Technological University of Dublin, a case study project investigated how sustainability according to the UN SDGs can be embedded in the five-year bachelor's degree program in architecture. Students were asked to learn how they could contribute as responsible citizens and with a sense of ethical purpose to addressing climate change through architectural design. The project resulted in a substantial revision of the curriculum, with a Climate Agenda as the common thread of the program.
- At the Royal Danish Academy for Architecture, Design, and Conservation RDA (KADK), the Curriculum revision of 2021 was labeled "Change for a Sustainable Future". Since 2016 RDA is working with the UN Sustainable Development Goals framework, with more than 1000 thesis projects actively incorporating one or more SDGs. The purpose is to create a new "green growth sector". Academic staff is recruited with a strong focus on expertise in sustainability. Thematic exhibitions focused on the Circular Economy and on Climate for Architectural Design and Conservation. The 2023 World Congress of the International Union of Architects UIA was co-hosted by RDA. Its topic was "Sustainable Futures – Leave No One Behind!" At the center of all activities is a strong belief in the necessity of inter- and transdisciplinary approaches to architectural design. One

master program at RDA now addresses “architecture and extreme environments”, focusing on the creation of sustainable and resilient living environments.

- At my own school – the School of Architecture, Design and Civil Engineering at Zurich University of Applied Science –, a recent curriculum revision added a compulsory first-year Grundlagenmodul entitled “Climate Culture” to the course list. In the second and third year, another new compulsory module teaches interdisciplinary methods and how to incorporate subjects like building physics, building information modeling, but also natural and social sciences in a project. The idea for this course was triggered by the conviction that the challenges of Climate Change and related issues can only be tackled in a joint effort overcoming existing discipline boundaries.
- The most consequential approach towards a fundamental revision of educational curricula, however, I found in the context of the professional system of the UK. In Britain, the Royal Institute of British Architects RIBA, together with the Architects’ Registration Board ARB, is working on the establishment of a new education and professional development framework with a strong focus on sustainability, health, and life safety. It contains education themes and values for all levels of expertise: undergraduate (RIBA part 1, which is a Bachelor equivalent); graduate (RIBA part 2, a Master equivalent) and postgraduate study as well as continuing education. The framework describes mandatory competences for attaining and maintaining one’s status as a chartered architect. Among these competences, climate literacy is one of the most prominent features, defining a knowledge base to be acquired by anyone aspiring to become a registered architect on, among others, climate fundamentals, sustainable outcomes, circular economy, energy, and carbon, as well as ecology and biodiversity.

## Conclusion

To conclude, let me point out this: It is somewhat of a paradoxon that Eglis book on the interrelation of landscape, climate and the city – which in many ways was the culmination of a lifelong engagement with the topic – appeared at a time when, thanks to advances in technology, the climate situation inside of buildings became completely separated from what went on around. Since the 1950s, efficient and more and more affordable air conditioning and HVAC systems were able to create and maintain constant temperature and humidity levels in virtually sealed buildings, no matter the conditions outside.

Nowadays, our societies have started to realize what some scientists have told us for quite some time: that we cannot afford this kind of attitude and lifestyle and comfort any longer – not just for monetary reasons but for reasons of scarce resources and, most of all, plain survival – not just of us but of many other species.

In many ways Eglis text from 1951 is outdated or too simplistic. But I think he was pointing at something very relevant for us today: a cosmic architecture – freely interpreted in today's language a "systemic architecture" for the environment as a whole.

We can maybe not learn a lot from Egli where technology and applicable strategies for the climate-conscious design of buildings and cities are concerned. We can learn, however, that we have to deal with the current issues of climate – which is also highly political. Architects and urbanists have an obligation to that and – with proper education – the mindset, the knowledge, tools, the will and in co-working for tackling this tremendous challenge.

*Input lecture given on 13 October 2023, Istanbul

**OCTOBER 12,2023 THURSDAY**

## 1ST SESSION: SPATIAL POLICIES OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Chair: Prof. Dr. Ayşen Ciravoğlu

# Encounters with the Public Spaces of the Modern Turkey: Municipal Park and Republic Square in Muğla

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## Abstract

*This paper investigates the socio-spatial dynamics of Municipal Park and Republic Square in Muğla during the Early Republican Period. It focuses on the experience of public space in a peripheral Anatolian city which underwent slower modernization compared to major cities like Ankara. Existing literature on Muğla's Republican Period primarily concentrates on physical environment analysis, neglecting the local population's behaviors and responses to the changing environment. To address this gap, the paper explores the interaction between public spaces and the local population by analyzing old photographs from visual archives, employing critical discourse analysis, and interpreting oral interview expressions. The photographs capture spatial experiences and activities within Municipal Park and Republic Square during the Early Republic. Through a comparative analysis of these significant city centers, the paper critiques modernization, contributing valuable insights to the existing literature on the history of modernization and visual representations of public space in Muğla.*

**Keywords**: *Public space; Early Republican Period; Turkish modernization; Collective memory; Eccentric modernity*

## Introduction

On July 3, 2022, an exhibition opening was held at the *Municipal Park*, the first park of the central district of Muğla, Menteşe, and it was named *Yalabık Park.* Constructed in 1915-16 and actively used in the 1920s and 1930s, the park's popularity declined in the

subsequent decades. However, entrepreneur *Mustafa Yalabık* revitalized the park in 1960 by managing its tea garden, making it the city's most frequented public space until 1978. During the opening, a collection of photographs was displayed, encompassing the period from the 1910s to the 1990s in the Park and Konakaltı center, including the time when *Yalabık* managed the park. These photos, archived by Yılmaz Bozkurt, depicted the city's modernization journey, making them a significant motivational archive for this research. The study focuses on exploring the experiences of the people of Muğla in encountering new public spaces of the 20th century. It aims to answer the following questions: How did the public space produced by the Republic interact with the local people and how did they transform each other in Anatolia? How did the local Anatolian people respond to the contemporary Republican spaces?

Muğla had two significant public spaces during the 20th century modernization process: Municipal Park, an extension of Konakaltı Square from the Second Constitutional Era, and Republic Square, a larger public space reflecting the Republic's ideology, built in the 1930s and 1940s. This article examines the modernization experience of Muğla's local population by using visual archives and oral interviews to comparatively analyze Municipal Park and Republic Square. Approximately 200 photographs from the Muğla city archive compiled by Yılmaz Bozkurt, the Menteşe Municipality archive, and the *Eski Muğla Arşivi* (Old Muğla Archive) Facebook group archive were examined within the visual archive. Additionally, oral interviews were conducted with five individuals aged 60 and above to understand the social developments in Muğla.

The photographs were analyzed through the users' experiences, and both public spaces' representations were interpreted using critical discourse analysis. Following Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1999) text, examining what is included and excluded in a representation allows understanding of the cultural formations that were influential in specific periods. The visual or written representations reflect the ideology and perspectives of their time. Critical discourse analysis investigates how representations are used in social interaction processes and aims to reveal established perspectives in cultures (Rose, 2016). In this article, the visual analysis falls within the theoretical framework of social semiotics and it utilizes Kress and van Leeuwen's method of compositional analysis examining the relationships between the producer and the viewers (both human and non-human) of the visuals, and the ways of looking (from above or below, and from close or far) (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006, p.114-153). In this context, the photographs of Muğla are analyzed compositionally and conceptually. To convey the context of this analysis, the article first briefly presents the historical background of Muğla, followed by a comparative analysis of photographs related to the park and the square. Finally, the current uses of these public spaces are discussed, and the potentials that emerged during the modernization process are evaluated.

## Representatives of the Modern in Muğla - an Anatolian City on the Edge

Muğla Province is situated in Turkey's southwest, surrounded by the Aegean Sea. Its central district, Menteşe is a small, introverted city having a well-preserved heritage. The present standing heritage site is under protection as a *heritage urban site* and includes an area that was established during the Principalities Period, spread throughout the Ottoman Period and covers the spatial development of the first years of the Republican Period.

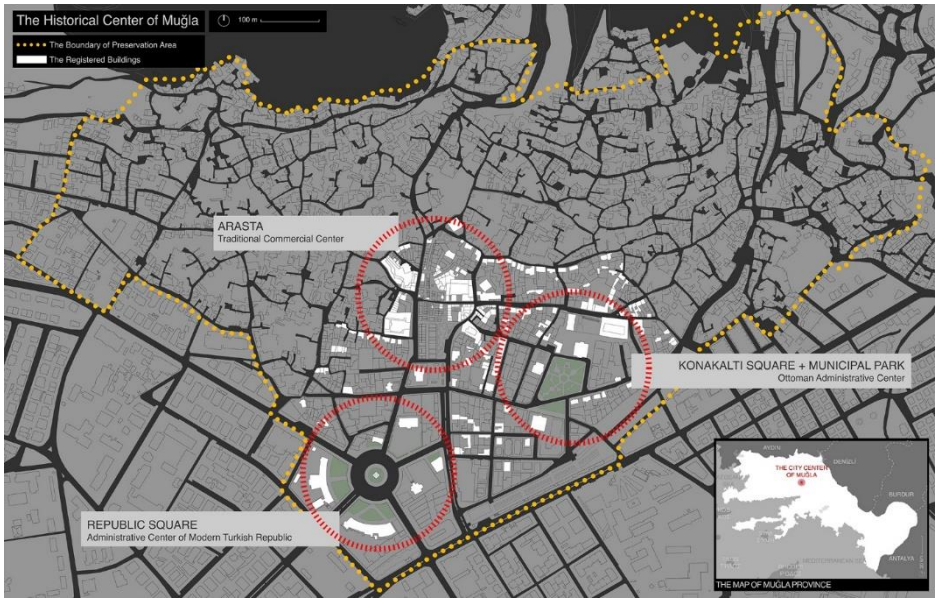



**Figure 1:** Three main public spaces of the historical city center of Muğla-Menteşe (rendered and adopted by the authors).

In the city center, three main historical public spaces emerged during different periods. The first, arasta and inns area, was a traditional commercial center around *Kurşunlu Mosque* from the 15th to 19th centuries. The second, around *Konakaltı Han*, became a new administrative center in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The third space, south of the traditional settlement, is a circular ceremonial square with new architectural typologies, serving as the Republic's administrative center (Tekeli, 2006; **Figure 1**).

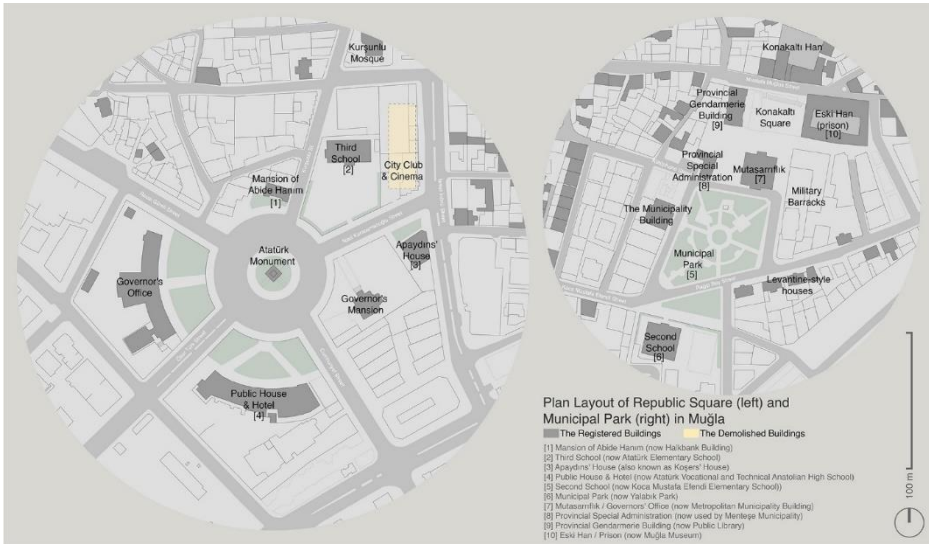



**Figure 2:** Plan Layout of Republic Square and Municipal Park (rendered by the authors).

During the modernization process, Municipal Park and Republic Square were integrated into the city's administrative centers. Municipal Park was part of the Konakaltı center, which began taking shape in the 1870s **(Figure 2).** The Ottoman government implemented a new administrative structure with the 1864 *Vilayet Nizamnamesi* (Provincial Regulations) (Zürcher, 2010, pp.93-94), and during the Tanzimat period, urban development and modernization initiatives began in cities (Aktüre, 1993, p.76). The area featured significant buildings such as the *Konakaltı Han, Eski Han* (originally a prison and now Muğla Museum), Provincial Gendarmerie Building (1865, now the Public Library), and *Mutasarrıflık* Building (1867, Government Office now the Metropolitan Municipality Building), forming a prominent neighborhood where the city's notables lived. The Municipality Building (1871) was constructed to the southwest of the *Mutasarrıflık* Building. Judiciary, and Chamber of Commerce were established in the vicinity of the square. Other institutions such as the Military Barracks, prison, and telegraph office were also added to the new center (Aktüre, 1993, p.76-80). Konakaltı underwent further development, with Levantine-style houses constructed to the south, and the addition of the Second School building (1902-1909; used as the Muğla Girls' Teacher Training School for a period) to provide modern education.

Municipal Park, designed in 1915 as a green landscape and extension of Konakaltı Square, was surrounded by the *Mutasarrıflık* Building, Municipality Building, and Second School. To the east of the park, there was a building used for balls and music performances. Except for the Municipality Building, the other buildings in Konakaltı center have been preserved up to the present day. The Municipality Building was destroyed by fire in 1944. The current Menteşe Municipality Building is relatively newer compared to the other buildings and reflects the characteristics of the Second National Architecture style.

The design of Municipal Park coincides with the period after the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era in 1908. During the transition from an oppressive regime to a parliamentary system, new public arrangements were observed in cities as part of the new openings that came with the people's liberation (Zürcher, 2010, p.177). Governor *Müştak Bey* and Mayor *Zorbazade Ragıp Efendi* commissioned the landscape design in 1915-16 (Bozkurt, 2023; **Figure 3**). Given the presence of military-related buildings such as the Provincial Gendarmerie and Military Barracks in the city center, the addition of a park arrangement after the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era is not surprising. The new administration, formed by individuals with military backgrounds, not only sought to preserve societal freedoms but also played a role in shaping the concept of freedom (Erkmen, 2009, p.42). Surrounded by administrative buildings, Municipal Park symbolizes the public space of the liberated Ottoman era.

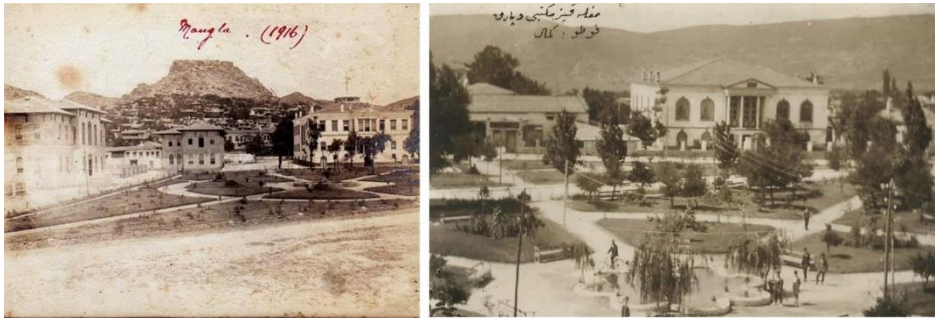



**Figure 3:** On the left, Muğla Municipal Park. The 1916 photograph taken from the Second School shows the recently completed park, surrounded by the Municipality Building to the west, and the Provincial Special Administration and *Mutasarrıflık* Buildings to the north (Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive). On the right, a view from the Mutasarrıflık Building to Girls' Teacher Training School (today *Koca Mustafendi* Elementary School) and the park in the 1920s (Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive).

Republic Square, located at the city's southern boundary and integrated into the old urban fabric, embodies the modern nation-state's identity and symbolizes modernization

(Figure 2). In 1930, following the enactment of the Municipalities Law and the Public Health Law, nationwide planning efforts began to create public spaces representing the modern state (Koca, 2015). A new urban plan, initiated by Governor Mustafa Recai Güreli in 1936 and prepared by engineers from the Ministry of Public Works, included Republic Square surrounded by new public buildings (Tekeli, 2006, p.169). The square's radial plan features five broad avenues extending from the center, where the Atatürk Monument stands, reaching both old and new parts of the city.




**Figure 4:** On the left, the first building constructed in the Republic Square area, which was previously a cemetery and gardens, is Governor's Mansion (1928-30; Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive). On the right, City Club with its cinema behind (1930s; Courtesy of Yılmaz Bozkurt, Mehmet Tul Archive). On the left, Public House and Hotel Building (early 1940s; Salt Archive). On the right, Muğla Third School

(Atatürk Elementary School) (1936; Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive). At the botttom, Republic Square from the Public House' terrace roof (1949-50; Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive).

Various buildings encircle the square, such as *Abide Hanım Konağı*, Third School (Atatürk Elementary School), Governor's Mansion, Government Office, Public House and Hotel. City Club and Cinema are located to the immediate east of Third School **(Figure 4)**. Governor's Mansion, the first building on the square, was completed between 1928 and 1930 before the urban plan's implementation (Güngör, 2018, p.59). Third School and City Club and Cinema, influenced by the First National Architecture, were built between 1930 and 1932. The construction of the Public House and Hotel, characterized by modern aesthetic principles, commenced in the 1930s and gradually opened for use between 1939 and 1940 (Tekeli, 2006). Subsequently, during the Second World War's economic stagnation years, the Government Office was constructed with features of the Second National Architecture. These buildings, compared to European modernism, have a unique character reflecting the interaction between National style and European modernism in Republican architecture (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.20).

## Places Where Memories Accumulate: The Pool and the Monument

Republic Square and Municipal Park, whose spatial formations are briefly described above, were built in different historical conditions, shaped under the dominance of power relations. The common ground of these periods, as described by Tekeli and İlkin (2004) as "shy modernity and radical modernity", is their nationalist perspective in their discourses and their quest to detach from the Ottoman past. However, the consequences of this detachment led to reconciliatory spatial productions in one case and more radical ones in the other, evident through the monument and pool at the heart of these public spaces.



**Figure 5:** In the photograph taken from the terrace roof of the newly opened Public House during the 1938 Republic Day celebrations, Muğla locals can be seen around the newly constructed square and monument (Menteşe Municipality Archives).



**Figure 6:** A commemorative photograph of teachers and students taken in 1938 (Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive).

The Republic Square and Atatürk Monument are the first monument-space where the people of Muğla encountered the figurative monument tradition in the construction of the modern nation. Rising at the intersection of radial roads, the Atatürk Monument is part of the modern urban construction, which can also be observed in many other Anatolian cities. Like the monument built in Ulus Square in Ankara, the capital city, which played a pioneering role in the construction of Anatolia, it represents and visualizes the ideology of the Republic. As Erkmen (2009,p.45) argues, it ensures the representational presence of the national and the political leader in the everyday urban space. The foundation of the Atatürk Monument was laid in 1936 during the tenure of Governor Recai Güreli and Director of *Nafia* (Public Works) Sait Bilginer. It was designed by the sculptor Prof. Dr. Nusret Suman on a high pedestal and was opened on October 29, 1937 (Tekeli, 2006, p.169). The holidays and ceremonies, which were celebrated in the garden of the Third School between 1933-37, began to be celebrated in Republic Square as of 1937. **Figure 5** shows the monument's first anniversary, celebrated with enthusiasm, and presents the

crowd of people taking the shape of the square. Daughter of Apaydın family, one of the notable families of the city, Afet (Apaydın) Koçer, lives just across from the City Club, fondly recalls participating in this festive crowd (Koçer, 2023).




**Figure 7:** Municipal Park (1934; Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive).

Since 1937, every national holiday ceremony has been organized here, and students take group photos with their teachers **(Figure 6)**. During these visits and ceremonies dedicated to the country's leader and savior Atatürk, the city residents stand at attention in front of the monument. These visits are a manifestation of the pride of the people in the victories achieved and the country that has been saved. These official visits and holiday celebrations, captured in group photographs, become part of personal photo albums in homes. Even today, students still pose in front of the monument for commemorative photos.

The Atatürk monument, located in the center of the square, turns its back to the old town and faces the new city that will be constructed with a grid plan in the vast empty space of the Muğla plain. It stands on a high pedestal, overseeing the future of the city. Most likely, this is why many photographs of the square were taken from the balcony or terrace

roof of the Public House. These photographs reflect the perspective of the central administration towards Muğla.



**Figure 8**: Ancestral photos of the townspeople by the pool. From left to right: On the left, on February 2, 1941, Afet Apaydın (Koçer) with her uncle Ömer Apaydın in front of the pool at Municipal Park, in front of the ox head sculpture (Courtesy of Yılmaz Bozkurt, Afet Koçer Archive). On the right, in the 1960s, Birgül Altınok and her friend *Hadiye Hanım* in front of the ox head sculpture and the pool (Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive). On the left, in the 1930s, Mehmet Ali Terzibaşıoğlu (second from the right)

with the leading figures of Muğla, (Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive). On the right, in the late 1930s, Tahsin Ünal (on the left) with his friend (Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive).

The circular geometry of the square is reinforced by the intricacies of its grand scale. The monument's elevated pedestal and its sense of inviolability result in visitors from the city looking up at it from below and from a distance. Besides holidays and ceremonies, accessing the circular area where the monument stands is almost impossible due to the surrounding roads for vehicles.

Unlike the radical modernity of the Republic Square, the Municipal Park has been shaped with a different approach, one that embraces the existing/traditional and organic/settled structure. It is designed to harmonize with the old town, and due to its closer proximity to the old city, it has remained as an integral part of social life and serves as a recreational space **(Figure 7)**. The park's scale and form are not foreign to the current fabric of the city.

Municipal Park also has a radial plan, where pedestrian paths converge at the center of the park, passing through green spaces and trees. However, unlike the square, there is a central water pool in the park. Undoubtedly, after the public spaces formed by mosques, *hans*, and fountains, the addition of a pool at the center of Municipal Park brought a new element into the lives of the people of Muğla. This pool landscape is a novelty distinct from Atatürk's figurative monument. The pool is a *reflective/variable* surface where people take photographs in front of it. The new spatiality created by the water gathers numerous photos around the pool, with its curved boundaries **(Figure 8)**. Among the curves of the pool, there is a sculpture of an ox head from which water flows. The sculpture, now stolen, was a significant element of the pool where people could sit beside and physically interact with it.

The monument and the pool, both located at the center of the square and the park, serve as memory objects that shape the stage for urban rituals. Each of them carries distinct images and meanings. While holiday celebrations turn into a collective memory at Republic Square, the greenery and pool of Municipal Park multiply individual memories and experiences.

## Celebrations and Ceremonies

The spatial difference between the two public areas is also evident in the photographs of ceremonies and national celebrations. National celebrations and ceremonies were organized in Konakaltı between 1923 and 1933. **Figure 9** depicts the day April 23, 1921, the anniversary of the opening of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, which was celebrated as Children's Day from 1927 onwards. The smiling faces of children sitting in

an open-top car adorned with flowers, and men wearing bowler hats, reflect the enthusiasm of the anniversary. Municipal Park, where the mayors delivered their ceremonial speeches, was not just a green landscape but also a *place* adorned with national elements in the collective memory of society, reflecting the excitement of the new regime. In the 1930s, it turned to a city scene where women were now visible in public spaces, discarding the black cover called *büründü* and appearing with hats and modern clothing.




**Figure 9:** April 23 National Holiday Celebration at Konakaltı (1926-33; Menteşe Municipality Archives).

Until 1933, Municipal Park, which was the venue for official celebrations, gradually transformed into a part of everyday life. When national ceremonies began to be held at Republic Square, the park evolved into a public stage primarily used for strolling, socializing, and relaxation. In **Figure 10**, it is seen that the 10th anniversary of the Republic on October 29, 1933, is celebrated in the garden of Third School, in front of the Atatürk bust commissioned by Faik Gazezoğlu, one of the notables of the city. In the photograph, Republic Square, the Atatürk Monument, and the surrounding buildings are not yet present; instead, agricultural fields from the southern part of the city are visible in the background.

One of the fundamental differences observed in the visual archive of these two public spaces is the purpose of taking the photographs. During early Republican period, cameras were not widespread in the city and were usually operated by the affluent class or the administrative staff. Photographs of the square mostly involve top-down shots, recording the construction processes of the square and buildings, which were used to report to the central administration (Bozkurt, 2023). On the other hand, Municipal Park, when first constructed, was captured through top-down shots to describe the city's new public character. However, from the 1930s onwards, the camera descends to street level, framing people within the park at eye level. The park, which transformed into an object from an aerial perspective, now forms the background for the memory photos of families, friends, officials, and students taken at street level. In other words, it turns into the stage of social life.



**Figure 10:** Celebration of the 10th Year in the garden of Atatürk Elementary School on October 29, 1933 (Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive).

## Romanticism and “Attention” in the Souvenir Photographs

The differences between Municipal Park and Republic Square can be interpreted from the perspective of Ottoman romanticism. Günkut Akın (2003) discusses the potentials of

the style as a short-lived period in his text that examines the First National Architectural Period through the lens of Ottoman romanticism. The reflection of Ottoman romanticism in Muğla's urban landscape is manifested in the Municipal Park, while in the Republic Square, the primary element shaping the public space is the representation of power.



**Figure 11:** Güler Sayman and Sezer Baba playing snowball in Municipal Park (1960s, Yılmaz Bozkurt Archive).

Alev Erkmen (2009, p.43) compares the monuments of both periods, explaining this with the concepts of romanticism and authority. Romanticism and authority embody contrasting approaches in the organization of an urban space. Romanticism emphasizes individuality in landscape arrangements. Parks with irregular, winding paths and organic forms, containing ponds, sculptures, bridges, and lush greenery evoke emotions. Although Municipal Park is quite small in scale, it carries hints of romanticism with picturesque views, a pool created with a curvilinear contour and softened radial pedestrian paths meeting at curvilinear points. These organic park elements allow city dwellers to freely wander and evoke their emotions, transforming the park into the stage

of their own experiences or dreams, from women playing with snowballs to prominent families of the city, from couples to young girls gathered around the pool **(Figure 11)**.

Republic Square, on the other hand, positions itself at a distance where the urban dweller cannot physically engage with it. Its radial plan and scale emphasize control, order, and a grand vision of power. The spatial arrangement is centered around the large-scale Atatürk Monument, reflecting the ideology of the Republic. When compared to the more fragmented and organic connection between Konakaltı and the park, Republic Square appears more majestic. It is symmetrical and formal, with green areas that are not accessible to the public, serving as institutional landscape elements. The buildings and official ceremonies recorded here represent the new Republic symbolically. The crowds of people in the photographs accentuate the centrality of the square and represent social construction.

In Ulusoy's (2021, p.223) thesis, which explores the memory of places in Muğla, while Municipal Park is identified as the location where memories are most accumulated, Republic Square has only been able to accumulate half as many memories as the park. However, starting from the 1950s, the buildings' garden walls surrounding Republic Square have become a space for socializing during evening strolls (Ülkü, 2023). This spatial usage, which increases spatial and social interaction, gradually declines in time In 2019, the Government Office Building and its garden were disconnected from the square when the Governorship added iron railings to these walls (Ulusoy, 2021, p.196).

In the 1950s, Municipal Park had lost some of its sparkle comparing to 1930s, but with Mustafa Yalabık starting to operate his tea garden in the 1960s, it once again became Muğla's most frequented public space until the late 1970s. The park, resembling a zoo with peacocks and rabbits, became a well-maintained public space with a colorful atmosphere. The park became a popular place for the public to have their first toasted sandwiches and watch television (Başarır, 2023; Yalabık, 2023). In the 1990s, the park was renovated and its paths were rebuilt. Although its old meanings have changed, it is densely used today, serving as a social gathering place with its multi-layered history in the collective memory.

## Conclusion

This research delved into Muğla's modernization journey through two significant public spaces, Municipal Park and Republic Square, by analysing old photographs and oral conversations. The people of Muğla enthusiasticaly embraced the modern ideology of the Republic, represented in Republic Square. Accodingly they both acknowledged the modern way of daily life introduced by the Republic and contributed by their initiatives in social and commercial area. Moreover they have stood determined to make these

contributions permanent. Municipal Park and Republic Square played a crucial role in constructing the modern nation, and the people of Muğla accepted and interpreted the idea of modern nation with their authentic cultural and social assets. This study aimed to document the various stages of modernization in Muğla's public spaces, revealing how social interactions unfolded during this process. Municipal Park and Republic Square are vital cultural heritage landscapes necessitating preservation against ongoing urban transformations.

An essential aspect emphasized in this research is the close interconnection of public spaces with their urban, historical, and social context. Both spaces are integral parts of their urban fabric and surrounding buildings, with meanings closely tied to their respective historical and cultural environments. The significance of these public spaces is derived from the daily life activities of city dwellers. A city's history is not just quantifiable data but intertwined with everyday experiences, and public spaces evolve over time through the usage and interactions of its inhabitants. These experiences, are replicated, interpreted, redirected, or transformed through various social actors. By focusing on Muğla's modernization narrative, this study contributes to the extensive literature emphasizing micro-narratives, localities, and diversities in historical and visual culture research related to the processes of modernization.

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# Imagination of Transformation from Architectural Pattern to Urban Open Space in Sivas: The Links of the Practice of Destruction and Reconstruction

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## Abstract

*This study aims to record the spatial meaning systems of urban prestige spaces in Sivas, an Anatolian city, which are lost first through discourse and then through destruction, and their disappearance stories. The research method is based on archival research and fieldwork. Public buildings and urban mechanisms such as Numune Hospital (1952), Army House (1940-63), Industrial Vocational High School (1940-50), Kızılırmak Primary School (1954), Government House (1973), which are the reflection of the rational modernism understanding of the 1930s and turned into places of mental anxiety throughout the 2000s, and the 4 Eylül Stadium (1960), which is an urban open space identity, are the spatial practices exemplified in this study. These spatial practices, which constitute the public portfolio of modernism in Sivas, have been included in a different urban scenario with the process of destruction and reconstruction as a result of the unique urban situation of the 2000s. While local-scale discourses legitimize the demolitions, it has been determined that the urban spaces emerging after the demolition make the 'place' scale uneasy. All of the reconstruction practices have been designed as urban open spaces. The initial track consisting of closed spaces was designed with unstable landscaping arrangements after the demolitions, and the wide and empty textures have become the new images of the urban space.*

**Keywords**: *Demolition-reconstruction; Imagination; Modernism; Sivas; Urban open space*

## Introduction

This study aims to reveal disappearance stories of urban prestige sites in Sivas. Since these prestige sites have crucial potential in terms of urban transformation, their spatial meaning systems are destroyed first through discourse and then through destruction. The research method consists of archival research and field study. Public buildings and urban areas such as Numune Hospital, Army House, Industrial Vocational High School,

Kızılırmak Primary School, Government House and 4 Eylül Stadium, which are the reflection of the rational modernism understanding of the 1930s and turned into places of mental anxiety throughout the 2000s, constitute the sample of this study. The destruction of these areas, which were transferred to the city as large public programs, and the analysis of the alternatives produced in their place on the axis of reconstruction constitute the content of the study.

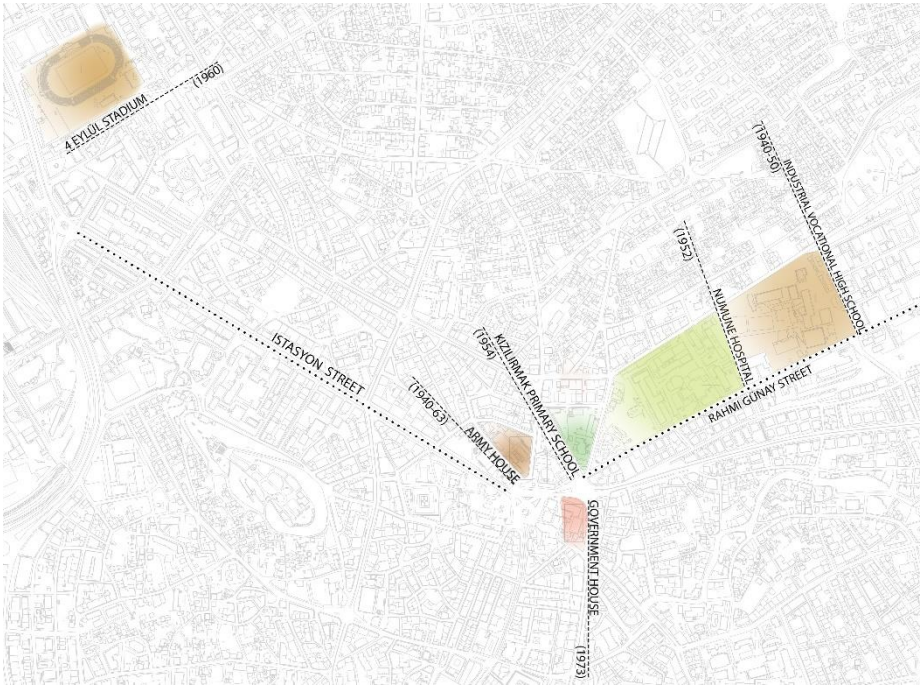



**Figure 1:** Public buildings and their locations in the city.

To understand the starting point of the Republican modernization on the scale of Sivas, it is necessary to consider the Cer Atelier established in 1939, while it is necessary to focus on the important axes of the city to understand the public manifestation of the same modernization practice in Sivas. Among these stand out the Government House dated 1884 and the İstasyon Street axis, which connects the square in front of it to the train station on the west side of the city, and the Rahmi Günay Street axis, where the Ottoman modernization sprouted and connected to the square from the north. While

Numune Hospital, Industrial Vocational High School and Kızılırmak Primary School stand out with their locations on Rahmi Günay Street, Army House at the eastern end of İstasyon Street and the 4 Eylül Stadium holding the western end of the artery and finally the Government House at the intersection of İstasyon Street and Rahmi Günay Street are extremely valuable spatial pieces (Figure 1). In terms of architectural literature, this valuation is characterized by content linked to the radical modernity project of the 1930s, while the valuation of the same areas by local authorities stems from the audacity to create the distinctive urban space of the 2000s.

## 1. Public Visibility and Portfolio of Modernism in Sivas

In the context of the Republican ideology, the radical modernity project created the urban prestige spaces of the nation-state ideology, especially the capital Ankara, and ensured the establishment of the public space. The processes in which space and design practice were transformed have been carried out as actions that infiltrate and settle in the porous texture of either the urban space or the building stock from the previous century. Modernism declared its public visibility in urban space, and an attempt was made to create a systemic sociality until after the second world war. There are two kinds of triggers for this. The first is that modernist architectural knowledge criticizes the physical environment in which modern man exists and in which publicity takes place because it is not modern (Tanyeli, 2017). Thus, breaking with the old and creating the new has become one of the basic ideologies of the nation-state. The words ‘modern’ and ‘contemporary’ were used synonymously in the 1930s as the opposite of the traditional equivalent of new and anything in the Ottoman Empire (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 18). The second trigger is the social redefinition of publicity by moving out of the visibility that includes a limited world of life through the 'modern'. Lefebvre (2015, p. 126) states that social space is an artefact and means "the realization of social existence". The ideology of the nation-state has also shaped the practice of architecture and urban space as a priori conditions for substituting and consolidating its existence and the new society of the republic through its existence. According to Bozdoğan and Akcan (2012, p. 19), embracing the rational/functional progressiveness of modern architecture and urbanism in this period was a way to legitimize revolutionary regimes as active agents of modernity. Modern architecture, which was chosen as a conscious and deliberate option, was a tool of public visibility and propaganda that broke the ties of the new republic with the old. Thus, until the erosion of modernity after 1980, the large public programs that were transported in large chunks into urban space were the highly legible ‘modern’ portfolio of cities. Because the outside in the modern city is not only an image but also a photographic sight (Colomina, 2017). For this reason, such public spaces, which were transferred to the urban space to design modern publicity and which disciplined their immediate surroundings with planning decisions, also formed the hereditary traces of the

space with the dialogue established with the 'place' and the way of understanding the 'place'. Moreover, social space is a kind of plurality of spaces. In the overlapping, intertwined social space, the local does not disappear, but is absorbed by the national and global; as such, it includes possible accumulations (Lefebvre, 2015). The real issue here, then, is that over time, worldviews change and desire new spatialities that suit them.

In the public portfolio of modernity in Sivas, Numune Hospital, Army House, Industrial Vocational High School, Kızılırmak Primary School, Government House and 4 Eylül Stadium not only have a subjective content but also constitute an important inventory. On the other hand, in the way this portfolio constructs social space, the influence of the radical modernity project from the centre to the provinces plays a dominant role. The image of modernist aesthetics in the same portfolio in the form of its conception of place is conjugate with the fact that modernism has become legible and visible in the city. The formal repertoire language of the city has entered a new phase with the introduction of pure masses of cubist and prismatic influence into the local architectural practice. Traditional structures have met with the 'modern' transplanted into the porous texture, and social spaces that distinguish the 'modern' from the other have been established. For example, the Army House building, which forms an angled orientation and diagonal topographic section to capture the appropriate perspective of the square where the pre-modern buildings under the traditional core and elevation are together, is a pure white mass. The corner tower located at the eastern end of the building can be understood as a prism referring to the corner tower of the historical gendarmerie building immediately adjoining it. Together with the other structures in its garden, the army house occupies a large parcel that is closest to the square and can be described as the continuation of a historical layer from the 19th century.

On the western line of İstasyon Street, which is also the most visible area of the modernization practice at the urban level and which opens to the square axially, the 4 Eylül Stadium, which was included in the public pattern in the 1960s, is also a complementary urban area with urban open space fitting. Designed as an open public space, the stadium is a venue for rituals belonging to the cult of youth and health. This wide-open space, while opening the west side of the city to construction through the public buildings and cooperative residences located around it, has also shaped an alternative new route that runs parallel to İstasyon Street just to the north of it. The new Government House (1973), which was built in addition to the area northeast of the Government House that completed the eastern end of İstasyon Street, was designed with content influenced by the contextualist movements of the period. It can be said that this structure was designed in the period when rational modernism was softening and becoming permeable, and with small stylistic shifts. In addition, the positioning of the

structure, the solution with the inner courtyard and the connection it establishes with the arteries of the city are the elements that make the tectonic content of the structure valuable.

On the other hand, Numune Hospital (1952-54), which was included in a characteristic area such as Kabakyazı at the beginning of the 1950s, is the most dominant example of republican modernization in Sivas both in terms of its domination of urban space and its architectural language. The building was a legitimate representative of monumental classicism with its prismatic body, long facade, wide eaves, symmetrical plan organization and monumental/noble facade layout. Although it did not have a direct connection with the city square, the mass of the building gave an overwhelming silhouette towards the square due to the topographic section. More importantly, Numune Hospital has transformed the parcel where it is located with a strong construction practice. Until the 1980s, the hospital garden had the appearance of a health campus with other health structures added to the area north of the hospital. The square area to the south of the hospital presented an example of modern urban design, with the balcony on the central axis of the facade of the building in this direction. This square layout was converted into a park area by the municipality of the period in the 1980s. In the parcel located on Hastane Street to the west of this park, Kızılırmak Primary School is located. Despite its singular and small scale, the school was important in terms of being located in the extension of the parcel where the Numune Hospital was located and maintaining the public space established by the modernization of the republic with a formal, functional and semantic continuity. Accordingly, there was also the old public education centre located adjacent to the school and shaped similarly to the multi-part mass organizations of the 1970s. Together, these two structures under the elevation created the imaginary spaces of a modernizing society with their modest scales created against the overwhelming dominance of the Numune Hospital. The Industrial Vocational High School, located further north of Numune Hospital, was another campus consisting of multiple blocks with prismatic bodies. At the southeastern end of the large parcel where the school is located, there is an industrial school used as a museum today. This large parcel is the clearest representative of the overlapping/intertwining social space. The field has been shaped by the practice of rational modernization of the 1930s, beginning in the early 20th century. Thus, Rahmi Günay Street, which is constantly consolidated with public buildings, is framed with a daily life ritual that is especially riveted by health and education functions. In summary, the public programs added to urban space until the 1980s, despite minor stylistic shifts and the search for new formal language, exhibited a settlement behaviour in line with the planning principles put forward by the rational modernism of the 1930s.

## 2. Urban Renewal and the Desire for Destruction for Construction

The public portfolio of modernism shows that republican modernization has established a pattern of publicity with enclosed spaces, small space arrangements in front of them, and planning decisions that rationalize their immediate surroundings. In addition to the criticisms directed at modern architecture, especially in the post-war period, the formation of an increasingly constructed and consequently congested urban fabric began to change the meaning of building, demolishing and rebuilding. While modernist urban planners aim to establish holistic domination of the city through closed-form design, postmodernists view the urban process as an uncontrollable thing in which change plays a game in open situations (Harvey, 2012). Postmodern architecture is known to have developed an urban-based morphology known as contextualism (Jencks, 1985, p. 374). One of the early reflections of this in Sivas is the Municipal Service Building (1963-1967), which is located in the city square and was obtained through a competition opened in 1963 (Figure 2). The specification of the competition refers to the historical development of the city from the Middle Ages to the 1960s and explains that the new town hall and social facilities should comprehend the context in which it is located and present a contemporary design concept that does not ignore it (Anonymous, 1963). In Yaprak Ataman's project, which won first place and was implemented with minor changes, "...the integrity provided by modest and measured arrangements that respond to the local feature and the concern to create a harmonious and balanced environment with historical buildings were considered successful (Anonymous, 1963, p. 9)". While the municipal service building was implemented with its multi-part mass, angled layout and internal garden organization, the high-scale urban design decisions of the project rearranging the square and organizing its connection with the arteries were not implemented. However, the structure, with its creation of defined urban spaces and the arcade mechanism that defines the topographic area, is an important representative of the contextualist approaches of the period. As a continuation of this process, the Tan Cinema, which closed the medieval core in front of it, was demolished in the early 1970s, and the Public Library was demolished in 1993-94. That is, urban renewal has always been accompanied by destruction.

At this point, it is necessary to take a look at the content of the demolition-renewal practice in the urbanization process of Turkey. Although political economy differs according to contexts, the paradigms of modernism that were effective in the construction of the nation-state and the act of "destroying" were used as subjective tools of urban development. In this context, urban renewal has turned into an urbanization content conceptualized through the act of demolishing, which is defined as the concept of "Urbanization by demolishing" in contemporary sources (Baki & Ateş, 2020, p. 51).

Considering it as a historical trajectory, demolition and reconstruction, which led to the development of an attitude that defines the local, especially after the 1960s, have been used to construct a unique urban situation with content that includes urban interventions at various scales in line with the conservative-neoliberal policies strengthened in the new political climate of the 2000s (Özkuş, 2018). From the 1980s to the present day, the practice of architecture has been shaped by different economic and cultural trends. In connection with this, the practice of modernity established by the ideology of the nation-state has faced a challenge consisting of the plurality of postmodern stylistic experiments and different expressions of popular culture such as vernacular architecture or historical reference (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 204). On the other hand, one of the important developments of the late 20th century is the interpretation of public space as a place of consumption and controlled space (Ghirardo, 1996). While this appears to be essentially a spatial manifestation shaped by the policies of market mechanisms, it also marks new forms of representation that the apparatuses of power used to establish their legitimate grounds. As expressed by Lefebvre (2015), the legitimacy of a revolutionary transformation is justified by the fact that it can create artefacts in everyday life and space. In the context of Turkey, this means that nation-(re)building was carried out throughout the 2000s (Batuman, 2019, p. 17). The demolition operations, which increased intensively in the process, were not only a spatial intervention in terms of content but also affected the social one. Especially when the examples involving urbanization by demolition are taken into consideration, the act of demolishing includes multiple relational clusters of biopower as well as implicit or explicit reasons behind it (Baki & Ateş, 2020, p. 52). More precisely, the phenomenon of urbanization by demolishing is a phenomenon that needs to be addressed as a whole with the cause of 'destruction', the actors in the process and the relations of these actors. For example, a neo-conservative discourse carried out in parallel with the secular modernization project and its process of transforming urban space are the determinants of the space practices of the 2000s. In this process, the practice of architecture is based on both late Ottoman images and similar to the postmodern practices of the post-Cold War period (Batuman, 2019). That is why this process has been called the unique urban situation. The unique situation marked the ground of legitimacy and its subjective elements at the forefront of economic and cultural transformation, while at the same time moving to erase the practices of the modernist past. It is also closely related to the way neo-conservative conceptions of the world. Beginning in the 1930s, the modernization of the Republic saw industrialization as a condition for economic development. However, the understanding after the 1980s opposed the concept of industrialization and reversed the assumptions of national development (Gülalp, 1999). In addition, the early practices of republican modernization caused mental anxiety in the 2000s because of their ability to represent and constitute the most valuable areas of the city. Thus, the social consensus on urban space, which had existed since 1923, was broken.

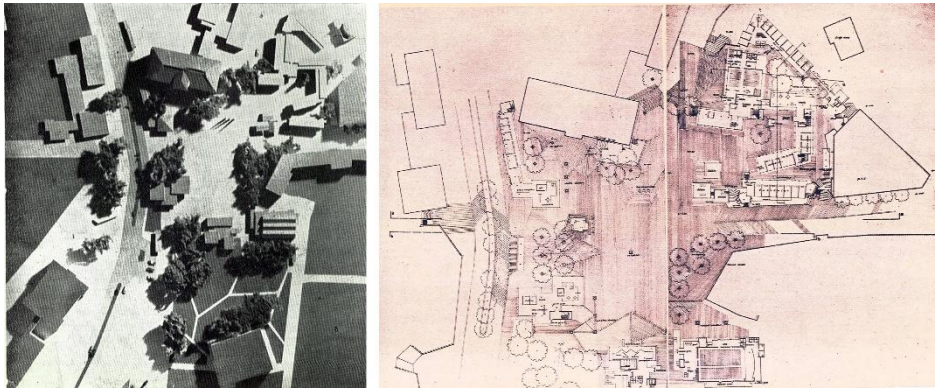


**Figure 2:** Sivas municipal service building (designed by Yaprak Ataman) (Anonymous, 1963).

## 3. Discourse and Reconstruction Practices in Urban Open Space Imagination

It may be a good start to follow the local scale discourses to grasp the unique situation created in Sivas during the 2000s. For example, the demolition of Government House (2014-2015), the earliest demolition in the 2000s in the public portfolio of modernism, was announced in local news with headlines such as “30-year-old courthouse is now history” or “new square in place of the old courthouse” (URL-1; URL-2). While the emphasis on history and the opposition between the old and the new constitutes the mother tongue of the discourse, it is also suggested that a closed space will be transformed into an open square area within the scope of the ‘town square project’ (Figure 3). Another issue to be extracted from this is that new projects have been developed for urban space through the title of ‘city square project’. In this process, to legitimize the demolitions, justifications such as opening the area around the historical buildings, protecting the heritage of the ancestors, and making a parking lot under the square are presented, and on the other hand, the news of another destruction that will take place in the future is given. Accordingly, it is announced that the Army House building, which covers the back of the Congress building, will be demolished and a new square will be proposed in its place.

In the city, which already has a square consisting of a 13th-century core, a 'city square project' was developed, and the Army House was demolished in 2019 (Figure 4). It is emphasized that the Army House area is an ‘open-air museum’ and it is announced that the region starting from the direction of Numune Hospital and extending to Gökmedrese

is designed for tourism purposes (URL-3). Stating that Gökmedrese remained outside the walls in the premodern period, it is necessary to express that in the attempt to create the unique urban situation of the 2000s, there is only a favour for pre-1923 historical monuments and there is a tendency to create an open-air museum. Another demolition that can be considered eccentric to these is the demolition of the 4 Eylül Stadium in 2017 and the construction of a National Garden in its place (Figure 5). The new stadium, which can be associated with a process of renewing stadiums in cities on a national scale, was located at another point of the city, and the old stadium area was transformed into an open urban space. This demolition, which was announced under the title "An idea competition will be held for the project to be built in place of the old stadium", was carried out with the expectation that the alternative project to be produced in its place would be completed through a participatory process (URL-4).



**Figure 3:** Government house area transformed into the July 15 Martyrs' Square (Sivas Belediyesi).



**Figure 4:** Army house area transformed into 4 Eylül Square (Sivas Belediyesi; Th İdil Architects).

On the other hand, among the attempts to produce a continuous square project in the city, the most important demolitions in which the silhouette ensured the urban space and its character were hurt were carried out on Rahmi Günay Street. The demolition of the other structures on the campus in 2016 and the Numune Hospital in a controversial

decision in 2018 was implemented to realize a three-phase project considered in the city. Accordingly, the area of the Industrial Vocational High School (demolition 2020), which is the northernmost part of the street axis, has been evaluated as a museum basin with the industrial school and teacher training school around it (Figure 6).




**Figure 6:** A proposal for museum basin (Sivas Valiliği).



**Figure 7:** Numune hospital area transformed into the national garden (URL-8; Sivas Belediyesi).

In addition, the Numune Hospital area is projected as the second national garden in the city, while the area where Kızılırmak Primary School (demolition 2019) is located is envisaged as the central mosque, complex and handicraft bazaar (Figure 7). It should be immediately noted that as a result of these demolitions, the Numune Hospital, which gave an overwhelming silhouette to the square, was replaced by the high-gauge and excessive layout of the new mosque built on the site of Kızılırmak Primary School. The most important news for the demolitions in this area is the panic and anxiety caused by the uncontrolled destruction of the chest diseases hospital on the Numune Hospital campus (URL-6). Moreover, discourses declaring stakeholder satisfaction through the right to the city have been produced. It was stated that the people of Sivas, who welcomed the transformation of the stadium area into a national garden, demanded that the Numune

Hospital area be designed as a national garden and this was described as the donation of the area to the nation despite the 'rent' (URL-7). The local discourse, which attaches such importance to the participatory decisions, and the semantic value of Numune Hospital in urban culture could be announced with feeble voices.

However, before the idea of a national garden emerged in the hospital area, rumours emerged that a mosque would be built in this area and that the Numune Hospital was not earthquake resistant. The governor of the period announced that the restoration of the registered buildings in this area would be carried out with the emphasis on 'stone building', that the Kızılırmak Primary School, Public Education Center, Army House and gendarmerie lodgings would be removed, that the area would be completely converted into a city park and that a 3 thousand square meter mosque would be built in the middle of the 170 thousand square meter area (URL-9). In the meantime, it was announced that two schools and a public education centre would be built in place of the Industrial Vocational High School area, which was recently announced to be converted into a museum basin (URL-10). Today, while the Industrial Vocational High School area retains its hollow state that emerged after the demolition, a large-mass Public Education Center was built in the northeast direction of the area, which disrupted the scale of the existing texture. These initiatives, which are the subject of local discourse activity, show that decisions on urban space are taken quickly and acted upon by instant requests. When evaluated from the point of view of architectural practice, unlike the demolitions that took place within the scope of the arrangements to be made for the city square in the 1960-70 period, these demolitions that took place in the 2000s stand out with a hollow urban space characterization. While the contextualist approaches of the 1960s tried to reconcile all local values with the 'modern', the unique urban situation of the 2000s set a certain historical milestone in which the ancestors were contacted as a result of the changing worldview and softened the transformation in urban space with categorical classifications.

## 4. Conclusion

To create the unique urban space of the 2000s in Sivas, attempts were made to erase modernist practices. These practices, which can be interpreted as defining new power relations through the city in general terms or as transformation to desired spatial focuses with the promise of urban renewal, are also examples of urbanization by destroying them with their norms. In this study, the Army House area, which is exemplified in the cycle of demolition-renovation practice, is 4 Eylül Square; Government House area, July 15 Martyrs' Square; 4 Eylül Stadium, Sivas National Garden; Numune Hospital, Kızılırmak Primary School and Industrial Vocational High School were designed and transformed as a museum basin and national garden. The trajectory of the demolitions that proceeded

with the discourse disturbed the city's culture of space and the scale of 'place' that had been substituted since the 1930s. All of the reconstruction practices are aimed at creating urban open space. The initial track consisting of enclosed spaces evolved into large and hollow textures after the demolitions. These areas, which are supposed to offer a recreational comfort zone within the congested urban system, have essentially resulted in a lack of definition, unstable landscaping and irritation in the perception of space. Throughout the 2000s, while the great public programs of the 1930s in Sivas were replaced by open spaces, this situation brought about the deterioration of the comparison mechanism between demolishing and rebuilding.

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# Losing the Field: A 100-Year Retrospective on the Prominent Sports Locales in Ankara

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## Abstract

*During the Early Republican period, as a part of the modernization project and necessities of the interwar period, physical training policies and dissemination and promotion of sports became significant under the nationalist policies. Thus, recreational public spaces and sports fields constituted an essential part of the design of the new capital, Ankara. Multiple locales for sports emerged in this period, owned by sports clubs and educational or public institutions, and existing venues were adapted for public use. However, the opening of the 19 Mayıs Stadium and the hippodrome in 1936 marked a shift towards a mono-centric locale accommodating various fields, pushing multiple locales like İstiklal Sahası and Ankaragücü Sahası to the background. The introduction of multi-party democracy and the industrialization of sports events in the second half of the century elevated the centrality of the stadium. Subsequently, transforming spatial mediation into mass media became another turning point. As a result, the centrality of the stadium diminished, and related events were relocated to the new stadiums on the city's periphery. In this context, this research explores the lost 'fields' during these pivotal moments by examining the period's prominent actors, such as sports institutions, venues, and activities. Based on archival and secondary resources, this retrospective overview provides insights into the formation, experience, and loss of the sports locales in Ankara. By revealing these microhistories, the research aims to contribute to the discussions about the future of sports locales in the second century of the Republic.*

**Keywords**: *Sports Fields, Stadium, Recreation, Ankara Sports History, Urban History*

## Introduction: Sport as a ‘Field’ of Research

Sports, as a “well-covered and ever-changing territory that includes the wide-ranging voices and multiple perspectives” (Bass, 2014, p. 149), offers a field of research that crosscuts sports, architecture, and urban history. In this regard, this research aims to

understand how sports can contribute to architectural and urban history studies through social, cultural, and political lenses to reveal an alternative historiography of Ankara.

As a part of the nation-building process through the construction of the new and modern capital Ankara, sports informed new typologies in architectural terms, became an integral part of everyday life, and were given considerable scale and concern in planning the city. Grounded on the genesis of modern sports culture after the Turkish Revolution as "an expression of a political and social paradigm shift" (Doğramacı, 2010) and as one of the fundamentals of the modern way of living, this research uncovers the retrospective history of the sports fields formed, experienced, and lost in the hundred years of the Republic of Turkey through exploring the breaking points concerning the emergence, transformation, and disappearance of Ankara's sports locales. Moreover, it intends to contribute to discussions on the future of sports locales in the second century of the Republic, utilizing historical exploration as a foundation for considering potential directions and possibilities.

Sports in Early Republican history is commonly discussed as a west-oriented state apparatus paralleled the reformist policies (Tokatlıoğlu, 2021; Koçer, 2023). Rather than a broad and overarching story of sports in the 100-year history of the Republic, the narrative of this paper focuses on the micro-histories, investigating how sports fields *acted* as time spaces that were subject to various sports events as “ephemeral performances” (Doğramacı, 2010), in a field of relations between various actors as individuals, institutions, time-spaces, and activities.

The research relies on archival materials such as periodicals, cartographic records, photographs, and secondary resources. Methodologically, the material culture of media was revisited, collected, and interpreted to decipher the transformation of the society and the city. The paper is structured in two main sections in chronological order, highlighting historical moments not as determining forces but as catalysts. Each section has its cyclical structure, providing information on the ‘formation,’ ‘experience,’ and ‘loss’ of sports fields; therefore, the sections are intertwined historically.

## 1. Losing [Multiplicity]

‘Multiplicity’, in this paper, refers to the multiple histories encompassing sports, socio-political context, and the spatial mediation of architecture and planning. Also, it refers to the multiple actors as individuals, institutions, time spaces, and activities visible in this history. This multiplicity in sports as a field prevailed during the initial period after the Turkish Revolution. The period can be dated between the establishment of the *Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı* (TICI - Union of Turkish Sports Club) in 1922 until the establishment of *Türk Spor Kurumu* (TSK- Turkish Sports Association) in 1936. The period’s rich composition of recreational pursuits intertwined with sports showcases the

varied expressions of leisure among different social strata, emphasizing the dynamic interplay between sports and daily life practices. The multiplicity also manifests itself through the lived spaces of Ankara, visible through both planned and unplanned locales, permanent and temporary structures, and diverse uses and transformations of space influenced by ephemeral sports events.

## 1.1. Formation

During the Early Republican period, physical training policies and the promoting new sports branches were instrumental in portraying a 'healthy image' of Republican Turkey, countering the Ottoman image of the 'sick man of Europe' (Yavuz, 2021). The establishment of the TICI marked the beginning of the sports history of the Turkish Republic. As a publicly funded organization, TICI became a significant political mediator in executing government sports policies, focusing on international competitions, and developing diverse sports cultures beyond football (Yarar, 2014). Educational policies and institutions also played a significant role in disseminating modern sports. The establishment of sports associations, the organization of curricula in *Halkevleri* (People's Houses), schools (i.e., *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü*, 1926), and the construction of new sports halls and centers contributed to this institutional ecology (Cantek and Yarar, 2009; Özgenel, 2017).

The reflection of these reformist policies on urban space and daily life could be traced back to the capital Ankara as “ultimate embodiment of the strong cult of youth and health” and the spaces of “public recreation and collective sports” (Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2013). During this period, three main strategies were adopted to create locales for sports competitions and events (Ertürkmen Aksoy et al., 2022). The existing or newly constructed locales owned or managed by various actors were primarily used. (i.e., *İstiklal Spor Sahası*, *Ankaragücü Sahası, Koşu Mahali* (Race Course), *Cebeci Sahası*, *Halkevi*, Evkaf Apartment (hosting the *Ankara Mıntıkası İdman Salonu*), *Gazi Orman Çiftliği* (Gazi Forest Farm) and the *Karadeniz Havuzu* (Black Sea Pool) in it, Kavaklıdere Sporting Club and Akköprü neighborhood). The second strategy was using urban space as a locale for sports competitions and events. Specific everyday locations in the city (i.e., Ankara Train Station, *Ankara Palas*, Municipality Hall, *Şehir Lokantası* (City Restaurant) and Hakimiyet-i Milliye Square) were transformed into sports locales during a competition or a recreational activity. The last strategy used peripheral areas (i.e., Ayaş, Kayaş, and Elmadağ) as sports venues based on their intrinsic natural landscape qualities. This paper focuses on the prominent sports fields (Figure 1) and the activities they hosted, which appealed to the general public, accommodated large crowds, and integrated more into daily life.

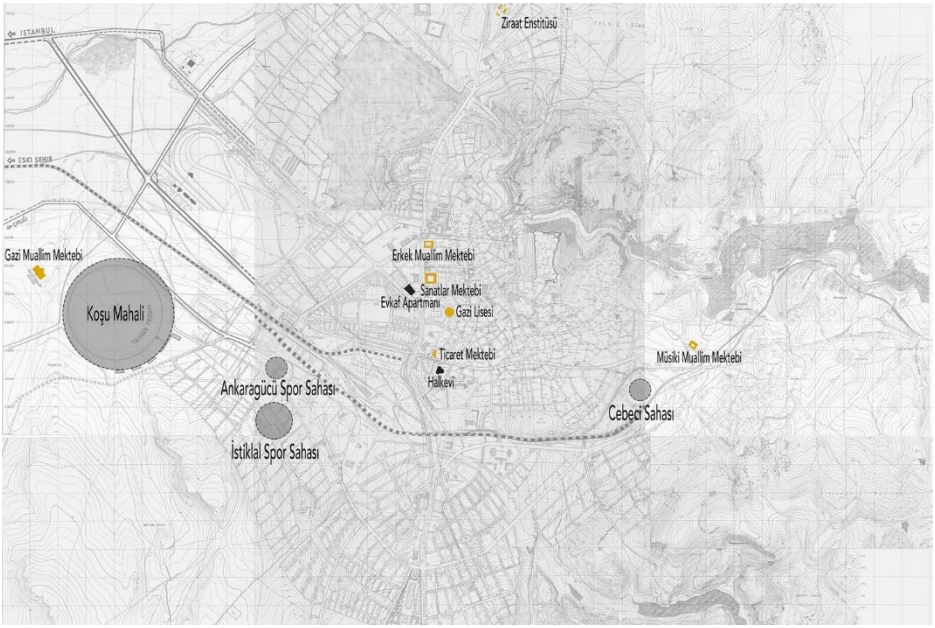



**Figure 1:** Early Republican Period (specifically 1920s and 1930s) Sports Fields Map. Created by the authors from Jansen's early maps, dated 1929-1930.

## 1.2. Experience

In the periodicals of the Early Republican period, mostly referred field is the *İstiklal* (Spor) *Sahası* or, as the news refers, *stadyom* (stadium), which was owned by *Muhafız Gücü*, a sports club of the *Muhafız Alayı* (presidential guard regiment). *İstiklal Sahası* stood as a space of representation of the Republic and its new capital, which not only hosted major national and international sports events and activities such as parades, sports clubs' anniversary celebrations, award ceremonies, and sports festivals but also was instrumentalized for the ceremonial occasions of the state (HM, Mekteplerin İdman Bayramı, 16 May 1932).

Although built as a football field, it was used for multiple purposes, hosting various sports events synchronously and operating as a so-called stadium complex (Figure 2). For instance, the field could host football competitions and cycling races with their public audience simultaneously (HM, Mıntaka Atletizm Müsabakaları, 22 Nov. 1930).

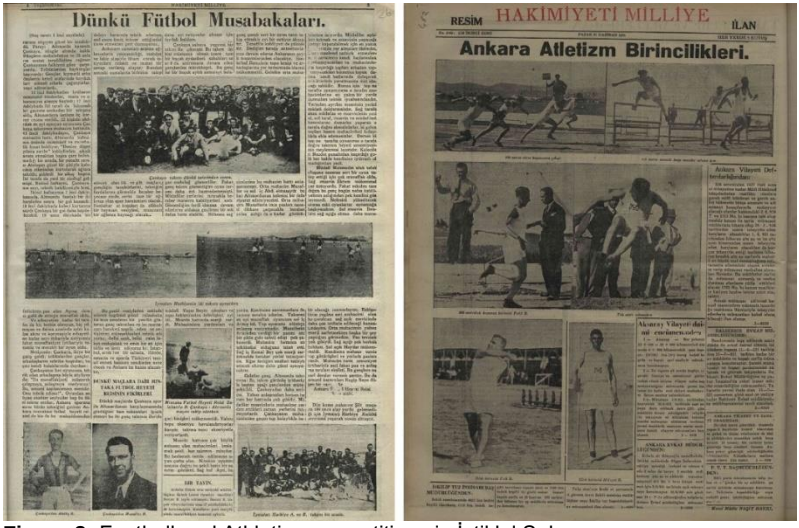



**Figure 2:** Football and Athletics competitions in İstiklal Sahası
HM, Dünkü Futbol Müsabakaları, 03 Oct. 1931, p.5; HM, Ankara Atletizm Birincilikleri, 21 June 1931, p.8




**Figure 3:** Wrestling competitions in İstiklal Sahası.
HM, Resimlerimiz, 23 Aug. 1930, p. 8; HM, Güreş Heyeti Teşvik, 29 Apr. 1932, p.4.

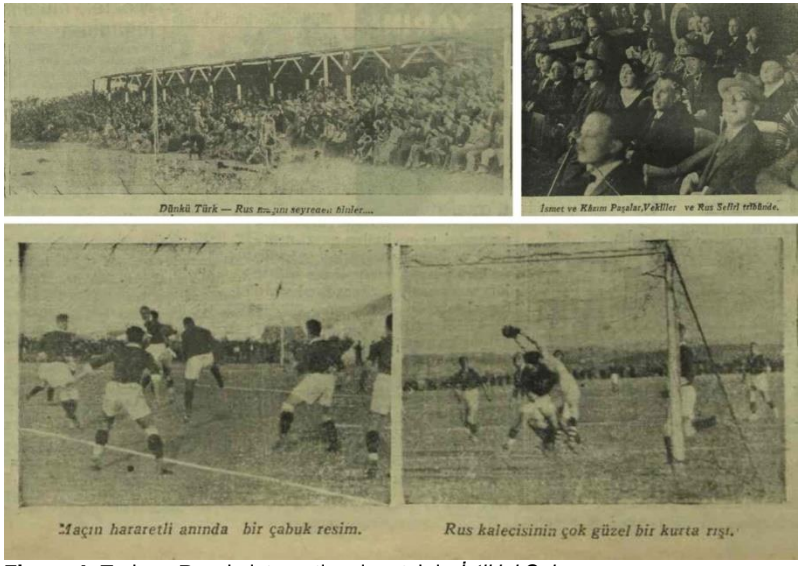



**Figure 4:** Turkey- Russia international match in *İstiklal Sahası*
HM, Türk-Rus Oyunu, 29 Oct. 1932, p.5




**Figure 5:** Turkey - Soviet Sports Contacts.
Ulus, Türk-Sovyet Spor Temasları, 20 Oct. 1935, p.3.

The absence of indoor sports facilities resulted in the utilization of *İstiklal Sahası* by various sports disciplines, such as wrestling (HM, Pehlivan Güreşleri, 27 Sept. 1931). In unfavorable weather conditions, wrestling competitions were held in the Muhafız Gücü's wrestling hall, which was unsuitable for the crowd audience, thus leading to a rather dull experience (Figure 3).




**Figure 6:** Spectators watching the Spring Horse races at *Koşu Mahali.*
HM, Dünkü At Koşuları, 28 May 1932, p.5.




**Figure 7:** Wrestling competitions and Gymnastics festival held in *Koşu Mahali*.
HM, Türkiye Başpehlivanı: Kara Ali, 14 Nov. 1931, p.1; HM, Ankara Mekteplerinin Dünkü, 24 May 1931, p.4.

*İstiklal Sahası* also functioned as a reference point, a landmark, for competitions and events like bicycle or running races, marking the starting or finishing line (HM, Mıntıka Atletizm Müsabakaları, 22 Nov. 1930). It had been the assembly area for the public audience, where they saluted the athletes and started walking with the crowd on the race route throughout the city.

Besides being a sports field, *İstiklal Sahası* was a place, like many other places in the capital city of Ankara, where the new regime was represented. To illustrate, in 1932, a team from Russia came to Ankara to play a football game (Figure 4) and visited the new and modern buildings, such as *Gazi Orman Çiftliği*, *Meclis* (Parliament), *Vekaletler* (Ministry buildings), *Erkek Muallim Mektebi* (Boys' Teacher School) and *Ziraat Enstitüsü* (Institute of Agriculture). The news mentioning the efforts to prepare and present the field for this international match indicates that along with these significant buildings the field

itself was also considered as a place representing the new and modern Republic (HM, Türk-Rus Oyunu, 21 Oct. 1932).

*Ankaragücü Sahası,* built in 1934 (Dinçer, 2017) "in front of the club building behind the station" (HM, Ankara Gücünün Yeni, Aug. 31, 1934, p.5) hosted many national and international competitions of football, athleticism, and wrestling (Ulus, 28 July 1935), and was a landmark for races albeit on a smaller scale. The agency of *Ankaragücü* as an active sports club among its contemporaries, whose initiations and organizations brought it to the forefront in the sports history of Ankara, should be mentioned. In 1935, for the match of Turkish-Soviet teams, *Ankaragücü* had to reorganize the space by enlarging the tribunes to provide enough space for the audience despite the economic incapacities (Figure 5).

*Cebeci Sahası* also served as a field for many urban recreational and sports activities from the 1920s onwards. It was the primary locale for football until 1923, when *İstiklal Sahası*, was established (Dinçer, 2018). *Cebeci Sahası* lost its recognition as the primary sports locale of Ankara after *İstiklal Sahası* was celebrated to be the modern sports field of the new capital and was neglected in terms of the affordances of space (HM, Dünkü Maçlar, 19 Mar. 1932).

As mentioned in the news, “the old race field opposite the train station” (HM, İlkbahar Yarışları Bugün, 17 May 1929, p.1), *Koşu Mahali* was the first address of horse races, which was a part of daily life and leisure activities. Horse races, recurring and the most significant events of the weekend, made *Koşu Mahali* and its tribunes one of the most vital public spaces of the city (Figure 6). Apart from the general audience, the events were frequently attended by senior government officials (HM, Bugünkü At Yarışları, 27 May. 1932). The field was also utilized for other purposes, such as sports festivals and wrestling competitions (HM, Ankara Mekteplerinin Dünkü, 24 May. 1931) (Figure 7).

As a reflection of the physical training policies, most educational buildings had sports fields where students were trained and competed with other schools. Among these, *Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsü* stood out, hosting several regional and national leagues and competitions in different sports branches like football, volleyball, and athleticism (HM, Türkiye Futbol Birinciliği, 28 Oct. 1933; HM, Atletizm Teşvik Müsabakaları 16 June 1934).

### 1.3. [Loss]

The sports-oriented strategies of the state, conducted by TICI, called for new sports locales and initiated a process of planning for new sports fields in Ankara. The central authority, desiring the construction and development of the new capital, sought support from foreign experts in planning and architecture. In this direction, the plan of German architect and planner Lörcher (1924) was first assigned. In Lörcher's plan, in the

northeastern region of Ankara Station, there were sports areas, a city park, and an exhibition garden (Korkmaz, 2019). The governing authority found Lörcher's plan insufficient, thus initiating a competition process in 1928, which resulted in Jansen's plan to give the new capital its 'so-needed' (HM, Jimnastik Şenliği, May 24, 1930) architectural complex, the stadium.

After the opening of the Stadium in 1936, although still used (Ulus, Bölge Kupası Maçları, May. 9, 1938), many of the prominent fields lost their significance of being the first address of sports competitions and events in the city, especially *İstiklal Sahası* and *Ankaragücü Sahası*. The loss of 'everyday fields' to the stadium diminished the casual contact of urban residents with sports events.

## 2. [Losing] Centrality

'Centrality' addresses the process of institutionalizing sports starting from the late 1930s, referring to the displacement of sports clubs with the central institutions of the state on the one hand and the domination of state-supported large-scale architectural structures over the unplanned sports fields scattered in the city on the other. This period started with the opening of 19 Mayıs Stadium and Hippodrome, and the establishment of TSK in 1936 and *Beden Terbiyesi Genel Direktörlüğü* in 1938 (Turkay and Aydın, 2017), which unified sports clubs under one umbrella organization. This centralization led to a loss of autonomy for sports clubs and educational institutions, also a decline in the variety of sports branches with the rise of football, that limited the contingency for sports events to shape public spaces without specific architectural forms.

### 2.1. Formation

In line with the central authority, Jansen emphasized the importance of physical training for the health of the entire society, particularly the youth. In his plans (1932), Jansen proposed differing sports area concepts. These included open spaces for sports activities, mainly located near schools, open to the public but primarily intended for students' use; public stadium(s) dedicated to specific sports such as football fields, tennis courts, sports halls, and swimming pools; and a hippodrome, where major sports events, holiday celebrations will take place (Burat, 2011). In parallel, Austrian Professor Ernst Egli, who designed most of the educational institutions and their sports hall, was commissioned to plan the sports fields that were proposed by Jansen (HM, Spor. Ankara Spor, 10 Apr. 1932).

Regarding the site determined as the main stadium in the Jansen Plan, a competition was held in 1933 (Figure 8). The winning plan by the Italian team led by Vietti-Violi was put into action in 1934, and the stadium was opened in 1936 (Ulus, Stadyumu Bugün Başbakanımız, 15 Dec. 1936). In the architectural program of the stadium, a football field, a running track, and separate smaller fields for a variety of athletic branches were

proposed. The tribunes of the stadium were built with concrete construction techniques, providing space for 32.000 spectators (Doğramacı, 2010). Hippodrome included barns and saddle loggias for the horses and necessary infrastructure for hygienic and maintenance purposes (HM, Ankara Stadyom ve İpodromu, 17 Feb. 1934).


Yarış Yeri ve Stadyom Projeleri Tetkik Edildi.
Jüri Heyeti Bugün Yarın Kararını Verecek
Plân ve projeler dün jüri heyeti tarafından tetkik olunurken.
Yarış yeri ve stadyom projesini seçmeye memur hakem heyeti C. H. F. Umumî kâtibi Recep Beyin reisliği altında iki gece üstüste Halkevinde toplanarak projeleri tetkike başlamıştır.
Bir Macar ve bir de İtalyan mütehassısları tarafından yapılmış o-
İtalyan şirketinin yaptığı proje.
Macar şirketinin yaptığı proje.
tan iki proje mevcuttur. Heyet, bu iki plân üzerinde grupların mühendisleri tarafından verilen mufassal izahatı dinlemiştir. Heyet bu projelerden birî hakkında kararını bu günlerde verecektir. Birinciye üç bin, ikinciye bin beş yüz lira mükâfat verilecektir.
Ankara Stadyom ve İpodromu.
BU BÜYÜK YAPI NİSANDA İHALE EDİLECEKTİR.
Ankara'da yapılacak büyük stadyom ve ipodromun muhtevi şartnamesi hazırlanmıştır. İştiyalere verilmekte olan bu şartnameye göre büyük yapı 16 nisanda ihale olunacaktır. Keşif bedeli 1,389,782 liradır. Stadyomda 2500 kişilik oturacak, 1000 kişilik ayakta seyredecek yer bulunacaktır. Tribünler betondan inşa

**Figure 8:** The newspaper articles on the 'Hippodrome and Stadium Plan Competition' and the winning project by Vietti-Violi.
HM, Yarış Yeri ve Stadyom, 14 Jun. 1933, p.1; HM, Ankara Stadyom ve İpodromu, 17 Feb. 1934, p.3.

The stadium hosted many football, boxing, athletics, handball, and tennis activities. There is also news of cycling competitions in the stadium (Ulus, Bisiklet Takip Yarışmaları,15 May. 1949).

About thirty years later, another stadium was built in Ankara on the Cebeci Sports Square designated by Jansen in 1932 (Figure 9). In the plan, Jansen reorganized the *Cebeci Sahası*, which was already used as a sports field dating back to the 1920s and a vital public space for leisure activities from the 1950s onwards (Cantek and Zırh, 2014). The stadium was included in the Yücel-Uybadin Plan of Ankara in 1957, and a national architectural project competition was held in the same year. The project by Erhan, Çakıroğlu, and Baban won the first prize (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, n.d.). The stadium's construction started in 1963 and was completed in 1967. Only the stadium part of the complex proposed in the Jansen plan was realized, while the remaining parts were abandoned for residential uses (Önsel-Atala et al., 2022). The stadium hosted mainly football and athletics competitions for the second league and local sports clubs.

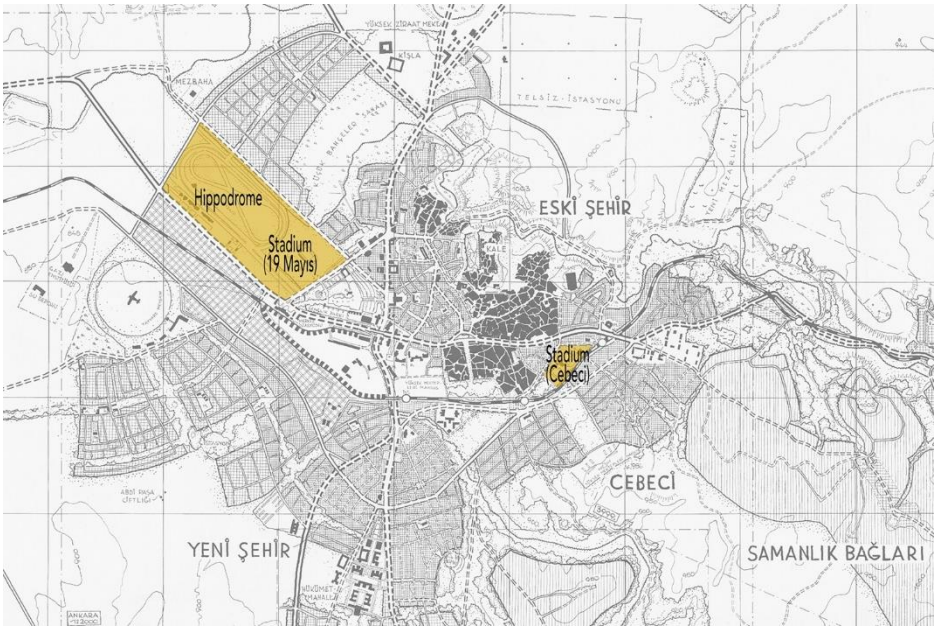



**Figure 9:** Map showing the stadiums and hippodrome from 1930s to 1970s.
Created by the authors from the Jansen's 1: 10000 map (12.05.1937).

## 2.2. Experience

In the news regarding the stadium, the "great stadium and hippodrome" is depicted, calling it "a high value cultural asset" for the youth (HM, Ankara Stadyom ve İpodromu, 17 Feb. 1934:3) and "a truly commendable and a modern masterpiece for all athletes in the country, a contemporary stadium" (RU, Ankara Stadyumu, 24 Dec. 1932: p.72-73). The news also states that a massive crowd filled the stadium with enthusiasm for the opening ceremony, which manifests the public opinion about the new celebrated field (Ulus, Milli Küme Maçları, 29 Mar. 1937)

The stadium, which could compete with its European counterparts in terms of its construction techniques, scale, and program, was primarily designed to provide a suitable venue for athletics and accommodate a mass audience. Other sports branches, that were difficult to be hosted in *İstiklal Sahası*, found place within the smaller fields that were part of the stadium's multi-cell structure. The stadium hosted a significant number of recurring events (Figure 10) such as Athletics Championships (Ulus, Atletizm Müsabakaları, 1 Jul. 1939), football competitions including the league of schools (Ulus,

Okullar Arası Futbol, 6 Dec. 1946), boxing (Ulus, Ankara - İstanbul Boks, 15 Sep. 1941) and wrestling contests (Ulus, Dünkü Spor Hareketleri, 15 Sep. 1941), where high-level protocol of the state made public appearance occasionally (Ulus, Ankara Canlı Bir, 29 Mar. 1937).

Similar to *İstiklal Sahası*, Stadium also became a landmark for the tours and contests in the city, such as *Bisiklet Şehir Koşusu* (Ulus, Bisiklet Yarışları, 27 Feb. 1938). The stadium was also able to accommodate concurrent events. For instance, Cross Championships (Ulus, Kros Şampiyonası, 29 Mar. 1937) and boxing competitions were organized before the national football league matches on the same day (Ulus, Bayramda Yapılacak Spor, 17 Aug. 1947).



Dünkü spor hareketleri

Dün Ankara'da İstanbul Ankara boksörleri arasında 19 Mayıs Stadında maçlar yapılmış, ayrıca 21 bölgeden gelen mükellefler Atış Poligonunda müsabakalar yapmışlardır. İzmir'de Fuar yüzme müsabakalarına dün muhtelif bölgelerden gelen yüzücülerin iştirâkiyle başlanmış ve İstanbul'da da yeni futbol mevsimi, parlak bir merasimle dün açılmıştır.

Yukardaki resim Ankara boksörlerinden İsmet ve Muharrem arasındaki karşılaşmayı, aşağıdaki resim de poligonda atış yapan bir mükellefi gösteriyor. (Spor haberlerimiz 5 inci sayfadadır.)

Ankara canlı bir spor günü yaşadı

Millî küme maçları

F. bahçe Gençlerbirliğini 1 e karşı 2 ile yendi

İzmirdeki maçta Doğansporla Beşiktaş bir bire beraber kaldı

**Figure 10:** Sports events held in the stadium.
Ulus, Dünkü Spor Hareketleri, 15 Sept. 1941, p.1; Ulus, Ankara Canlı Bir, 29 Mar. 1937, p.1.

Another significant field, the Hippodrome, stood out from other fields seasonally, especially during the spring and autumn races, which attracted great crowds (Figure 11) as well as many prominent statesmen (Ulus, Dünkü At Yarışları, 18 May. 1936).

In addition to hosting sporting events, 19 Mayıs Stadium and the Hippodrome was also the central location of the national 19 Mayıs celebrations (Figure 12) (Ulus, 19 Mayıs Gençlik, 20 May. 1949).

## 2.3. [Loss]

With the introduction of multi-party democracy and sports industrialization in the latter half of the century, 19 Mayıs Stadium and Hippodrome, hosting large-scale events gained even more centrality, further displacing the former multiple fields. However, this centrality was challenged by the changes in the mediation of sports events by the mid-century. In 1959, the first sports event, a football match, was televised in Turkey. This

pivotal moment marks the transition into another era in sports history. In the following years, the growing sports industry and the spread of mass media transformed the form of participation in sports events.



İlkbahar at yarışları dün bitti

Ankara ipodromunda yarışları seyredenlerin gittikçe çoğalması önümüzdeki sonbahar yarışlarının daha fazla bir alaka uyandıracağına delalet ediyo

Yukarda, solda: Gazi koşusunda birinciliği kazanan at; sağda, Başbakanımız [illegible] gelen atı okşuyor. Aşağıda: Dünkü yarışlarda tribünlere bir bakış

(Yazısı 5. inci [illegible]ada)

**Figure 11:** Spring Horse Races in the hippodrome.
Ulus, İlkbahar At Yarışları, 15 June 1936, p.1.

The diminished role of the spatial mediation of the stadiums after this transition, along with the planning decisions regarding the sports venues of Ankara, further transformed their centrality. The most significant planning decision was the demolition of 19 Mayıs Stadium in 2018 to replace a new stadium (construction started in 2022 and is expected to be finished in 2024). Cebeci Stadium also underwent a similar process. Since 2012 there were transformation proposals and from 2019 onwards it was left to deteriorate, and eventually it was demolished in 2021 (Şehir Plancıları Odası, 2020). Recently, in 2023, Ankara Tennis Club located in the 19 Mayıs Stadium was also demolished. This period marks the loss of the prominent sports fields of the Early Republican era. In contrast, the only city-scale field constructed is the Ankara Arena for the FIBA World Basketball Championship 2010.




**Figure 12:** Youth and Sports Day celebrations at the stadium.
Ulus, 19 May. Gençlik, 20 May. 1949, p.8.

Following the stadium's demolition, football competitions were mainly held at *Osmanlı* Stadium (built in 1974) and the Eryaman Stadium (built in 2019). However, these stadiums were minor in size and less technically advanced compared to the 19 Mayıs Stadium. The peripheral location of these stadiums posed challenges in terms of physical

accessibility for audiences from other parts of the city. It also affected the planned and spontaneous activities surrounding the events, such as celebrations and gatherings, which previously took place in the city center, reducing and even losing the overall publicness of such events.

## 3. In Lieu of Conclusion: Reclaiming the Field

Exploring the micro-histories of sports locales in Ankara revealed two pivotal moments that have shaped the 'field' of sports as a cultural practice and a framework for social structure. First was the introduction of the stadium, which resulted in the loss of everyday fields that facilitated regular contact between urban residents and sports events. The second one was the widespread influence of mass media and spatial policies, resulting in the loss of central sports fields. This loss represents both physical and cultural, considering their historical significance as Early Republican heritage sites.

In addition to these losses, the changes in the experience and way of participation in each era had social impacts, especially on publicness. The multiple fields spread around the city and temporary contact with sports events and competitions enabling widespread participation in sports from all sections of the society were left for a single location that limited access and participation to entry fee payers. Although providing a ‘modern’ sports venue contributed to sports culture, since it was proposed not as an addition but as a replacement, it decreased the publicness of sports events and competitions. The second turn damaged the publicness even more by relocating the competitions and events into the private space of the home. This not only transformed the participation in sports competitions but also changed the culture of social events like welcoming the athletes or celebrations near sport locales, an opportunity for urban residents from different socio-economic social groups to connect.

While the narrative has shed light on these losses, its purpose extends beyond; it seeks to draw from past experiences to initiate discussions on the future of sports locales in the second century of the Republic. In this regard, the 'multiplicity' of actors and the 'centrality' of sports fields in terms of their location in urban space and their significance in everyday life emerges as essential aspects to consider in the future. By adhering to these principles, the 'field' of sports can be reclaimed, while conserving the former fields as cultural heritage sites is already a prerequisite.

The main limitation of this research is the use of solely published resources such as newspaper archives and scientific publications. To better understand, especially the nature of experience in sports events, further data collection methods such as in-depth interviews with the urban residents who have witnessed the second transformation might be helpful in the future.

Moreover, this research highlights the value of reclaiming the field of sports as a subject of study for architecture and urban history, drawing on visual and spatial analysis as well as social and political history. This approach opens opportunities for alternative historiographies, enriching our understanding of the city's development and cultural fabric.

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# The Republican-Ideology-Based Transportation Axis: Rapid Cultural Development of Istasyon Street, Konya[24]

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## Abstract

*Railway connections to the cities change the direction of urban development toward the dense cultural and commercial infrastructure. In Konya, railway construction in 1896 altered the cultural dynamics and diversity, fostering cross-regional connections with the effect on culture and economics on the surrounding built environment. The alignment of such a transportation axis created a linear cut in the city and became an urban backbone that sprawls and creates alternative patterns, opening the micro-stigmatized cultural infrastructures. This study investigates the Republican Ideology-Based Transportation Axis's role in the rapid cultural development of* Istasyon Street *in Konya. The axis is the cultural operator that can be discussed by creating a frequency with the longest-range networks in its historicity. The axis has different cultural positions in the pre-Republic period, the Republic period (1923-1950), the period after mid-century modernism (1950-2010), and high-speed train construction (after 2010) through being a core campus of transportation with national and international styles that operates diversity of other networks by creating nodes. Since new productions of cultural spaces caused the fragmentary and heterogeneous formation of the spatial hegemony of the axis, the study uses the Cultural Mapping Methodology to analyze the intricate relationship between railway development and the emergence of cultural infrastructures. Also, the study visualizes and articulates different perspectives on how different cultural ideologies are situated in the urban ground. Key cultural spaces, including Anıt Square, Gezi Square, educational institutions, Millet Bahçesi, Theater Building, Atatürk Stadium, DSI, and Tantavi depot, are explored to illustrate how the railway's presence shaped the creation of public gathering spaces, educational centers, and recreational facilities. These cultural nodes served not only utilitarian purposes but also became symbolic representations of collective memory, reflecting the city's cultural and architectural evolution in history, witnessing the last period of the Ottoman Empire, the first years of the Turkish Republic with the nationalist ideals and an architectural style adapted to the contemporary ages. The study highlights the adaptive reuse of existing structures within the station's vicinity to preserve architectural heritage with collective culture and identity products of the past while accommodating contemporary cultural and economic needs. Situated spaces on*

[24] This study is derived from the Ph.D. studies of Feyza Topcuoglu that focus on a specific case study from one of her thesis committees.

*the axis fulfill practical requirements while embodying cultural narratives, historical layers, and urban memories, which have been reproduced until today. However, the modifications until now do not directly mirror broader shifts in urban planning, architectural aesthetics, and cultural aspirations of the modernization ideals between the 1920s-1950s. Below the surface axis is subordinated with eclectic cultural adaptation processes, economic growth, and corridor-centered urban transformation triggered by Republican endeavors. The study maps the continuous traces of cultural infrastructures that are culturally sustained and have spontaneous symbolizations of socio-cultural legacies during the one-hundred-year-old history of the Republic.*

**Keywords**: *Railway, Cultural mapping, Station street, Republican heritage, Cultural infrastructure*

## 1. Introduction

The railways, which are accepted as one of the indicators of the modernization process worldwide, triggered the formation of Station Streets. In Turkey, the modernization of the Republican Era was shaped by the idea of creating spaces where citizens could continue their public practices via the idea of integrating the whole country with the transportation network for the structuring of public spaces and making the cities modern via strengthening the urban infrastructure.

Train stations, mainly located on the city's outskirts, have led to the development of the direction of the city with new settlements around them with the attraction they have created about the railway axis and kept in the city over time. Station streets have been an essential factor in the construction of urban areas, affecting the development of cities and even determining the direction of this development. Station streets and their street-specific texture represent the new modern city life with street-square-public buildings system and the collective spaces that develop social, cultural, and economic growth. Guiding the city's cultural infrastructure, the axial network of stations is directed through place-embedded tools to guide the cultural mapping from traditional planning to cultural planning (Lee & Gilmore, 2012).

Konya Station Street was examined within the scope of the study, which created a vital axis starting from the last periods of the Ottoman Empire (Kucukdag et al., 2020) by looking at the multiplication of cultural infrastructure until the current times. It is possible to see the representative spaces of cultural modernization and the products of the effort to create a modern city on the track of the railway axis. This study focuses on the train station axis's identity and historical details. However, it dwells more on cultural sustainability and contemporary application, which is layered via cultural infrastructure and its constituent elements of the cultural network.

The study maps significant cultural structures and their different formation and practices between the end of the 19$^{th}$ century and all three periods of the Republic 1923-50, 1950-

80, and 1980-2023 eras, in which urban development of the city and different actors have changed after the arrival of the railway. The parallel cultural developments and memories via cultural couplings of spatiality are deciphered by discovering other spaces' functionalities by mapping the cultural and architectural heterogeneity. As such, related encountering spaces visualize “an intrinsically dynamic, multi-layered, and complex array of resources, infrastructures, actions, relationships, expressions, knowledge, memories, and potentialities in the cultural network, a multi-dimensional and dynamic approach to understanding its shapes and changes (Duxbury et al., 2015).

## 2. Unplanned Urban Development Network of the Konya Railway

The city of Konya has agricultural wealth due to its geographical characteristics. In order to supply the grain chain, there is a need to connect Konya with the railway in relation to culture and economics. In 1896, the station was built far from the city center as an undeveloped urban development after the first (Alaaddin Hill and its surrounding) and second centers (Mevlana region) of Konya, which fostered both cross-district and cross-regional connections. It has affected the increase in the number of commercial buildings, hotels, warehouses, and structures related to trade and production around the station and railway cultural periphery from the end of the 19th century to the 21st century (Philippou, 2018).

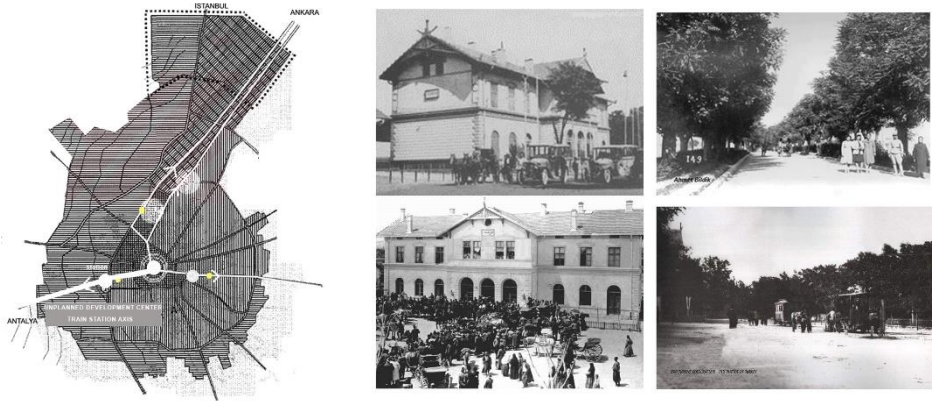



**Figure 1:** The location of the station axis and the elevations from the railway building, walkways, and horse-drawn tram in 1913 (Source: http://www.eskiturkiye.net/1809/konya-tren-gari-1913).

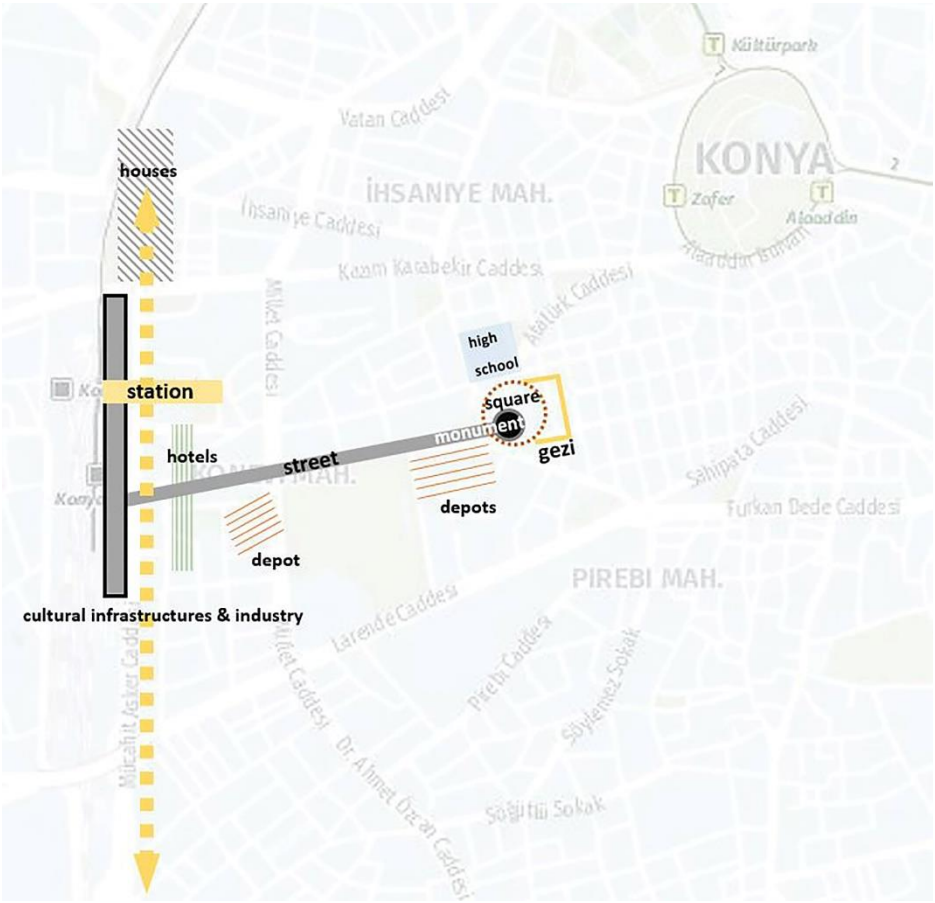



**Figure 2:** The core of the cultural infrastructure network of the station area, which is the backbone urban architecture of the Republican period (Source: Map created by the author).

The station was built far from the city center in the 19th century, and today, it is one of the poly-centric developments in parallel to the urban development of Konya (Figure 1). The development of Station Street is divided into two periods. The first is the last period of the Ottoman Empire, which started with the arrival of the railway to Konya and the emergence of Station Street, and the second is the period from the construction of the Atatürk Monument with the proclamation of the Republic to the present. With the

upcoming horse-drawn tram (*Atlı Tramvayı*) and the construction of walkways in the early 1900s, which corresponded to the late times of the Ottoman Empire, the urban planning and construction on Mimar Muzaffer Street and Station Street accelerated many residential and commercial areas (Yaldız et al., 2017). Railway have changed the city's cultural diversity, which fosters cross-regional connections with the effect on culture and economics with the increase in the number of commercial buildings, hotels, warehouses, and structures related to trade and production around the station and railway cultural periphery. Due to the station's far distance from the city center, the hotels, restaurants, and casinos in this vicinity are concentrated in this region (Yaldız et al., 2017). From the development plans in 1946, the station and its street played a significant role in the city's spatial development, which finds material, organizational, and cultural components of cultural infrastructure around them by creating grid tissue around the linear extensions of the station.



**Figure 3:** The lodgments, Bağdat and Agustus Hotels in current condition (Source: Author and Konya Municipality Archive).

Station Street created a walkway and attraction to a new infrastructural settlement, brought cultural flagship projects (both buildings and green areas) from the beginning of the 20th century to the 21st century for cultural envisioning via walking towards its axis, which led to stable cultural buildings but became non-stable when other cultural centralizations happen. The construction of such idealism triggered the formation of the mid-20th century architectural legacies through collective culture and identity products of the past. This brought a sense of socio-cultural belonging in the locales with the nationalist ideals and narratives within secular identity, which is an anchored pathway and square at the same time via railway opens its boundaries by using its historicity and functioning.

The delineation and traces of the cultural infrastructure are examined one by one with the cultural couplings of spatial formations, which are given in this study in parallel to the historical and contemporary development of the railway cultural zone via restorations (Figure 2). The High-speed train connection from İstanbul, Ankara, and Eskişehir changed the cultural silhouette of existing train stations' cultural clusters and peripheral poly center developments via the desire to project a city's cultural identity in urban regeneration schemes to visitors of the city. Since new technologies have been adopted for traditional transportation lines, there was a need to reuse old buildings by/for the cultural-creative industries, and new spaces of cultural consumption appeared in the area.

In addition to railway buildings' restorations, there are other cultural couplings of cultural space prototypes: service buildings, hotels, lodgments, and warehouses collective of the phenomenon and a communal space to conduct various activities. This increases the significance of adaptive reuse of turning them into cultural spaces; socio-cultural and economic activities have formed the place's meaning and sense of belonging to the citizens and visitors (Lai et al., 2013).

With an almost 130-year history and a mixture of architectural styles, the train station site reflects German architecture and I.National Movement of architectural style in which the lodgments, hotels, and warehouses are emptied today to serve various services by using and renting by the municipality. Such building stocks are used for multiple service functions by renewing the nearby buildings through socio-cultural activity and gathering spaces, and some of them will be serviced soon. However, there is a tendency to objectify and generalize the history and heritage of the place upon witnessing the last period of the Ottoman Empire and the first years of the Turkish Republic and an architectural style adapted to the locality after their renovation process. So, this started micro-activities in city branding, a more organic and “ground up” development associated with cultural entrepreneurs or urban cultural activists that leads cultural flagship regenerations through forming stigmatized micro-urban cultural sites.

The reuse of existing buildings in and around the station (lodgments, hotels, railway structures) makes the area a picturesque cultural ground with an urban cultural heterogeneity with diverse circuits linking infrastructure, exchange, materially and socially, where newcomers and citizens rediscover another 'functionalization' of culture via their architectural stance. They act as alternative revitalized cultural milieus to revitalize the conscious creation of an archetypal instrument in the urban cultural planning toolbox since the transportation meets with the city's cultural infrastructure to strengthen the local economy (Figure 3) (Mommaas, 2004). Hotels and railway infrastructural buildings brought population mobilities where restaurants and casinos as a leisure culture emerged with the consumption pattern with the emergence of hotels to accommodate the number of passengers traveling to Konya after railway construction. One of those milieus is the Bağdat and Augustus Hotels, which are part of culture-led urban regeneration and the transformation of industrial sites resulting from the increasing high-speed train connection located at the urban vista of newcomers by promoting cultural tourism. The two hotels are cultural heritages where cultural things flow around the urban fabric (Duxbury et al., 2012). That is by offering the daily lives of urbanites as eccentric alternatives as they functioned for leisure time and touristic purposes in the past. Now, Bağdat Hotel still serves as a hotel, and Augustus Hotel acts as a living lab of urban culture by changing the functionality through vocational training of citizens and offering ateliers and workshops.

## 3. Mapping Cultural Infrastructures on the Station Axis

### Anıt Square

From the end of the 19th century to the 21st century, the cultural legacies of Republican architecture set pieces that create qualitatively dominant urban cultural artifacts that "act as nuclei of aggregation around the prime element of the railway station." This affected the grid tissue through the migration that led the southwest development of Atatürk Street towards the station with the placement of a monument in 1915-17 by creating a micro stigmatized cultural square that is thought of as the entrance of the city via the sprawl towards the southwest (Dulgerler & Yenice, 2008).

The idea of creating such a monument was thought first for dedication to the women of Konya who support the agricultural economy of the city with their endeavors. However, the monument construction was turned into a project showing Konya's agricultural success. The uncompleted monument called *Konya Ziraat Anıtı* created an urban square in that its direction is aligned towards the train station, a pedestal designed by Mimar Muzaffer Bey, one of the pioneers of I. National Movement (Ertugrul, 2015).

Due to the sudden death of Mimar Muzaffer Bey, the statue was uncompleted. After the proclamation of the Republic in 1924, the municipality council decided to complete the project by placing the Atatürk statue on top of the pedestal created by the architect when

'Atatürk Monuments' were popular ideological constructions all around Turkey (Dulgerler & Yenice, 2008). The statue was designed by Austrian fictor Heinrich Krippel, famous for his artistry in sculpturing the Atatürk statue after *Ankara Zafer Anıtı* (Gur, 2013). Protecting the Ziraat Monument in order to complete the relationship between the train station and its surrounding squares, the Atatürk Statue's direction was important also; his vista is looking towards the station development zone, which can be interpreted as seeing a bright future development in the area (Figure 4). The statue affected the extension of Station Street, which meets with a street called Atatürk that connects the urban core of Alaeddin Square with the station axis, which meets with a mayor's house dedicated to Atatürk. The street and house interacted in such an urban part of the city by capturing the Republican worldview and national ideals.



**Figure 4:** The construction of Anıt Square before and after the foundation of the Republic (Source: Koyunoglu Museum Archive and Levent Civelekoglu Archive).



**Figure 5:** *Konya Lisesi* behind the Anıt Statue and front façade of the building, which reflects the first national architecture style.
(Source: Eski Turkiye Fotograflari Archive: http://www.eskiturkiye.net/arama/konya).

Starting with Mimar Muzaffer Bey's architectural masterpiece and in continuation with Krippel's Atatürk statue triggered the architectural value of the railway zone via the construction of governmental, social, cultural, recreational, and educational infrastructures where the area was later implemented with mass construction of squares, schools, apartments, and a stadium after the 1940s.

In parallel to the cultural educational infrastructural development, one of the essential educational buildings is *Konya Lisesi,* which was conceived and called a teacher's high

school *(Dar-ül Muallimin Erkek Öğretmen Okulu) in* 1924 behind the statue as a north side of the Anıt Square (Figure 5). Muzaffer Bey's nationalist thoughts were formed by Ziya Gökalp, which were reflected in his architectural masterpieces via national architecture in the first quarter of the 20th century (Sozen & Dulgerler, 1978).




**Figure 6:** Development of educational and social infrastructure as part of the cultural infrastructure network of the station area in the 1950s (Source: Map created by the author and photographs: Konya Maarif Kolejliler Derneği Archive).

In the 1946 implementation plan of Konya, the modernization politics affected the quality of residential, commercial, and public buildings, and as a result, high-rise buildings appeared on the site. The educational value given to the site was increased in the area by offering to transform Bagdat Hotel into an educational space near the station. Since the railway campus was not enough in the 1960s, there was a need to build many other technical and foreign language-given high schools (*Maarif Koleji*) in the area due to rapid industrialization and development of international relations at the end of the 1950s (Gunduz & Erdemir, 2021). This resulted in the creation of cooperative houses for the teachers and workers of the area where there is a district called *Öğretmenevleri* in the area, which leads other detached housing units spread towards Meram region towards the western part of the station (Figure 6) (Koseoglu & Aydin, 2009).

### *Millet Bahçesi 1912* / Gezi Square

One of the sustaining cultural practices of building cultural landscape was *Millet Bahçesi* (1912), which created an adjunct space with the Anıt Square when the station zone's popularity was increased by building hotels, restaurants, and commercial spaces. The

garden attracts recreational usage during the weekends with Westernized practices, including a dance floor, tennis courts, outdoor stages for concerts, mansions, and pergolas (Dogan, 2015). Also, the entrance door of the garden with the surrounding walls was encountered with the Anıt Square and Atatürk Monument, which was called in the 1910s *Gezi Meydanı* (Figure 7) (Celik, 2018). After the statue's adoption in urban dynamics, the square was mixed with Anıt Square in citizens' daily practices. So, changes in the naming give a message adopted in urban culture by reminding the station-street-square and monument quaternary.




**Figure 7:** The location of *Millet Bahcesi* behind Anıt Square and the entrance of the garden (Source: Yasar Barisik Archive).

### *Halkevi* / National Library / State Theater Building

The increasing number of vehicles decreased the walkability in the area at the end of the 1940s; the garden and square were interrupted via a crossroad that made the area junction with the new roads over the existing roads. That made Anıt Square a rounded node that turns into a visual object while making a circuit.

Through the 1946 implementation plan, Gezi Square was demolished and reconstructed as a Halkevi Project in relation to the monument. The building had an essential place in the modernization process of Konya within the scope of 'modern architectural heritage.' After the closure of *Halkevleri* in 1951, all around the country, the building was turned into a cinema, then a National Library in 1955 (Figure 8). The multi-functional building, where vocational training activities were given to the urbanites, made significant social and cultural contributions to the city and its inhabitants. Also, *Konya Lisesi* used the library as a classroom in those years as an extra space for their educational practice (Parlak & Yaldiz, 2022).



**Figure 8:** The location of the Theater building according to the Anıt Square and the front façade of the building throughout the years.
(Source: Konya Municipality Archive).

The most important of the criteria in the spatial design of the building was the existence of large halls for the exhibition of cinema, theater, and various performances. The building later functioned as the State Theater after 1981 and has been used as the Resident Regional Theater since 1997 (Kocer & Ozcan, 2021). Although it has changed over time and differentiated due to different political needs and interactions, it has always been known, used, and lived by the citizens of Konya until today as a cultural-educational space.

## Atatürk Stadium

Recreational activities triggered the axis's south part to create various spaces. In the 1940s, there was a need for a place for the youth generations between the station and squares, with the thought of creating a youth park as part of Republican ideologies. In 1949, the foundations of the Stadium project were laid on the Station axis in a large parcel between depots (Figure 9). The stadium was the product of midcentury modernism, which had its facilities as the first velodrome in Turkey and the Balkans (Korumaz & Yarar, 2021).

With its massive formation, clear geometric plan, and rhythmic façade characteristics, the stadium appeared on the axis with the local reflections of Turkish modernism, including its architecture with brutal aesthetics and various sports branches. Throughout history, the stadium in the collective memory of the citizens has been called *Atatürk Spor Sitesi, 19 Mayıs Kültürrpark Stadyumu*, *Eski Stad* until 2018. Different sports branches

in an elliptical plan were constructed with outdoor spaces such as tennis, basketball, football courts, weightlifting, athletics wrestling, and indoor swimming pools. Since the housing districts around Station Street were densely populated after the 1960s, all recreational activities were concentrated in the stadium instead of placing pieces of yards around housing units (Yavuz & Kurumak,2019). In the city's cultural memory, the stadium was effective for educating children and their parents while encouraging the youth to raise a healthy generation via the rules and learning to do sports.

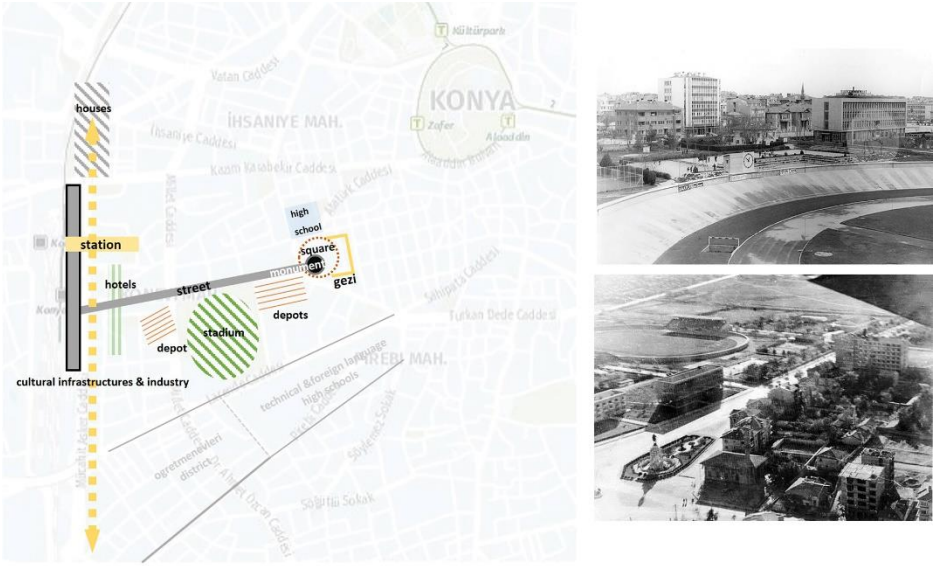



**Figure 9:** The location of the stadium according to the Anıt Square and aerial views (Source: Map created by the author and photographs: Konya Municipality Archive).

In 2018, the stadium area became abandoned and exposed to urban transformation since the new stadium of Konya was built in the western development zone and, unfortunately, demolished. Today, the Atatürk Stadium area was turned into a *Millet Bahcesi* as a massive urban park by the local authorities who want to revitalize the area (Figure 10). This case is also seen in Bursa, Eskisehir, Diyarbakir, Giresun, Hatay, and Sakarya Atatürk Stadiums, which are transformed into an Ottoman revivalist project of national gardens.

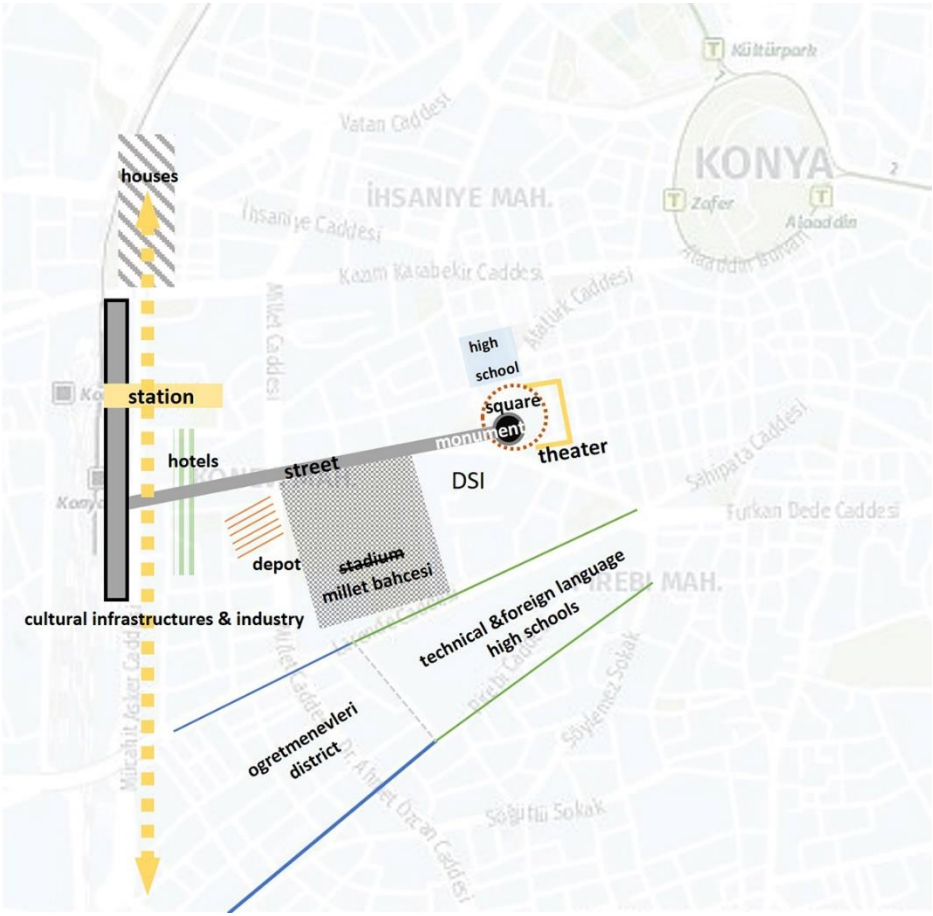



**Figure 10:** The transformation of the stadium to *Millet Bahcesi* (Source: Map created by the author).

Although the new naming of the area was the same as the 1912 *Millet Bahcesi*, in the socio-cultural and historical memory of the city via the station axis, both cannot be comparable in scale and design-wise approach when the Republican heritage turned into a cultural industry project.

## 4. Juxtaposed Cultural Development of Railway Zone in Parallel to the Cultural Economy

Trading increased through the railway construction at the end of the 19th century, which increased economic life, especially with the Bagdat railway connection. This caused a need to find places for depots to provide maintenance for servicing stations or store the local agricultural products for imports and exports from the city (Duran et al., 2006). One of the depots that sustained outside of the station on the station axis was Tantavi depot, which was transformed into Tantavi Cultural Center; the other depots were in the DSI (state hydraulic works) area. Also, the depots affected street naming as part of urban trade as an urban adopted cultural industry by calling it *Gaz Deposu* Street like Atatürk Street.

Tantavi Depot was built as a warehouse in 1903, a logistical center where the İstanbul-Bağdat Railway to Konya increased the depots beside hotels. There was also a connection between the train station and the more expansive main roads (Kustepeli, 2011). After it was used as a depot building for grains that functioned for the railroad, it also functioned as a gas station (Duran et al., 2006). The building lost its original stance and became unused until the 21st century. In 1993, the building was considered a library or a health center for the municipality. The Provincial Directorate of Culture applied to the Conservation Board and decided that the building would be repaired and used for cultural purposes (Yalaz & Yaldız, 2020). Then, the building was conceived and opened as an Art and Cultural Center cooperated by Meram Municipality with restoration works carried out between 2018 and 2019, and it was introduced to the city as a new cultural attraction node.

Its contemporary reuse triggers a cultural bond between the past and present by standing in the cultural route of the city. The scope of cultural use in the uncontrolled center of the station district stores culture or musealization of the culture of its history as it stores grains in the import and export chain as a depot for economic purposes. In the circulation of culture, there is a production of representatives of historical and cultural heritage with its own architectural features and building technologies of the period as a document that leads cultural consumption with its usage in the past. Loading with different functions regulates cultural production with adaptive artistic use by the public, enabling it to contribute to urban culture. The historical identity and representation of the Tantavi Cultural Center with the cultural scenes, memories, and stories can decipher the interventions that can be distinguished from the original building that can reverse the particular cultural process by creating different construction of meanings and materiality under the exact construction of culture's existence on urban architecture (Figure 11).



**Figure 11:** Tantavi Cultural Center location exterior and interior (Source: https://www.meram.bel.tr/tesis/tantavi-kultur-sanat-merkezi).

Other similarly functioning depots were located before the DSI area was constructed in 1954, where the buildings in the DSI campus were considered one of the qualified examples of modernism in Turkey in the 1960s (Figure 12). The area was a worker's house first and adapted to the high-rise apartmentalization, then became a campus representing modern buildings with a view of the Atatürk statue (Korumaz & Yarar, 2021). Still, the DSI area is active and used according to the '60s conceptualizations maintained today.



**Figure 12:** DSI building in the 1960s and today (Source: Korumaz & Yarar, 2021).

## 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the study explored the intricate relationship between the development of the railway station axis, particularly exemplified by Konya Station Street, and the cultural infrastructures that have emerged around it over time. The transformation triggered by the arrival of railways in the late 19$^{th}$ century shaped the physical urban landscape and the city's cultural identity and social dynamics until the 21$^{st}$ century. The legacy of the Republican era has left an indelible mark on the architectural infrastructure of Konya's Station Street, shaping it into what we see today. The fervor of nation-building and modernization ideals that characterized the early years of the Turkish Republic profoundly influenced the design, development, and cultural identity of this significant urban thoroughfare.

The emergence of cultural spaces such as Anıt Square, Gezi Square, High Schools, *Millet Bahçesi*, Theater Building, Atatürk Stadium, DSI, and Tantavi depot illustrates how the railway's presence has influenced the creation of public gathering places, educational institutions, and recreational facilities. These cultural landmarks have evolved over time, responding to changing socio-economic contexts and urban planning strategies. Importantly, these spaces have fulfilled functional roles and become symbols of collective memory and identity, embodying the city's cultural progression. However, while the architectural heritage of the Republican era fluctuates, the practices and functions of Station Street have also evolved significantly over time. The once bustling hub of commerce, culture, and recreation has adapted to changing urban dynamics and contemporary needs. This evolution is evident in the adaptive reuse of historical buildings, such as the Tantavi Depot turned Cultural Center, and the transformation of the Atatürk Stadium area into a *Millet Bahçesi*, reflecting an ideological shift towards brutal architectural aesthetics to green spaces and public leisure.

Furthermore, the cultural and economic functions that once defined Station Street have transformed in response to transportation and urban planning shifts. The rise of high-speed train connections and changes in travel patterns have altered the street's role as a transportation hub. While the street's cultural significance endures, its practices have adapted to meet the demands of a rapidly changing world.

The case of Konya Station Street demonstrates the significance of cultural infrastructure in shaping the character of urban areas. These spaces not only cater to the practical requirements of citizens but also serve as repositories of cultural narratives, historical layers, and urban memories. As Konya's station street has evolved through different eras, it has mirrored the broader shifts in urban planning, architectural aesthetics, and cultural aspirations.

In conclusion, the study underlines the intricate interrelationship between transportation networks, urban development, and cultural landscapes. In essence, Konya's Station Street stands as a living archive of the Republican era's architectural maturity, preserving the spirit of a bygone era while embracing the challenges and opportunities of the present. The station axis serves as a reminder that the endurance of the physical structures is essential to evolve the practices and functions of urban spaces to remain relevant and vibrant in today's dynamic urban cultural infrastructure.

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**OCTOBER 12,2023 THURSDAY**

## 2ND SESSION: SPATIAL POLICIES OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Chair: Prof. Dr. Evrim Özkan

# Setting the minimum to inhabit and the maximum to aid: *Public Housing Standards* as a tool for housing policy of the 1960s in Türkiye

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## Abstract

*The purpose of the study is to grasp the approach and intentions of the Ministry for the Public Housing Standards through their own suggestion of architectural project examples. For this purpose, the paper discusses the necessity, the emergence and the role of standards for implementing the housing policy of the 1960s; addressing the day's recent statistical data on housing and recent national developments causing the shift in housing policy that resulted with the standards. It analyzes sixteen public housing project examples that were prepared by the Ministry regarding the public housing standards of minimum quality, through the Ministry's publication 'Examples of Public Housing Projects' in the year 1965. The architectural projects are analyzed in a three-way framework; for their typological, structural and spatial attributes. Included attributes under these main groupings are building type, access type, apartment layout; load-bearing system, roof type, storey/height; household type and size, useful area and building area per person. As a result, the study reveals the adopted attributes and design principles of adequate, affordable, sanitary and economic housing projects as suggested by the Ministry. The results reveal preferred attributes used by the Ministry in the projects to catch up on the regulations for public housing of minimum standards and disclose possible correlations between the aforementioned attributes. The study contributes to the literature by analyzing the architectural projects from an archival document to refer to the responsible nationwide governmental institution's approach to housing standards as a tool for implementing the period's housing policy.*

**Keywords**: *Housing policy in Türkiye, Low-income housing, Social housing standards, Public housing projects*

## Introduction

As many developing countries, the Republic of Türkiye encountered a housing problem in its first century. Migrations caused by the post-war conditions and the re-establishment of national borders, population growth and migrations from rural to urban environments; all led to a gradual nationwide housing shortage. Although the government's assurance of access to adequate housing is expected, its responsibility is not solely composed of constructing housing units. Implementing regulations on divergent levels is an integral and better extensive response for governments to overcome the housing shortage.

These regulations require equitable housing policies, related legislation, budgetary adjustments and incentives through exemptions.

The recent developments of late 1950s and early 1960s in Türkiye's housing policy clearly defined an important shift. There are nation-wide legal regulations preparing for the occurrence of the shift; through which the responsibility for providing housing to citizens is trusted to the state. The housing crisis reached its higher level in the 1950s when the ongoing housing shortage led to the emergence of squatter settlements in developing cities through informal housing construction. In this context, Türkiye initiated a new period for housing rights and policies. Three thresholds were as follows: the establishment of the Ministry of Construction and Settlement in 1958 as the first nationwide governmental institution on housing; the enactment of the Constitution of 1961 that presented the goal of becoming a social state; the beginning of the planned period in 1963, that coordinates the development through five-year plans with a separate section for housing. As presented in the first five-year development plan, the government's two targets regarding the housing problem were 1-ensuring the construction of more housing with the same investment and 2-preventing the construction of luxury housing while choosing the cheapest type of public housing that does not have any health problems. The efforts came along with research, policy-making, and developing standards. It was an intensified period in terms of low-income housing research; governmental institutions, universities and research institutes were developing new methods to overcome the restrictiveness of finances and time while maintaining the quality of the units.

Among the various actions taken by the Turkish government, one significant action was the preparation of public housing standards to determine the minimum qualification required for adequate housing. **(1)** The *Public Housing Standards* was published by the Ministry of Construction and Settlement in 1963. The standards contain divergent regulations such as the main rules for housing projects, units' functions and narrowest dimensions, rules about installation, statistics and materials, fire precautions and rules for drawing the projects. The standards brought along further research and debate on the subject that are valuable for architects and planners to peruse the housing issue of Türkiye then and now.

*Public housing* (*halk konutu*) is defined as "low-cost, sanitary housing of minimum size and quality, standardized to meet the housing needs of poor or low-income families" (Hasol, 1990). Hasol's definition emerges from the Ministry's preliminary works right before the first five-year development plan. The Ministry's definition as took place in State Planning Organization's 1963 Program and 1963 Execution Plan was "to meet the needs of families that constitute poor and low-income communities, *social housing* is a standardized, sanitary, structurally sound, inexpensive housing of minimum size and quality" (Keleş, 1966). The task of developing social housing standards was assigned to the Ministry of Construction and Settlement within the same Program.

Although the term *housing standards* is generally based on the average (Keleş, 1966), when it comes to public housing, the term refers to the minimum physical attributes acceptable for healthy living conditions. Identifying the minimum of these attributes requires a multifaceted approach since they have social, economical, cultural, religious identifiers as well as the physical ones. Setting the standards is also very much dependent on the construction material industry and the construction technology of the

country. The inherent complexity of housing is reflected in defining the minimum for one; nourishing from and requiring for urban, social, economical, technological, political approaches.

From a political standpoint, the housing standard's necessity arises from the limited resources to be directed rightfully and conscionably. Housing standards are consulted for implementing housing policies by defining the extent of the aids such as housing credit, dwelling allowance or tax exemption. Hence, in the case of public housing, the rationale for the emergence of standards is twofold: minimum physical standards for adequate living and maximum physical standards that will fall within the scope of public aid and subsidy. In his article that articulates the social housing policy in Türkiye, Keleş (1966) states that social housing policies must have certain priorities. Housing standard priority is one of them along with caste (social class) priority and income level priority. "Housing standard priority is used to determine the lower and upper limits of the houses to which public aid will be directed" (Keleş, 1966). Thus, housing standards are a norm for the implementation of housing policy.

Housing standard in this sense is used to describe the physical characteristics of a house. It can also be called 'cost priority', since the material and area standards of a house, as well as the number of floors, building type and roof shape, constitute the main elements of its cost (Keleş, 1966; Triebel, 1963). As well as defining the minimum standards for adequate living, optimum dimensions in terms of cost depending on the construction method. Clearly, reducing the cost of housing, designing and building more economically, should not mean to compromise the quality to build cheaper. The housing standard is an instructive tool to stay within the limits while seeking economically efficient ways to plan and build through selection of materials and construction technology, construction site planning, regulations for the cost of land and required services.

This paper aims to revive the role of public housing standards as a tool for housing policy. It discusses the necessity, the emergence and the role of standards for implementing the housing policy of the 1960s. It analyzes the public housing project examples for their typological, structural and spatial attributes through the Ministry of Construction and Settlement's publication *Examples of Public Housing Projects* in the year 1965. The publication presents sixteen architectural projects that were prepared by the General Directorate of Housing of the ministry, regarding the public housing standards of minimum quality. With this purpose, the research is presented in three sections. The first section presents the emergence of *Public Housing Standards* in Türkiye referring to the context of the era and evaluates the subjects and the construct of the publication. Section 2 presents the material and the methodology to be used for analyzing the public housing projects. In Section 3, the public housing project examples are analyzed for their typological, structural and spatial attributes and the results of the analysis are presented by making inferences from the resulting attributes.

## 1. Context of the Era and the Emergence of Public Housing Standards

The housing crisis reached its higher level in the 1950s when the ongoing housing shortage led to the emergence of squatter settlements in developing cities through

informal housing construction. In this context, Türkiye initiated a new period for housing rights and policies. Three thresholds were as follows: the establishment of the Ministry of Construction and Settlement in 1958 as the first nation-wide governmental institution on housing; the enactment of the Constitution of 1961 that presented the goal of becoming a social state which holds the state responsible for providing housing; and the beginning of the planned period in 1963, that coordinates the development through five-year plans with a particular section for housing.

The Ministry of Construction and Settlement was established for the task of determining the principles of housing policy suitable for the structure of the country and ensuring their implementation. The duties and responsibilities of the state to ensure the social rights of individuals come to the fore in the 1961 constitution, which approaches a social statist understanding. Right after the enactment of this constitution Türkiye entered a planned period in which development-oriented targets, moves and investments were projected in five-year periods. The first of the five-year development plans was published in 1963 including a separate section of housing; principles, methods, current situation, future projections, investments and precautions were presented in detail.

The key target that shaped all of these efforts was to enable the construction of more houses with the same investment by ensuring to accommodate a wider audience by reducing the construction of luxury housing and choosing the economic type of public housing that does not have any health problems. For each region, public housing types with economic and health standards, whose costs have been examined were the subject of research. The absence of standards is also among the reasons why the housing units produced are insufficient to meet the current needs in terms of quality and number.

The situation may be better demonstrated by addressing some statistical data of that day; three indicators for the necessity of public housing standards are as follows:

1. According to the data presented in an article of Mimarlık journal, the average number of houses to be built each year was 180.000 in cities and 236.000 in rural areas; comprising all the housing demands due to population growth, evacuation of inoperable houses, disasters and expropriations, and lowering the housing density. In the same publication, it is stated that according to the number of municipal building permits, construction of urban housing units changes between 51.000-59.000 during the years 1954-1960 (Anon.1963a). This gap shows the hardship of the target quantitatively, while only a quarter of the housing requirement was built each year.
2. The data shared for the current situation of housing, in the housing section of the first five-year development plan is percussive in means of mismatch between housing provision and housing requirements. The data shows that, by the year 1960, the average size of the constructed housing units was 123 sqm in Ankara, 95 sqm in Istanbul and 97 sqm in Izmir while in these three big cities the rate of the inhabitants that live in squatters was 45% in Ankara, 21% in Istanbul and 18% in Izmir (Anon. 1963b). These two data of the same year exhibits that despite the remarkable percentage of the squatter dwellers in big cities, the housing market followed the habit of constructing for middle or upper income groups, showing the interest in the profits obtained from the housing sector.

**3.** Following data from 1960 shows that the housing stock of the day was insufficient in terms of quality as well. In terms of their health conditions, strength, comfort of convenience and services, and their size, the existing housing stock is not suitable for the families to live humanely. The rate of housing that is in the middle and below the middle in terms of settlement conditions was 65.7% (Keleş, 1966). While 63.8% of the sampled houses did not have a bathroom, 54% did not have city water and 23.6% did not have electricity; it is stated that 24.2% of the houses were rotten, 19% used common toilets, and 23.7% did not have a sewage or cesspool connected to a sewage treatment facility.

Evidently, Türkiye's two agendas regarding the housing problem were (1) rehabilitation of existing squatters and prevention of new ones (2) constructing a sufficient number of housing units with limited resources. The cost and time restrictions required a method development for housing production and setting the minimum quality for dwelling and maximum quality for aiding required a set of standards for housing. The Ministry of Construction and Settlement, which was the ministry responsible for the implementation of housing policy, is held responsible for conducting all kinds of research in related subjects. This led to the emergence of the 'Public Housing Standards' publication by the ministry in 1963.

Following the objectives in the first five-year development plan, the ministry engaged in the preparation of housing standards for low-income and middle-income groups. In order to fulfill this provision of the plan, a commission of ministries, universities and other organizations developed their work for a period of more than one year to create the standards for public housing. The composed commission was as follows: the Ministries of Public Works, of Finance, of Construction and Settlement; Ankara University, Istanbul Technical University, Middle East Technical University; Turkish Standards Institute, State Planning Organization, and Chamber of Civil Engineers and Architects (Anon, 1964). The harvest was presented to the public with two consequent publications in the same year (Anon., 1963c; Anon., 1963d); 'Public Housing Standards' and 'Public Housing Standards-II'. **(2)**

The standards consist of eight chapters as shown in Figure 1. Here, the standards are approached as physical standards of the building itself. **(3)** Other features are left out of consideration such as public facilities and social environment. The content introduces required standards of physical attributes of spaces and building sub-systems in detail. Physical attributes of spaces are defined through the units, functions and their dimensions, depending on the household type and size. Building sub-systems are defined depending on the grouped climatic zones. They include service systems such as circulation, sanitary and electrical installation and building element systems such as walls, roofs, slabs together with the regulations about materials.

The standards of the above features are prepared both for public housing of minimum standards and for public housing of medium standards. There are some distinctions on unit dimensions, materials to be used, sanitary and electrical equipment. One notable distinction is that, although the two tables showing the areas in sqm of public housing of minimum standards and public housing of medium standards are in same format, it is

stated in the text that the areas in the first table (public housing of minimum standards) refers to the smallest dimensions to be accepted where the areas in the second table (public housing of medium standards) refers to the biggest dimensions to be accepted. This aligns with the aim of preparing the housing standards for setting the minimum to inhabit and maximum to aid; however it would only be meaningful if it is persistently followed by the implementation that is regulated by law. **(4)**

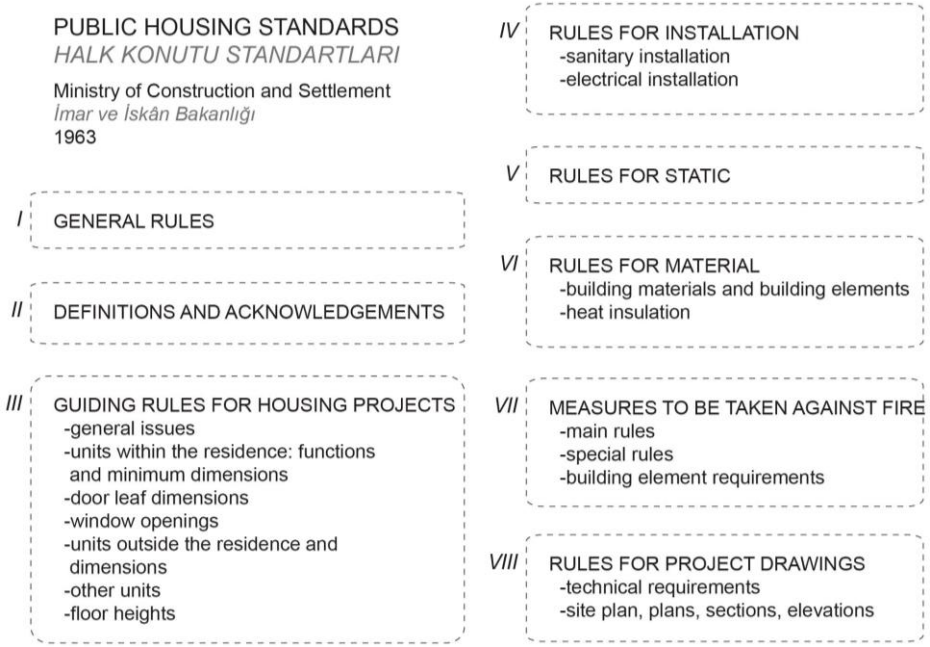



**Figure 1:** Chapters and content of the *Public Housing Standards* publication from the Ministry of Construction and Settlement (1963c; 1963d).

## 2. Material and Method

The study aims to analyze the architectural projects presented by the Ministry of Construction and Settlement's publication in 1965 named *Examples of Public Housing Projects*. The methodology suggests a definitional framework regarding the data contained in the material. In order to evaluate the housing projects in the publication, the typological, structural and spatial attributes are revealed (Figure 2). As the methodology of this research, typologies are defined based on (1) building type (detached house, semi-detached house, row house, point block or linear block), (2) access type (street access, courtyard, vertical core, corridor, gallery, atrium/hall or split-level) and (3) apartment layout (corridor/hallway, zoning, living room as circulation center, inserted

core, duplex, neutral plan or split-level). Structural attributes are load-bearing system, roof type, storey, and apartment per storey. Spatial attributes are number of apartment types, toilet access, household type and size, useful area/building area and area per person in square meters.

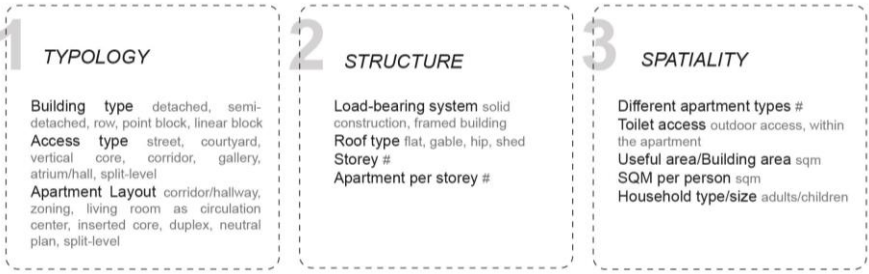



**Figure 2:** The definitional framework to reveal typological, structural and spatial attributes of public housing projects.

The sixteen housing projects are analyzed through this categorization to grasp the tendency in typological, structural and spatial attributes of the ministry's suggestion of economic housing projects that also employ spatial standards. Since the projects are public housing examples of minimum standards, the cost priority becomes prominent and may shape the attributes above.

## 3. Public Housing Projects of Minimum Standards: Findings and Evaluation

The Ministry of Construction and Settlement published the *Examples of Public Housing Projects* in 1965, two years after publishing *Public Housing Standards*. The publication presents a selection of projects prepared to be implemented in different parts of the country. The architectural projects were prepared by the General Directorate of Housing of the ministry. Introduction of the publication stating the emergence and necessity briefly, by referring to the following issues:

- Average family size in Türkiye consists of five people and the average person per room is three. The rate of person per room must be lowered for civilized living standards.
- 1,5 million citizens living in squatter settlements under bad and unsanitary conditions that also leads to undesired social consequences. The number will be rising due to projected population growth and rural-urban migration.
- Other parts of society living in luxury residences built for profit which causes waste and as much harm as squatters socially and economically.
- Current housing market disregards the average annual income per capita in Türkiye. Housing in countries with much higher rates of annual income are between 58-80 sqm while in Türkiye the average size of a unit is 146 sqm in 1963.

The publication presents sixteen architectural projects of minimum standards; it consists of a short explanatory text with plan drawings (furnished and unfurnished), site plan, perspective, rarely elevation and two graphs for each project. First graphs show the total useful area (sqm) of one unit as separately stating the areas of each function/function group. Second graphs present the building area (sqm) by adding wall area to the useful area and further visualize the ratio of various areas to the building area. Each project's area (sqm) per person is presented along with the size and type of household. Regarding the information, the projects are analyzed following the aforementioned methodology.

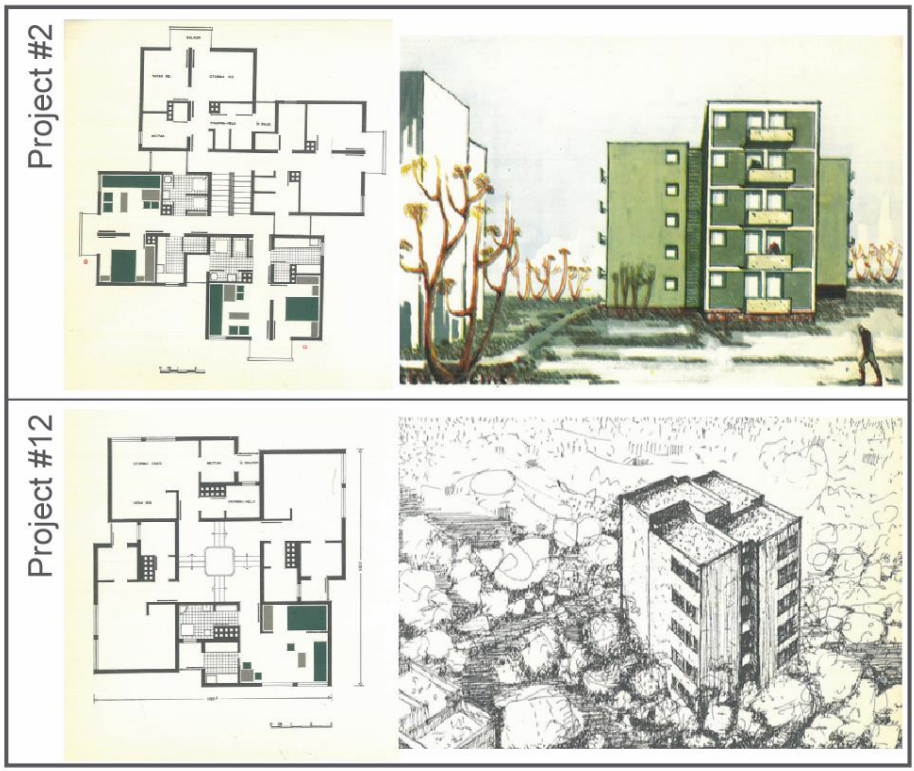



**Figure 3:** Plan and perspective drawings of Project #2 and Project #12.

The architectural projects of minimum public housing include both houses and apartment buildings of different types; with a spectrum of point block (Figure 3), linear block (Figure 4) or detached or semi-detached houses (Figure 5). The diversity in the projects continues in different design decisions of plan layouts that are planned for different

household types and sizes. Interrelated principles are visible for specifications about structural decisions such as load-bearing system, roof type or height of buildings. As can be predicted, one of the important factors affecting design decisions is regarding dimensional limits of spatial attributes as regulated in the public housing standards.




**Figure 4:** Plan and perspective drawings of Project #4, Project #8, Project #9 and Project #10.

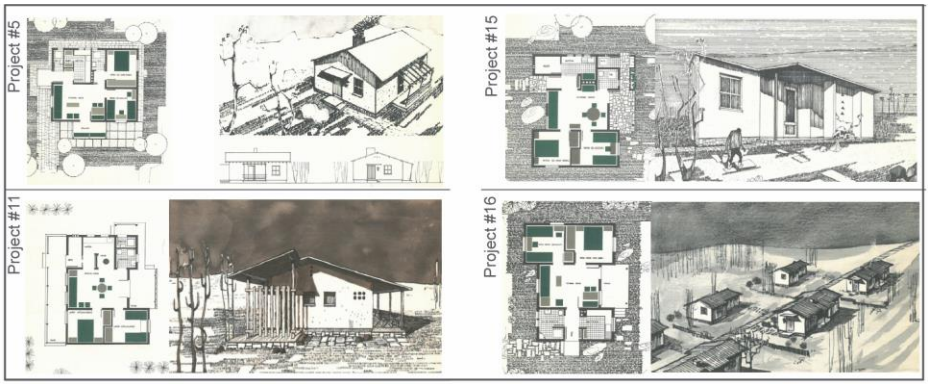
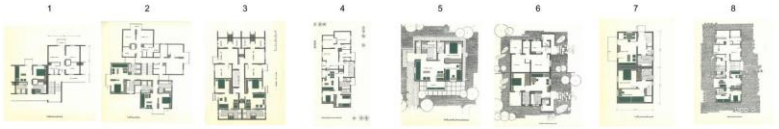



**Figure 5:** Plan and perspective drawings of Project #5, Project #11, Project #15 and Project #16.

This section summarizes the result of the analysis by making inferences from the resulting attributes. As mentioned earlier, sixteen architectural projects are analyzed in a three-way framework; for their typological, structural and spatial attributes. Included attributes under these main groupings are building type, access type, apartment layout; load-bearing system, roof type, storey/height; household type and size, useful area and

building area per person. The typological, structural and spatial attributes of the sixteen projects are gathered in Table 1. and Table 2. along with the plan drawings.




| | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TYPOLOGY | Building type | Linear block | Point block | Linear block | Linear block | Detached house | Semi-detached house | Semi-detached house | Linear block |
| | Access type | Gallery | Split-level | Vertical core | Vertical core | Street access | Street access | Street access | Vertical core |
| | Apartment layout | Corridor/Hallway | Corridor/Hallway | Living room as circulation center | Zoning | Living room as circulation center | Living room as circulation center | Duplex | Zoning |
| STRUCTURAL ATTRIBUTES | Load-bearing system | | Framed building | Solid construction | Solid construction | Solid construction | Solid construction | Solid construction | Framed building |
| | Roof type | Gable | Flat | Gable | Flat | Gable | Gable | Gable | Flat |
| | Storey | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| | Apartment per storey | 10 | 4 | 8 | 2 | N/A | N/A | N/A | 2 |
| SPATIAL ATTRIBUTES | Different apartment types | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | Toilet | Within the apartment | Within the apartment | Within the apartment | Within the apartment | Within the apartment | Outdoor access | Within the apartment | Within the apartment |
| | Useful area/Building area | 40.46/49.11 | 36.20/45.36; 37.26/46.13 | 32.26/38.61; 35.24/42.34 | 61.25/73.81 | 49.07/55.13 | 38.80/47.12 | 62.51/72.00 | 63.00/77.56 |
| | Sqm per person | 16.37 | 15.12; 15.38 | 12.87; 14.11 | 12.30 | 11.02 | 15.71 | 10.28 | 11.08 |
| | Household | 2 adults, 1 child | 2 adults, 1 child | 2 adults, 1 child | 2 adults, 4 children | 2 adults, 3 children | 2 adults, 1 child | 2 adults, 5 children | 2 adults, 5 children |

**Table 1:** Typological, structural and spatial attributes of the sixteen public housing projects of minimum standards (Project #1-Project #8).




| | | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TYPOLOGY | Building type | Linear block | Linear block | Detached house | Point block | Semi-detached house | Linear block | Detached house | Detached house |
| | Access type | Vertical core | Vertical core | Street access | Split-level | Street access | Vertical core | Street access | Street access |
| | Apartment layout | Zoning | Corridor/Hallway | Living room as circulation center | Living room as circulation center | Zoning | Corridor/Hallway | Living room as circulation center | Living room as circulation center |
| STRUCTURAL ATTRIBUTES | Load-bearing system | Framed building | Solid construction | Solid construction | Framed building | Solid construction | Framed building | Solid construction | Solid construction |
| | Roof type | Gable | Gable | Gable | Flat | Gable | Flat | Gable | Gable |
| | Storey | 5 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 |
| | Apartment per storey | 2 | 2 | N/A | 4 | N/A | 4 | N/A | N/A |
| SPATIAL ATTRIBUTES | Different apartment types | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| | Toilet | Within the apartment | Within the apartment | Outdoor access | Within the apartment | Outdoor access | Within the apartment | Outdoor access | Outdoor access |
| | Useful area/Building area | 53.74/60.88 | 37.80/43.30 | 62.50/72.45 | 28.77/34.80 | 53.84/63.46 | 62.37/77.64; 34.74/41.06 | 55.81/68.70 | 48.21/57.41 |
| | Sqm per person | 12.17 | 14.43 | 12.08 | 17.40 | 15.86 | 12.94; 13.68 | 11.45 | 14.35 |
| | Household | 2 adults, 3 children | 2 adults, 1 child | 2 adults, 4 children | 2 adults | 2 adults, 2 children | 2 adults, 4 children; 2 adults, 1 child | 2 adults, 4 children | 2 adults, 2 children |

**Table 2:** Typological, structural and spatial attributes of the sixteen public housing projects of minimum standards (Project #9-Project #16).

Regarding the results, typological attributes of sixteen projects are as follows;

- As building type, nine of the projects are apartment buildings (linear block or point block) where seven of the projects are detached or semi-detached houses. Resulting with these seven projects having street access to the units. Apartment buildings, on the other hand, use vertical core, split-level or gallery as the access type.
- There are seven linear blocks as building types; six of them using a vertical core while one of them using a gallery as access type. On the other hand, there are two point blocks and they both use a split-level access.
- Looking at the apartment/unit layout, seven projects use the living room as circulation center, four projects use corridors, four projects use zoning and one project uses duplex layout.
- Detached or semi-detached houses mostly use the living room as circulation center.
- The projects targeting the household as four or more children use zoning as the apartment layout.

Structural attributes of sixteen projects are as follows;

- Load-bearing systems are solid construction for ten projects and framed structure for five projects.
- Roof type of ten projects is gable roof while five projects have a flat roof.
- Regarding the correlation between load-bearing system and roof type, almost entirely, gable roof is preferred for solid construction buildings and flat roof for framed buildings. Only one project uses a gable roof with a framed building and one project uses a flat roof with a solid construction building.
- Six projects are single-storey buildings and five projects are five-storey buildings; single-storey and five-storey buildings are the most preferred. There are four projects with three-storey and one project with two-storey.

According to the table, spatial attributes are as follows;

- Only three projects have different apartment types within the same building.
- As for toilet access, all the units of apartment buildings have access to toilets from within the unit. On the other hand, detached or semi-detached houses mostly have the toilet accessed from outside: 5 of 7 (71.42%).
- Among the sixteen projects, the minimum useful area is 32.26 sqm while the maximum is 63 sqm.
- The minimum area per person is 10.28 sqm minimum and 17.40 sqm maximum.
- The minimum household size is targeted as two adults and the maximum is targeted as two adults with five children.

## Conclusion

The study focuses to reveal the adopted attributes and design principles of adequate, affordable, sanitary and economic housing projects as suggested by the Ministry of Construction and Settlement. The results disclose the preferred attributes used by the Ministry in the projects to catch up on the regulations for public housing of minimum standards and reveal possible correlations between the aforementioned attributes. The study contributes to the literature by analyzing the architectural projects from an archival

document to refer to the responsible nationwide governmental institution's approach to housing standards as a tool for implementing the period's housing policy.

Regulating the public housing standards and preparing and presenting a batch of architectural projects are both considered as important moves towards establishment of a housing policy in Türkiye. When the period is examined, it is seen that studies were carried out to develop housing standards which will form the basis of social housing production and to exhibit typologies based on them. Not only the agenda and work of the Ministry but also its approach towards public housing are possible to reveal through such documents. However, failure to continue to develop and implement quality social housing examples within the housing policy is a complex issue related to socio-economic dynamics in Türkiye and the continuation of rapid population growth and migration. As stated by Alkışer and Yürekli (2004), "despite the fact that housing policies in Türkiye differ according to periods, it is seen that the housing deficit is closed with informal housing in every period."

The publication of public housing project examples are important for showing the Ministry's holistic approach; it does not only set policies, but also regulates standards and implementation conditions and develops solutions through designing architectural projects. It can be said that the architectural and spatial quality of the projects also shows a comprehensive approach of the Ministry. The implications for practice and the development over time will be the subjects of further research.

## Endnotes

1. To define or to evaluate adequate housing is beyond this paper's limited scope of examining public housing projects, since social and physical adequacy of housing is not only a question of a single living unit or building, but of many inter-scale holistic approaches.
2. Two different publications were made by the Ministry in 1963, namely "Public Housing Standards-I" and "Public Housing Standards-II". When these two publications are examined, only one difference has been identified, although the entire content is the same. The measures to be taken against fire, which were optionally presented in the first publication, were presented as mandatory in the second publication. The review within the scope of the research will continue over the second publication.
3. The publication of the standards aroused attention that was followed by opinions on the subject (Anon., 1964; Sudalı, 1965; Ölçer, 1965). Despite the opposing views and critics of the standards, the chamber of architects (TMMOB) appears to advocate the ministry's public housing standards work. They stated that the minimum dimensions in the standards are appropriate for adequate living and that they support the tax exemptions and credits to be given only to minimum quality residences (Anon., 1964).
4. Despite being clearly and repeatedly stated in the plan, not spending the housing investments and not providing tax exemption on luxury housing could not be maintained. Keleş (1966) mentions that the principle of directing investments to public type residences did not yield the expected result. He attributes this to two reasons: (1) the tax measures envisaged in the plan came into effect in mid-1964,

(2) this measure, which envisages the incentive of small houses, was in effect for only 1 year and 11 months, later the scope of tax exemptions was expanded to include residential buildings of all sizes up to 100 m2.

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# A Constant Element of the Turkish Republican Town: Ziraat Bankası Branch Buildings

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## Abstract

*Ziraat Bankası, with its identity and development process, has a specific place in Turkish banking history. Founded in the 19th century and still operating today, the bank originates from the "Memleket Sandıkları" system in the villages. The Memleket Sandıkları consists of a chest that is brought into the public square on specific days of the week. This chest works as a credit system for that village to provide money for the village's agriculture and other needs. Later, Memleket Sandıkları institutionalized into Ziraat Bankası (Agricultural Bank), for providing loans for agriculture. In the early years, Ziraat Bankası, provided exclusively agricultural loans. The identity of the Bank as the farmer's friend can be easily seen in the institution's publications, advertisements, and other products, it also overlaps with the political and economic policies of the new state.*

*Between 1945 and 1960, dozens of Ziraat Bankası branch buildings have been completed. The increasing need for branch buildings brought also the need for a rapid construction process. In the mentioned period, more than fifty Ziraat Bankası branch buildings were projected and constructed with the "standard design method". Ziraat Bankası branch buildings, which still exist throughout Turkey, clearly represent a certain period of Turkish Republican architecture. Due to the relations with agriculture, the Ziraat Bankası branches are visible all over Anatolia in almost all scales of settlements. They were almost always placed right into the center of the town and formed together with the Republican square and an Ataturk bust another clearly recognizable integral urban element of its time.*

**Keywords**: Ziraat Bankası; Standard design method; Branch buildings

## Introduction

Founded in 1863 by Mithat Pasha as Memleket Sandıkları (Homeland Funds), Ziraat Bankası, filled an important gap in the Ottoman Empire, where the economy relied on agricultural production in the rural areas since its foundation. The Bank, played a role in the regulation of the rural economy through the loans provided, for agriculture and

livestock that created financial security to meet the common needs of the peasants. In the post-war Republican era, the country lacked industry and continued to rely on agriculture for most of its economic activities. This position remained unchanged, but the Bank's area of intervention expanded with various laws adopted. In addition to the loans allocated to agriculture and animal husbandry, the Bank also established cooperatives and supported the development of healthier villages. The dominance of the rural population over the urban population physically and economically expands the field of activity of Ziraat Bankası. In contrast to the predominantly affluent urban populations, the daily life of the people living in the countryside is characterised by economic and social activities related to agriculture and animal husbandry. The place of Ziraat Bankası in the agricultural economy brings it to an important position in the foundation of the Republic and the new country.

## Foundation and Organization of Ziraat Bankası

Ziraat Bankası has a special place in the history of Turkish banking with its identity and the way it emerged. When we look at the economic world of the 19th century, when the foundations of the bank were laid, we see that central banks were established in Europe to manage the capital accumulation that emerged mainly through colonial activities. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire was in debt, and banks with foreign capital which are the most famous of the Ottoman Bank emerged mainly for the purpose of paying these debts. In 1863, the partners of the Ottoman Bank, which were granted the privileges of a central bank, were of French and British origin and in time it became an instrument of external borrowing (Akgüç, 1992, p. 115; Toprak, 2010, p. 39). Therefore, the banking history of the Ottoman Empire, which could or would not engage in the economic changes that European states underwent in the 18th and 19th centuries, began within this decadent scene.

Ziraat Bankası, the foundations of which were laid within the above-mentioned framework, was unique both in terms of the reason for its establishment and the way it was organised. In 1863, the foundations of the Ziraat Bankası were laid with the establishment of the Memleket Sandıkları by Mithat Pasha. Memleket Sandıkları emerged in villages in the form of independent chests in order to provide credit to people, most of whom lived in rural areas and were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry (Cumhuriyetimizin 50. Yılında Ziraat Bankası, 1973, p.54). In his memoirs, Mithat Pasha stated the purpose of the establishment of the funds as a solution to the fact that the peasants engaged in agriculture were in need of moneylenders due to the limited duration of the harvest and its change according to environmental factors (Yüz Yıllık Teşkilatlı Zirai Kredi, 1963, p. 96). In 1888, Memleket Sandıkları were connected to a centralised system, their name was changed to Menafi Sandıkları and an additional Menafi tax was

started to be levied on their capital (Cumhuriyetimizin 50. Yılında Ziraat Bankası, 1973, p.53). As a result of the lack of centralised supervision of the funds, and corruption allegations, which led to numerous complaints, gave rise to institutionalisation. Following this period, which was later considered as an early experiment of a kind of cooperative system (Demirel, 1935), Ziraat Bankası was officially established with a charter dated 15 August 1888 by gathering 331 chests in various parts of the Empire under a single roof (Cumhuriyetimizin 50. Yılında Ziraat Bankası, 1973, p.55). Accordingly, Ziraat Bankası was a state bank with a capital of 10 million TL and its loans were limited to agriculture. In 1919, a new law defined the purpose of the bank's establishment as "alleviating the needs of the farmer and ensuring the advancement of agriculture" and various privileges such as tax exemption were granted to the institution. Ziraat Bankası, first organised and then centralised, started to form its identity as a state bank that officially supported the farmer.

## Positioning and Identity of the Bank

In the meantime, nationalism movements, which became popular in the 19th century, found their counterparts in the Ottoman Empire, and national banking systems began to be discussed. The Jön Türkler (Young Turks) reacted against the banks with a foreign capital, and 24 national banks were established between 1908 and 1923 by the wish of İttihat ve Terakki Partisi, but most of them could not continue their operations (Toprak, 2010, p. 40; Keskin et al., 2008, p. 2)

Between 1924 and 1932, with the completion of the establishment of İş Bankası, Emlak ve Eytam Bankası, Sümerbank, and Merkez Bankası with the support of the state, the main banks that will operate in different areas of the country were established and started to settle in the city centers. Starting with Mongeri's designs for İş Bankası, Ziraat Bankası, and Ottoman Bank, the formation of the banking district in Ankara Ulus continued with the addition of Sümerbank, Emlak ve Eytam Bankası and Merkez Bankası buildings. This coexistence, which gave its first example in the capital city, created small-scale reflections in most large cities as the aforementioned banks spread throughout the country. While this situation is observed in large cities, we do not observe such a picture in smaller settlements and districts as not all banks opened branches. In small settlements, there are two bank structures that are permanently present: Ziraat Bankası and İş Bankası.

The identity of the bank as an institution is also directly related to its field of activity. Due to its relations with agricultural production and its role in encouraging production, Ziraat Bankası presents itself as the main supporter of agriculture, on the side of farmers and peasants. To this end, it has been using the symbol of the wheatear, the most basic

agricultural and food product, since the early years of the Republic (Figure 1). The poster of Ziraat Bankası, designed by İhap Hulusi Görey dated 1945, depicts a human figure carrying a piggy bank and wearing a crown of wheatears on his head.




**Figure 1:** Poster by İhap Hulusi (Tunabaysal, 2020).

## Adoption and Diffusion of Architectural Representation

Between 1945 and 1960, the construction of Ziraat Bankası standard designs across the country led to the presence of the same building in dozens of settlements and the visual recognition of this identity. The construction of type branches also overlaps temporally with the movement to produce urban plans that started after the proclamation of the republic and covered most of the urban settlements in the country. This led to the coexistence of bank branches with public buildings such as the Municipality, Government Office, PTT (Post Office), and public spaces such as parks, squares, and monuments in most settlements (Çilingir ve Kuban, 2021) . Public buildings are usually located around a square or on the side of a street extending from the square, and if the settlement is

located on the railway line, a street called İstasyon Caddesi (Station Street) connecting the square and the station is similar to the programme of the settlements planned in this period. The tradition of using the standard design method in the production of public buildings throughout the country between 1945-1965 was also adopted by Ziraat Bankası. Therefore, in any Aegean town or district in Central Anatolia, you will be greeted by the same Ziraat Bankası branch structure.

While Ziraat Bankası, with its banking activities and the role it played in line with the rural policies of the republic, has spread to all areas of the country in the abstract, it is also represented throughout the country in the concrete with its characteristic buildings. The method chosen by Ziraat Bankası to acquire buildings is shaped by the economic conditions and general habits of the period, as well as the amount of building needs of the institution. When the buildings of the Bank are analysed, the methods of obtaining these buildings are categorised under three main headings: ordering to a specific architect, standard design method and obtaining projects through competition. All three methods were generally used to obtain buildings simultaneously, even if one of them was dominant. The most obvious example of this is the standard design competition organised in 1951. The Bank used the competition method to obtain standard designs and simultaneously continued to carry out standard designs in most parts of Anatolia.

## Standard Design Competition

In the case of Ziraat Bankası buildings, although no project was directly implemented, the standard design competition announced in 1951 is important in terms of reflecting the preferences of the bank. In the 1950s, competitions were frequently opened to obtain standard designs. One of these competitions, "T.C. Ziraat Bankası Branch and Agency Standard Design Project Competition" is an interesting example with its repetition. Opened in the first half of 1951, the competition was concluded in August with the participation of 137 projects. The jury's report stated that "the bank was not able to come up with a proposal that was suitable for the bank's benefit a hundred percent" and that "none of the projects were of a quality that could be implemented as they were". As a result most of the prizes were not distributed, while honourable mentions were given to prominent projects, and second and third prizes were given to some others on the grounds that they were better than the others (1951, p. 123). The project categories were divided into three according to their size: small, medium, and large. These categories were asked to be designed in two different ways: warm and cold climates. With this distinction, projects were evaluated in six categories in total.

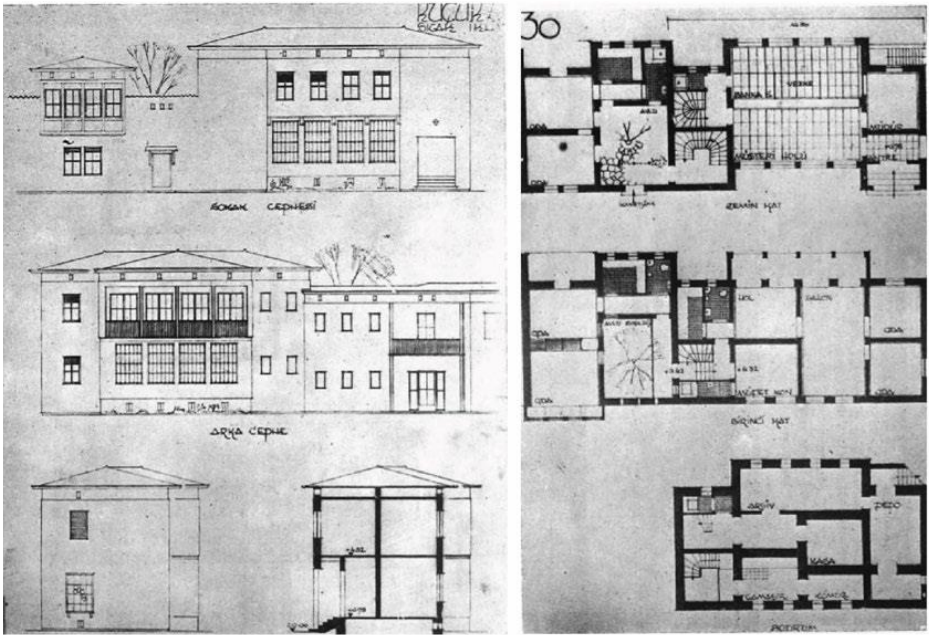



**Figure 2:** Projects by Atilla Arpat and Aydemir Alkan (Arkitekt, 1951).

The awarded projects were criticised on the grounds that they were uneconomical, mostly due to overly dynamic volumes and ornamental designs. The small agency building designed by Atilla Arpat and Aydemir Balkan, which was designed for a warm climate and awarded with the third prize, was criticised for being too recessed and protruding, but was awarded for its good plan solution (Figure 2). When the design is analysed, it is seen that it contains more local motifs than the built structures of Ziraat Bankası with its hipped roof and bay window-like projections.

Similarly, the project of Suha Taner, Affan Kırımlı and Maruf Önal, which was designed for the cold climate of small agency buildings and awarded with the third prize, was criticised for its expensive construction and decorative architecture. However, the separation of the lodging house and the bank building were appreciated for, the fact that it was suitable for different construction phases (Figure 3). A medium-sized agency building designed by Suha Taner, Affan Kırımlı and Maruf Önal for a warm climate was also awarded with the second prize for the same reasons. When this building is analysed, it is seen that the design adopts the same principles. Although the separation of the

lodging buildings and a garden in the center of both designs are favourable, these features are not found in any of the built projects of Ziraat Bankası. The project designed by the same team for the warm climate was criticised for being decorative and therefore uneconomical (1951, p. 131).

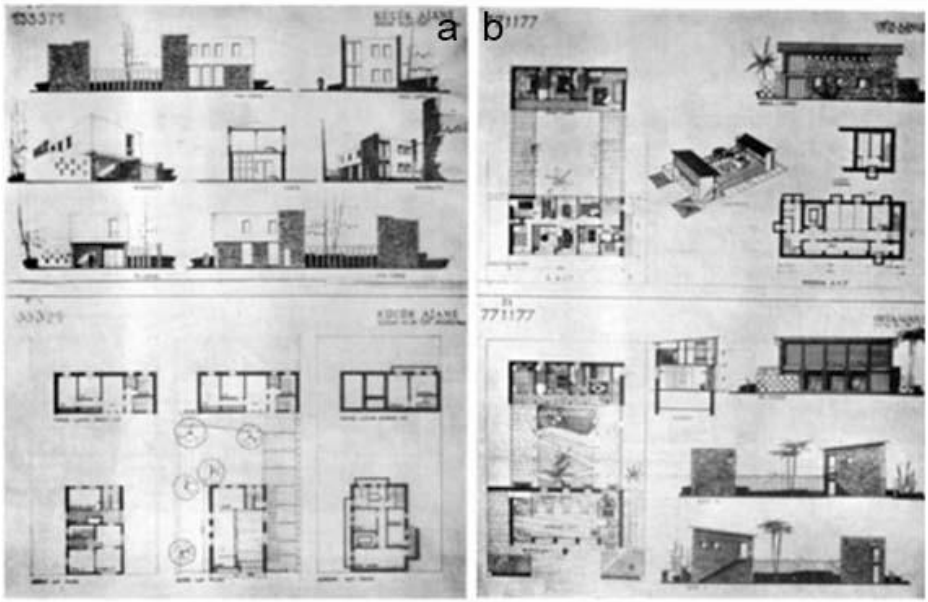



**Figure 3:** Project by Suha Taner, Affan Kırımlı ve Maruf Önal (Arkitekt, 1951).

While the results of the competition and the jury report were published in Arkitekt magazine, the same issue also included an announcement that the competition would be repeated. This competition was opened again for small and large agencies and branches, with categories divided into warm and cold climate zones. The announcement states that the specifications of the competition should be obtained from the bank and was not published anywhere. The results of the second competition, whose specifications could not be found, are quite interesting in terms of the similarities between the projects.

In the jury report of the competition finalised in November, it is stated that since the first competition did not yield satisfactory results, the conditions of the competition were changed and the result was successful (1951). Eyüp Kömürcüoğlu won the first prize with his designs for both climates in the small agency building category and for the cold region

in the large agency category. All three designs of Eyüp Kömürcüoğlu were found superior to the others on the grounds that they were economical, simple, and architecturally correct, that these conditions were in accordance with the bank's request, and that the workmanship and materials were compatible with the conditions of the country (1951). When Kömürcüoğlu's first prize-winning designs are analysed, it is seen that they are quite similar to each other (Figure 4). For the small agency buildings, only the plan of the one designed for the cold climate was published, so it is not possible to see what differences they have with the warm climate on the basis of the plan. However, it is seen from the published perspectives that only the windows are enlarged in the warm climate. In the large agency building designed on a similar principle, the size of the building has increased, and although some changes have been made in the plan due to the increased size, they basically have similar solutions (Figure 5).

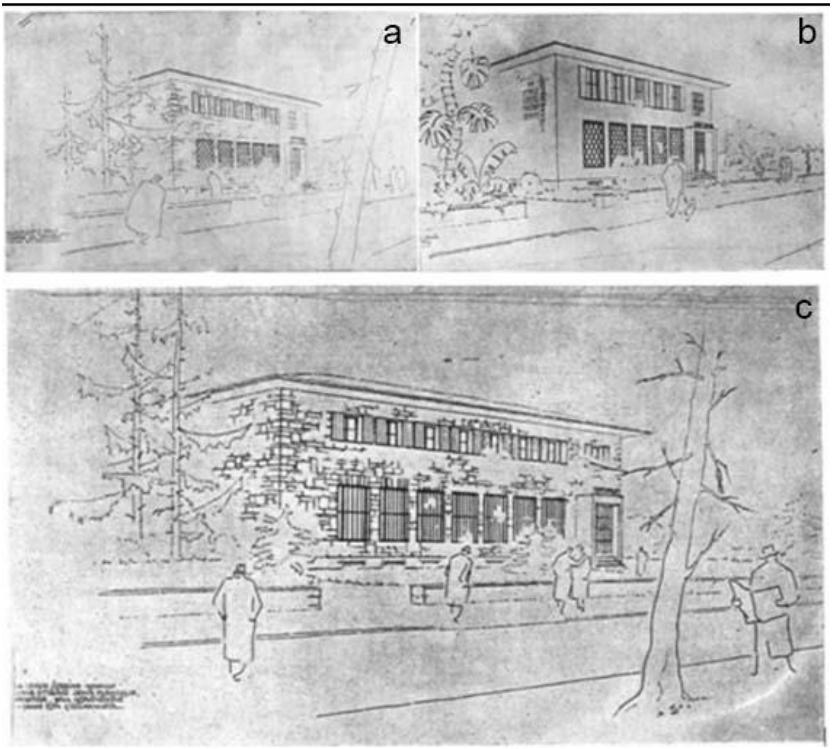



**Figure 4:** Projects by Eyüp Kömürcüoğlu (Arkitekt, 1951).

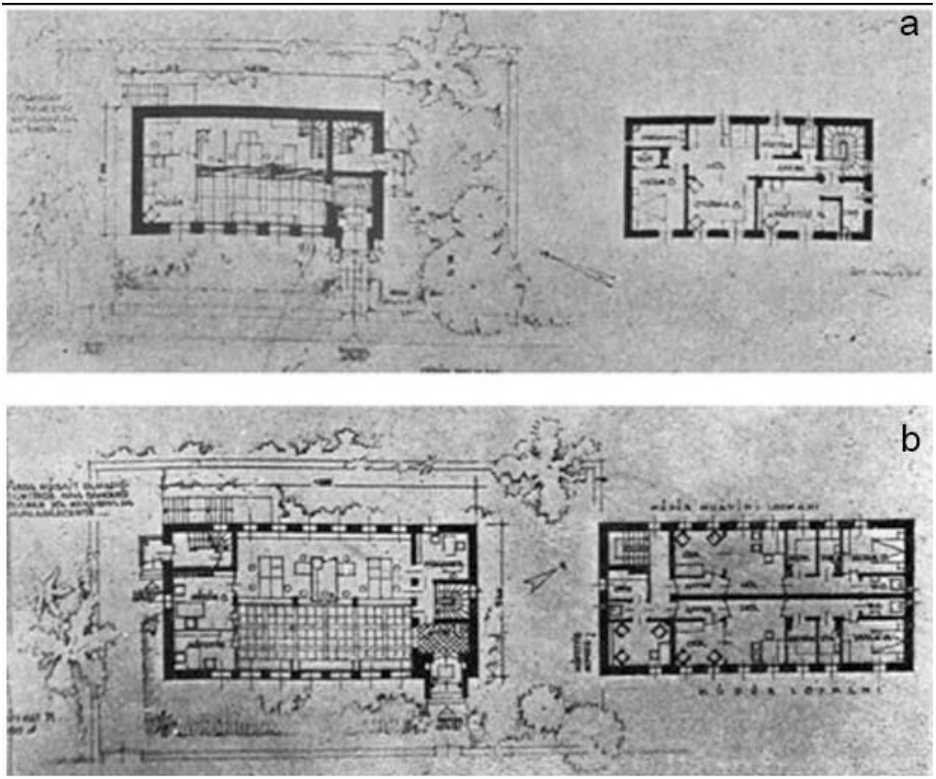



**Figure 5:** Plans of projects by Eyüp Kömürcüoğlu (Arkitekt, 1951).

The similarity in these projects, whose architects are the same, is not unexpected in terms of coming from the same hand and therefore using the same principles. When we look at the second and third prize-winning projects, which were designed for a small agency and cold climate, it is seen that they have very similar features in terms of form. Both buildings, designed by Cevdet Kösemen and Affan Akyol, have corner entrances, rhythmic windows, and the ground floor is designed for a banking service function and the upper floor is designed as lodging units. The structural separation of lodging and bank functions seen in the first competition is not visible in any of the projects in the prize group in this competition. The second and third prize-winning projects were found suitable for these awards due to their calm architecture, ease of implementation and economy. This similarity is also present among the other awarded projects. Regardless of their size,

most of the agency buildings have rectangular plans, lower floor banking, upper floor lodging services, rhythmic windows and corner entrances. While this similarity in the buildings may be related to the criteria set for the award, the fact that so many similar projects were produced cannot be explained solely by the selection criteria. This situation suggests that, there are conditions that would lead the designs to a single mass, with the lower floor being banking and the upper floor being lodgings.

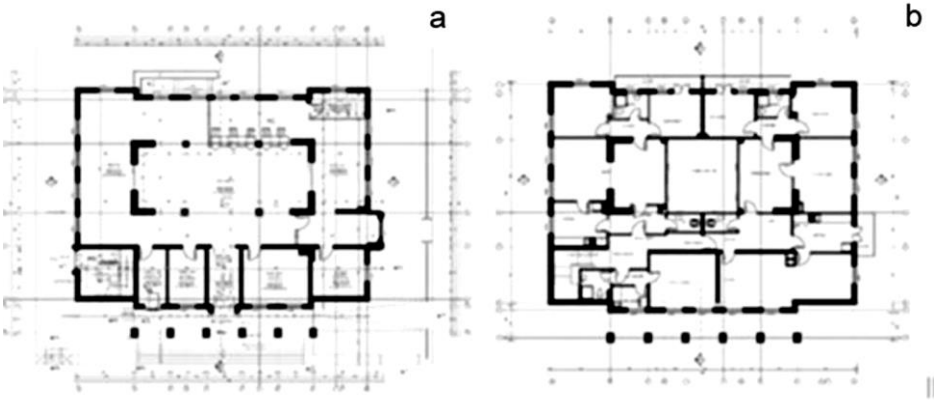



**Figure 6:** Plans of Merzifon branch building (Archive of Ziraat Bankası).




**Figure 7:** Plans of Silivri branch building (provided from Silivri municipality).

These plan schemes overlap in principle to a great extent with most of the bank's projects implemented with the standard design. For example, when Silivri and Merzifon bank buildings are considered, it is seen that a passage is created before the hall with volumes positioned next to the entrance, although there are formal differences (Figures 6 and 7). In the Merzifon building, which is larger in scale, a lighting roof was placed above the customer hall to provide light intake. Although the Merzifon building was completed in 1946 and the Silivri building was completed in 1953, the fact that other examples of the same design with the standard design started to be seen at the end of the 40s. This shows that these applied projects were not related to the competition projects. Again, although they show great differences in terms of form, especially on the façade, the built projects have similar characteristics to the competition projects with their rhythmic and symmetrical window arrangements, half basement floors and rectangular plans close to square. The fact that the fragmented solutions, use of local materials, and "decorative" architectures seen in the first competition are not seen in the bank's built projects supports the fact that the bank has defined the architecture that suits its identity. It is also clear that this criterion was prioritised for the second competition and maybe even added to the specifications.

## Branch Buildings Constructed as Standard Designs

The situation becomes interesting when the density of the branch buildings constructed with standard design within the construction activities of the institution between 1945-65 is taken into consideration. According to Yusuf Saim Atasagun, in 1938, there were 262 Ziraat Bankası branches and agencies in all urban centers except Hakkâri, and there were 435 *kazâ* (small town) in the country (1938, p. 127). In this case, 61 of the 262 branches and agencies were located in the central districts of the provinces, 201 in the *kazâ*s, while 172 districts had no Ziraat Bankası.

Between 1945-1965, standard designs were implemented in various parts of Anatolia. Although the exact number of these buildings cannot be estimated, the list provided by Ziraat Bankası shows 50 buildings, and there are also some buildings that are not included in the list. In order for the existing standard designs to be applied to places with different characteristics, they must be constantly revised and monitored by a technical or architectural office within the bank. The existence of this architectural office can be supported by a news article published in Arkitekt magazine in 1945. Ziraat Bankası is looking for two architects, one to work in İstanbul and one in Anatolia (Haberler, 1945, p. 140). The fact that the place where one of the architects will work is defined as "Anatolia" creates the impression of a travelling job during the construction. However, according to a biography published in Arkitekt magazine in 1980, it is not possible to find out who worked in this office, except for Orhan Çakmakcıoğlu who worked as a consultant

architect for Ziraat Bankası between 1951-60 (Antalya Saklıkent Dağ Oteli Projesi, 1980, p. 67).




**Figure 8:** Examples from standard designs of Ziraat Bankası, Avanos, Alaşehir, Ladik, Tatvan, Silivri and the scheme drawing (Çilingir, 2020, p. 101).

When the distribution of the constructed standard designs is analysed, it is seen although they are located in quite different geographies, they are not characterized according to the climate. The most widespread of the mentioned standard designs has been implemented in a wide area throughout the country. Although these buildings, which are more than 50 in number, have great similarities with their façade features and function schemes, the façades other than the front façade.The fact that these buildings, which are located in different geographies of the country and intertwined with different climatic conditions, show the same formal characteristics displays the understanding of a standard design that is not characterised according to the climate and region. While the front façade of the buildings functionally creates a welcoming space, it is also the face of Ziraat Bankası as an institution. The eaves above the symmetrically arranged façade are extended and supported by thin columns that continue along two floors. This created a transition space at the entrance of the building and became a second facade. This secondary facade makes the differences behind it insignificant.

In other variations of the same standard design, the entire façade is designed as an entrance space, and the side walls are extended to create a semi-open space or, in larger-scale buildings, the entrance façade is pulled inwards. This space is supported by

four columns and the general visual integrity of Ziraat Bankası branches is maintained. Silivri, Manyas, Vezirköprü and Tatvan branch buildings located in different geographical regions are an important proof that standard designs do not vary according to climate (Figure 8). Although the later modifications on the buildings distort the facade ratios, the buildings, which were identical at the time they were built, are still very much the same. When the Silivri example is analysed, the ground floor is entirely dedicated to banking services. Small volumes were placed on both sides of the main entrance of the building, and a passage was formed between the entrance and the customer hall thanks to these volumes. The rest of the ground floor of the building, which continues the quadruple column system in three rows inside, is designed as an open space, except for the stairs leading to the lodging. By placing counters between the columns, a hall was created in the center and open offices around it where banking works are carried out. A stairwell accessed from the outside of the building leads to the lodging floor. At the end of the stairs, two lodging flats are entered through a very narrow space. The balconies of the lodgings, one with a single and one with a double bedroom, face the side façade. All of the Silivri, Tatvan, Vezirköprü and Manyas buildings show similar features, especially on the façade. In general, the buildings have the emphasised entrances of the period, columns extending over two floors and wide eaves. The combination of all these inputs in a small-scale bank building has proportionally given the building a new character. With its compact mass and façade that can be considered monumental in proportion to its volume, this standard design, which is found in most settlements in Anatolia, marks the city with its addition to the settlement texture.

In larger buildings, the reception area, which is supported by columns extending across two storeys, is also achieved by extending the eaves or by retracting the front façade, and the same secondary façade perception is maintained here as well. In the Sinop and Balıkesir buildings, the eaves above the reception area are slightly prominent. In the Edirne and Trabzon examples, it is recessed.The common aspect in these designs is the character created by the secondary facade and quadruple column system on the entrance façade.

## Conclusion

One of the biggest reasons for discussing the place of these branch buildings in early Republican architecture, which still exist in various parts of Anatolia, is that they are among the first building groups built in the old centers of cities. Generally, the architectural preferences of state buildings such as government mansions, municipal buildings, post offices, and police stations are often used to describe the architecture of the Republican Period. The position of Ziraat Bankası here differs from the other elements in the building group. Although Ziraat Bankası is an institution representing the

state, its wish is to enter into a one-to-one dialogue with the peasants and farmers unlike most institutions and organizations of the state. Therefore, differing from the overwhelming size and monumental masses of the other buildings, these buildings are expected to be smaller in scale and more human in scale. Indeed, all of the buildings are small-scale, modest, yet monumental in a way that is difficult to achieve on this scale within the city. Considering the function of the institution in organising the rural areas of the state and the fact that the buildings are located in rural areas, these buildings cannot and were not expected to be separated from state modernism. The structural representation of the institutional identity, which led to the standard design competition being organised twice, is evident in the symmetrical facades, the columns extending across two floors and the emphasised entrances.

The Bank has a well-known and strong identity, and the architecture of the institution has favoured buildings with high representational power to best express this identity. Although the size and vanity of the buildings vary according to the settlement in which they are located, the targeted form of representation is clearly visible in all buildings. Especially in the buildings constructed after 1940, it is seen that this identity is established and clarified. The bank's decision to repeat the competition after failing to obtain the desired results in the standard design competition shows that this competition was not just a formality. Ziraat Bankası indeed searched for the design of a branch that it thought would best represent itself, but in the end, it preferred to use the standard design produced by itself. Today, identical Ziraat Bankası buildings in the urban centers of various towns and districts in Anatolia continue to represent the institution architecturally.

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# Visual Construction of the Early Republican Era: Reading the Architectural Photographs of *La Turquie Kemaliste* Magazine

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*"There is a new spirit: It is a spirit of construction and synthesis guided by a clear understanding"*
*L'Esprit Nouveau*. (1920, October). *A Great Epoch Has Begun*. Issue 1.

## Abstract
*Turkey underwent significant changes with the proclamation of the new Republican regime. The changes in the field of architecture were presented to the public, both nationally and internationally, through communication tools such as photographs, newspapers, magazines, posters, and even video films that allowed us ideological readings. La Turquie Kemaliste magazine, which was published volumes between 1934 and 1948 in English, French, and German with 49 issues and 38 volumes, was one of these tools published under the leadership of the intellectuals of the Republican Period. Most of the photographs in the magazine were taken by Othmar Pferschy, and the magazine had a high density of photographs aimed at breaking the dominant Orientalist perception and demonstrating the construction of the regime's.*

*This paper examines the "La Turquie Kemaliste" magazine as a propaganda publication of the New Turkey. Each image is coded according to its content, classified and digitalitized in tables. The types and intentions of the photographs are described by accumulating them under many categories. The photographs that show the official state iconography with architectural photographs will be studied from a semiotic perspective and the aim is to investigate the historiographical perspective of the period.*

*Photographs, taken and selected with precision for the magazine, show that while certain periods of history were brought to the fore, others were left in the dark. The relationship established with the past at the 1937 Turkish History Congress at Dolmabahçe Palace, which contradicts its dominant narrative, is noteworthy in terms of comparing the old and*

*new successes of the Ottoman Empire. Another area of reading through the photographs is how connections to Ottoman Empire have been established as a denial of Orientalist metaphors.*

*Contrary to the dominant narrative of rupture, the magazine systematically establishes a similarity through the photographs and albums produced in the past. The Republic of Turkey, aware of the power of the press, also followed international publications. According to Falih Rıfkı Atay, the press management of Kemalist ideology could be formed by synthesizing the strong aspects of different press management that shaped socialist, fascist and liberal ideologies. This syncretic perception is dominant throughout the magazine. Following the productions of other international countries and in the past, image management, damage control and knowledge building were provided through the narratives created by photography in the era of nation-states, while being aware of the power of the press.*

**Keywords**: *Early Republican Architecture; La Turquie Kemaliste; Architectural Photography; Architectural Representation; Orientalism.*

## Introduction

With the proclamation of the Republican regime, significant changes took place in many fields, including architecture. Images of the new Turkey were presented through many channels, both nationally and internationally, through means of communication such as photographs, newspapers, magazines, posters, and even video films. These images allow us to read the ideological agenda of the new regime. La Turquie Kemaliste, published in English, French and German in 49 issues and 38 volumes between 1934 and 1948, is one of these narratives published under the leadership of the founding intellectuals of the Republican era. The density of the magazine's photographs, most of which were taken by Othmar Pferschy, is striking. These photographs were intended to break with the prevailing Orientalist perception and show what the regime had built. For this reason, the magazine is considered one of the promotional and propaganda publications of the new Turkey. A significant portion of the 2167 images that appeared in its pages during its lifetime were architectural photographs. Architectural photography supported the official state iconography of the Republic. Therefore, the main task of the newly established regime was to formulate the rules and regulations of the press as examples in Europe.

## Regulations shaping the rhetoric of the image in the print media

In Early Republican Turkey, the press was a cultural administration that conveyed and adopted the official ideology of modernization to the masses (Niyazioğlu, 2021), as was

the case in the press regimes of the 1930s in Europe, the U.S., and the Soviet Union (Figure 1). İskit stated that the republican press was the organ of indoctrination and propaganda of Kemalism **(1)** (İskit,1943).




**Figure 1:** "Matbuat Corner" in the exhibition at the History Congress in 1937. One of the captions of the photo: "The Turkish Press in the Service of the Turkish Revolution and the Turkish National Cause". (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1937, 21-22, p. 87)

Server İskit, in his book *Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri* (Printing Press Regimes in Turkey) in 1939, found the content of the previous regulations insufficient and incomplete and argued that Europe's political success was due to the importance it gave to the

organization of the press (İskit,1939). According to İskit, the main task of the newly established institution was to organize the press:

> "(...) The fact that the political and intellectual organization, which is as important as weapons in the defense of our national interests, has been neglected for a long time, has caused and is causing many sacrifices. There is not the smallest state in Europe that does not have an organization as large as possible in this way. (...) A very important part of the reasons for their political success must be sought in the importance they attach to this organization (the press)." (İskit, 1939, p. 222)

Law No. 2444, which was adopted on May 1, 1934, and put into effect on June 1, 1934, explained the duties of the General Directorate of Publications in detail (İskit, 1943). Paragraphs a, b and f of Article 1 of this law **(2)**, outline the alignment, objectives, framework and methodology of *La Turquie Kemaliste*. It can be said that foreign publications were followed and that the publications were made with the purpose of negative propaganda with what was learned from them. The power of the press was recognized as an effective tool for teaching. However, it was also recognized that depending on the content of the information disseminated through the press, it could be abused and that it would be possible to make some gains with the printing press instead of cannons and rifles is one of the views on the value of the printing press that İskit mentions.

Due to the proliferation of local and especially foreign newspapers in Turkey and the need for order, a regulation on the printing press was issued. According to this regulation, the government's decision is essential for the publication of the press and the government's approval is mandatory. According to the government's decision, publications that were considered harmful could be prevented from entering Turkey and the distribution of the press could be stopped (İskit,1939).

To emphasize the importance of foreign propaganda, İskit cites the example of *La Turquie Kemaliste*, a journal of foreign propaganda. The aim of *La Turquie Kemaliste* is to present the image of the new Turkey to foreigners **(3)** (İskit, 1939).

## Framing the photograph

Through repeated images in visual culture, ways of seeing are naturalized and the gaze is trained. Architecture, too, is a tool for determining which gaze and which understanding will be established. Through the magazine, an attempt was made to create a communication mechanism and management of meaning through photographs in New Turkey's struggle against Orientalism. What is to be understood is implied by what is shown in the photographs. Politics also constructs concepts of what can be heard and what can be processed (Ranciere, 2021).

"(...) He takes pictures as he is asked to take them. They are beautiful, but many of them, especially those placed here as a 'future projection' of the Young Republic, have a 'sterile' character. Perhaps this is because too much emphasis is placed on clothing. As a result, everyone is extremely well-ironed, and we see the color white coming to the fore as an ideal. Young people, people in white work shirts, white sportswear, nurses dressed in white; these things are probably meant to give people a sense of cleanliness and neatness..." (Belge, 2012, p. 37)



**Figure 2:** Young women in ironed clothes doing sports (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1939, 31, p. 29), Manicured hand holding a lemon after an article on agriculture (*La Turquie Contemporaine*, 1935, p. 111)

The photographer of the La Turquie Kemalist was Othmar Pferschy, who was a well known photographer of the Kemalist regime since the beginning of 1930s until he went to Austria during II. WW. Almost all of the photographs in the magazine are taken by Othmar Pferschy. In the above photographs (Figure 2) in *Fotoğrafla Türkiye* and *La Turquie Contemporaine*, we see a manicured woman's hand **(4)**. In this photograph, which is given after an article on agriculture, it is preferred to show a young, well-

groomed, clean, healthy and manicured hand instead of a calloused hand dealing with agriculture. The concept of an idealized image of women appears in various fields, from agriculture to sports. We observe an emphasis on the image of a woman in neatly ironed, white attire. The clothing conveys a sense of cleanliness and orderliness.

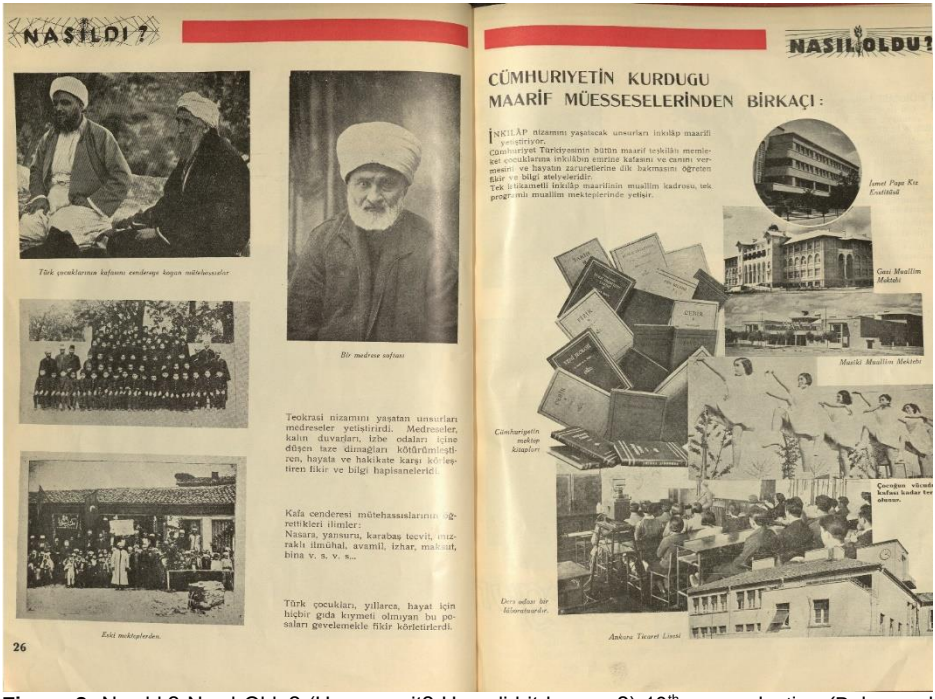



**Figure 3:** Nasıldı? Nasıl Oldu? (How was it? How did it happen?) 10th year selection (Belge and Tör, 1933, pp. 26-27)

The editors of "How was it? How did it happen? (Figure 3) was edited by Burhan Belge and Vedat Nedim Tör, writers and editors of *La Turquie Kemaliste* magazine. Unlike *La Turquie Kemaliste*, the narrative of the publication, which was printed by the state printing house, is constructed through the dichotomies and contrasts shown.

The graphic expression of the spider web in "How was it", which is used to negate the old, is contrasted with another graphic drawing in "How did it happen"I which represents the enlightened and orderly. While the "old" is as backward and old-fashioned as possible

and is associated with the Ottoman Empire, the "new", the Kemalist regime, symbolizes modernity, cleanliness and reason.




**Figure 4:** Symbolic language in the RCA Radio advertisement designed by İhap Hulusi. Left and Right: (Yedigün, 1936 (204))

A similar symbolic narrative also dominates in the advertisements (Figure 4). The young woman symbolizes new construction and the old woman symbolizes old houses.

In the first and second photographs, Pferschy's framed two Ottoman mosques over a gridal precinct wall window for the section devoted to tourism called "the beauty of the past" in La Turquie Kemalist. Same kind of frame also used by Pferschy for an album called Fotoğrafla Türkiye. This time the selected mosque is Hagia Sophia. In the fourth photograph we see the same photograph as a collage-image with a modernly dressed woman in front of the frame for Yedigün magazine cover. Sibel Bozdoğan believes that this collage can be seen as a re-signification that the past has lost its old status as a material and has been reorganized with new codes in favor of the new regime.

> "The cover of Yedigün, a popular weekly magazine published in the mid-1930s (February 22, 1938). In several consecutive issues, following the fiction of 'new against old,' images of modern women with Western appearances are collaged in front of a background of Istanbul landscapes." (Bozdoğan, 2012, p. 94)

In the collage in Figure 5 (Yedigün cover), which can be seen as a re-signification, we see that the past has lost its old status as a material and has been reorganized with new codes in favor of the new regime. In the magazine *La Turquie Kemaliste*, there is also a section devoted to tourism called "the beauty of the past" as an indicator of the regime's self-interest, to which the word "old" refers. This narrative is generally created and selected from a magical, Orientalist fiction in the Western sense. While these artifacts are generally located in Istanbul, the new ones are predominantly centered in Ankara. The newly established republic and the old Empire are also differentiated through cities.

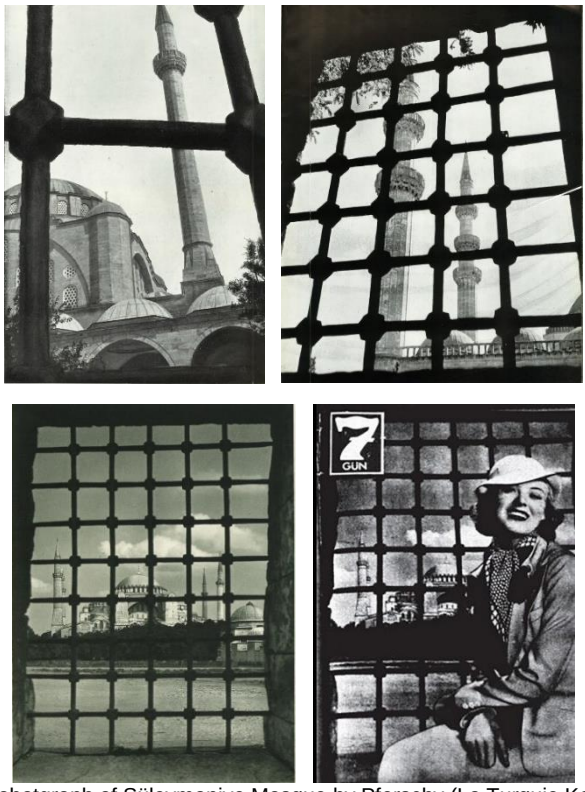



**Figure 5:** Left: Phohotgraph of Süleymaniye Mosque by Pferschy (La Turquie Kemaliste, 1937, 18, p. 47.) Second: Photograph of Edirnekapı Mihrimah Mosque (La Turquie Kemaliste, 1936, 11, p. 32.) Third: Yedigün cover with a collage of the Hagia Sophia Mosque and modern women taken by Othmar Pferschy. Left: (Photographs of Turkey 1936), Left: (Fotoğrafla Türkiye, 1936, p. 53) Right: (Bozdoğan, 2012, p. 98)

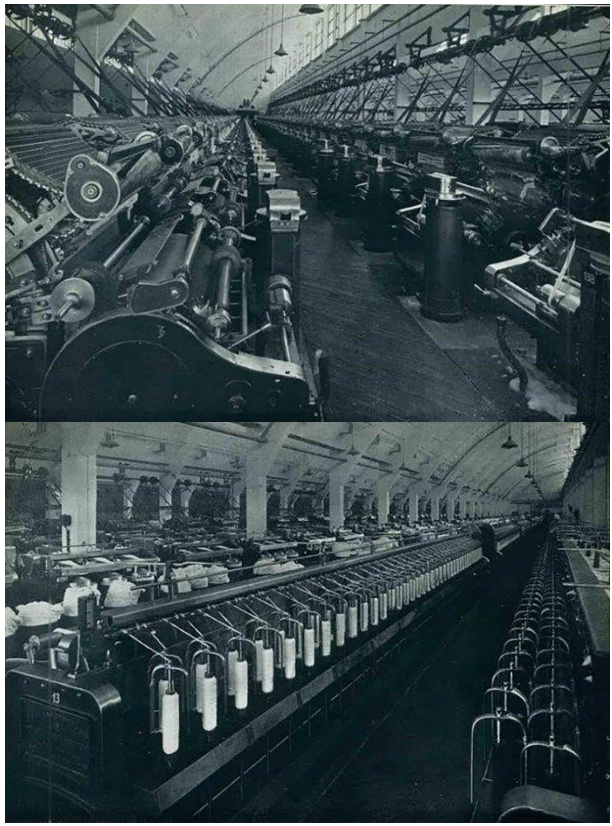


**Figure 6:** Photographs showing the organization in the factories, Kayseri Textile Factory. Left and right: (*La Turquie Kemaliste,* 1935, 9, pp. 21-22)

Official Turkish publications of the 1930s emphasized the industrial and technological achievements of the Republic. *La Turquie Kemaliste* featured numerous photographs of factories, power plants, dams, bridges, and roads (Figure 6). According to Bozdoğan, technology became a source of nationalist pride (Bozdoğan, 2012). Yaşar Nabi makes the following statement about the coverage of construction and technological progress:

> "One of the French journalists, who thinks that seeing Istanbul is enough to talk about our country, recently marveled at the news about the construction of a bridge or the purchase of a locomotive in our newspapers: "But," he said,

"in our country, such things are considered natural events and do not need to be mentioned. (...) It is true that our newspapers devote a lot of attention to the smallest construction projects. It is also true that in the large Western countries such small works are not considered news and issues. But the idea that these manifestations are government propaganda, typical of authoritarian countries, is wrong. It is wrong because the reasons for the importance given to construction news in our newspapers should be sought deeper, in the psychology of a whole nation." (Nabi 1937)



LA TURQUIE NOUVELLE ET LES FOUILLES ARCHEOLOGIQUES.

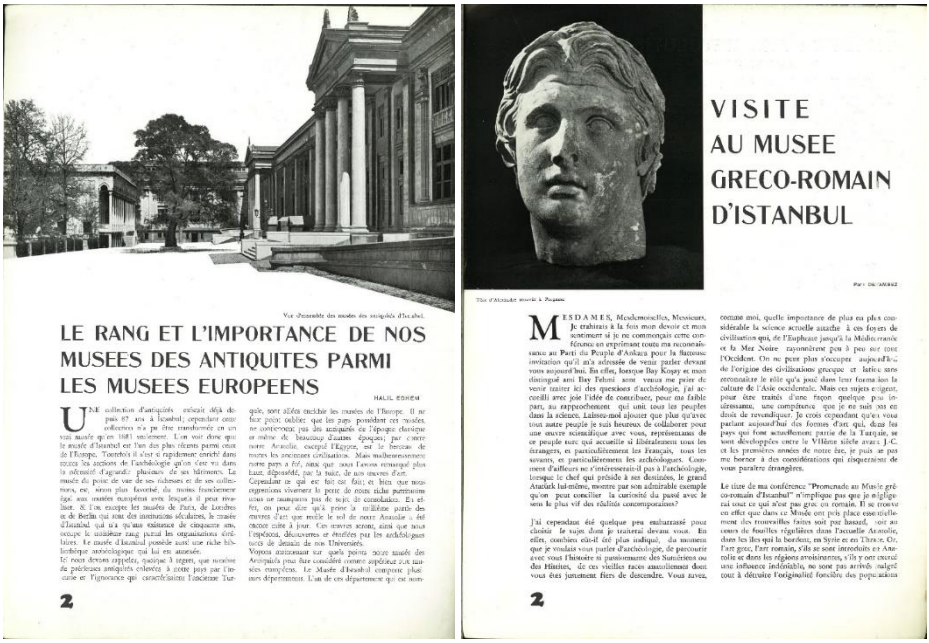
REMZI OGUZ

21

**Figure 7:** Archaeological excavations and Hittite objects (*La Turquie Kemaliste,* 1934, 2, pp. 21 and 24)

Another detail that stands out is the choice of names for new organizations and advances in the field of industry that are a source of pride. The choice of "Eti" and "Sumer" as the names of Sümerbank, founded in 1933 in the field of textiles, and Etibank, founded in 1935 in the field of mining, points to a civilization and a narrative that wants to be created in historical continuity rather than in the past of the Ottoman Empire (Bozdoğan, 2012, p.133). Benedict Anderson writes that "while it is widely accepted that nation-states are 'new' and 'historical,' it is generally believed that the nation of which they claim to be the political expression is rooted in an eternal past and, more importantly, is moving

uninterruptedly toward an infinite future" (Anderson, 1983). Eric Hobsbawm (1993) points out that all nationalisms, which are relatively new constructs in the long history of humanity, nevertheless present themselves as ancient and timeless phenomena, arguing that nations and the rituals associated with them are "invented traditions". From these two perspectives, it can be seen that the roots that the new regime sought in writing the history of the nation were chosen to be in the pre-Islamic period.



LE RANG ET L'IMPORTANCE DE NOS MUSEES DES ANTIQUITES PARMI LES MUSEES EUROPEENS

HALIL EDHEM

VISITE AU MUSEE GRECO-ROMAIN D'ISTANBUL

**Figure 8:** "*Greco-Roman*" museums in Istanbul Left; (*La Turquie Kemaliste,* 1935, 5, s. 2) Right; (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1936, 14, s. 2),

The narrative of the construction activities that emerged with the advancement of technology was also constructed and served along with the narrative of the level of civilization. In *La Turquie Kemaliste*, this symbolic narrative can be easily manipulated and presented according to what needs to be said. Classical handicrafts were shown when one wanted to talk about adherence to past values and the sophistication of culture, and a narrative with Greco-Roman or ancient Hittite connections was presented when one wanted to present a deep-rooted narrative about our roots in history (Figure 7-8). Modernity was represented by technological advances and architectural photographs of newly built institutions and organizations when a developing nation was to be portrayed.

The combination of all these and similar symbolic expressions and intentions was transformed into propaganda material by reconstructing and serving the visual material according to the desired message and connections. What we call new is a narrative.



**Figure 9:** High relief with statues of Dionysus and Heracles Archer. Left: (Eldem, 2014, p. 55), Right: (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1936, 14, p. 10)

Both photographs in Figure 9 were taken in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. In the photograph on the right, from the magazine *La Turquie Kemaliste*, the background is expressed in a neutral and non-contextualized way. The dramatic expression of the photograph and the monumentality of the statue coincide with the language created by the magazine. In the photograph on the left, Ottoman tiles are visible behind the statue. The interpretation of the photograph has now prepared a suitable ground for a reading that can be evaluated together with Ottoman and Ottoman museology. From the photograph on the left, meanings can be produced that are suitable for reading the Ottoman ownership of antiquities, origin, etc. In *La Turquie Kemaliste*, the photographs of sculptures and excavation findings are mainly taken in a neutral context. The meaning produced by the magazine and the meaning of the photograph can be transformed. At

the same time, situations other than those often mentioned by the Republic, such as hygiene, sterility, monumentality, and the body, were eliminated by leaving them out of the subject of the photograph. In this way, a material suitable for the production of photographs and meanings in keeping with the spirit of the times was created.

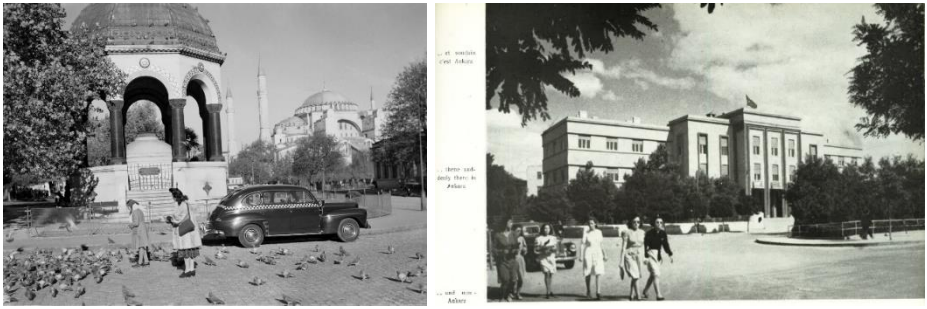


**Figure 10:** Photographs of the German Fountain in Istanbul and the Public Health Building in Ankara (with the subtitle "then suddenly there is Ankara") by Othmar Pferschy. Left: [URL-1], Right: (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1943, 47, p. 42)



**Figure 11:** Hagia Sophia (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1937, 20, p. 5)

Another example of how the binary situation between the modern and the new and the old is emphasized through photography can be seen in Pferschy's two photographs, one not published in the magazine and one published. The Ankara photograph of modern-looking young women, a car behind them, and a public building representing the state (Figure 10, right) and the photograph of a woman and a child feeding birds in the public space in front of the Hagia Sophia and the German Fountain (Figure 11, left) are two separate references to the historical and the modern-new. The photograph of Ankara in the magazine refers to the image that the regime wanted to establish through architecture with a car, a building (Ministry of Health), one of the new institutions of the modern state, and young women in the lower left corner of the photograph. In the photograph of the German Fountain, which is not included in the magazine, Istanbul is presented within the framework of a historical narrative, far from its modern appearance. With picturesque landscapes, Istanbul is portrayed as a place of the past, and the place of the new republic is Ankara, the capital, with photographs of new institutions and buildings and young, healthy people (Figure 12).

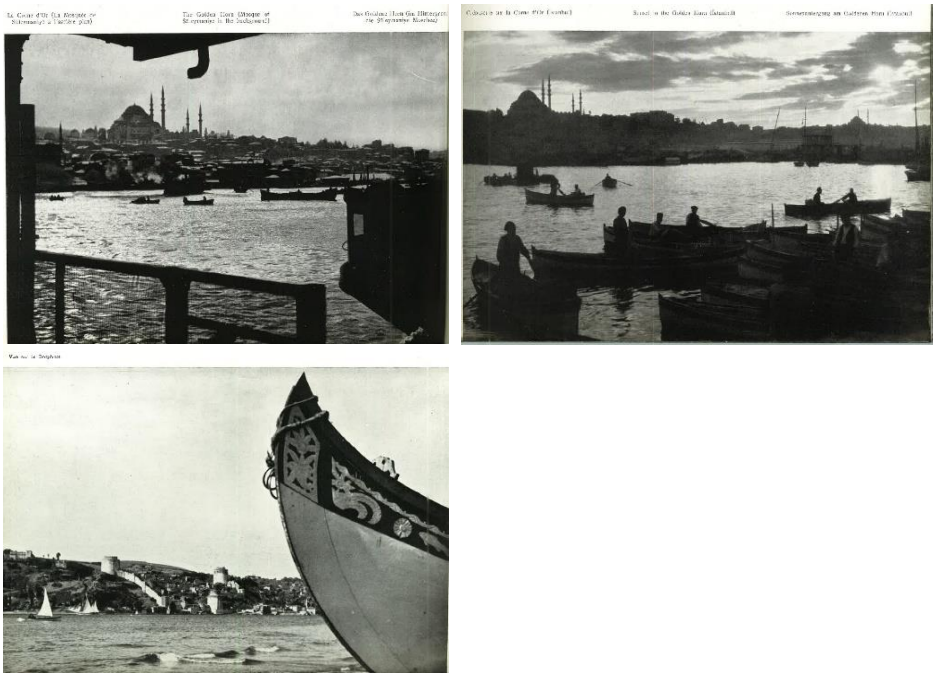


**Figure 12:** Some views from Istanbul (La Turquie Kemaliste)

Also another reading can be emphasized with a third Pferschy photograph. For the La Turquie Kemalist, editors chose Pferschy's Istanbul photographs with a pictoresque manner. The presentation of Hagia Sophia (Figure11) is picturesque and devoid of human presence, much like other photographs from Istanbul. In Figure 11, the photograph of the German Fountain by Othmar Pferschy depicts people, and even the symbol of modernity, the automobile, adds another layer of meaning to the image. The choice of favoring a picturesque image over Othmar Pferschy's photograph in Figure 10 is related to the general perspective on Istanbul.




**Figure 13:** Ankara from the stairs of the Ethnographic Museum from the dial of Othmar Pferschy. Left: Postcard [URL-2]; Center: Turkey in Photographs (Fotoğrafla Türkiye, 1936, p.46); Right: (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1936, 12, p. 29)

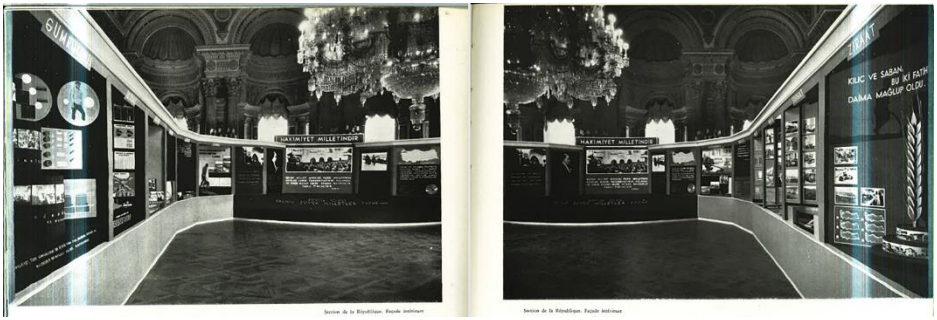



**Figure 14:** Photographs from the Turkish History Thesis Exhibition at the Dolmabahçe Palace, Republic section (*La Turquie Kemaliste*, 1937, 21-22, pp. 75-76).

Another remarkable aspect of the selection of photographs in La Turquie Kemalist magazine is what is emphasized by the angles of the photographs. The angle in the photographs is not determined by the daily perspective, but by looking from a special position each time (Figure 13).



**Figure 15:** Turkish History Thesis Exhibition at the Dolmabahçe Palace, sections from the Ottoman and Seljuk periods (TTK Photo Archive Retrieved from Özkılıç, 2016, p.315).

Another example for choosing a specific angle for the frame also seen in the photographs of the Turkish History Congress Exhibition. The magazine has constructed the exhibition with poses taken from angles framed to minimize the view of the Dolmabahçe Palace as an Ottoman building. Dolmabahçe Palace, one of the examples of 19th century Ottoman architecture that was described as "imitation", "rupture" or "degeneration" in the early Republican period, has to be presented with a photograph in *La Turquie Kemaliste* magazine because of the exhibition of the Turkish History Congress that was held there in 1937. In the photographs of the exhibition, the magazine has constructed the exhibition with poses taken from angles framed to minimize the view of the building and includes only the photographs of the Republican section. However, it is clear from other photographs that the exhibition was much broader, including the Ottoman and Seljuk periods, and was held in a large area of the palace (Figure 14). According to Kezer (2015), the fact that the venue of an exhibition describing the achievements of the Republic, which is portrayed through Ankara, is Istanbul is a contradiction and a form of discourse production within the Orientalist discourse that they are trying to get rid of.

## In lieu of a conclusion

> "In the photographic camera, man has created an instrument which preserves transitory visual impressions in the same way as a gramophone preserves transitory auditory impressions; both are essentially the materialization of the power he possesses with his memories, with his memory." (Freud, 1930, p. 279)

Freud associates the invention of photography with the power of memory, and it is possible to see the power and possibilities of photography as a way of creating memory and recording.

The rhetorical construction with photography is present in *La Turquie Kemaliste*. In his essay “The Rhetoric of the Image”, Barthes (2017) analyzes the rhetorical messages of advertising photographs to show the ideological values attached to the meanings produced by such images. Eco (1982), on the other hand, argues that rhetoric "arises from the proliferation of unspoken iconic solutions, which are then assimilated by society to become models or norms of communication. In photography, codes are combined to create rhetoric. Codes alone are like sounds in grammar, they gain meaning through their context. Tagg (1988) argues that the production of images gives life to photography itself, rather than discovering meaning.

> "Western intellectuals who want to write about Turkey should do the following: (...) 4- Free their minds from harmful prejudices, from the seeds of a sickly romanticism, from a false interest in the picturesque and the sensational, which is constantly and persistently used. And above all: 5- Considering that the Republic of Turkey is the heir of a bankrupt, backward country (the former Ottoman Empire), he must compare it only with himself and realize the true value of the progress it has made since 1923..." (Tör 1936, p.1).

Through the magazine *La Turquie Kemaliste* and the instrumentalization of architecture, an attempt was made to create a communication mechanism and management of meaning through photographs about New Turkey's struggle against Orientalism. What is to be understood is implied by what is shown in the photographs. Politics constructs concepts of what can be heard and what can be processed. It is seen that not only what is shown is important, but also what is not shown, and that what is not shown and does not attract the attention of the audience, what does not appear on the stage of representation, should be read as the negative of the photograph. In other publications by the same editors, this situation has also found its place, with a different definition of what is shown.

## Endnotes

**1.** Server İskit states that the magazine *La Turquie Kemaliste* was distributed 119,690 copies between 1934 and 1938. İskit, S. (1939). Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri. İstanbul: Başvekalet Basın ve Yayın Umum Müdürlüğü, 227. For a more detailed reading of the magazine, see Özcanlı (2022). A significant portion of the 2167 images that appeared in its pages during its lifetime were architectural photographs. Architectural photography supported the official state iconography of the Republic. The classified and tabulated according to its content, and then digitized as a table, and historiographically examined what the magazine was saying through architectural photographs. The types and intentions of the photographs are described by accumulating them under many categories. Those categories are: Architectural photographs, interior, landscape photographs, historical artifacts, graphic representations, traditional handmake works and exhibitions. Based on those categories, total 2167 images are analyzed which of 1127 of them are contemporary, the rest is historical.

**2.** Article 1-a of Law No. 2444: To monitor domestic and foreign publications in terms of political, economic, social and social movements both within and outside the country; Article 1-b: To ensure that the national press is in conformity with the principles of the Revolution, State policy and the needs of the nation;

Article 1-f: To ensure the promotion of Turkey outside the country and to fight against negative propaganda. İskit, S. (1943). Türkiye'de Matbuat İdareleri ve Politikaları. İstanbul: Başvekâlet Basın ve Yayın Umum Müdürlüğü. 272-274.

**3.** Law No. 2205, adopted in 1934, will later be amended as Law No. 2444, with the amendment adding a few articles. Article 2 lists the departments of the Directorate General of Publications. These are the Intelligence, Publications and Propaganda departments (İskit 1939: 225). For the articles of Law No. 2205, see İskit, S. (1939). Türkiye'de Matbuat Rejimleri. İstanbul: Başvekalet Basın ve Yayın Umum Müdürlüğü, 224-226.

**4.** The Kemalist regime aimed to show the Westernist aspects of the existing regime by emphasizing the improvement in the position of women in Turkey. Indicators such as women's "social position, their bodies, their identities, their visibility in the private and public spheres, their rights and responsibilities" were also part of the propaganda campaign. In international public opinion, photographs and articles were seen as evidence of the progress made and the fact that the country was part of modern civilizations. Gürboğa, N. (2012). Devrimin Kadınları Alaturka Kadın, Levantine Kadın and Türk Kadını. Bugünün Bilgileriyle Kemal'in Türkiye'si: La Turquie Kamâliste., (p.71). İstanbul: Boyut Publications.

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# On Urban Aesthetics and Socialization: Revisiting Turkey in the 21st Century

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## Abstract

*During the Republican period, urban spaces played a crucial role in shaping modern society. Examining the impact of these spaces on individuals' mental and physical states brings us closer to understanding urban aesthetics. This study contends that the newly reconceptualised "social" subject significantly influences urban aesthetics. By examining how the social subject influences urban aesthetics, this study explores the transformation of the understanding of sociality through urban aesthetics from the early years of the republic to the present day. In the process, the study tries to discover the meaning of the social in the 21st century through urban aesthetics by reminding the values, forward-looking optimism, excitement and energy of the Republic (especially the early Republican period).*

*This study analyses the individual as an aesthetic subject shaped by the ideology of nationalism during the Republican period. It examines the individual's transformations over time within the context of urban and spatial frameworks. Today, new structures of thought are shaped by post-human and transnational discourses. The 21st century's new sociality is analysed through the discourses of Michael Hardt, Antonio Negri, and Manuel De Landa, with a particular focus on Bruno Latour's social network theory. As a consequence of these debates, the concepts of action and movement, multitude and commonality, human and non-human, nature and culture have arisen as an extended comprehension of sociality. The publications of the Association of Aesthetics and Visual Culture (SANART) authored by Jale Erzen were scrutinized with regards to the cognitive frameworks and concepts that developed as a result of the novel conceptualisation of the social. The concepts of new social discourses have shaped the titles of urban actions, urban spaces of commonality and multitude, human and non-human as urbanites, and the unity of nature and culture in cities in Erzen's discourses in SANART publications.*

**Keywords**: *Urban Aesthetics, Social Theory, Socialization, SANART, Jale Erzen*

## Introduction

Modernization is a process of emancipation wherein individuals develop their capacities and establish new communities (Bozdoğan & Kasaba, 1998). This process enables individuals to break free from traditional societal norms and become citizens of modern society. Urban planning and city life represent a crucial aspect of the larger project of social modernization. According to Çağlar Keyder (2013), social processes create urban space and then continue their development in this created space and are shaped by this space. Understanding how urban spaces affect individuals' mental and physical conditions brings us closer to urban aesthetics and to the role of urban spaces in creating modern society. From this perspective, "urban aesthetics, which pertains to the life, mental well-being and social standing of individuals residing in urban areas" serves as both the instigator and consequence of the contemporary process of socialising (Erzen, 2010b, p.1).

The subject and object of aesthetic thought, which is shaped by the evaluation, interpretation and representation of the relationship between subject and object, has changed with the changing social, technological and intellectual ground. In this study, the aesthetic subject is defined as the subject of ideology. The aesthetic object is urban space. The discovery of what the subject of the Republic became at the end of the 100-year process contains clues for aesthetic and spatial studies. The conceptualised subject and the urban space produced by the social structure in which this subject exists shape the mental and physical state of the subject. In this process, subject and object influence each other. In his book 'Information Science of the Spatial and Social', İlhan Tekeli (2010) includes Ivan Illich's discourse on the superhumanisation of the individual in the social sciences. When the concept of 'a life' begins to take the place of the individual in the field of medicine, it is stated that this concept is capable of guiding, correcting and intervening to an unimaginable extent (Tekeli, 2010, p.233). Today, post-human, transnational discourses shape new structures of thought. The community, ideologically conceptualised or formed over time, determines the aesthetic subject. In the first period of the Republic, the subject was defined by various social concepts, which was also one of the aims of republican ideology. This study argues that the conceptualised 'social' subject has a strong influence on urban aesthetics. By arguing that the conceptualised social subject directs urban aesthetics, it questions the transformation of the Republic's understanding of sociality through urban aesthetics. In the process, it recalls the values, forward-looking optimism, excitement and energy of the republic (especially the early republican period) and aims to explore the meaning of the social in the 21st century through urban aesthetics.

In the most general sense, urban aesthetics are the emotional and mental connections that people make with their spatial context. Erzen (2007a) sees aesthetics as a means of dialogue and interaction The conceptual and theoretical analysis of aesthetics is analysed through the publications of the Association of Aesthetics and Visual Culture (SANART). Founded in 1991 under the leadership of Jale Erzen (founding president), this association discusses intercultural and interdisciplinary aesthetic theory 'with the aim of highlighting and revealing the diversity in different fields of interest and pursuit in our country since the foundation of the Republic' (Erzen, 2007b). SANART, which organises regular congresses and symposia, as well as various artistic events, defines its themes according to the problems of the day. The publications of all these activities constitute an archive of Turkish aesthetic discourse. In this study, the urban discourses of Jale Erzen, the founder of SANART and the author of the forewords in the publications, have been identified as an archival area for both critiquing contemporary urban space and examining the 'new social thought'. The discourses that Erzen, whose work on art and the city is interdisciplinary, produces for each thematic publication provide important data for observing change.

This study begins by analysing the individual as an aesthetic subject, shaped by the ideology of nationalism in the Republican era, and reads its transformation up to the present day together with the urban and spatial framework. The new social thought of the 21st century is analysed through Bruno Latour's social network theory and the discourses of Antonio Negri, Michael Hardt, Manuel De Landa, who conceptualise today's sociality. All of Jale Erzen's prefaces and discourses in the publications are analysed through the concepts that emerge with the idea of new sociality. Erzen's interdisciplinary position between the disciplines of urbanism, architecture and art is very important for this study. Together with her colleagues in SANART events, Erzen is the main actor in each stage that requires in-depth study, such as the determination of themes, the preparation of call texts, the list of speakers, the organisation of the symposium, and the transformation of discourses into publications. The prefaces are explanatory texts that reflect this process. At this point, Erzen's texts are seen as reflections of the conference process and the mindset of the day. Through these texts, can a relationship be established between new social concepts in the 21st century and urban aesthetics? Can we speak of an aesthetic of the social for the cities of the new century? Through which concepts and situations can new social concepts be read in urban aesthetics? How can the city and public space of the 21st century be described on an aesthetic level?

In this analysis, the status of urban aesthetics from the early years of the Republic to the present is questioned, and the conceptualisations of the new social perspective are

examined. The traces of these concepts will be sought in Erzen's texts, which will be considered as an archival study. Within the framework of the identified archive, the layers of yesterday will be dispersed and reassembled with the method of archaeological excavation. It is expected that the archival information uncovered will create speculative openings for today and tomorrow. According to Jale Erzen (2007b), rethinking history as a culturally constructed field of knowledge and critique can be the basis for establishing open and soft ties between human relations, communities, institutions and political forces. In this study, looking at SANART's publications as an archive of aesthetic discourse from the past to the present and evaluating the past can remind us of experiences and encounters that have been forgotten as a result of the radical spatial and social transformation of Turkish cities.

## 1. Transforming urban space from nation to 'new sociality'

In the early republican period, the modernisation project was shaped around the ideology of the nation-state. The nation-state is a form of political and social organisation that derives its sovereignty from the people. In the most common definition, a nation is a group of people living in a certain territory and sharing certain commonalities. The commonalities are usually defined in terms of language, history, feelings, traditions and customs. The subject defined within this framework is a free, rational and equal individual, free from traditional social ties. Tekeli (2011) states that the reason for the emergence of national identities is that societies get rid of their local contexts and form anonymous relational patterns in an indefinite and vast space. Keyder (2013) reads this process as 'modernising' and identifies the subject as the modernising elite. The urban space implemented by the modernising elite aims to shape the national identities of individuals. For this reason, spaces are integrated with individuals and societies. The space created is also defined by the conceptualised society. For example, Ankara, the capital of the Republic, is the heart of the nation. Here, the city and urban life are associated with modern society. In the newspapers and magazines of the early years of the Republic, the image of the modern city appears together with the well-dressed modern individual. Houses with gardens designed for modern society are described as living spaces for healthy and free individuals. If we are talking about a democratic and free individual, we expect the city as a living space to have these characteristics. Healthy urban spaces are needed for healthy individuals.

Urbanism, one of the modernisation movements of the Republic in the light of reason and science, was shaped by the creation of a classless nation-state and the consciousness of sociality. The public spaces that give the modern city its ideology are urban spaces that support the participation of free citizens in the city and where civic individuals are created. In this framework, it can be said that nationalism underpinned

the Republic's understanding of the 'beautiful city' (Tekeli, 2011). The city should be modern and beautiful for the modern individual, shaped by the changes in western lifestyles.

In the early years of the Republic, the planning of urban and rural areas was characterised by holistic and balanced thinking. The image of the modern Turkish city was defined as low-density residential areas with gardens. The planning of Ankara, Turkey's first modern plan, emphasised the incorporation of green spaces into the urban fabric. Although urban life was an important actor in modern ideology, the impact of land and nature on society remained important and was even associated with civilisation. The importance that the republican power attached to the natural environment, along with urban development, is worthy of in-depth study. According to Tekeli (2011, p.166), the adoption of the garden city image can be attributed to reasons such as the search for purity in the preservation of ties with the land. At this point, spaces oriented towards nature and soil were created for healthy people.

The modern city of the West is a human-scale, health-friendly, low-density, social area with all kinds of social facilities where healthy and free individuals live. In Turkey, this approach is aimed to be achieved through the combination of rational individual-rationalist and functional urban planning. Kasaba and Bozdoğan (1998, p.16) believe that "architecture, beyond being a discipline and a profession, constitutes perhaps the strongest metaphor of the modernity project with its connotations of rational structure and construction activity." Rational design principles: issues such as sun angles, ventilation, greenery are human-oriented design criteria and aesthetic values for a healthy society.

It has been repeatedly stated that modern architecture and urban spaces have been used as an effective tool to create a new nation. The republican subject is expected to participate in public life with civic responsibility. This is a socialist approach that emphasises unity and common purpose. Urban spaces can be defined as public spaces where the free individual lives his life. The public spaces of the Republic are "places of secular celebrations, festivals, meetings and similar mnemonic ceremonies and playful re-enactments of the nation-state in which the direct participation of citizens is ensured" (Sargun, 2002). The democratic and free understanding of the individual also corresponds to the democratic and free quality of space. A free space is a space where equal individuals and societies benefit from equal conditions and opportunities without being marginalised. It is possible to increase the mutual evaluations between society and space.

In 1950s Turkey, the early principles of the Republic were replaced by the more liberal, economic and populist policies of the Democratic Party. The perspective of the citizen changed and populism was reinterpreted within this political order. With the new conception of the people, there was a transition to a populism in which the wishes of the people determined the order of life. With the rapid urbanisation of the period, the source of architectural inspiration was no longer the West, but the slums and folk architecture. Bozdoğan (2011, p.146) criticises this period by saying that it shows that architecture is more interested in production policy than in its aesthetic dimension. The low-density, landscaped and health-oriented construction planned in the early period of the Republic was replaced by high-density and infrastructurally deficient housing estates.

Turkey in the 1980s signalled the end of nationalist development approaches (Bozdoğan, 2011 p.147). The guidance of the state was replaced by spontaneous formations, which negatively affected the modernisation process. With the new social meaning of the people, all kinds of values are accepted because they belong to the people. According to Bozdoğan (2011), it is a difficult question where to draw the line between the democratising momentum and the approval of all kinds of "kitsch" just because it "belongs to the people".

Today, Turkish cities are experiencing various problems due to globalisation, privatisation policies, uncontrolled migration and environmental degradation. People, individuals or societies are experiencing a crisis of belonging. In both local and universal contexts, institutions, humanity and therefore architecture are moving towards a more pragmatic, urgent, non-deep mentality that focuses on results and performance, where processes are relegated to the background. Turkey is losing its democratic, free perspective in the artistic, urban and cultural framework and is becoming more and more stuck. This moment of crisis and economic worries freezes thinking and emphasises action. The free market economy has caused cultural erosion; it has damaged spatial, social and urban memory. Situations such as 'the right to the city', 'the right to nature', 'the right to life', 'the right to accessibility' have been ignored on a social level in urban space. As aesthetic subjects, concepts such as man, society, city dweller, immigrant and race dissolve and intertwine. It is no longer possible to speak of a single people or nation. As Paul Walker (2012) points out, there is no singular 'people', but rather a 'multiplicity' that comes from all the communities that find a voice in the conflict of interpretations in which we live.

## 2. A brief overview of 21st century new social conceptualisations

The 21st century is a period in which the paradigm of social and cultural modernisation by the state, identified with the ideology of nationalism, has completely lost its validity. Today, the ideology of the nation state is being replaced by globalisation, communication, high technology and the international market (Kasaba and Bozdoğan, 1998, p.11). In the process of globalisation, every country goes beyond its national borders. The policy of privatisation, which replaces the project of sociality, causes many situations ranging from excessive use of natural resources to social spatial segregation. This situation has a direct impact on urban life. According to Erzen (2007b), the dissolution of the gradual social structure calls into question the relationships between the public and private sectors, public institutions and non-governmental organisations, and the need for new structures.

Clusters such as group, nation and society contain various commonalities between individuals. In the 21st century, the change in the positioning of the individual in his/her environment, which has become more visible, has brought with it different social theories. There are different reasons for the change in this environment and each reason triggers the other. According to Kasaba and Bozdoğan (1998), many thinkers today emphasise difference and diversity rather than unity and homogeneity. The new conceptual vocabulary has been shaped by different perspectives on society and sociality and by descriptions such as protecting differences, creating commonalities and creating a plural environment. In this sense, while Bruno Latour, in his book "Reassembling the Social", re-reads the social with the "actor network theory", Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt describe the political subject of today in terms of "multitude". Manuel De Landa, in his book A New Philosophy of Society, uses Deleuze's assemblage theory to examine the new theory of society through human, community and network assembly, transcending the nature-culture distinction.

According to Latour (2021), the broader meaning of the social has been forgotten and limited to modern society. Latour says that the social sphere has been transformed by the expansion of the products of science and technology. The field of the social can no longer be limited to modern society and human beings. According to Latour, the science of the social is the science of commons. It includes human and non-human beings in the social. The social is homogeneous, but commons are heterogeneous. If there is no new association, there is no way to feel the social. In actor-network theory there is no simple distinction between nature and culture, facts and society, or objects and situations. Social assemblages contain movement. Negri and Hardt (2018) read society as interacting with communication and social networks that disrupt the boundaries of time and space. They

conceptualise the multitude as an active social subject. The multitude has the power to act and is a community in motion. Multitude as a new transnational paradigm is decentralised. The task of the multitude here is to create common possibilities for freedom and democracy. According to Landa (2018), when it comes to social ontology, the only individual entities participating in social processes are not people, but communities, organisations, cities and states. In this framework, Landa (2018) focuses on performative mechanisms operating at the spatial scale in the assemblage theory. The city and the built environment are assembly of people, networks and organisations. It is not possible to conceptualise social entities without the physical infrastructure of buildings, streets, and various lines supplying matter and energy (Landa, 2018).

Through these discourses, societies no longer consist only of human beings. Post-human discourses change the meaning of the social. The nation-state or populist ideology has been replaced by the ideology of mobile and heterogeneous communities. Commons, multitude or, in an extended sense, sociality, contain movement and the power to act. Negri and Hardt give the example of migration as a power of circulation. The aesthetic subject has been transformed into associations that contain movement by expanding its field. For if there is no movement, the social is not felt. These partnerships are between all human and non-human beings. Here it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between aesthetic subject and object. Because, as I said, societies are not only made up of human beings. With the new social perspective, the aesthetic subject and object are now one: "is the name of a movement, a displacement, a transformation, a translation, a recording" (Latour, 2021, p.95).

Art must also change its perspective for new social formations against the destructive policies of capitalism. Within the framework of the above discourses, the human-centred discourse of art will change. As a result of this brief theoretical examination, Erzen's discourses will be analysed within the framework of action and movement, multitude and commons as an expanded understanding of sociality, human and non-human, nature and culture.

## 3. An Attempt to Search for the Spatial Counterpart of the New Social Perspective in SANART Publications

Founded in 1991 by Jale Erzen, SANART regularly organises aesthetic and artistic events on various themes. SANART Aesthetics Association has organised symposia, congresses and various artistic events with national and international participants as a result of the action of different actors and mediators. Jale Erzen mentions that in the first symposium in 1992, most of the foreign guests responded positively to the invitation. In

recent years, the situation has been the opposite of what it was in 1992. At the Urban Aesthetics symposium held in Antalya in 2017, several invited guests were unable to attend the event due to international tensions. As you can see, all kinds of political, economic and social variables are part of the aesthetic discourse.

In 1992 'Identity, Marginality, Space', in 1995 'Art and Taboo', in 1997 'Art and Environment', in 1997 'Art and Science', in 2000 'Art and Science', in 2001 'Aesthetics and Art in the 20th Century', in 2002 'Art and Social Engagement', in 2003 'Culture of the Republic of Turkey in its 80th Year', in 2005 'Modern Art and Islamic Aesthetics in Turkey', in 2006 '1st National Aesthetics Congress' in 2006, '17th International Aesthetics Congress' with the theme of aesthetics as an intercultural bridge in 2007, '2nd National Aesthetics Congress' with the theme of changing geographies and changing paradigms in 2013, 'Urban Aesthetics' symposium in 2017 and '3rd National Aesthetics Congress' with the theme of interdisciplinary aesthetic discussions in 2019. The publications of all these events begin with Erzen's foreword. Erzen's second text is also included in most publications. The following analysis will focus on the texts from 2000 onwards. In some cases, Erzen's discourses before 2000 are also referred to. Apart from the prefaces, the publications include Erzen's texts 'Conceptual Framework for Art and Taboos' in 1995, 'Environmental Aesthetics' and 'Environment Earth Art' in 1997, 'The Ready Made Avant-garde' in 2001, 'Islamic Aesthetics in Modern Turkish Architecture' in 2005, 'Environmental Aesthetics' in 2006 and 'Human and Space in Urban Geography' in 2017. Erzen's discourses generally include nature, city, environment, art and human. Traces of the city could not be found in some of her texts. The texts on urban and spatial discourse are analysed in the light of the concepts emerging from the discourses of Latour, Negri, Hardt and Landa. Action and movement, multitude and commonality as an expanded understanding of sociality, human and non-human, nature and culture have been searched for their equivalents in urban aesthetics.

According to Erzen (2010a), aesthetic thought today encompasses not only art but also everyday life, sports, eroticism and even the ugly. Aesthetic thought is increasingly concerned with the fields of architecture and the city. It is important to analyse aesthetics through cities, where daily life takes place and which are also the creators of the social. "Although aesthetics is mentioned in many cities in Turkey, the foundation of any aesthetic understanding has not been laid" (Erzen, 2010b, p.8). According to Erzen (2007a), aesthetics in Turkey is exaggerated in practical life because it is a part of political discourse. The image of the city in Turkey today is orientated towards political and commercial purposes. This is one of the reasons why our cities lack aesthetics. Until the early 21st century, when Erzen's discourses in publications are analysed; the view that art is social if it is directed towards the problems of life is dominant. The development

and socialisation of art in our country can only be achieved through the realisation of its multidimensionality and its relevance to important and urgent issues (Erzen, 1997). The 1997 symposium on 'Art and Environment' was shaped by ecological concerns. In the symposium book published 12 years later, Erzen states that the belief that art will make a difference for life has been lost (Erzen, 2007c). This view is an important breaking point for Turkey, as well as an indicator of the change in cities in the last 20 years.

According to Erzen (2007a), urban aesthetics depends on a peaceful, safe and healthy life. If such a relationship cannot be established, that city is a sick city. As Keyder says, space shapes society after a while. In this case, we should also talk about a sick society. We have already examined how the unity of society and space complemented each other in the early years of the Republican era. According to Erzen (2017), the structures built in the city today are blind, deaf and secretive. The political subject has been lost and alienated from the city by becoming unable to relate to architectural objects. This situation negatively affects the subject-object unity in the new sociality. The urbanite cannot establish a partnership with these blind, deaf and secretive objects in the city. This leads to inaction and numbness. Another evaluation of Erzen about the city is on the large glass surfaces in the city. Erzen (2017) states that repetitive glass surfaces do not contain any human reference. He politically equates the use of this material with the fact that those who design commercial buildings belonging to multinational corporations have no relationship with the people on the street. All cities today harbour more diverse groups of people than ever before. Although our cities today are far from the rationalist perspective of the Republican era, 'we should not forget that resistance cannot be without faith' (Erzen, 2007c). We can question how we should look with hope today through the holistic concepts of the 'new social gaze'. At this point, aesthetic discourses will remind us of the values we have forgotten within the framework of today's social perspective.

Some of the City Actions: According to Erzen (2017), establishing a relationship with the city can be achieved by walking in the city in a carefree, unhurried and aimless manner. Since walking activates bodily perceptions, it is an aesthetic experience. According to Erzen (2017), the experience of walking concerns several spatial scopes at the same time, such as architectural and urban space, general political space and bodily space. Walking on the street is to communicate with all beings in the city. Another type of action encountered in Erzen's texts is the methods of resistance against alienation. These methods trigger feelings such as neighbourliness, belonging, internalisation and adoption. One of the methods of gathering together is the small bazaars set up in the streets. "People resist alienation by settling in small neighbourhoods and street corners, defying traffic rules, albeit negatively, and establishing small markets away from the eyes

of inspectors" (Erzen, 2017, p. 52). These practices, which allow for social communication, trigger feelings of multiplicity and commonality.

Urban Spaces of Commons and Multitude: According to Erzen (2007d), contemporary civilisations or cultures are all plural. One crucial aspect is to ensure the unity of this plurality on a spatial level. All areas of the city being accessible to everyone, regardless of their background will help promote its diversity (Erzen, 2014). Public life and civility in Turkey today is far removed from the understanding of the early years of the republic. Public spaces serve as ideal settings for creating new partnerships as the political subject's political space. However, today, due to political restrictions and commercial concerns, these spaces are unable to transform into places of partnership. "A city is at risk of disappearing with all its positive surroundings as long as people perceive the ideal urban structure as quickly moving from one shopping mall to another by car" (Erzen, 2007f, p.70). Urban planning that prioritises fast transportation reduces individuals' encounters and communication. Vehicle-focused design, discontinuous pavements, and regulated squares do not provide the foundation for new partnerships. Instead, free and democratic individuals express these qualities through the medium of space. "The ratio between the width of a street and the height of the buildings affects how we see the sky and our sense of freedom" (Erzen, 2017, p.49). The image of a city where one can walk freely and without limits creates a sense of liberation. According to Erzen (2007f), the world's most beautiful object is never aesthetically pleasing if it obstructs people waiting or walking on a sidewalk.

Since aesthetics is a means of dialogue and sharing, Erzen reads urban aesthetics through the relationship of friendship between the city and its citizens. In her 2006 text, she writes: "When we are waiting at the bus stop, if the person next to us can open his umbrella when it rains and come to us and take us under the umbrella, if the coffee shop owner at the coffee shop we visit on our way to work in the morning can have a nice word or two, we feel beautiful and happy in this city. When we step on the road, if cars stop and give way, or even greet us while giving way, we feel friendly in this city", summarising the relationship between the city and the urbanite with simple but valuable experiences of daily life (Erzen, 2007f, p.70). In 2017, he emphasises that "If people and vehicles do not comply with the meanings implied by the urban order, for example, if the boundary between the pavement and traffic is removed, if people are exposed to exhaust fumes, if motorcycles pass by us on the pavement or pass behind us, the city ceases to be a friendly place" (Erzen, 2017, p.48). The city is a meeting place for human and non-human beings. For this, spaces that allow social communication are needed. The city should allow freedom of movement for all objects and subjects in order to create a partnership that includes movement. When we think of movement, traffic and vehicle movement

come to mind. However, all human and non-human beings in the city, from the baby stroller to the dog on the street, from the rainwater to the tree in the corner, need spaces that create interaction and circulation opportunities. All these human and non-human beings are essentially the actors of multiplicity and commonality.

Human and non-Human as an Urbanite: The whole city is perceived as an aesthetic space with its living and non-living things (Erzen, 2014). In her 2017 text 'Human and Space in Urban Geography', Erzen questions how the physical structure of the city is reflected in the lives of urban dwellers, humans, animals and plants. This discourse contains a clue that cities do not only belong to humans. While cities are the living space of human and non-human creatures, they are the circulation space of objects. The area covering all these living and non-living beings is our environment. In her 2006 conference text 'Environmental Aesthetics', Erzen asks "Are the boundaries of the environment and me or me and the other clear? The environment, like the other, is a phenomenon that begins in me, and I am a phenomenon that begins with the environment" and questions the complex intertwined relationships. The environment as what constitutes us is reflected in and on us with all its nature and qualities" (Erzen, 2007f, p.69). Things outside of us are not an object of observation. "We are what we eat, what we hear, what we listen to and see, to a significant extent" (Erzen, 2007f, p.69). It should be remembered again that internalisation is one of the most important actions of social urban aesthetics. Acts of appropriation, internalisation and inclusion bring subject and object together.

Unity of Nature and Culture in Cities: Cities are places where nature and architecture come together. The excessive construction in urban areas has led to the disappearance of traces of nature. The "second nature" of the built environment is harmful to primary nature. Erzen (2007e) suggests that establishing a healthy relationship with nature today requires an aesthetic approach. In a 1997 speech, Erzen stated, "The world is my body." According to him, nature is essentially man's own being. Respect for nature is also respect for ourselves. The deterioration of the health of nature causes the deterioration of the health of the body. For this reason, the separation of the body or the person from his/her own world of existence disrupts the social order. "Encountering nature by examining the life of trees throughout the seasons, seeing the growth of plants near pedestrian paths, Engaging in activities such as listening to the sounds of birds, observing the colours of the sky and the movement of clouds in a park can generate an infinite variety of shared experiences (Erzen, 2017, p. 5).

## 4. Conclusion

Until the 21st century, "Aesthetics and politics, which were usually implicitly related to each other with elitist approaches, inextricably supported each other with the theses of

democracy and being in favour of the people with a counter-aesthetic and anarchist attitude in populist approaches" (Erzen, 2007a). After the 1950s, democratic, free, connected to the land and nature, healthy, rational nation and space were replaced by the people and the space belonging to the people. Today, aesthetics continues to be a part of political discourse. In Turkey today, the democratic, rational, free and rational perspective of the first years of the Republic has weakened and is moving towards a pragmatic, urgent, non-deepening, result- and performance-oriented mentality. This study examined the relationship between society and urban space within the framework of new society conceptualisations through the discourses of Jale Erzen in SANART publications.

Latour, Negri, Hardt and De Landa's discourses of the social prioritise action, movement, commonality, multiplicity, human and non-human, nature and culture. Perhaps the only thing we can do is to recall the ambiguity and multidimensionality of the initial emergence of the modernist project. As a result, it is possible to find traces of new conceptualisations of society that have not yet been reflected in the physical environment within aesthetic discourse. SANART publications are an aesthetic archive that reminds us of the urban aesthetic values we have forgotten. The concepts of new social discourses have shaped the titles of urban actions, urban spaces of commonality and multiplicity, human and non-human as urbanites, and the unity of nature and culture in cities within Erzen's discourses.

Now, specific identities have been replaced by complex, ever-changing, mobile commonalities and multiplicities. This situation removes the boundary between aesthetic subject and object and reveals a new aesthetic element. The city, which is one of the fields of movement of the social and partnerships, should return to simple but inclusive design decisions. With a comprehensive definition, the discourse of the beautiful city should take its place again. The feelings of belonging, internalisation and adoption between the city and its inhabitants should be strengthened. Design decisions such as respect for topography, the blue of the sky, the coolness of the city establish a partnership in infinite diversity. It should be remembered again that nature is the creator of the perception of social existence. The continuity of actions within the city should be analysed not only through the routes of humans but also through the progress of non-humans. While all these movements bring together humans and non-humans, they are also important for urban, environmental and natural crises. Rainwater that cannot be mixed with the soil causes problems such as flooding and inundation for living spaces, while projects built on the migration routes of birds cause various ecological problems. To conclude; "All the different blues of the seas, the roar of the thunder, the song of the bird

pass through my body; they are partly my creation; when I recognise them, they become part of me".

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**OCTOBER 13,2023 FRIDAY**

**3RD SESSION: ACTORS WHO SHAPED ARCHITECTURE DURING THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD**

Chair: Prof. Dr. Zeynep Kuban

# Traces of the Traditional "Turkish House" in the Practice of Yılmaz Sanlı

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## Abstract

*There are few written sources on the architectural practice of Yılmaz Sanlı (1931-2005), one of the prominent figures of modern Turkish architecture. The information on his work can only be obtained by reading through his designs and built structures. In the 50s and 60s, when he was new in the profession, Yılmaz Sanlı got most of the project commissions through architectural competitions. In those years, his design approach mainly reflected the modernist philosophy, emphasizing function, rationality, pure geometry, clean lines, lack of ornament, and practicality. He has entered 126 competitions and was rewarded with a mention in 20 of them, and received first, second, and third prizes in more than 60 competitions. In the housing projects carried out simultaneously with these competition projects, he adopted a different approach that established continuity and dialogue between modernism and tradition, the universal and the local.*

*Residential architecture had been one of the most productive areas throughout Yilmaz Sanli's professional life. He was deeply fascinated by traditional Turkish architecture and interested in combining the traditional aspects with modern architectural language in his housing projects. This paper will investigate the traces of the spatial configuration and the formal and conceptual effects of the traditional Turkish House in the single-family residences designed by Yılmaz Sanlı between 1960-2000. Many lessons can be learned from these houses where recent mass houses and apartment blocks are built numerously, usually ignoring the environmental and cultural values and needs.*

**Keywords**: *Yılmaz Sanlı; Traditional Turkish House; Modernism in Turkey; Contemporary House; Universal Architectural Concepts*

## 1. Introduction

A home is more than a built structure or a shelter. It defines its inhabitants' private space and the boundary between the "private" and the "public." Many factors, such as the terrain, climate, traditions, lifestyles, politics, economics, and migration, influence the production of a house. The man began constructing seasonal and permanent shelters as

he started agricultural production. In Anatolia, the first settlements emerged ten thousand years ago. From these first settlements till the present, various housing and settlement types have existed in the region.

In terms of housing in the Ottoman period, before the 19th century, for most of the empire, there has been a homogenization in housing types. Although there were some differences in houses according to local materials or the wealth and size of the family, there was no ethnic or ideological disintegration in terms of domestic architecture. Housing in all parts of the empire shared a basic architectural vocabulary and language. This housing type was defined as the Traditional Turkish House, typically a timber-framed house developed by The Turks over the centuries and found mainly in Istanbul, Anatolia, Greece, and the Balkans. The spatial organization of the room with its windows, fireplace, built-in bench seating, and wooden ceiling became a standard. The wooden or sometimes half-timbered house, with its projecting upper floor and similar characteristics, was referred to as the Turkish House by some scholars and the Ottoman House by others.

Due to the timber-framed structural system, most traditional Turkish Houses disappeared in the big fires. The Turkish House that characterized the Ottoman urban space did not survive as a built form into the Turkish Republican period either and was replaced by universal housing models. The traditional house did not suit the new demographics, economics, and lifestyles of a growing and modernizing nation. By the late 1980s, however, not only was this wooden or half-timbered house with its projecting upper floor widely understood as a signifier of the lost beauty of the Turkish architectural past, but it also had the power of universal recognition, as the image that best represented the Turkish domestic past in the collective imagination (Bertram, 2008). Yılmaz Sanlı was one of the architects deeply fascinated by traditional Turkish architecture and was interested in combining the traditional aspects with his modern architectural language in his housing projects.

The study is carried out to find answers to three questions:

1- What is the traditional Turkish House, and what are the main elements of its composition? What are these elements' primary formal, spatial, and functional characteristics?
2- Are there formal, spatial, and structural characteristics of the traditional Turkish House that can be traced in Yilmaz Sanlı house designs?
3- Do the houses designed by Yilmaz Sanli incorporate references to universal architectural concepts found in traditional Turkish design?

The focus of this paper is to investigate how Yılmaz Sanlı incorporated the spatial configuration, formal elements, and conceptual influences of traditional Turkish houses

into his single-family residences designed between 1960 and 2000. By analyzing these traces, the study aims to unveil how he blended the rich heritage of traditional Turkish domestic architecture with contemporary design principles such as rationality, privacy, spatial hierarchy, minimalism, lightness, household relations, human scale, functionality, diversity, ornamentation, simplicity, and flexibility.

Single-family houses designed and built by the architect in different regions of the country will be evaluated and analyzed in the light of traditional Turkish House studies and contemporary architectural theories through the comparative analysis method.

## 2. Exploring the Traditional Turkish House Typology

Turkish houses existed in different parts of the Ottoman Empire under changing geographic features, climates, and traditions for hundreds of years. The significant variations were attributed to a region rather than the ethnicity or religion of the people. Despite all this diversity, Sedad Hakkı Eldem stated that some features remained unchanged, and the most important is the plan layout. It is a fact that these houses were hundreds of miles distant from each other, and they were built under vastly different conditions, with a plan having the same main characteristics.

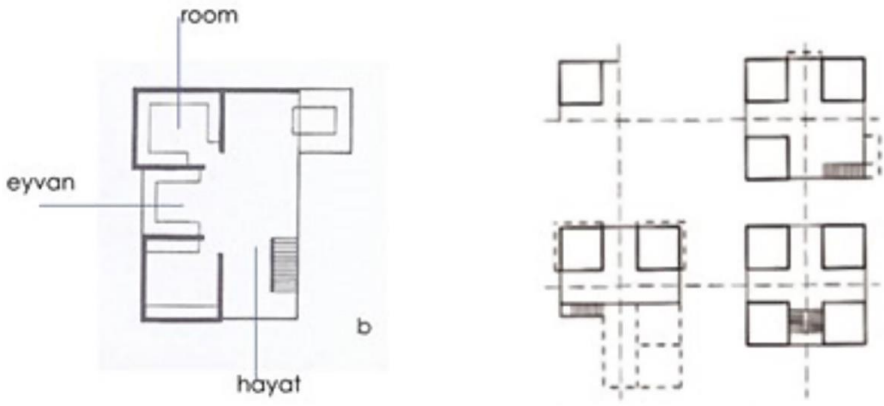



**Figure 1.** Dogan Kuban's definition of the 'Turkish House' plan scheme (Kuban,1982).

The spatial characteristics of the Turkish House can be best examined in the two plan layout schemes. One is created by Dogan Kuban, and the other by Sedad Hakkı Eldem. When compared, Kuban's system is much simpler than Eldem's. Kuban's schemes refer to the Turkish Houses in Anatolia and the Balkans, whereas more sophisticated schemes of Eldem are based on the plan layouts of Istanbul houses. The main elements of the planning scheme are the room, eyvan, and Hayat, as stated by Dogan Kuban (Figure 1).

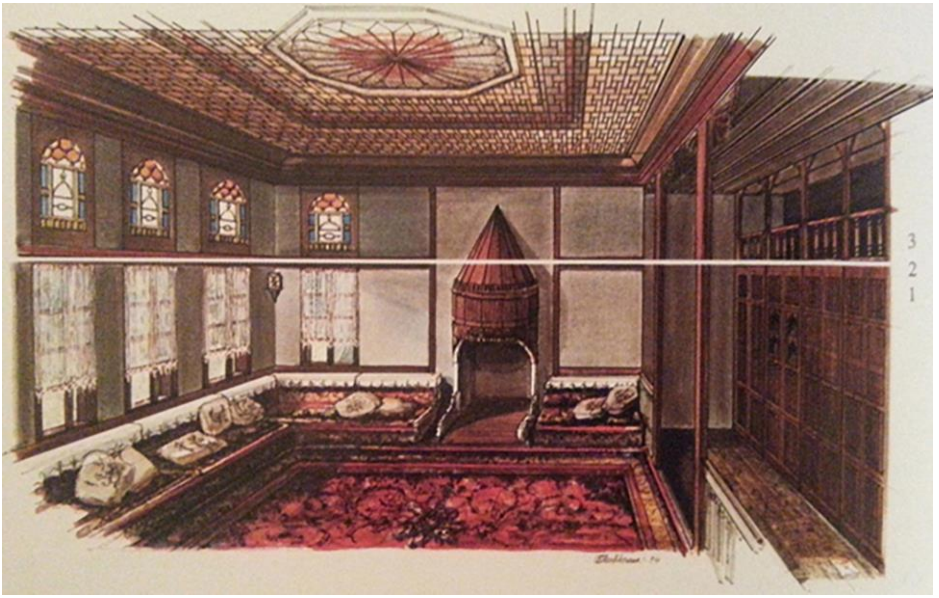



**Figure 2**. The room was characterized by its walls (Küçükerman,1996).

According to Kuban, the traditional Turkish House was based on the dualism of semi-open (hayat) and covered spaces (rooms). Some rooms were more valuable than others regarding their locations. The bays were added to the facade of the rooms to provide more daylight, air, and view.

The traditional Turkish House was composed of independent rooms which acted as separate living units for different family members. Rooms were not connected and opened to the sofa/Hayat. The primary characteristic of the room was that each was a medium for sitting, eating, working, and sleeping. It was the most isolated unit from the

exterior. The headroom with the best view and light and a bigger size belonged to the principal owner of the house (Figure 2).



**Figure 3**. The hayat (Kuban,1995).

Open-air Hayat/closed Sofa, a hall connecting the rooms, was used for circulation and as a gathering space for the extended family (Figures 3 and 4). It contained the stairs and the room entrances. Sometimes it had a fireplace and cupboards, just like the room. In some houses, a kiosk was located at the corner as a platform with a built-in sitting element, a divan.

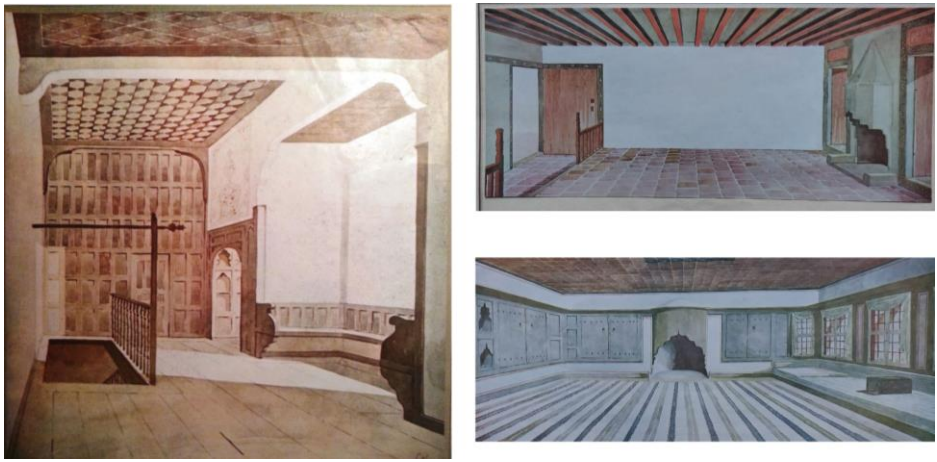


**Figure 4**. The Sofa and the room (Eldem,1944).

Some plans had recesses (eyvans) between the rooms. The eyvan was an element of the main floor that was not functional in the practical sense, but it made the layout strongly

readable and helped to strengthen the volumetric effect. In some cases, the stairs were in the eyvan.

Even when the traditional Turkish House had several floors, it had one main living floor. The ground floor was always used for subsidiary purposes. Sometimes a mezzanine was added, generally smaller than the first floor and used for servants' accommodation and storage. In the 19th century, this floor began developing into a regular one. Still, the upper main floor remained the essential story regarding the House's household functions and characteristic features. In summary, the plan layouts that defined the language of the Turkish House always belonged to the main upper floor.

## 3. Spatial and Conceptual Factors of Traditional Turkish House Likely to Inspire Modern Architectural Designs

The critical concept traced in the traditional Turkish House is an appropriate and rational response to the site's specifications and functional requirements. The priority was function, and the exterior was generated harmoniously. However, this was not a neglect of the outside; the exterior's aesthetic quality came with the inside's sincere beauty. The overall process was an evolution of design from the inside out. The builder assisted the client in constructing (Bektaş, 2013).

The Turkish House's rationality also lay in the clarity of the main floor plan layout. A modular concept provided easy construction, use, and perception of the house (Yürekli, 2005). A well-defined vocabulary and grammar clearly defined the relationship among these spatial elements: room, eyvan, hayat/sofa. There were also unlimited possibilities for the composition of these elements, providing diversity with maximum standardization. The main goal was to achieve more with less. The room dimensions were similar; the floor and ceiling slabs were built with standard timber elements, and all houses' window shapes and sizes were identical (Yürekli, 2005).

Another significant characteristic was the harmony with climate, topography, and environment. The ground floor was not for living but for animals, storage, and food preparation. However, the modular configuration with right-angle geometry was used on the main floor, supported with triangular/ trapezoid cantilevers to form an orthogonal plan. The ground floors and the garden walls followed the spontaneously developed street and were adjusted to the land's topography. On the other hand, houses had different orientations of room, eyvan, and Hayat on the upper floors, creating variations without destroying the harmony. With these changing directions of upper floors, the house owners also paid attention not to block their neighbors' view or wind and showed respect for their privacy. One reason for harmony was the rooms' similar sizes observed from the outside, providing a unity of scale through the streets. Another important feature was the

similarity of the materials and colors of the built context—this composition was volumetric architecture.

Local materials and construction methods were easily obtained from nearby surroundings (Eldem, 1984). Accordingly, house construction was practical, fast, and economical. No unnecessary or additional production took place. Everything was as much as needed, not more. Austerity and simplicity are the best principles defining this housing production. The humbleness was accompanied by human-scale in the house production. The components of the human body determined all the dimensions. Body-based units of measure, such as finger thick, a span wide, and two-fathom-long building elements, were used in house construction (Bektaş, 2013).

The viewer from the outside could read the spaces inside. This attitude is honesty in architecture. Extended families of grandparents, sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren lived together. Rooms were the living units for each family. Although the privacy of each nuclear family was considered carefully, everything and every space that could be commonly used was shared. No room was kept locked, or there was no space used for only circulation, such as a corridor.

Spatial units were located outside to inside in a hierarchy and natural balance. Open, half-closed, and closed spaces followed each other, balancing full daylight, semi-daylight, and shadow. The bay windows, for example, were the best places to get sunlight during the winter and to insulate heat during the summer. The wide eaves dropped shadows and protected the house from the rain; the attics created an insulation bed for the rooms below. Minimum energy consumption was the outcome of building concerning nature.

The Turkish House was an introverted housing model. A direct relationship between house and the community was established only with the projections of the facade towards the street. The projections on the main floor, especially the bay windows, gave the women a view of the street from almost all angles. Privacy was so significant in society that the windows had wooden screens to prevent people outside from seeing the interior of the house.

The lower floor had no windows to the street but was often open to the private garden. The stone-floored taşlık area under the upper floor became an entry with a high ceiling and stairways leading to the Hayat and rooms. In dense urban areas, there was no land for the garden, and this lower floor was directly entered through a door to the street. The hierarchy from the most public to the most private was clearly defined. The introverted organization started with a garden or courtyard surrounded by blind one-floor high garden walls and a gate as wide as a cart to pass. This interior garden was the place where the social activities of the family took place. Then the floor used for service spaces under

Hayat was reached. Then came the stairs to the Hayat, from where the most secluded rooms were entered. Hayat (open)/sofa(closed) was also the gathering area for the family members. In the room, raising the floor of the sitting area by one step separated the entrance and the deepest space from the entry, the living area of the nuclear family.

Flexibility and adaptability were other significant characteristics of the traditional Turkish House. No specialized spaces had defined functions such as bedrooms, living rooms, dining rooms, or kitchens. The room had the means to house different activities at different times of the day. Besides the static elements of sitting, storage, and hearth integrated into the walls, the center of the room was left free to be used in many ways. The room could be used for sleeping with a mattress on the ground at night, or it could turn into a space for cooking and dining at some other time. The room's living area with the square plan was a perfect example of adaptability and multi-functionality. In addition to the functional flexibility, another property was the capacity of the house to expand based on the modular configuration. The builder and the owner had similar images in their minds before the construction started. The change was possible without harming the design. If the new owners had a higher economic and social status, they could have the open hayat closed or increase the number of rooms. Houses could expand module by module if the family gets bigger. Or the house could be divided into different parts if needed.

## 4. The Gradual Obsolescence and Decline of the Traditional Turkish House in Turkey

In the Early Republican days of Turkey, Atatürk adopted modern architecture with a revolutionary decision to construct a new nation founded on contemporary civilization. Turkish architects' education and designs began to take shape in the axis of modernism, which focused on functionalist-rational architecture in public and residential buildings.

The nuclear family replaced the extended family due to the new Westernized residential lifestyle. The timber-frame House in the garden was no longer sufficient to meet their needs, and a new spatial order aimed to break away from tradition. During the Republican Era, according to the functionalist architects, houses were supposed to be simple, cost-effective, and equipped with all necessary amenities to provide comfort to the residents (Alsaç, 1973). The traditional Turkish House, with its multifunctional rooms based on a modular system, evolved into a new housing concept between 1930-33. Spaces were now designed based on their functions (Batur, 1993). This transition led to the introduction of living rooms, bedrooms, kitchens, and bathrooms. The emphasis shifted from social hierarchy to functionality. Modern Western-style furniture and amenities, including armchairs, beds, and electrical appliances, replaced traditional built-in types of furniture like sedir, storage, floor mattresses, oil lamps, and hearths.

Due to the new spatial order, traditional houses with rooms arranged around a hayat/sofa were replaced by universal housing models, characterized by rooms with specific functions arranged around a corridor or entrance hall (Bozdoğan, 1996). Horizontal band windows, corner windows, and flat terrace roofs or hidden roofs in place of overhanging eaves were adopted. The reinforced concrete frame and concrete flooring construction systems became commonplace, and plaster was favored over traditional facade cladding (Batur, 1993). Another prominent feature was the presence of balconies or wide verandas along the entire facade (Batur, 1993). This new attitude with minimal decoration and strong functionalism determined the architecture of city apartments, rental houses, single-family houses, and garden villas, reflecting the influence of Western lifestyles (Bozdoğan, 1996).

## 5. One of the Prominent Figures of Turkish Modern Architecture: Yılmaz Sanlı

There are few written sources on the architectural practice of Yılmaz Sanlı (1931-2005), one of the prominent figures of modern Turkish architecture. He graduated at the top of his class at the Faculty of Architecture of the Istanbul Technical University in 1953. Following his graduation, he worked in Stuttgart for one year, and in 1954, he started to work as a teaching assistant at the Faculty of Architecture at Istanbul Technical University. In 1958, he was appointed to work at Macka Technical School as a faculty member.

During the 1950s and 1960s, when he was new to the profession, Yılmaz Sanlı primarily obtained project commissions through architectural competitions. His design approach in these competitions predominantly embraced modernist principles, emphasizing functionality, rationality, clean lines, pure geometry, practicality, and a lack of ornamentation. He participated in 126 architectural competitions, garnering recognition with a mention in 20 of them and achieving first, second, or third place in more than 60 competitions. Simultaneously, alongside these competition projects, Yılmaz Sanlı adopted a distinct approach to his housing projects, establishing a harmonious connection between modernism and tradition, incorporating universal and local elements. He worked as a freelance architect for 52 years, from 1953 until he died in 2005, and completed at least 250 architectural projects of different types and scales, such as residences, hospitals, schools, sports facilities, stadiums, hotels, cultural centers, holiday villages, shopping centers, office buildings, TV towers, mausoleums in many parts of Turkey.

## 6. Conceptual and Formal Effects of Turkish Traditional Civil Architecture on Sanlı: Paving the Way for Innovation

Yılmaz Sanlı stepped into the world of architecture in the 1950s when Turkish architects were introduced to the modernist works of world-famous architects such as Mies van der Rohe, Wright, Le Corbusier, and Aalto. In the competition projects Yılmaz Sanlı won in the 60s, simple compositions with no decoration or material variety consisting of primary geometrical forms reflected rationalism and functionalism. By the 1970s, a new architectural environment emerged. Regarding residential architecture, summer, and luxury houses were on the agenda for Turkish architects. In other words, architects gained a new private client sector.

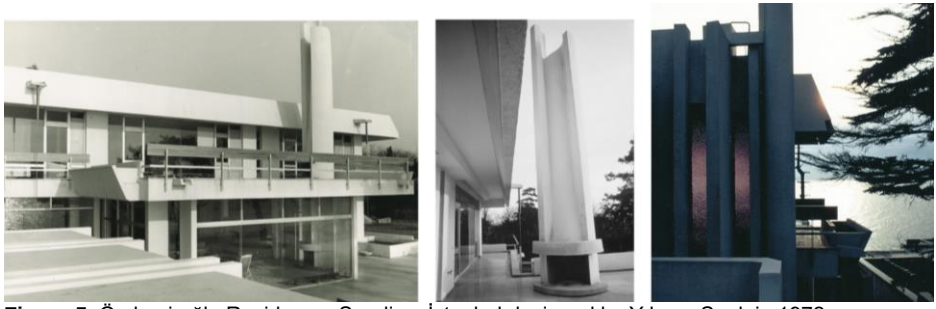


**Figure 5.** Özdemiroğlu Residence, Suadiye, İstanbul designed by Yılmaz Sanlı in 1972.

Despite the strict modernist approach that lasted for years, references to the past began to be observed in Yılmaz Sanlı architecture. The pinnacle of this attitude is undoubtedly the Beyti Building in Florya. It is a design adorned with tiles, fountains in the dining halls, domes, arches, and wooden screens on the facades. These formal references emerged with the owner's demand for a design for official state guests and foreigners visiting the country. On the other hand, the architectural approach of Sanlı was more than mere visual attributes of the past. The architect's interest in the traditional Turkish House reflected a more abstract interpretation of tradition in his residential projects. As Bozdoğan (1996) mentions, Bruno Taut praised the traditional elements like wide eaves and shading devices over windows and said that they will always remain modern. He also emphasized the simplicity, authenticity, utility, and rationality of the Turkish House. Yılmaz Sanlı's appreciation was similar. The spatial configuration, integration with the context, response to environmental issues like climatic conditions, topography, wind, and sunlight, and preoccupation with locality inspired him.

Özdemiroğlu House was one of the single-family houses that Yılmaz Sanlı was most proud of in his entire professional life (Figure 5). It was designed and built as a waterside

mansion in the early 70s in Suadiye, Istanbul. An explicit inspiration from early 20th-century modernism exhibited several vital characteristics that reflected the principles of that era. Simplicity and minimalism, no historical references, lack of ornamentation in favor of clean lines and geometric shapes, flat roofs, horizontal emphasis achieved through the arrangement of windows and terraces, large expanses of glass to blur the boundaries between interior and exterior, and maximize natural light and ventilation created a functional and rational house design. The simple composition of geometric forms, the fragmented plan structure, and emphasized functional and structural elements created a sculptural house design. A horizontally developed project emerged to open all sleeping, living, and activity spaces to the sea view. The architect used a single color of white and combed plaster material.

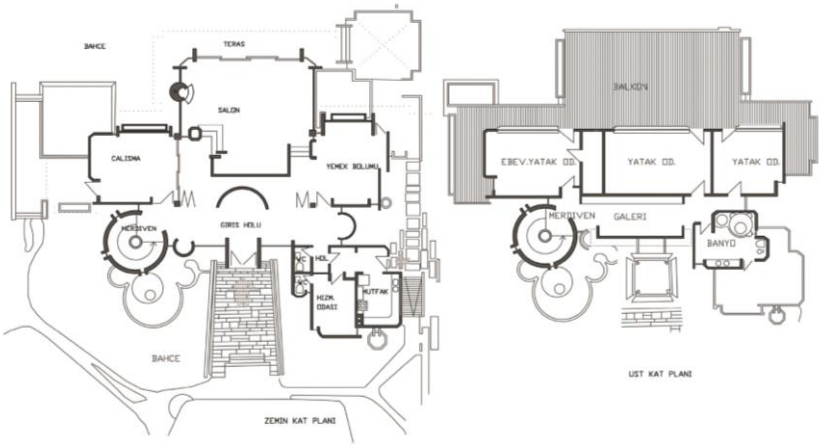



**Figure 6.** The Floor Plans of Özdemiroğlu Residence, Suadiye, İstanbul designed by Yılmaz Sanlı in 1972.

Upon more profound analysis of the Özdemiroğlu house, it is fascinating to discover the integration of vernacular attributes besides the modernist characteristics. There are functionally well-defined spaces in the layout with a modernist attitude, such as the living room, the dining room, the entrance hall, the bedrooms, the bathrooms, and the kitchen with servant units. However, when the diagram is studied, the spatial layout resembles the Turkish House plan scheme on both floors (Figure 6).

First, the modular concept provides a precise reading of the spatial configuration. Second, there is an honest attitude toward revealing interior spaces from the exterior. Design evolves from the inside out. The volumetric architecture in the Turkish House,

that is, the rooms are read from the outside as independent masses, can also be observed in Özdemiroğlu House. In addition, resembling the rooms' organization around the Hayat/sofa, different spatial units are organized around a living area on the ground floor. This living area on the ground floor resembles the middle Sofa, whereas on the first floor, similar size bedrooms open to a gallery that reminds the outer sofa layout of the Turkish House plan (Figure 7).

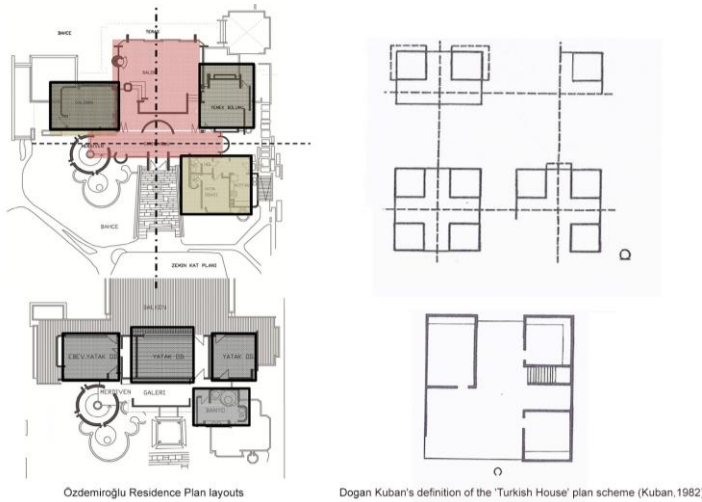



**Figure 7**. Analyzing Spatial Layout and Room Organization in Ozdemiroglu Residence

There is a hidden roof which is quite a modernist attitude, but there are also wide eaves, dropping shadows, as an abstract reference to traditional architecture (Figure 8). Open, half-closed, and closed spaces follow each other, and the hierarchy from the most public to the most private was clearly defined, resembling the traditional configuration.

Another contextually responsive project with traditional influences in Istanbul was Polonezköy Holiday Resort. There were 22 tiny houses designed and built in the early 80s. The chimneys, sloped tile roofs, wide eaves, a texture spontaneously developed by the topography, organic fabric, attention not to block another house's view or wind, integration with trees, human scale, diversity created with similar units, color, material, and elements resemble a typical traditional Turkish neighborhood (Figure 9).

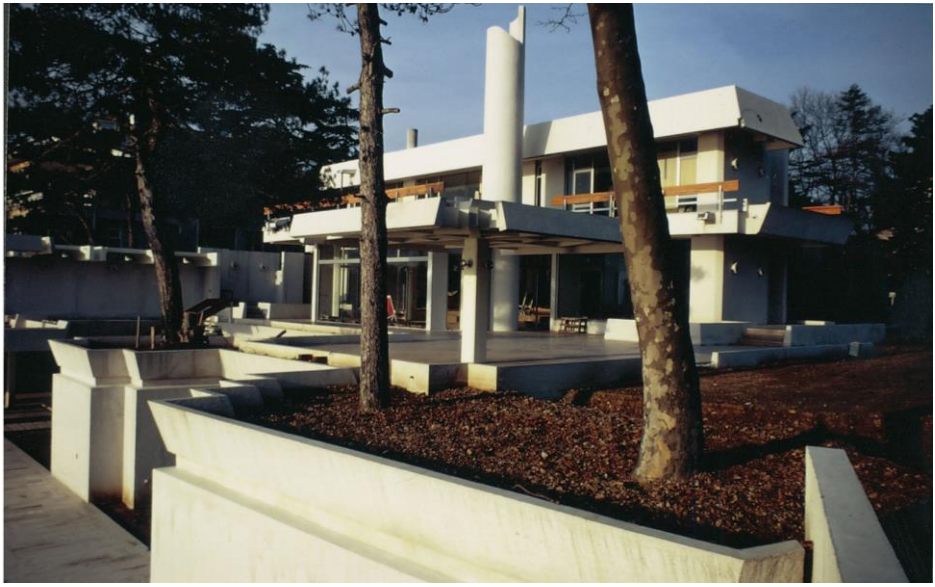


**Figure 8.** Architectural Elements and Materials: Traditional vs. Modern in Özdemiroğlu Residence



**Figure 9.** Polonezköy Holiday Resort, 1980, Istanbul

The harmony with climate, topography, and environment, construction without causing the slightest harm to greenery, and creating a landscape by planting more than two thousand trees are all signs of respect for nature. Sitting, storage, and hearth elements are integrated into the walls like the traditional house. The living units are compact with

the ground floor and mezzanine floor, but they contain everything necessary for a family to stay comfortably for a long time. The spatial layouts of the houses don't resemble the Turkish House plans; however, the humbleness, austerity, simplicity, and diversity with standardization as some of the best principles to define traditional housing production are valid for this housing complex in Polonezköy (Figure 10).

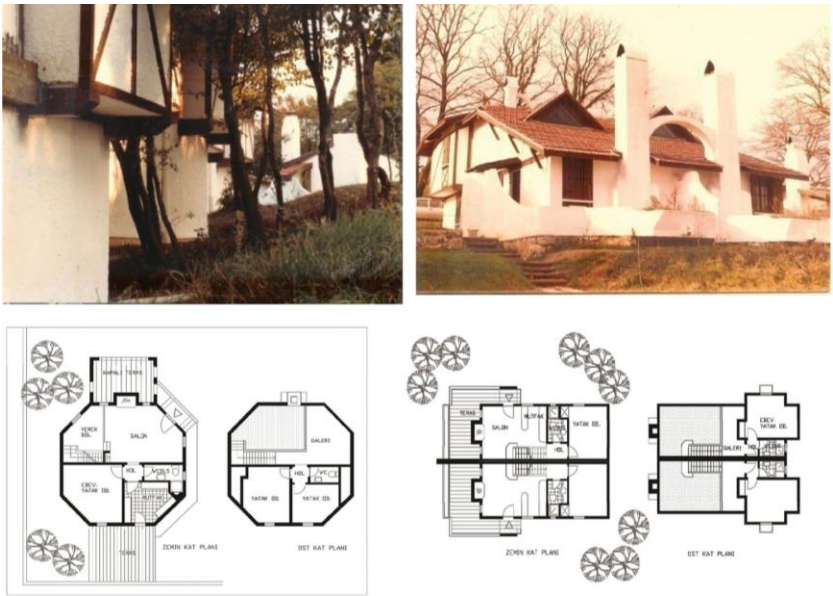



**Figure 10**. The harmony with the surrounding, the humbleness, and the simplicity, Polonezköy Holiday Resort, 1980, Istanbul.

Another outstanding housing project by Sanlı in the early 80s was the House for the Simavi family in Bodrum (Figure 11). It is a sculptural structure overlooking Bodrum Marina and the historical Bodrum Castle. The vernacular architecture of Bodrum consists of simple repetitive modular units with small rectangular openings scattered on the hills overlooking the beautiful Aegean Sea.

Although Yılmaz Sanlı had never broken his ties with modern architectural principles, his designs respectfully respond to the context, as seen in Simavi House. He adopted the region's vernacular forms and local materials and created a new house. By abstractly interpreting the vernacular architecture, he integrated the contemporary with the

traditional forms. The overall design is fragmented into modular units to be in harmony with the existing scale of the built environment (Figure 12).



**Figure 11.** Bodrum Simavi House, 1980.

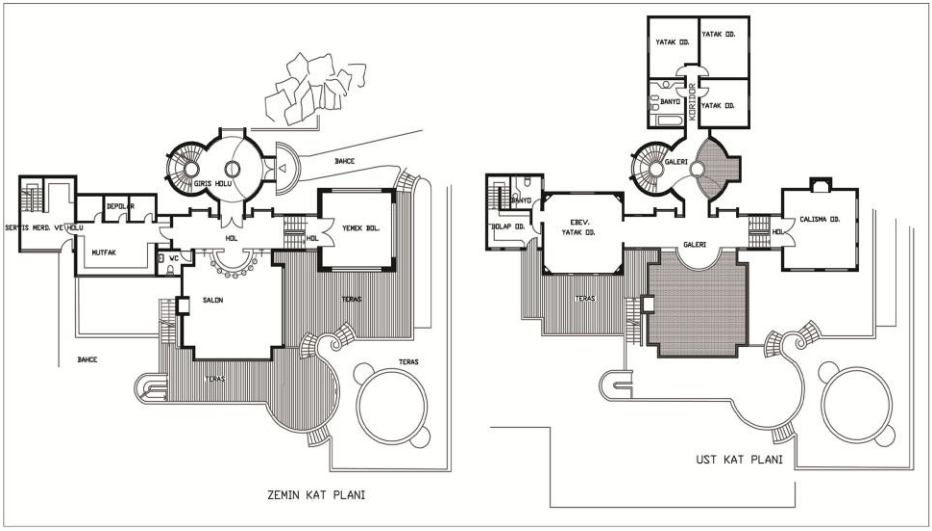



**Figure 12.** The modular system of the plan layouts, Bodrum Simavi House, 1980.

In summary, this is another residential project by Sanlı in another context, in harmony with climate, topography, and the natural and built environment, becoming a part of the

existing fabric. The honest attitude toward revealing interior spaces from the exterior is observed again. Although the house belongs to a wealthy family, humbleness, human scale, and lack of ornamentation are still the main characteristics. The richly landscaped terraces and a wide range of stone walls follow the topography.




**Figure 13**. Ilıcak House by Yılmaz Sanlı, Bodrum, 1982.

Sanlı preferred to design according to the region, climate, local architectural identity, and local materials achieving almost infinite variety within the limited vocabulary of a well-defined architectural language. He redesigned the traditional forms of vernacular architecture in all projects he realized in Bodrum from the 80s to the 2000s. As the photographs show, houses are situated on the land according to the topography, not blocking each other (Figures 13 and 14). However, the touch of rationalism and functionalism was always present in combination with well-scaled regional expressions by using local materials and style in harmony with the environment.

The significant contributions of the renowned Turkish architect Sedad Eldem played a pivotal role in establishing the Turkish House as a prototype. This prototype later evolved into a recognized architectural typology and theoretical framework. This evolution influenced various aspects of education and practical application within architectural works during the Republican Era (Bozdoğan, 1996). In many of his house designs in the 1980s on the slopes overlooking the Bosphorus, it wouldn't be wrong to say that Sanlı followed the footsteps of Eldem. These houses were primarily built for the privileged social group with significant income. Despite variations in design, all these structures aimed to adapt the essence of Turkish civil architecture to contemporary circumstances.

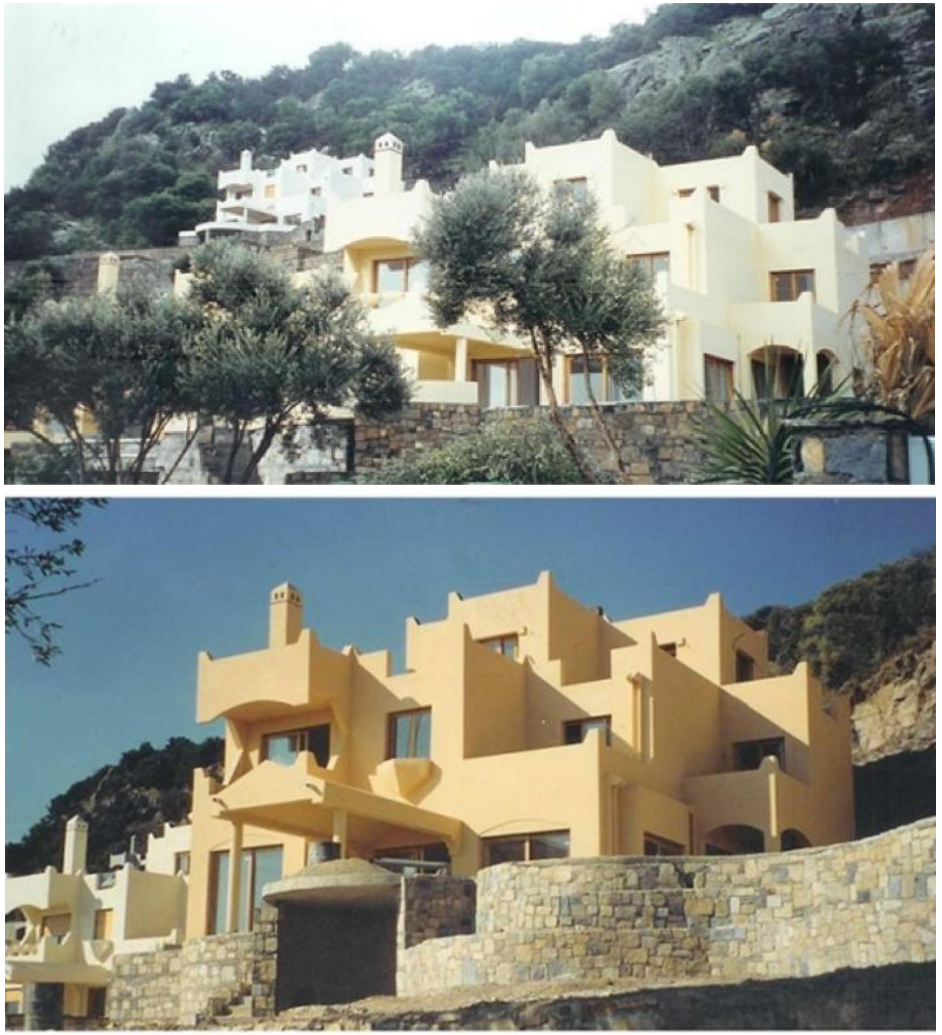


**Figure 14.**Karianda Houses by Yılmaz Sanlı in Bodrum, 2000.

As observed in Eldem's Bosphorous Residences, Yılmaz Sanlı interpreted the spatial order of traditional Turkish civil architecture and the visual characteristics of the external appearance (Bozdoğan, 1996) (Figure 15).



Tekser Evleri, Yeniköy, 1988 Yeni Dostlar Sitesi, Sarıyer, 1985

**Figure 15.** Two projects by Sanlı on the hills watching the Bosphorus.



**Figure 16.** The interpretation of the traditional plan types of an outer and interior sofa in Yılmaz Sanlı house projects.

Bozdoğan (1996) says that in the 1980s, formal references to traditional Turkish architecture came back after being neglected for a long time during the days of modernism. The "sofa" was more than a circulation space where the rooms were entered. It became a critical element in space organization, as observed on the upper floor plans of various houses by Yılmaz Sanlı (Figure 16).




**Figure 17.** Tekser Houses, Yeniköy, 1988. (Retrieved from http://www.motorlupanjur.com.tr/panjur-modelleri.html).

The projected upper floor, wide eaves, rows of modular vertical windows, wood cladding, and a pitched roof with round tiles are all stylistic details concerning the traditional Turkish House (Figures 17 and 18).

Another reference to the traditional house is the differentiation of the rooms on the exterior by the size and shape and projections/recessions on the facades (Bozdoğan,1996) (Figure 19). The functional honesty with which spaces inside can be read from outside resembles the traditional house.

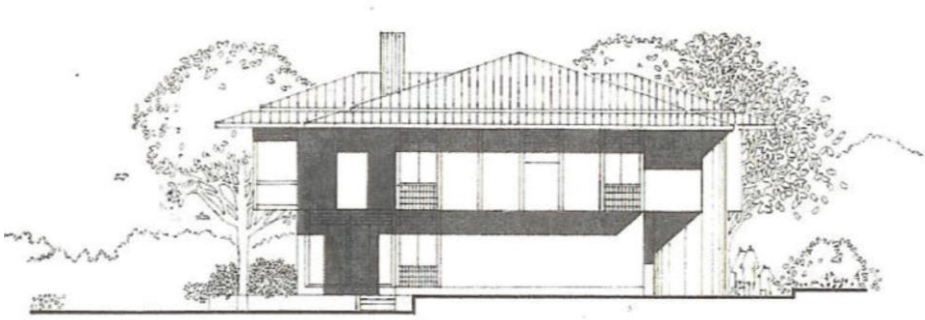


**Figure 18.** Sanlı's approach evokes Sedat Hakkı Eldem's references to traditional architecture in this project.

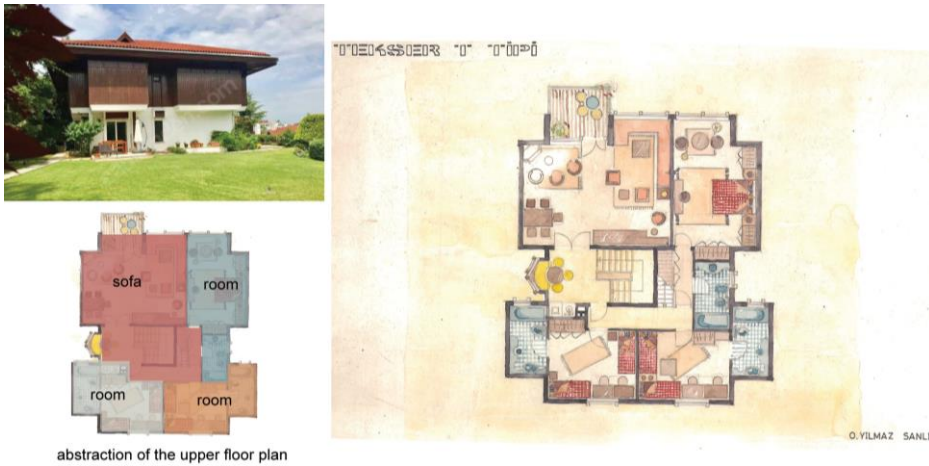



**Figure 19.** Spatial and formal references to the traditional Turkish House.

Yılmaz Sanlı continued interpreting the traditional Turkish House in his villa designs in the Bosphorus silhouette (Figure 20).

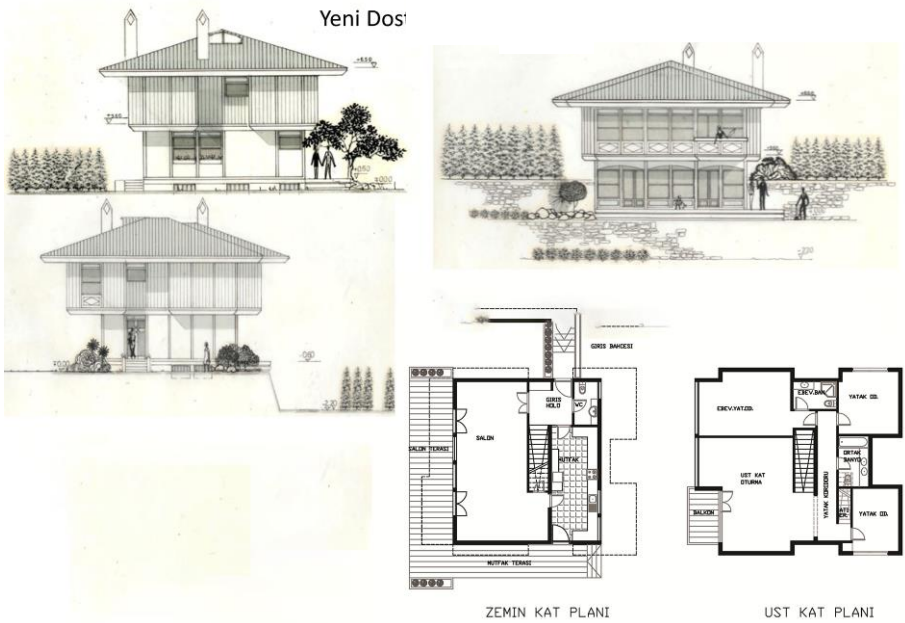



**Figure 20.** Yeni Dostlar Houses, Sarıyer, Istanbul,1985.

Hidiv villas by Yilmaz Sanlı were built on the hills of Beykoz, at the point of the Bosphorus opening to the Black Sea. The rich historical context of Beykoz references 45 triplex villas built in a position overlooking the Bosphorus. These villas were built respectfully towards the Bosphorus silhouette without harming the greenery. There is an architectural approach with solid references to traditional Turkish civil architecture. The villas are light, simple, humble, and unpretentious, disappearing in foliage with their horizontal lines. Traditional Turkish house influences are observed in the wide eaves, vertical facade elements, upward projections, window proportions, and spatial layouts (Figures 21 and 22).

## 7. Conclusion

Ugur Tanyeli (2001) stated that the fundamental conflict was how the society would claim its own cultural identity despite Westernization and modernization attempts in the Republican Period of Turkey. Yılmaz Sanlı was one of the architects who questioned how architecture unique to Turkey could be compatible with modern life's conditions. With a similar attitude to Sedad Hakkı Eldem, he criticized the repetition of form and decoration

details of the Ottoman religious architecture with an eclecticist historicist approach (Tanyeli, 2001).

Bozdoğan (1996) says that the traditional Turkish House has been a prominent theme in twentieth-century Turkish architectural culture, influencing architects to create buildings that honor the architectural heritage while responding to contemporary conditions and needs. She compares the nationalist/1930s to the liberal/postmodern 1980s to see how the appreciation of traditional Turkish civil architecture was enframed within very different cultural and political agendas.

Through an exploration of Yılmaz Sanlı's architecture, mainly focusing on his single-family residential designs spanning the period from 1960 to 2000, it becomes evident that his approach stands as a testament to his profound understanding of the dynamic interplay between tradition and modernity. In the early years of his profession, he strongly embraced modernist principles, as evidenced by his success in architectural competitions. His emphasis on functionality, rationality, and geometric purity was firmly rooted in the modernist philosophy of the time. However, in those years in his residential projects, he crafted a unique architectural language with both the universal and local. In the context of Bozdoğan's comparison between the 1930s and 1980s, a parallel foresight could be that Yılmaz Sanlı's interpretations in the early years of his profession were mainly conceptual with spatial organization references to traditional architecture. After the 80s, however, there was a more explicit adaptation of formal expressions, details, and in addition to these abstract implications.

Yılmaz Sanlı's architectural journey reflects the changing spirit of Turkish modernism, evolving from strict rationalism to a skillful blend of tradition and innovation. By closely examining the spatial configurations, formal expressions, and the fundamental concepts behind them, this comparative analysis has revealed how traditional Turkish architecture had a subtle yet significant impact on Sanlı's designs. Sanlı's architectural progression skillfully intertwined historical elements into a contemporary framework. The 80s period, characterized by arches, wooden features, wide eaves, upper-floor projections, standard-size and shape vertical windows, pitched roofs, and bay windows, strongly reflected the visual inspiration from the past. Nevertheless, this integration wasn't just a superficial imitation; it represented a thoughtful interpretation deeply grounded in understanding the essence of traditional Turkish civil architecture.

In the present time, when cities are growing quickly and sometimes ignoring architectural heritage, tradition, and environmental factors for speed, the teachings we gather from Yılmaz Sanlı's work are fundamental. Creating living spaces that honor our past while embracing progress, Sanlı's legacy guides us toward an architecture that reflects the

local context and the people who live there, leaving behind a unique architectural heritage.

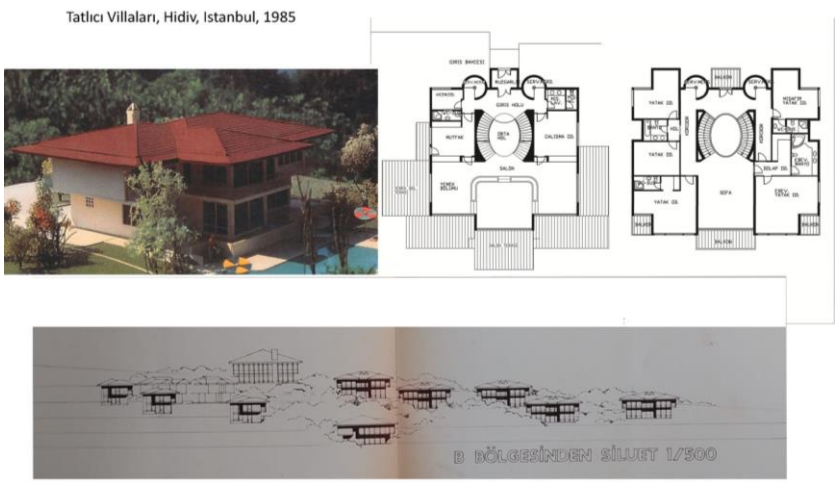



**Figure 21.** Hidiv Houses, Beykoz,1985

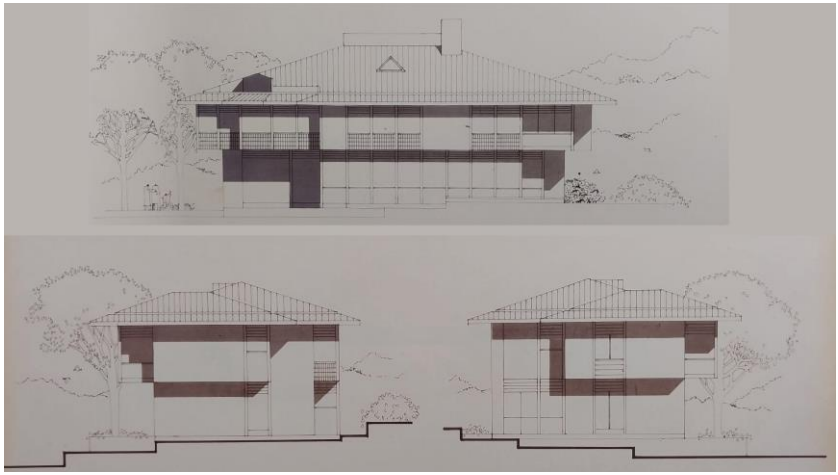


**Figure 22.** Turkish House influences in the wide eaves, vertical facade elements, upward projections, and window proportions in the Hidiv Houses.

## Acknowledgments

In memory of my father, Yılmaz Sanlı, whom I lost on August 30, 2005, I am deeply thankful for his support in my professional and academic endeavors, as his love and guidance illuminated every step of my life.

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# The Housemaid's Room: Mapping the spaces of paid female domestic labor through Ottoman-Turkish printed media (1908-1928)

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## Abstract

*Following the slow and reluctant abolishment of slavery in the late Ottoman period, the progress-driven Turkish elites embraced the Western concept of "housemaid", opposing the old institutions like cariye or odalisque in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Housemaids were considered free women with legal rights who would take care of the house chores and offer live-in, constant help for the family like a "surrogate housewife". From 1908 to the early years of the republic, the social hierarchy at home was (re)configured on multiple levels: While authors of etiquette in books and columns of women's magazines justified the hired work as the backbone of a middle-class household on a discursive level, architects, like Kemaleddin Bey working for the Directorate General of Endowments, standardized the housemaid's room as an essential function within the service zones of housing projects. This research provides an in-depth account of the housemaid's rooms and an exploration of the maids' living and working conditions by examining the architectural layout via the narrative lens of Ottoman-Turkish printed media. By crafting this dialogue between diverse sources, my primary objective is to show how crucial paid female labor was to the Turkish intelligentsia, including architects, in envisioning modern family life. More crucially, however, is to challenge the monolithic view of women within the narratives of the Turkish house, as focusing on housemaids reveals the unequal power relations dominating domestic life and forces us to confront the issue of class in writing feminist architectural history today.*

**Keywords**: *Domestic labor; Housemaid; Housewife; Ottoman-Turkish Printed Media; Turkish House*

## Introduction

Domestic slavery gradually evolved into paid housekeeping in wealthy eastern urban centres in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Following its slow and reluctant abolishment in the late Ottoman period, the progress-driven Turkish elites embraced the Western concept of "housemaid", opposing the old institutions of slavery like *cariye* or *odalisque*. According to them, housemaids were free women with legal rights who would

take care of the house chores and offer live-in, ceaseless help for the family. But also incompetent employees, who should be constantly supervised, and entirely subordinate to the housewife's decision-making and mercy.

According to Beverly Skeggs (2002), the labor involved in the production of the cult of domesticity for the middle class was made invisible by the use of downstairs servants. Similarly, the role of maids in Ottoman-Turkish social life was concealed, despite the importance of their labor in sustaining a respectable middle-class household. Yet, almost all upper-class families in Istanbul lived with servants by the twentieth century (Karakışla, 2014). Not only was this decision a sign of social prestige, but employing a housemaid was one of the most significant criteria for leading an elite lifestyle (Karakışla, 2014).




**Figure 1.** Numerous etiquette manuals were published in Ottoman women's media. One of the most comprehensive of them was written by Şehriyar Fiham (1923) in a serialized column titled "Salon adab-ı muaşereti" (Salon etiquette) that appeared in Süs Magazine. Ataturk Library.

Despite its evasive nature, the subject did enter public discourse, as seen by printed media from the post-1908 era. Particularly after the long war years and during the early Republican times, the maid question and the organization of functions in a Turkish household became more tangible topics of discussion. In the popular media of 1920s, diverse authors tried to systematize and idealize the private life by joining conversation and defining the role of the housemaid in relation to the middle-class housewife. These key non-architect actors actively participated in the making of a class-bound living ideal and explicitly conveyed the value of hired work in maintaining a "respectable" lifestyle in domestic salons. Their interest was most specifically centred on the proper management of paid domestic employees in articles and serialized columns on modern-day manners, or adab-ı muaşeret, published in women's magazines such as *Kadın* (1911-12), *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913-1921), and *Süs* (1923-24). The housemaid's salary, living conditions, and

private quarters were hot topics, particularly in Abdullah Cevdet's comprehensive etiquette manual, *Mükemmel ve Resimli Adab-ı Muaşeret Rehberi* (1927). This writing collection not only codified housework as an absolute realm of female duty but also stressed the different conditions of womanhood by suggesting their readers outsource domestic work to other women in exchange for remuneration. As a result, the mass media's mouthpiece sets of advice promoted hired work as the foundation of middle-class domesticity.

Seldom did architects show interest in this subject, which they deemed “feminine”. The all-male club of architectural practice before 1928 was blind to realities like domestic labour behind caring for a household in their architectural narratives even when projects concerned domestic life or housing. **(1)** And yet, they were and aspired to be a part of this elite bubble as is expressed both by their living style and professional practice. In that sense, they had a double role: On one hand, they were socialites contributing to the emulation of a living style, as a look into the private lives of canonical architects shows. Ego documents, such as correspondence and private photographs, confirm their consumption of the discourse regarding maids, despite its absence from their professional persona. On the other, they were the mediators of this vague spatial thinking into daily life through architectural projects. In housing plans developed for the Directorate General of Foundations, for example, Kemaleddin Bey standardized the housemaid's room as an essential component of the service zones. In his projects, the maid's quarters were consistently relegated to obscure service areas in residential floor plans.

This study examines the maids' living and working conditions and provides a detailed account of the understated significance of the "housemaid's room" in early twentieth-century domestic life. As a counterbalance to the silence of male-oriented practice over female labor, I will first analyse and then use the maid narrative developed in Ottoman-Turkish printed media to interpret the architectural layout.

## 1. Housewives and their Housemaids

Within the discursive domain of contemporary etiquette, the authors drew a clear distinction between classes of women sharing the same residence. There existed a rigid social hierarchy between the housemaid and the housewife, as the former’s mission was to raise the social status of the latter through her logistic support. Certainly, domestic help did not fully free housewives from housework. Yet it promoted them to a managerial position while leaving the manual work to paid labourers, allowing the master more time for leisure activities. If housewives were the first figure ordering the house from an executive and supervisory position, according to Mehmed Nureddin writing in the journal *Kadın* in 1911, then:

“servants are the second means to ensure the order and comfort of our homes and families. No matter how much of a homemaker a woman may be, she cannot achieve her goal without a servant. (…) Everyone decorates a salon, but it is impossible not to be amazed by the beauty and order of that salon when a woman who has acquired and cultivated the taste for purity instinctively and refined it collaborates with a maid who works with the same passion.” (Nureddin, 1911, as cited in Karakışla, 2014, p.74-77)

These words illustrate, quite clearly, the awareness of the additional workforce needed by housewives for maintaining, ordering and decorating a tasteful salon. In fact, despite his cringe-worthy framing of domestic labor as "a passion," Nureddin was one of the few writers of his time who acknowledged the share of servants in creating beautiful social spaces, whose aesthetic language and neat disposition always earned the employer housewife compliments. In contrast to his conceiving of domestic work as "collaboration," the majority of authors viewed the employer-employee relationship as more rational and apathetic, as evidenced by the deliberate attention paid to the worker's salary and the customs of tipping in etiquette articles. Writing in 1915, for instance, F. Semiha (1915) reminded her readers in the magazine Kadınlar Dünyası to tip 5 kuruş per day for maids and 3 kuruş per day for cooks during house visits. It was even clearer to Mesaadet Bedirhan, a prolific playwright and columnist publishing in the same magazine, that these visits’ atmosphere depended heavily on hired work. To the point that she involved a maid’s pay as one of the essential aspects of establishing a pleasant atmosphere. According to her, it was housewives’ duty to "determine all of the elements—furniture, clothing, and daily wages” in salons, and match these qualities to their social standing (Bedirhan, 1913, p.4).

What is stated in the same arguments was also the non-negligible symbolism behind the maid figure in providing the housewife with proper class distinction in their private realm. In her seminal work on domestic service as a relationship of domination, Bridget Anderson (2000) stated, “domestic work is about status and status reproduction, and hierarchies between women” (p.166). In early twentieth-century Ottoman-Turkish cultural life as well, having the means to have an individual salon and dining room, or allocate space for sociability purposes, was a class indicator in and of itself. In the fashioning form of sociability named “salon life”, these “means” not only signified a locked-up quarter with four walls but a multi-faceted display of pomp involving hired domestics, as previously illustrated by Bedirhan. **(2)**

## 2. Spaces of Paid Female Labor

Regarding the housemaid's duties, proper etiquette required minimizing the employee's presence in the salons while ensuring that the householder received uninterrupted, flawless service. In the salons, the maids were the ghosts opening the doors, hanging the jackets to the coatracks, accompanying guests to the reception, serving the meals, or picking up the dropped fork from the ground. Despite their facilitator role and non-

ending tasks, the guides of the proper demeanor reminded housewives of their maid's subjugated position. For example, Ahmed Cevdet (1927), another adab author whose book *Mükemmel ve Resimli Adab-ı Muaşeret Rehberi* got published, advised housewives to "demonstrate that they are no longer slaves as they used to be and that they are individuals who possess rights under your authority. Your kindness should aim to make their tasks less laborious" (p.56). These benevolent-looking gestures, certainly beneficial to the employer and exploitative to the servant, devalued domestic workers to the degree of rendering them "invisible" or "non-persons", as observed by Judith Rollins (1985).

Maybe to ensure their invisibility in the salons, adab writings recommended providing servants with an adequate separate room in the salon's backyards. A chamber was required because the maids were the most valuable for the services they provided and their human force had to be efficient, sustainable and available so that they could reproduce their labour. If a housewife was hiring domestic employees, as Cevdet stated, she should be concerned with their rest and ensure their sleep was undisturbed. He specified the room's features further:

"One of the essential requirements of this is a good bed. The rooms should not be too small, they should have sufficient ventilation, be free from dampness, and not be exposed to drafts. In this regard, the concerns and opinions expressed by those involved should be heard, and their requests should be examined in a positive manner. While not yielding to every whim and demand, masters should accept and fulfill justified requests, and personally oversee and pay attention to the proper arrangement of the servants' rooms." (Cevdet, 1927, 59-60)

No architectural drawing from the era disclosed such ephemeral items as beds and other furniture in the housemaid's room. Nevertheless, these manuals demonstrate there is a standard set of expectations from these quarters, which includes, first of all, providing basic comfort and personal space. Yet, secondly, they also indicate that other than offering a room, the employer was not obliged to make extra effort for their well-being or a great investment to ameliorate their living standards. Since maids were deemed a luxury in their objectified existence, their rooms lacked luxury standards. Terms like "beauty" or "taste" evoking the feeling of luxury, were tailored for the salon, whereas the housemaid's room was designed to fulfil its function with practical design questions, like proper ventilation and minimum room scale in mind. In addition, the quotations allude to the fact that, although the maids could have made requests, the housewife again determined the room's architecture, as she was regarded as the mastermind behind the interior layout.

## 3. Architects and their Maids

In the absence of evidence, it is difficult to determine whether architects were also readers of these particular publishings, let alone the means by which they engaged

professionally with etiquette norms in their projects. To what extent, however, can we expect them to remain immune to public debates resonating in popular media and to exclude domestic labor from their private lives? As thoroughly explored in her study on privacy and publicity, Beatriz Colomina (2001) considers the mass media to be "the true site within which modern architecture is produced and directly engages" (p.14). Specifically, it was advice manuals in the same media that offered the most prescriptive models for architecture and design, which Grace Lees-Maffei (2013) refers to as "real ideals" (p.2). Then, I propose to flip the script on the typical relationship between popular culture and architects by looking at the architect's life and professional work through the prism of mass media.



**Figure 2.** Portraits of Kemaleddin Bey and Sabiha Hanım. (Yavuz, 2009, p.384)

Sources such as ego documents belonging to canonical figures demonstrate that architects did indeed rely on paid female labor in their domestic life. A glance at the personal letters between Kemaleddin Bey and his wife Sabiha Hanim, for instance, reveals the centrality of housemaids in their family, similar to the picture depicted in the era. Based on their correspondence in 1926, it is understood that Kemaleddin Bey employed a housemaid named Penbe Hanim during his time away from his wife in

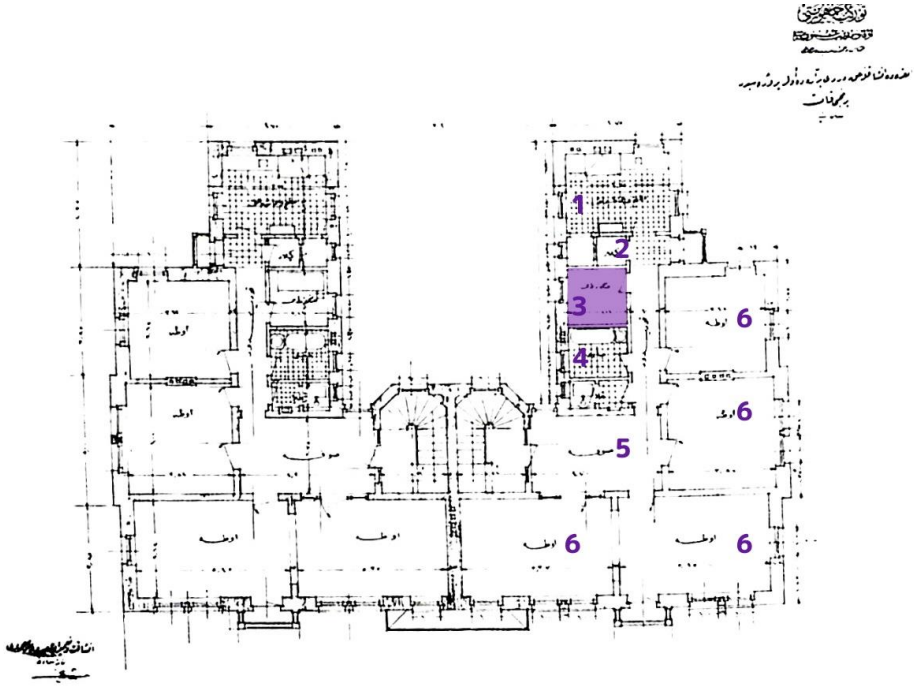
Ankara. Penbe Hanim was responsible for doing the laundry, ironing, washing the dishes, cleaning the living areas, and cooking from time to time, for which she received a monthly payment of probably less than 25 lira. **(3)** Later, when she quit her job, Kemaleddin Bey's stay in Ankara was complicated by the inability to find a suitable replacement and the absence of this type of care. While designing projects for a public library and school in the new capital the architect constantly complained about this persistent issue in letters to his wife. He desperately needed domestic help, and needed specifically from a maid, because like etiquette authors he identified housework with the feminine realm. When he found a temporary solution by hiring a domestic through a friend, even though he was dissatisfied, he wrote, "After all, she is a woman. (…) If she can also assist with the laundry, that would be a great aid." (Kemaleddin Bey, 1926, as cited in Yavuz, 2009, p.496).



**Figure 3.** Photograph from Vedat Tek's house depicting his family gathered around a dinner table. In the background, the blurry figures possibly show two housemaids serving whereas the crowd awaits to be photographed. Architecture Museum.

Kemaleddin Bey ensured there was a small housemaid's room in the residence where he intended to reside after his partner delivered their baby. This room was presumably only large enough for a single bed, as the size of the space became an issue during his maid search. For a candidate whom his wife approved of, he penned:

"When it comes to the matter of a female servant: Regarding Ekrem Bey's woman whom you consider appropriate, I also agree. However, how can we accommodate her nine-year-old child here together with her? It's a challenge to make ends meet, let alone provide an entire room for this woman. Moreover, the servant's room we've allocated is meant for one person only. (…) There is no other place for her to sleep in the apartment." (Kemaleddin Bey, 1926, as cited in Yavuz, 2009, p.496)





*Fotoğraf 57-Ankara Vakıf Evleri.*

**Figure(s) 4 and 5.** On the left, is the ground floor plan of the twin houses (Yavuz, 2009, p.291). 1. Kitchen and laundry room, 2. Cellar, 3. Maid's room, 4. Bathroom & WC, 5. Sofa, 6. Room. On the right, is a photograph showcasing the front facades of Ankara Endowment Houses (Yavuz, 2015, p.22). The maid's room in the circle is grouped together with the kitchen, laundry room, cellar, toilet, and bathroom and is separated from other residents' rooms with a corridor.

Even though it is outside the scope of this study, it is possible to find signs of housemaids in the daily lives of other canonical architects. A photograph, presumably taken during a family dinner at the private residence of architect Vedat Tek, illustrates in some way the life of Kemaleddin Bey. In the photograph, we see maids caught walking, serving, and standing in the shadows. Their place in the background of the composition indicates how these figures were the hidden structure of a well-run middle-class home, and their unclear presence around the table says that they were invisible even to the people behind the cameras.




**Figure(s) 6 and 7.** On the left, is the typical floor plan and on the right, is the façade design of The First Endowment Apartment in watercolor (Yavuz, 2009, p.294, 296). 1. Kitchen, 2. Bathroom & WC, 3. Maiden's room, 4. Room, 5. Bedroom, 6. Dining room, 7. Salon. In the floor plans, we see that in contrast with the other 7 rooms, the maid's room is the smallest in size, and located on the rear axis right next to the bathroom, toilet and kitchen.

## 4. Housemaid's Room in Housing Projects

While keeping up with status symbols in their personal life, architects also translated these symbols into built forms. Kemaleddin Bey not only lived with a servant himself but also envisioned the typical Turkish family living in the new capital as a unit with domestic employees. By cascading from public debates to private life, residential architecture gradually turned into an obsession for the new regime's architects and a design problem where the aspects of the ideal woman and different gender roles were formalised. **(4)** In a sense, the home was a self-referential site for architects, from which they learned the social codes and conventions of a middle-class household, and into which they moulded their vision over time.

Going through the oeuvre attributed to him, I have identified two housing projects with plan annotations for each and every room, where the housemaid's room was clearly indicated. The first one is Ankara Endowment Houses (*Ankara Vakıf Evleri*), a project that was described by a newspaper in 1924 as "two-floored, 4 or 5-room houses with a separate maid room" and promoted as buildings reflecting "modern understanding" (as cited in Yavuz, 2009, p.124). From the plans, it is legible how a space allocated to maids was perceived as a part of the service area. The maid's room was grouped in a strip with other wet spaces like the toilet, bathroom, and kitchen, all of which looked at the inner courtyard, whereas the regular rooms, including the spacious salon, faced the street side. Although in an L-shape, room functions roughly established two axes: A frontal axis with a better street view, light, and ventilation, including the spaces of representation, and a rear axis for all functions that were essential but also meant to be concealed from the view of higher-ranking residents and guests of the house.

The office of Kemaleddin Bey in the Directorate employed a similar approach in the more condensed multi-storey buildings. The First Endowment Apartment (*Birinci Vakıf Apartmanı* or *Belvü Palas*) in Ulus was designed in 1926, in other words, the year when the head architect was consistently going through a maid crisis in his personal life. Unsurprisingly, in this 4-storey housing project originally designed for 8 families, Kemaleddin Bey designed a maid's room, together with one salon and multiple bedrooms. In contrast with the salon's scale and panorama, the maid's room was smaller in size, oriented towards the block's backside, and organized along an axis with other service areas. Kemaleddin Bey applied the same programmatic idea to other housing projects, like The Second Endowment Apartment (*Ikinci Vakıf Apartmanı*). Even though the apartment's plan annotations do not disclose the specific functions, it is highly likely that it contained a room to facilitate a maid's stay. And even if it's not the case, reading the plan in dialog with the popular media allows us to interpret architecture in its lived sense, by giving us clues about the use and social interactions filling up the spaces.

In his in-depth typological analysis of compositional principles in Kemaleddin Bey's projects, Yıldırım Yavuz (2009) stated that the architect used symmetrical forms with an

ornamental emphasis on the front facade, a characteristic of the 1st National Style. While the front facades, where the reception spaces were directed, were elaborated with tiles, eaves, triple arches, and majestic entry doors looking at the main street, the inward-looking facades, where the maid's room was directed, almost consisted of bare walls. Adding up to this compositional principle, I stress the fact that this scheme also dwelled on an understanding of gender and class: the orientation of rooms and their use were identified according to the rank of their occupants. Pelin Dervis (2003) has already stressed the centrality of service areas within the organizational principles of house designs, looking at the projects of Kemaleddin Bey's contemporary, Vedat Tek. From her detailed work we can learn how family-servant-guest trio played a role in the early republican functional organisation. Therefore, looking back at Kemaleddin Bey's projects we can argue that not only was the "housemaid's room" an essential component of the architectural program, but the social hierarchy between the housewife and the housemaid worked as an organizing motif, expressed in their distinctly divided areas.

## 5. In Lieu of a Conclusion:

Behind the gleaming domestic ideal of Republican ideology resided the paid labor of female domestic workers. These understated figures provided the housewives with status symbols and leisure time to spend in their tastefully decorated salons, whereas the space allotted to them was a simple single room hidden away in the salon's backyard. In terms of orientation, scale, and decorative elaboration, there was a disparity in expectations from a salon and a housemaid's chamber. As evidenced by discussions of modern-day etiquette in the printed media, authors imbued the home with spatial hierarchy mirroring the dominant belief about the proper relation between a maid and the housewife.

Regardless of their interest in these particular sources, architects, all of which were male in the era, embodied these norms in their personal and professional life. The relationship between Kemaleddin Bey and Penbe Hanim indicates domestic labor in the home of an architect was also distributed along gender lines. In the absence of Kemaleddin Bey's wife, the maids shouldered the housework, working like what Angela Davis (2019) has called, the "surrogate housewives" (p.214). In connection with his personal life, Kemaleddin Bey's office in the Directorate General of Endowment envisioned the middle-class Turkish family as a unit with maids, as illustrated by the maid's room included in the earliest multi-family housing examples. The housing projects of Ankara Endowment Houses and The First Endowment Apartment placed the housemaid's room in the building's backside, along an axis with other wet spaces, directly resonating with the social order portrayed in the printed press. This organization was also replicated in other projects, suggesting that the housemaid's room was a vital function in residential buildings that can be traced to other instances. Breaking down the female labor embedded in the Turkish residential culture reveals that social hierarchies existed within

the expanded definition of family, and that these hierarchies were incorporated into the functional and decorative program of residential architecture during the early Republican years.

Also, we must acknowledge that domestic labor is not simply a historical question. Looking at the present, we can easily argue that the problem is still present and growing. Neither society nor the widespread availability and rapid advancement of household appliances could dispel the long-held belief that women are uniquely responsible for housework. In fact, the growing body of literature on domestic service makes it clearer that female labor has profound roots within the concept of home and continues to conceal itself in larger society. Aksu Bora (2010) has demonstrated that this form of work has remained a practical and symbolic framework for middle-class self-identification in urban centers. And domestic work evolved into new fields: the spouses of apartment building doorkeepers and day laborers are the contemporary womanhood panoramas of modern Turkey, according to Gül Özyeğin's (2005) perceptive eye. Moreover, a bit of zooming out from this image shows the dispersion of the sector and, with it, the escalating problems, perhaps more than ever. Today, large numbers of domestic workers, be they maids, nannies, day cleaners, or cooks, are sourced from impoverished countries in the global south. According to Rosie Cox's (2006) observation, the twenty-first century marks a new high point of domestic employment, and different from the past, today's "servant problem" is characterized by its globalized nature (p.13). Therefore, in neo-liberal economies, the uneven distribution of wealth continues to reinforce gender and class-based inequalities in society's most cellular form, the home. And if we are to unpack the home from a feminist perspective today, we must take into account these mostly disregarded power dynamics entrenched in the skin of architecture.

## Endnotes

**(1)** Özlem Erdoğdu Erkaslan (2007) states that the first formal university for female students in Turkey, the Academy of Fine Arts went on to inaugurate architectural education for women only in 1928. As expected, the discourse in the all-male club of architectural practice prior to this date did not include any discussion of family life. Unlike the printed media addressing women, Gül Cephanecigil (2019) demonstrated that the first popular media for architects and engineers, in which Kemaleddin Bey also partly participated, focused on architectural orders and styles.

**(2)** The term "salon life" was used to describe entertainment in the form of house visits where men and women interacted, which was deemed new, modern, European, or *alla Franca* in the late Ottoman era. In 1923, the etiquette columnist Şehriyar Fiham (1923) explained the proliferation of fashion as follows: "Today the salon life has begun in us as well and the social encounters between men and women have increased. I believe, particularly because of this condition it is required to describe and employ the manners

and formalities in Europe -which, according to us, are compulsory to obey word by word as the basis of the application in our new life" (p. 15).

**(3)** This interpretation is mine. We understand that Penbe Hanim eventually leaves Kemaleddin Bey to begin a new job in a school paying 25 lira per month (Kemaleddin Bey, 1926, as cited in Yavuz, 2009. 482).

**(4)** Sibel Bozdogan (2001) underscores the very idea of "home" as a republican concept par excellence, without skipping over the lengthy evolution of this obsession since the Young Turk era (p. 214).

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# A Semiological Perspective on Bruno Taut's Concept of Proportion

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## Abstract

*Bruno Taut stands out as an important figure in early Republican architecture in terms of his theoretical and practical work. Based on his 1938 book Architectural Doctrine (Architekturlehre), the aim of this paper is to discuss Taut's original assessment on the concept of proportion in architecture in a semiological context, thus, on the one hand, to reveal the phenomenological tendencies in modern architecture in general, and, on the other hand, to present the claim that Taut's original conception resonates not only in its own historical context, where the discourse on formulating a modern architectural language was prominent, but also in the context of contemporary design theories. The scope of this comparative analysis can be characterized as evaluating how Taut defines proportion and placing it in a new conceptual framework through cross-references from the fields of phenomenology, design semiotics, and cognitive semiotics. Even though these are different theoretical approaches, they share common interests in the study of meaning-making processes, the role of human cognition in shaping perception and interpretation, and the importance of context, all of which are relevant to the concept of proportion in architecture.*

**Keywords:** *Bruno Taut; The Concept of Proportion; Phenomenology; Design Semiotics; Cognitive Semiotics*

## Introduction: An Architectural Doctrine in the Early Republican Period of Turkey

Bruno Taut's association with Turkey is distinguished by his active engagement in shaping the country's architectural landscape and urban development. Despite his relatively brief time in Turkey (1936–1938), within the framework of modernization and nation-building initiatives of the Early Republican Period, his contributions and ideas had a considerable impact on Turkish architecture and left a lasting legacy. As one of the outstanding contributions of this limited period, the paper will focus on his highly influential theoretical work Architectural Doctrine (2021; 1938) to reveal the characteristics of his architectural conception (1). On this theoretical level, it is contended

that this conception not only resonates within the context of its historical period but also aligns with the circumstantial and interactional characteristics of contemporary discourses. In the examination of these shared attributes, a semiological perspective, which accentuates the communicative nature of design, will constitute the principal axis.

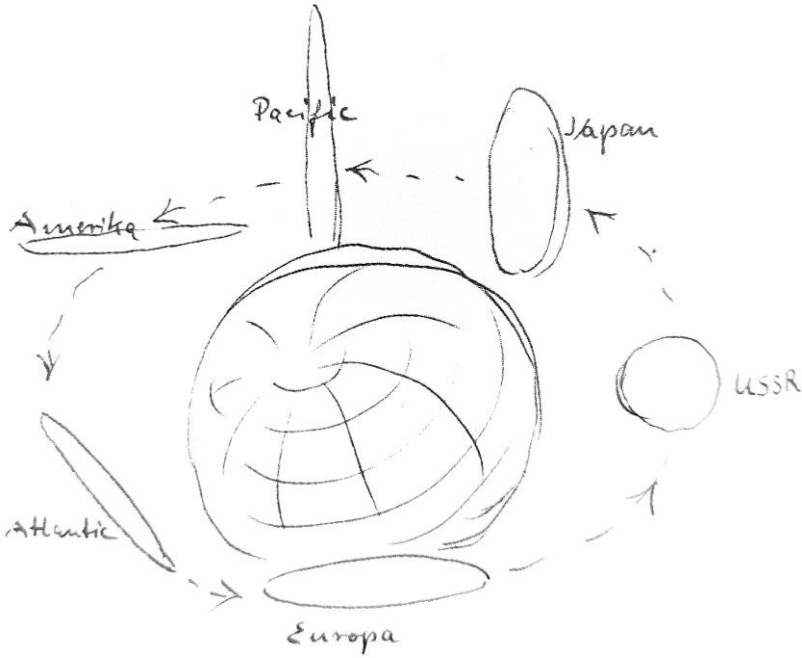



**Figure 1.** Sketch of the Airship's World Tour. (The image was taken from the book Architectural Doctrine, 2021 edition.) This sketch, envisioning architecture as an aircraft that changes its form in accordance with its place in the world, epitomizes the general understanding of Taut's notion of proportion. He clarifies this conceptualization through the following words: "So what is strange and terrifying to the engineer is natural to the architect. Architectural types take on different forms according to the countries in which the buildings are constructed, and thus come to life, acquiring proportions appropriate to the preconditions and requirements that led to their construction" (2021, p. 47).

As illustrated in the following sections, this semiotic perspective is fully aligned with Taut's conception of proportion with aspects of promoting the poetic and emotional dimensions of architectural design, encouraging contextual sensitivity, and fostering critical analysis,

while providing a conceptual framework for understanding architecture's communicative potential. At the same time, from the perspective of contemporary theoretical discussions, the depicted notion of proportion assumes a pivotal role as a tool influencing both the conceptual and the perceptual dimensions of architectural design in a dialogical manner. In this sense, it is not an overstatement to assert that Architectural Doctrine continues to offer valuable insights even in the 100th year of the Republic.

In order to offer a more comprehensive explanation of this claim, the first part of the paper will center on Taut's conception of architecture and present an extended definition of proportion, supported by his own words. Meanwhile, the second part will conduct a comparative analysis of the same concept within contemporary design theories, specifically focusing on a semiological perspective.

## Bruno Taut: "Architecture is the art of proportion"

"Architecture relies entirely on proportion, and this is not only the foremost of many such qualities, but the fundamental one" (Taut, 2021, p. 55).

Defining architecture as an art of proportion, Taut, in his book Architectural Doctrine, consistently emphasizes that the main principle that transforms a building into an architectural work is nothing but proportion. Within this conception, proportion is characterized as a sense that exclusively belongs to the realm of emotions, transcending rational thinking and reasoning, while it is associated with intuition, experience, and imagination (2). In this regard, Taut's primary argument is that proportion is founded on a rational basis; however, its complete comprehension can only be achieved when reason and emotion are united. To gain a better understanding of this unique approach, a brief review under the categories of technique, construction, and function — which are discussed as the objective principles of architecture in the book — would be appropriate.

Taut, who does not hesitate to use the notions of proportion and architecture interchangeably, strongly criticizes the perception of technique as the basis of architecture in the circumstances of the period. In fact, proportion (architecture) can exist without technique. Here, in his own words, technique should not be understood as simple construction methods, but rather as the advanced construction techniques of the period that came with mechanization as well as the techniques encountered in the competent examples of classical architecture. Stating that even temporary structures built through extremely primitive methods belong to the field of architecture in terms of evoking a certain sense of proportion in people, Taut (2021) claims that the technical competence of a building that moves away from proportion is not enough to define it as an architectural product. "Technique without proportion can never be architecture" (Taut, 2021, p. 58). So, what is architectural technique? Defining technique as a mediator between man and nature, Taut underlines that this expression, which includes all of the measures with

which to make people feel as comfortable as possible, is related to spiritual well-being as well as physical well-being. "The clearer and the purer the forms of technique, the closer it comes to emotion" (Taut, 2021, p. 65). In such a view, it is this interpretation of technique discussed through the sense of proportion that combines two completely different architectural understandings on a common basis, such as classical Greek and Japanese architecture, which stand out with their advanced technical qualities. It is particularly emphasized that there is no path from technique to architecture. It is a similar situation when an artist is in search of an appropriate technique with which to achieve a beauty that is yet unknown. In both cases, there is an essential search for an artistic conception, and technique only comes into play as a means of reaching this conception. This quest epitomizes the semantic essence of Taut's architectural approach.

If we continue referring to the book, the construction is entirely different from the technique due to its nature, and a construction that is not in unity with proportion has no relation with architecture either. In the context of rational thought, a construction always evolves and continues to exist; yet, to the extent that it becomes independent of proportion, it also moves away from the sense of art. Cases in which advanced engineering works are considered to be architectural works are actually the result of an approach that goes beyond dry calculations and originates from the intuition and imagination of the engineer. "These works would not have come about without the passionate enthusiasm of the engineer" (Taut, 2021, p. 94). On the other hand, since construction is the main element that defines an architectural work, the common denominator of a work, also known as construction architecture, is the relationship that it establishes with proportion. Taut discusses the Gothic cathedral and the Turkish mosque as the most sophisticated examples of this approach, in which it is not possible to distinguish between proportion and construction. Furthermore, he states that the understanding in these examples is not constructivist in the modern sense, wherein construction has become an oppressive formal element. As can be understood from the expression "It is crucial to realize that in Gothic architecture, often referred to as constructive, the weight of artistic conception is superior to the rational" (Taut, 2021, p. 95), it is seen that a sensual understanding stands out against the abstract. According to Taut, the abstract can only exist in thought, and the task of an architect is to be able to see the theoretically drawn as constructed and transformed into matter. "Only then does the building connect well with other realities, namely proportion" (Taut, 2021, p. 113). Regardless of how much the mind tries to impose rules against the realities of the physical world, which deforms and distorts 'pure' forms according to human perception, "only emotion can bring the real solution" (Taut, 2021, p. 115), which is the subject of art, namely architecture.

While acknowledging the importance of function in modern life, Taut points out that discussing function does not really mean discussing architecture, and claims that architecture that moves away from the sense of proportion loses its aesthetic value in the

axis of pragmatic functionality. Function has to be at the service of proportion, just like technique and construction. Even when a building built for its own purpose is not used, that is, not functioning, if it evokes the feeling of how comfortably that building is used, it means that function has transformed into a permanent form element of proportion. Only then does the motto "what functions well looks well" (Taut, 2021, p. 127) find a response. In other words, proportion always preserves its existence so that what lies behind an architectural product that does not lose its effect even when its function comes to an end is nothing but proportion. As one of the best examples of the transformation of function into an architectural form, Taut considers the Katsura Palace, a 17th century building in Japan, and describes this building as the constructed version of the concept of architectural function. This building, in which function is used as the main element, is also considered to be an excellent example of modern architecture (see also Jacquet & Walsh, 2012), and, in Taut's (2021) own words, the effect created by the work is described as follows.

"The mind is completely satisfied; architectural forms without any arrogance or ulterior motives reveal themselves directly, such that when referring to thinking, now it is indeed the eye (rather than the brain) that thinks there. The reason why all this should be so is directly revealed. The beauty of architecture comes from the richness of the relationships between the details; as soon as one thinks that he has seen everything, he really always discovers new relationships" (p. 135).

Here, as part of the spatial experience, in line with the idea of how different elements will work together and how they will relate to one another, the concept of proportion has been made the subject of its function. In this context, the premise of the architect should again be that of proportion in the relationship established with the function, or in Taut's (2021) words: "The task of the architect is to give the concept of function an essence; without this essence the function has no value for the architect" (p. 139). The essence mentioned here is purely that of proportion and represents Taut's way of "perceiving and practicing Modern Architecture in its essence rather than in its formal terms" (Boyacıoğlu, 2015).

As this brief review demonstrates, Architectural Doctrine portrays an understanding of architecture that focuses on the sensory quality of design around the notion of proportion. Within this framework, the following quote becomes highly illustrative in comprehending what Taut (2021) implies when discussing proportion.

"Architecture takes its nourishment only from the conditions that contain the reality perceived by the senses — from the concepts and images that can only be reached through such senses. There is a sense that must be satisfied, because architectural proportion is not merely a verbal comparison, a literary description, a detailed explanation, an allegory, a symbol. Proportion is a fact — the purely material aspect of real things being apportioned as best as possible" (p. 48).

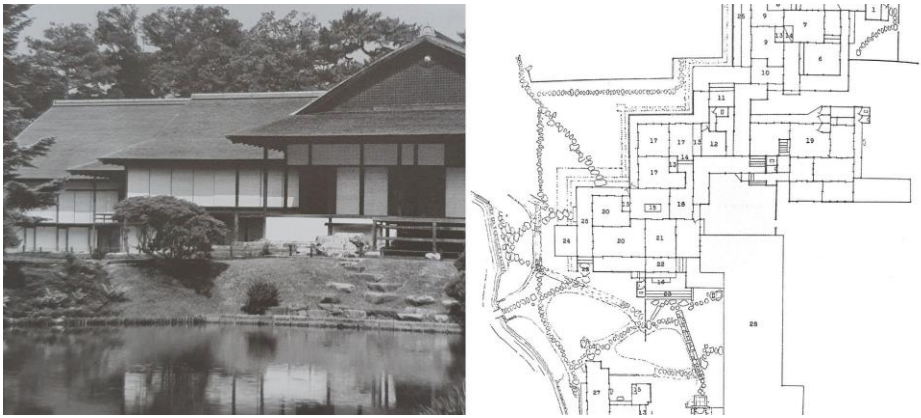


**Figure 2.** Katsura Palace. The images were taken from the book Architectural Doctrine, 2021 edition.

This empiricist theory of proportion refers to the concept of abstraction in Richard Padovan's (1999) terms and represents an approach wherein architecture generates meaning through its sensory qualities, with proportional systems playing a significant role in this process. In this context, Taut's understanding of proportion becomes a focal point within the field of cognition, exemplifying a constructive mode of knowing that emphasizes the influence of human cognition in shaping perception and interpretation. That is precisely where the notion of proportion intersects with semiotic rhetoric.

## Proportion within a Semiotic Design Rhetoric

Understanding proportion in cognitive terms involves examining how the mind processes and reacts to relationships between elements, while also considering the subjective judgments and interpretations influenced by individual cognitive capacities and cultural factors. It is obvious that these concerns entirely align with the subject matter of semiotic studies in architecture. In order to establish a meaningful comparison, this section of the article will specifically focus on reviewing Taut's conception while making references to relevant studies within the field.

To begin the discussion, we can conduct a comparative analysis of Philippe Boudon's conceptualization of scale. As a contemporary architectural theorist, Boudon's phenomenological approach to architecture significantly resonates with Taut's architectural conception. In particular, his definition of scale closely aligns with the conceptualization of proportion that we explore in this article, as both emphasize the central role of the relationship between the different parts and the whole as the basis of

architectural conception on multiple levels. At this point, it is essential to emphasize that Boudon's conceptualization of scale is firmly grounded in Peirce's theory of semiotics.

The most notable aspect of this approach is that it primarily pertains to the process of conception (rather than the process of perception) in architecture, which aligns with Taut's particular emphasis on the term of conception. In his article "The Notion of Scale and Charles S. Peirce's Categories," Boudon (2015) expresses his intention and motivation to reexamine architectural facts by specifically focusing on the facts of conception, as stated in the following words.

"It is one thing for architecture to be an object of meaning pertaining to reception once it has been conceived and realized; but meaning is also at play in the process of conception and it refers back to those operations through which the architect thinks out architectural space" (p. 20).

Here, Boudon makes a distinction between the space of conception and the architectural space and claims that this space of conception belongs to the realm of pragmatics, since it corresponds to the space in which architecture is carried out. Within this approach, the scale in Boudon's terminology — or the proportion in Taut's terminology — becomes a subject of unlimited semiosis. In addition to this shared understanding in meaning-making processes, the crucial role of their conceptualizations in the interpretation and understanding of architectural meaning as well as the significance of contextual factors are other common issues that they address in both the conception and the perception of architecture.

From a design semiotics perspective, Taut's architectural approach continues to be a subject of contemporary theoretical discussions due to various overlapping issues. This time the concept of "dialogical meaning" comes to the fore. Dialogical meaning recognizes that meaning is not fixed nor predetermined, but rather is co-constructed through dialogue and interaction between participants in a communicative act. In other words, it is the contextual dimension that becomes decisive in the construction of meaning, which is also the prominent aspect of Taut's conceptualization of proportion.

As theorized by Klaus Krippendorff (1992), who is a renowned scholar in the field of communication and design, a paradigm shift from an objectivist design approach to a constructivist one is necessary in addressing the contemporary challenges in the field of design. In broad terms, from his perspective, objectivism represents the belief that there exists a reality that is independent of observers or cultural influences. On the other hand, constructivism challenges this notion by considering reality not to be solely existing outside or independently of the human observer, as objectivists maintain, nor solely within the realm of an individual's imagination, as solipsists argue. Instead, constructivism views reality as arising from the interconnected process of perception and action, or of conceiving and making things. This approach, referring to the "dialogical

reality of meaning" (Krippendorff, 2003), is consistent with Taut's understanding of modern architecture.

Modern architecture is generally associated with an objectivist approach. However, Taut's Architectural Doctrine, which prioritizes the well-being of individuals in both spiritual and physical aspects, expands the task of architecture beyond its materialistic, functionalist, and measurable qualities to encompass the mental and existential realms of life. This approach is referred to as a "constructive mode of knowing" (Heylighen & Neuckermans, 2000, p. 4), which compels the knower to be an active, integrated actor (instead of a passive observer). In this sense, Taut's conceptualization of proportion becomes integrated into a constructivist design approach. Just as depicted in Architectural Doctrine, proportion in constructivist design is not limited to physical dimensions; rather, it extends to conceptual and experiential dimensions as well, making it crucial in understanding the circumstantial and interactional characteristics of design research today.

At this point, cognitive semiotics also provides a framework for understanding how humans perceive, interpret, and make sense of the designed environment and how the designed environment, in turn, influences human cognition and behavior. To elaborate on the subject, Josep Muntañola's studies on semiotics and architecture can provide a valuable opportunity to make another comparison between Taut's architectural understanding and a contemporary cognitive theory of architecture. In one of his recent articles focusing on the potential of dialogical social theories in architecture, in both practice and theory, Muntañola (2022) asserts that certain tendencies in modern architecture recognized the dialogical nature of architecture; however, they were not widely embraced. More importantly, he proposes a reexamination of this position in light of contemporary debates.

From this dialogical standpoint, architecture is defined as an intersubjective network of relationships that unfolds through shared socio-physical transitions (Muntañola & Saura, 2022). In this sense, Taut aligns with this perspective by advocating for a continuous interaction between the regional and transnational elements of his architectural program, where proportion serves as the essential principle to anchor the transnational tectonic logic of a building within its cultural and physical context (Erdim, 2007). Furthermore, this dialogical relation extends to another scale, where the subject experiencing the architectural space takes precedence.

Within the dynamic and interactive nature of meaning-making processes, the architectural meaning is not solely determined by the architect's intentions or the physical attributes of the built environment. Instead, it is shaped through the perceptual and interpretive engagement of the users, who bring their own perspectives, experiences, and cultural backgrounds to the interpretation of architectural forms and spaces. This cognitive perspective broadens the realm of interaction between architecture and

semiotics, acting as a mediator between the abstract space of conception and the concrete experiential realm of perception.

Bruno Taut's comprehension of proportion, which is associated with intuition, experience, and imagination, in this specific context, assumes a critical role as a cognitive construct. In his book Proportion: Science, Philosophy, Architecture, Padovan (1999) establishes the foundations of this approach in Kantian philosophy and elaborates on it through the following words: "If Kant is right, we must seek a foundation for architectural proportion, not in 'things-in themselves', but in the structure of the mind. This is not to say that we do not still look for it in the phenomena; but that we recognize that these phenomena are themselves shaped by our mental structure" (p. 302). That is a conceptualization that provides a reconciliation between human consciousness and the physical world — by means of the internalization of the world and the externalization of the mind, a conceptualization that corresponds to the contemporary embodied approaches to cognition in architecture.

## Conclusion: A Dialogical Design Approach

In this paper, we explored an approach in architectural praxis that centers on the sense of proportion, an integral part of our perceptual experience. Among various interpretations of proportion in architecture, Taut's treatment of the subject refers to a kind of knowledge grounded in the structure of the mind, emerging through phenomena; humans transfer this knowledge of proportion to nature (rather than borrowing it from nature) (3). This perspective encourages an active and questioning role, departing from a passive observer stance, leading to an understanding of architecture deeply connected to the mental and sensory dimensions of human existence. In this context, the paper's primary conclusion is that Taut's modern architectural teaching embodies an architectural discourse based on a phenomenological approach, with a design perspective that prioritizes the sense of proportion. This claim is also substantiated by Goldhagen (2008), who identifies Taut as one of the representatives of a distinct modern architectural discourse known as the "phenomenologically oriented strain of embodied rationalism" (p. 51).

Upon revisiting the concept of proportion from a semiotic perspective, another conclusion emerges as well. Taut's comprehension of proportion as a cognitive construct, grounded in intuition, experience, and imagination, demonstrates a notable alignment with contemporary cognitive approaches in architecture. For instance, the emphasis on dialogical meaning, as encouraged by contemporary theorists, is inherently present in Taut's architectural understanding. This dialogical perspective, which refers to the dynamic and interactive nature of meaning-making processes, offers a relevant framework for comprehending how conception and perception in architectural design are intertwined. Moreover, it implies that the concept of proportion, as articulated in

Architectural Doctrine, not only serves as a design tool in architecture but also acts as a communication tool for its users.

As a concluding remark, within the context of a 100-year legacy of the Republic, this paper further emphasizes that revisiting Taut's Architectural Doctrine holds special significance. This significance extends not only to its resonance with contemporary design theories but also to its particular emphasis on a communication-based design approach. In the information age that we are experiencing at present, characterized by increasingly intricate global connectivity and cultural exchange, communication, as a fundamental aspect of human existence, holds greater importance than ever in maintaining the dialogical nature of a democratic republic. In this sense, an exiled architect's pursuit of practicing architecture in a globalizing world deserves a profound reconsideration as a reminder of this dialogical approach, which also underpins the ideals of our Republic.




**Figure 3.** From left to right: 1938 original Turkish edition; 1977 German edition; 2021 revised Turkish edition.

## Endnotes

**(1)** This book, Architectural Doctrine (Architekturlehre), was first published in Turkish in 1938 due to Bruno Taut's academic and professional position in Turkey. Despite the fact that there was a 1948 Japanese edition of the book, it was not published in its original language, German, until 1977. An English translation of the book is still not available.

The source book used in this article is a revised edition newly translated into Turkish from the original German manuscript by Arketon Publications in 2021.

**(2)** It is worth noting that Rudolf Arnheim's definition (1955, p. 44), stating that "the sense of proportion is inherent in the experience of perception, and - like all other perceptual properties - it is dynamic," aligns with Bruno Taut's perspective on the subject.

**(3)** Establishing a dialectical relationship between the acts of building and knowing, Richard Padovan (1999) claims that the concept of proportion in architecture can differ in two different views: first, the mathematics underlying architecture is knowledge that is innate in nature and distilled out of it by human reason; second, this knowledge is primarily a construction of the human mind and is imposed upon nature by man. This paper asserts that Bruno Taut's conception refers to the latter.

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# Reconstructing the Republic: Emlak ve Eytam Bankası and its Effects on the Development of Housing Practice During the Early Republican Period

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## Abstract

*After the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, a main challenge was managing the urban transformation of cities destroyed in the war. One of the most significant steps towards facilitating the reconstruction of the country was the establishment of a national bank, Emlak ve Eytam Bankası (EEB) in 1926. The primary task of the Bank was to provide funding for various construction projects throughout the country, however, the institution transformed into an important actor in housing supply during the Early Republican Period. EEB's financial support, together with the operation of its construction company Emlak Bank Yapı, was influential in shaping the residential scene, especially in Ankara. The Bank was a crucial partaker in many projects, most notably Saraçoğlu Housing Project. This paper aims to explore the impact of EEB on Turkey's urban and residential development during this period and the influences on the housing industry in the following years. Although there is considerable literature on early housing initiatives in Turkey, this study intends to offer a new perspective on how institutionalization impacted the development of public housing practice. After examining the Bank's role in the housing policies of the Republic, the study continues to investigate the design and construction processes of Emlak Bank Yapı during Saraçoğlu Housing Project.*

**Keywords:** *Emlak ve Eytam Bankası; Emlak Bank Yapı; Housing; Housing policies; Early Republican Period*

## Introduction

The proclamation of the Republic marks a crucial turning point in the urban formation and spatial production in Turkey. After the devastating effects of the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence, the new Republic aimed to rehabilitate the urban conditions of the country. Amongst the main actors in shaping this setting was one of the first public banks in the new Turkish state, Emlak ve Eytam Bankası (EEB) and its construction agent Emlak Bank Yapı Company. Founded initially to fund the reconstruction of the war-torn country, EEB became the primary actor in the urban

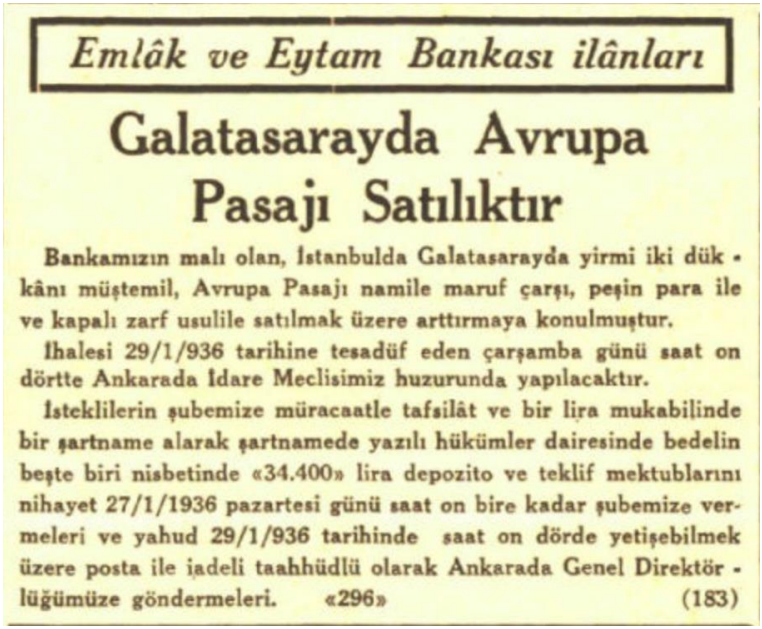
transformation of many cities and later the most influential body in housing provision. From its establishment in 1926, the Bank appeared as one of the key stakeholders in the construction industry due to its role as the leading financier and landholder. It was a crucial partaker in the reconstruction of the young Republic, especially the new capital city of Ankara. The loans provided by EEB were largely utilized in the creation of a modern city by constructing public buildings, supporting infrastructural improvements and most importantly, developing housing settlements. The financial support of the Bank for the housing initiatives helped to create Ankara's residential setup during the Early Republican Period. EEB participated as a funder in the Republic's first public housing projects such as Bahçeli Evler and Güven Evler Cooperatives and encouraged the advancement of garden city-like neighborhoods. In 1938, Emlak Bank Yapı Company was established as the construction company of the Bank and became the first official housing institution of the state. The development of a state-sponsored housing organization was essential to introducing new residential arrangements to the public, as the administrators took on the task of housing provision as a means of promoting a modern lifestyle. The first and only housing project of EEB was Saraçoğlu Houses, which was not only the embodiment of these spatial policies but also one of the first examples of state-led housing in Turkey. In addition to Emlak Bank Yapı's role as the constructor in the early housing developments, EEB's operation in the field reveals the transformative impact of a governmental institution on housing provision during the Early Republican Period. This paper aims to look into the influence of the Bank's activities during the early years of the Republic on the development of spatial policies and public housing practices in the future years.

## 1. Reconstruction of the Country and the Establishment of Emlak ve Eytam Bankası

The warfare and its aftermath had significant consequences on the urban fabric of most cities. While the long-lasting state of war loaded an economic burden on the country, sustaining the livability of towns and cities became a challenging task. The housing stock in most towns was severely damaged and partly destroyed by the retrieving Greek troops following the War of Independence. Many cities such as İzmir and Manisa were part of this devastation and required extensive reconstruction (Zürcher, 2017). Along with this, the former capital Istanbul's population saw a dramatic decrease of 50 percent by 1927, causing a radical demographic and morphological change in the city and affecting its urban structure (Gül, 2017). One of the most critical urban development issues involved Ankara, the new capital city of the young Republic. The state's new administrative center attracted a major inflow of population which resulted in a pressing need for urban development and a critical housing shortage (Tekeli, 1996).

The adverse state of the urban conditions necessitated the establishment of an organization that will support the infrastructural repairs and urban redevelopment. In an

effort to fund the reconstruction of destroyed cities as well as the development of new settlements, the government formulated the establishment of a national bank. In 1926, EEB was founded with the aim of providing loans to owners of lands and buildings. It obtained half of its capital from the government properties that were transferred to the Bank (Emlak ve Eytam Bankası Kanunu, 1926) (1). The Bank was not directly involved in construction projects until around 1938 and was solely a financier of building activities in its first decade. The initial efforts of EEB were directed toward rehabilitating the destroyed Western Anatolian towns (Tekeli, 1996). However, the Great Depression of 1929 had severe effects on urbanization in many parts of the country. Cities such as Istanbul and İzmir did not present fruitful opportunities for the Bank to grow due to the stagnancy in the market (Güvenç and Işık, 1999). Therefore, EEB's operation in Istanbul and other cities was mostly confined to financial assistance for new constructions and real estate transactions. For instance, the famous Avrupa Pasajı, which was transferred to the treasury in 1929 and was auctioned by the Bank in 1936 (Üsdiken, 1993), showcased the significance of the properties held by the Bank in return for mortgages (Figure 1).



*Emlâk ve Eytam Bankası ilânları*

**Galatasarayda Avrupa Pasajı Satılıktır**

Bankamızın malı olan, İstanbulda Galatasarayda yirmi iki dükkânı müştemil, Avrupa Pasajı namile maruf çarşı, peşin para ile ve kapalı zarf usulile satılmak üzere arttırmaya konulmuştur.

İhalesi 29/1/936 tarihine tesadüf eden çarşamba günü saat on dörtte Ankarada İdare Meclisimiz huzurunda yapılacaktır.

İsteklilerin şubemize müracaatle tafsilât ve bir lira mukabilinde bir şartname alarak şartnamede yazılı hükümler dairesinde bedelin beşte biri nisbetinde «34.400» lira depozito ve teklif mektublarını nihayet 27/1/1936 pazartesi günü saat on bire kadar şubemize vermeleri ve yahud 29/1/936 tarihinde saat on dörde yetişebilmek üzere posta ile iadeli taahhüdlü olarak Ankarada Genel Direktörlüğümüze göndermeleri. «296» (183)

**Figure 1.** An article announcing the auction of Avrupa Pasajı (Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1936).

While Istanbul suffered from an acute housing crisis in the last years of the Ottoman Empire, Ankara faced a similar urgency during the early days of the Republic. As Ankara was the only urban area to expand, the Bank directed most of its efforts toward the construction of the new capital of the Republic. The city received a major influx of new population after it was declared as the capital. Almost every department of the government was relocated to the new center, generating a serious need for the accommodation of civil servants. Hermann Jansen's master plan in 1932 was designed according to the projected population of Ankara which was estimated to reach a maximum of 300.000 people in 50 years. However, the city was already home to more than 100.000 people in 1932 (Tankut, 1993). In accordance with this overpopulation in the capital, EEB's financial resources were directed toward funding various types of housing projects. The resources of the Bank were utilized in the construction of more than 40 percent of the buildings in Ankara between 1926 and 1938 (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, 1938). One of the most significant influences of the Bank in the housing provision of Ankara was the allocation of loans to certain types of housing endeavors. The housing credits of the Bank were only given to projects that cannot be divided into multiple rental units in order to prevent the use of loans from serving purposes other than making the citizens homeowners (Güvenç and Işık, 1999). Instead, the housing loans of EEB were offered to fund the cooperative housing projects that follow the pre-war garden city principles rather than multi-story buildings. The Bank's financial program to subsidize a certain housing typology led it to play an integral part in shaping spatial strategies during the Early Republican Period.

## 2. Housing Policies in the Early Republican Period

Although the subject of housing was an urgent issue during these years, government officials were unable to create an official and comprehensive policy for housing provision. This was related to a number of reasons including the insufficiency in the construction industry, lack of capital and absence of an administrative body (Sey, 1984). Despite all these adverse conditions, it is fair to say an implicit program for reorganizing the residential standards was underway. Many agents contributed to this unofficial agenda by implementing housing projects that follow certain spatial and social qualities that were mostly aimed at sheltering civil servants (Figure 2). EEB was one of the most influential of these contributors with its use of new types of housing, institutional organization and innovative financial models. The Bank's financial support in low-density cooperative housing projects facilitated the creation of housing standards that center around a novel lifestyle for the modern citizens of the Republic. This was also related to the popular view depicting that reformed living ideals of the period would become low-rise houses with gardens. The new regime attached great importance to modernizing the people through urban planning and housing settlements (Tekeli, 1996). Many foreign professionals such as urban planners and architects were invited to partake in shaping the new urban context, in order to achieve a cultural transformation in line with Western standards (Sey, 1984). The newly presented housing models suggested the optimal lifestyle for the

people was similar to European modernism and the pre-war principles of garden cities (Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012).

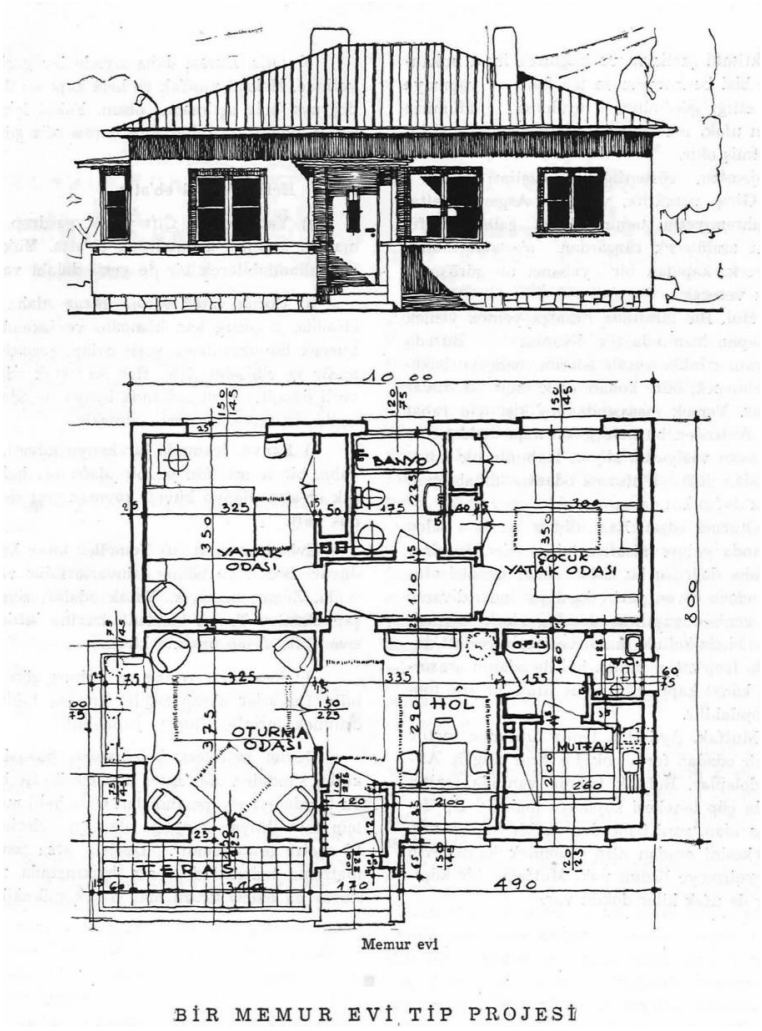



**Figure 2.** Prototype of a house for civil officers (Mortaş, 1944).

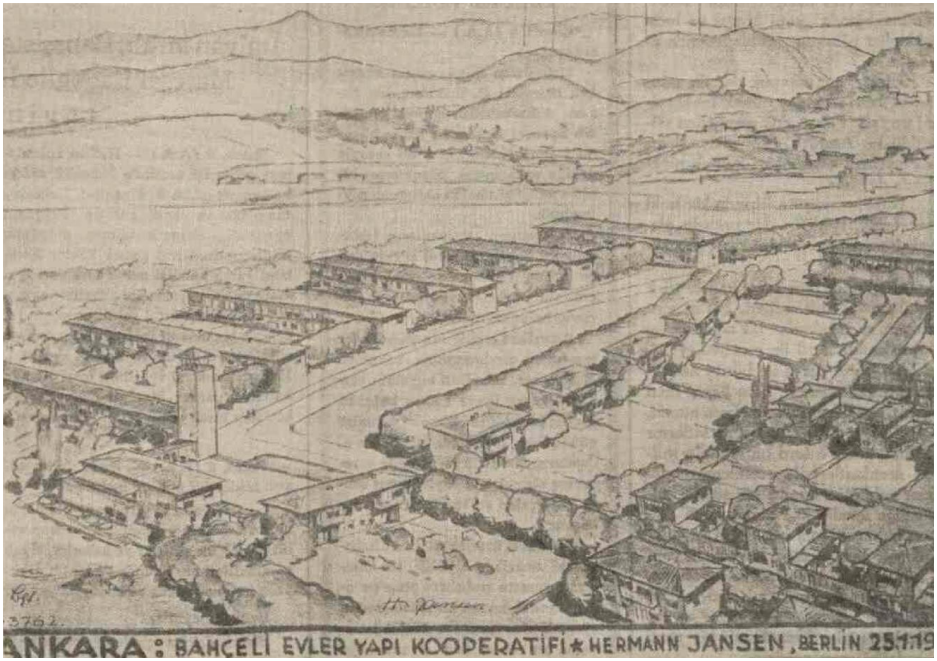



**Figure 3.** A sketch of Bahçeli Evler Housing Cooperative by Hermann Jansen (Ulus Gazetesi, 1936)

The most extensive approach to housing provision was launched in Ankara with the implementation of a number of projects. Starting from the first master plan by Carl Christoph Lörcher in 1924, the idea of forming the city's residential fabric with low-density garden houses was predominantly realized through cooperative housing projects during the 1930s (Cengizkan, 2019). Jansen's Ankara Plan in 1932 intended to shelter the population in various types of residential arrangements, including collective housing projects that were envisioned to represent the typical type of dwelling in the seat of the new Turkish state. The most prominent examples of these projects during the Early Republican Period were realized through financial subsidies from EEB, in line with its support for such collectives. Included in Jansen's plan, Bahçeli Evler and Güven Evler cooperatives were initiated in 1936. Consisting of two-story houses with spacious rooms and private gardens, the original plans were modified as to the request of users, who were government officials in high positions (Akcan, 2012) (Figure 3). Similar to these, EEB supported many other cooperatives such as Mebus Evleri and Tasarruf Evleri. The Bank's aid for such residential types increased the prevalence of similar housing projects and made the institution an important actor in the establishment of housing policies.

Resulting of the Bank's measure of subsidizing such typologies, cooperative housing projects became a defining part of Ankara's residential fabric during the Early Republican Period.

## 2.1. Emlak Bank Yapı Company



**Figure 4.** Front and right view of a prototype house from Emlak ve Eytam Bankası Numune Ev Albümü (Koç University VEKAM Archive)

Despite the financial efforts of EEB, housing provision was still insufficient. The Bank's struggle with economic hardships, combined with the increasing need for housing production within a more organized structure, promoted the idea of founding a construction agent for the Bank to the agenda. In 1938, Emlak Bank Yapı Limited Company was established as the first official house-building company (Güvenç and Işık, 1999). Although Emlak Bank Yapı worked on housing prototypes, it differed from its contemporary institutions in other nations as it did not operate as a housing research organization (Figure 4). Although the company had a technical bureau in employment, its budget and official role limited its functioning as a fully operational housing institution. After a period of hesitation on who would lead this technical bureau, the administration chose an engineer, Galip Sinap. Although Emlak Bank Yapı entered several bids and operated in various projects including the construction of a number of cooperatives and other infrastructural tasks, it was unable to serve as an effective agent majorly due to

financial shortcomings. The absence of constructors in the sector was also not as beneficial as expected until the Bank received an advantageous position as the main public agent after the end of the Second World War (Güvenç and Işık, 1999). As a result, the company was unable to establish a stable financial position and contribute neither to the housing market nor the development of the Bank in the first few years. The turning point for the company and the Bank was when the construction of a settlement for government officials and bureaucrats was delegated to the Emlak Bank Yapı by the government itself.

## 2.2. Saraçoğlu Housing Project (Memurin Evleri)



**Figure 5.** Perspective photo from Saraçoğlu settlement (Salt Research, Söylemezoğlu Family Archive).

The housing policies directed at sheltering the government officers accelerated following the enactment of law no 4626 in 1944, which directly authorized state-led organs for the construction of public housing (Tekeli, 1996). The decade-long intentions for building an urban complex for the state officials finally got underway in the same year. Saraçoğlu Housing Project, also known as Memurin Evleri, was initiated in 1944 near the ministry district of Ankara. The financial and constructional responsibility was given to EEB and Emlak Bank Yapı directly by the government, marking an important turning point for setting the institution on its course. Although Saraçoğlu was also an important display of

the government's housing strategies, as it was a state-sponsored project, Emlak Bank Yapı did not yet have the full capacity to operate comprehensively in the architectural design process (2). Accompanied by the state's interest in foreign professionals, German architect Paul Bonatz was asked by the manager of the Bank to design the project (3). A letter written to the general directorate of the Bank from Bonatz displays the problematic process during the project. In this letter, Bonatz wrote that the technical bureau was understaffed and the employees were often engaged with other tasks of the company. His request for an extension of the deadline was unrecognized and he was terminated from the project without an official notice (Bonatz, 1947). EEB's not settled organization limited the state's capacity to perform extensively in this field during these years. The state's involvement manifested itself in the naming of the neighborhood; it was named after the prime minister of the time, Şükrü Saraçoğlu. The project received special attention from government departments, thus, advanced at an immense speed. Being the most well-resourced construction at its time, almost one-third of the total of 434 units were ready for use at the end of the first year and all of them at the end of two years (Kazmaoğlu, 1997).

Saraçoğlu was one of the most symbolic urban settlements of both Ankara and the search for an architectural style for the ideal 'Turkish house'. The neighborhood consisted of low-rise row houses surrounded by green spaces that were lined along wide streets. The design principles of the dwellings were a result of a synthesis of German modern housing complexes known as Siedlung and the traditional elements of the Turkish House (Akcan, 2005). While Bonatz's approach was based on the idea of European prewar models, he did not omit vernacular elements such as cantilever upper floors and roof eaves (Figure 5). The hybrid nature of Saraçoğlu was an indicator of the search for new domestic arrangements for the people of the new regime (4). The spacious interiors and wide gardens signaled the shift to the new life standards for the residents of Saraçoğlu who were middle and upper-class bureaucrats. Public areas such as a playground, library, school and common gardens located on the northern side indicated the significance of communal spaces in the neighborhood life. The spatial characteristics of Saraçoğlu, as well as its construction process, was defined by Emlak Bank Yapı's dynamics and displayed the early conditions of public housing.

## 3. Conclusion

Housing activities of EEB mark an important and influential stage in the Early Republican Period's residential environment. To some extent, EEB's and Emlak Bank Yapı's operation was unprecedented at the time. They were the first organization to introduce effective housing subsidy programs. Starting from its formative years, the Bank gave significant economic contribution to the sector and exemplified new financial models for funding state-developed housing settlements. This paved the way for a boom in cooperative housing developments and helped create Ankara's first and most popular housing typologies. They were also the first to introduce an organized operational process of an institution into the public housing practice. Although its institutional

structure was not yet fully-settled, the early-year projects of the Bank were the results of a coordinated establishment within the context of the Republic's partially formed spatial policies. Strikingly visible in Saraçoğlu, the project symbolized the ideal life that was envisaged for officials of the state while lacking the fully-organizational structure for its implementation. Other than its importance as a leading example of early social housing development in Turkey, Saraçoğlu also presented a distinct case for understanding the initial phases of public housing production during this period. Although EEB was given full authority by the state during the construction process, its architectural and technical bureau struggled to maintain a steady work scheme due to a lack of regulation. The stages during and after Saraçoğlu revealed the need for a more comprehensive institution and launched the establishment of certain standards in public housing. In 1946, the name and official status of EEB were changed; the institution was transformed into Emlak ve Kredi Bankası (EKB) and became the first comprehensive public housing institution in Turkey. Similar to EEB's influential role in state-driven housing typologies, EKB also played a formative part in practice by extending the housing subsidies, amplifying its field of operation and introducing various housing models. It improved the design and construction mechanisms by regulating the technical structure of its predecessor. EKB's activities defined the public housing construction throughout different periods of the Republic and proceeded from EEB's role as an innovator in the field. The Bank's developmental position signifies the role of EEB as not only a key actor in the formation of spatial policies but also the cornerstone of the public housing practice in the hundred-year history of the Republic.

## Endnotes

**(1)** Emlak ve Eytam Bankası, meaning Real Estate and Orphans Bank, gained most part of this half through the orphans' funds. Maintaining funds for orphans was a common procedure in the Ottoman period for the financial care of the orphaned children. The Bank aimed to increase the money's worth and deliver more benefits to the children by investing in construction industry.

**(2)** EEB's and Emlak Bank Yapı's design process and institutional capacity were yet to be developed when compared to Emlak ve Kredi Bankası after 1946. The projects after 1946 were developed within the established administrative hierarchy of the Bank and pointed to a fully institutionalized housing production. However, the design criteria of Emlak Bank Yapı were affected by a number of external factors such as the political environment, financial restrictions and requests of landowners.

**(3)** Bonatz only agreed to this offer only if the chief of the bureau would be Turkish (Kazmaoğlu, 1997). This caused the popular debate of the period that centered around the preferred employment of Turkish architects over foreigners to surface during Saraçoğlu.

**(4)** Saraçoğlu was criticized by many professionals on numerous issues. These were mostly focused on the sacrifice of functionality in the plan layouts for aesthetics, followed by financial considerations on how more units could be built with the project's budget (Alsaç, 1945). Zeki Sayar (1946) blamed Emlak Bank Yapı for the lack of quality craftsmanship, underlining its state-driven status.

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# 1923-1980 Historiography of Architecture in the Republican Era

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## Abstract

*The History of Architecture in the Republican Era of Turkiye 1923-1980 reflects a process that evolved under the influence of political and socio-cultural developments. This period witnessed significant socio-cultural and political changes while the architecture of the era was shaped by the reflections of modernization under the search of national identity. Thus, the paper is aimed to trace the factor of power through architectural historiography in the light of the architectural production of the period, which started by the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 and lasted for 60 years until 1980. Every historical text that is selected as the refence of the architectural production of the era gives information directly related to the factors of the period. It is known that, during the Republican Period, some significant seminal texts were published in journals related with the architectural theory including significant discussions on the field of the era. It is aimed to trace these journal papers through architectural history with divisions based on the breaking points of the era. Mimar/ Arkitekt journal witnessed important developments in the name of architecture in this period and enabled the changes in the architectural discourses of the period to be monitored.*

**Keywords:** *Historiography, Historicism, Republican Period Architectural Historiography*

## Introduction

In the Republican Period of the years in between 1923-1980, the nation-state model, the multi-party model of government and the transition to a liberal economy, which were important turning points in the architectural discourse of Turkiye, led to changes in architecture, the city and architectural discourses. The effects of the modernism project envisioned after the proclamation of the Republic can be traced in the architectural discourses of the period. Architectural historiography had an important place in this period, and followed a completely different direction from the historiography of architecture in the Ottoman period (Sözen, 2007). The historiography of architecture in Turkiye, which began to follow the examples in the West, has adopted an approach that takes into account the socio-cultural, economic and political contexts of architectural

history, rather than simply listing buildings in chronological order (Kuban, 2002). The existing of the journal Mimar, which was later renamed Arkitekt, was a revolution in the historiography of architectural field in Turkiye during the Republican Era. Starting in 1931 by the establishment of this journal in Turkish media, journal publishing has witnessed many journal initiatives, however none of them did not last very long as Mimar/ Arkitekt did. Until 1981, the texts of significant architects of the period, such as Sedad Hakkı Eldem or Mimar Kemaleddin, were published in a wide historical period. Mimar/Arkitekt enabled the follow-up of the developments in architectural discourse and practice in Turkiye in a wide range.

In this paper, the legitimization of the governmental power will be traced through architectural historiography in the light of the abstract architectural products of the period, which were written in the 60-year period starting with the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 until 1980. In the architectural environment of the 1923-1980 Republican Period, seminal texts were published in significant journals of the architectural field. It is aimed to follow these periods through architectural history texts with divisions based on the breaking points of the power mechanism. This textual follow-up will be done through the publications of Arkitekt, which witnessed important developments in the name of architecture during the same period.

## 1. Historiography of Architecture

The historiography of architecture does not go back very far; all our architectural knowledge has a history of about 500 years. Providing the architectural public with written documentation begins with Alberti's “De re aedificatoria” (Alberti, 1992; Choay & Bratton, 1997). Historicism came into existence only when the role of architectural historiography was problematized in architectural thought. Therefore, although the acquaintance of the concept of history dates back to the 17th century, the beginning of the discussions on historicism dates back to the late 19th century (Tanyeli, 2005). The foundations of the tradition of architectural historiography were laid in 1550 with Giorgio Vasari's La Vite dei piu eccelenti pittori, scultori ed architettori (The Lives of Painters, Sculptors and Architects) (Vasari, 1991).

When it comes to the history of architecture, especially until the 20th century, concrete architectural products come to mind, but when it comes to the history of architectural thought, mental processes are meant as abstract architectural products as well as concrete buildings. The term architectural historiography, on the other hand, has been reduced to the architectural text, which is an abstract architectural practice completely transferred to a two-dimensional plane (Düzenli, 2009). While the practice of architecture is the result of concrete architecture, every text that talks about architecture is the product of abstract architecture. Every historical text produces information directly related to the factors of the period in which it was written and the producer of the text. Therefore, historiography is open to discussion and questionable among architectural products due to its position. Architectural historiography, which is much more than an effort to understand and make sense of the past, also serves to establish a relationship with the

writing of the way of thinking of the period through the abstract architectural products produced in the past. Discussing architectural knowledge serves to reject it. All history books exist to discuss the discourse of architecture as it is today.

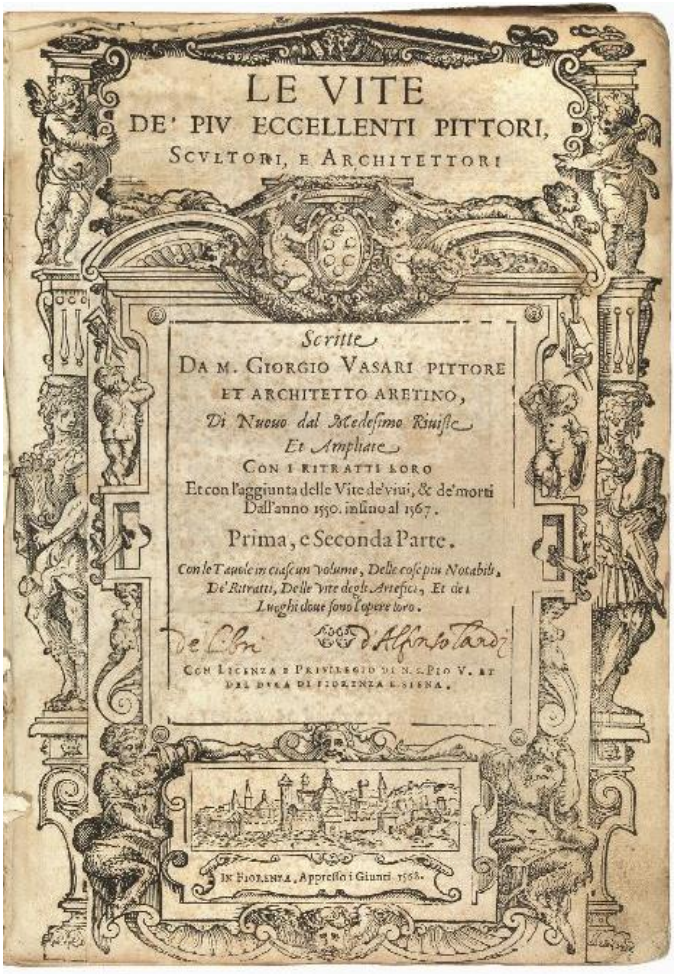



**Figure 1.** Vite dei piu eccelenti pittori, scultori ed architetti (Vasari, 1550)

In the 19th century, many architects, philosophers and historians, from Jencks to Pevsner, have produced texts on architecture, starting from the moment of writing Morris' book, which offers a critical perspective on the bad effects of the revolution in the architectural environment shaped in parallel with the innovations that emerged after the Industrial Revolution. The writing of architecture undoubtedly takes an attitude according to the socio-economic structure and changes in power of the period in which it is written, as is the case with architectural structures.

## 2. 1923-1950 Historiography of Architecture in the Republican Period

After the Second World War, global capitalism acquired a new form of power called Empire. This power replaced the old nation-states as they gradually lost power due to the World Wars and took over global domination (Hardt & Negri, 2001). At a time when the socio-political conjuncture of the entire world was changing, the Ottoman Empire also lost power after the First World War. In this change, while the government mechanism changed shape, the actors and the architecture within the system remained the same, leading to identity debates. The written architectural products of the Republican Period between 1923-1980 are related to the modern architecture movement and the subsequent changes in political power.

In 1923, with the proclamation of the Republic, Turkiye entered a process of modernization. This transformation is not only the determinant of the change in Turkiye's architectural practices since the Republic. In addition to being a peripheral country integrated into the capitalist system and becoming a participant of international values, it also faced the problem of "creating a national identity" required by the ideology of nationalism imported from the West (Tekeli, 2007). The most ideologically attractive aspect of the modern movement is its claim to transcend ideology. During the period between the two wars, many new regimes and different political systems, from socialism in Weimar Germany to post-revolutionary Russia, fascism in Italy, Zionism in the Palestinian mandate and Kemalism in Turkiye, adopted the progressive discourse of the Modern movement. An existing power relationship is created by the transformation of another pre-existing power relationship, and the origin of this process cannot be questioned. Historiography is not to question the origin of this network of relations, but to question and think about what it does (Gürkaş, 2010). In this ongoing paradox, it is necessary to evaluate the period in this sense to understand that the actors within the system that remain unchanged are a vector in the power relations that take place in the architectural discourse of the period through the same time-space. In this context, the power relations will be followed through Mimar, to be renamed Arkitekt in 1935, which was published by the leading architects of the period.

Launched in 1931, Mimar was published by the leading architects of the period, who faced the profound paradox of respecting their foreign teachers and colleagues who introduced the “new architecture” to the country, while at the same time feeling that they

were being denied access to important state commissions. The tendency of Turkish political leaders to favor foreign architects and planners becomes one of the main complaints voiced in the pages of Mimar (Bozdoğan & Akçan, 2013). The texts published in Arkitekt during the Early Republican Era, which aim to shape architectural practices, can generally be defined as architectural criticism. The architectural discourse and criticism of the period can be traced through the texts published in Arkitekt, the only architectural journal published in Turkiye in those years. Celal Esad Arseven's 1931 work titled "Yeni Mimari" (New Architecture) is the first work on architecture published in Arkitekt during the Republican Era (Arseven, 1931).

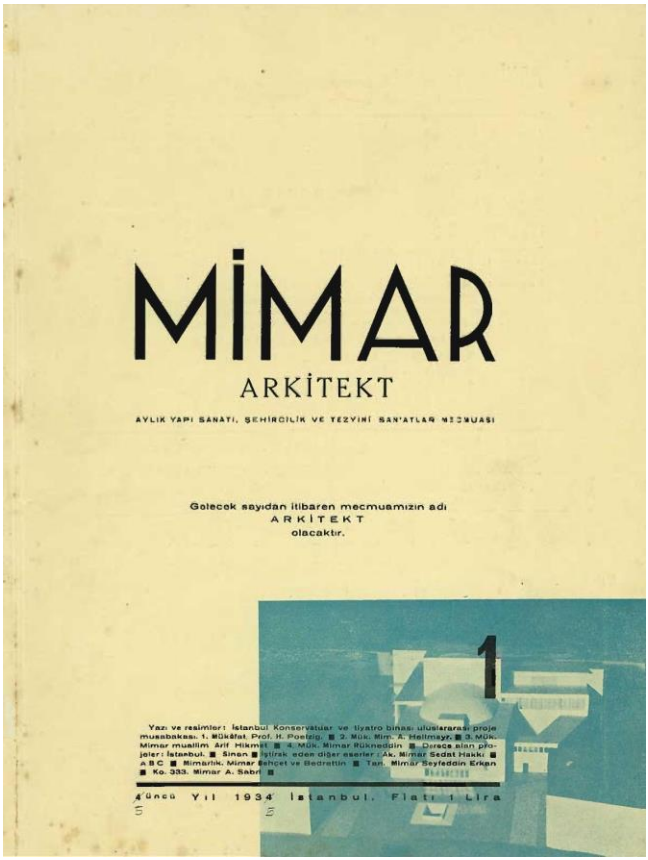



**Figure 2.** Mimar/Arkitekt Journal 41st Issue Cover

According to Franck (2015), the significance of the question of whether the Republic of Turkiye in its early years was a truly democratic state or a totalitarian regime ruled by a covert autocracy lies in the fact that Ernst Egli explicitly identified himself as a servant of the Kemalist program and the new society. Egli constructed buildings to represent the nation and the state power. In order to check whether the representation of the state in Egli's architecture coincides with anti-fascist thought and its counterpart in modernism, it is necessary to examine the conditions prevailing in Turkiye at the time in terms of constitutional and legal principles, concrete relations of political power and the way this power was exercised (Franck, 2015). In 1936, Egli published his only text in Arkitekt, "Şehirlerde Mesken ve İskan Meselesi " (Egli, 1936)

In 1932, under the name B. O Celal, an article titled "Ankara Tayyare Abidesi Müsabetile" is published in Mimar. Criticizing the fact that the monument built to commemorate the heroes of the airplane was built by a foreign architect, Mimar Celal Bey stated that a Turkish artist could create a higher work than this monument. Stating that the foreign architect who built the monument to the Republic had adopted this work, Architect Celal Bey argues that the Turkish artist will add his national feeling and spirit to the national architecture as in everything else (Celal, 1932).

According to Glosset (2019), "leaving the building works in the hands of Turkish architects", which the writers of Arkitekt pointed to as a way to achieve national architecture until the 1940s, was not a result-oriented solution, but they could not maintain this position. It was inevitable that the language of the journal weakened and its focus shifted to political populism (Glosset, 2019). The main concerns of the architectural discourse of the early 1940s were power, monumentality and national symbolism (Bozdoğan & Akçan, 2013). Sedad Hakkı Eldem does not participate in these debates until the 1940s after his article "İstanbul ve Şehircilik", which is the editorial of the first issue of the journal (Eldem,1931). In his article titled "Yerli Mimariye Doğru", Eldem writes: Foreign scientists have not helped us in creating an indigenous style. On the contrary, foreign influences confused our taste and did not allow for the emergence of a national style and criticizes the government's unlimited trust in foreign architects (Eldem,1940). In his 1944 article "Yerli Mimariye Doğru", he emphasizes the idea that "it is an essential condition that the building style be domestic" (Eldem, 1944).

## 3. 1950-1980 Historiography of Architecture in the Republican Period

The 1950s is a period when modernization in Turkiye shifted its direction towards the economic axis. It is a sign of a new order with the overthrow of the 27-year CHP government by the Democrat Party. The end of the Second World War and the end of the economic depression had an impact on both concrete and abstract architectural productions of the period (Batur, 1984). The axis of cultural modernization in the Early Republican period shifted to an economic modernization approach. The transformations within the country and the social mobility it brought with it caused this change. The 1950s

were the years of Turkiye's opening to the international order and the beginning of important structural changes. Developments such as Marshall Aid, participation in the Korean War and entry into NATO signaled a new order. In these years, liberal economic policies began to be implemented with the entry into the multi-party era (Özorhon, 2008). With the transition from a closed and statist economic and political system to a more liberal economy and populist politics, a new professional market and architectural patrons of the private sector began to emerge (Bancı, 2016).

In the 1950s, Behçet Sabri Ünsal published an article on Turkish architecture in Arkitekt. In 1940, in his article "thoughts on architecture", he wrote that the architectural idea of the period served only the public. Ünsal, a Republican architect and educator who also published articles on modernism and "cubic architecture" in the journal, wrote about the uniqueness of Turkish architecture and compared it to Arab and Persian architecture. According to him, to deny the "unmistakable" character differences of these architectures would be like lumping French and English Gothic or English and Italian Renaissance art together under the heading of "Christian art" (Bozdoğan, 2001). Ünsal explained the principles of modern architecture in his text titled " Zamanımız Mimarlığının Morfolojik Analizi " published in Arkitekt (Ünsal,1937). By 1959, Ünsal had written extensively on Ottoman and pre-Ottoman architecture in his book Turkish Islamic Architecture. (Ünsal,1959).

Zeki Sayar published a critical article titled "Siz Karar Veriniz", addressed to the minister of economy and trade of the period (Sayar,1951). The response given by the Ministry of Economy and Trade in the next issue of the journal in reference to Sayar's text is an example of the politicization of architectural writing practices in this period. In 1954, the Chamber of Architects officially announced its establishment with the article "Mühendis ve Mimarlar Odasının Kuruluşu Münasebetile" by Zeki Sayar (Sayar,1954). In the text in which he stated his expectations from the chamber and the purpose of its establishment, he mentioned that the representation of architects by a general institution would strengthen the position of the profession. After the May 27 intervention, there was a tendency to open up to the left within the framework of the search for a pluralist democracy. Architectural debates began to be discussed not only in terms of architectural movements, but also the function of the profession and the responsibility of the architect towards the society (Tekeli, 2007). As the dimensions of the relations between social problems, building production and urban planning became clearer, the discourses of the Chamber of Architects became increasingly politicized. These discourses were also reflected on the pages of Arkitekt.

Turkiye has witnessed many political, economic and social developments since 1960. As a process triggered by the transition to a liberal economy and the accompanying changes in the global world order that have continued to the present day, the urban phenomenon has undergone change. Urbanization, which emerged with the development of industry and trade, a pluralist world view and the new concepts brought by it are developments that were not on the agenda before (Elmalı Şen, Midilli Sarı, Sağsöz, & Al, 2014). In

1963, Zeki Sayar wrote the article " Kontrolden Çıkan Şehir". The text is a reaction to the unplanned and uncontrolled growth of Istanbul over the last twenty years. He mentioned that Prost's master plan for Istanbul in 1936 was not adhered to and that new residential areas surrounded the city (Sayar, 1963). The problem of rapid urbanization of the period was widely mentioned in the pages of Arkitekt.

## 4. Conclusion

In this paper, it is aimed to follow the architectural writing practices that developed in the socio-cultural, economic and political environment of Turkiye during the Republican Period of 1923-1980. In a 60-year period, the architectural environment, which experienced many transformations and developments, changed its discourse by taking a stance according to the socio-cultural, economical and political background of the era. The entire process has been followed through Arkitekt, which has already emerged with the aim of having a say in the architectural discourse of the period in which it was published. Based on the breaking points in the Republican Period, an inference can be made on the basis of these periodicals. If a general evaluation is to be made, the Republican Period simultaneously presented an architectural environment under the influence of many important transformation factors, of both national and international aspects. In the process of adopting each change, architectural movements have determined an attitude to these situations together with the internal dynamics of the profession. With the Early Republican period, these concrete products and discursive practices created a profound paradox. In this period, the ideology of nationalism in the modernization process of the ruling mechanism became the determinant of change in the architectural environment. The problem of creating a national identity led to the publication of different views in the architectural environment. After the Second World War, the globalization process started all over the world. In the 1950s, Turkiye changed the direction of its economic axis. During this period, the responsibility of the architect towards society began to be discussed and discourses became politicized. In this dynamic process of the architectural environment, it has found its counterpart in abstract architectural products as well as concrete architectural products.

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**OCTOBER 13,2023 FRIDAY**

## 4TH SESSION: CONSERVATION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE OF THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Chair: Asst. Prof. Dr. Yıldız Salman

# Modern Museums on Medieval Foundations: The reuse of Seljuk edifices for local collections in the Early Turkish Republic

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## Abstract

*Between 1923-50, the efforts to engender a sense of civic responsibility toward the stewardship of national heritage, produce a Turkish history of art and architecture, and establish institutions capable of meeting the practical demands of maintaining works of antiquity while facilitating the cultural practices of the modern state took on unprecedented forms. With the vested interest of an increasingly centralized governance and the support of freshly minted institutions, local actors, such as teachers and residents, along with professional practitioners of art and architecture, were encouraged to actively shape both the understanding and contemporary use of historical edifices. This is especially apparent within provincial urban centers, where the adaptive reuse of monumental works of Seljuk architecture was fundamental to the establishment of local museums. This research, which aims to contribute to the academic body of work addressing the reuse and reframing of cultural heritage after the founding of modern Turkey, takes as its subject four case studies from urban centers with significant medieval and modern pasts, namely Antalya, Kayseri, Tokat, and Erzurum, and investigates the modern use and framing of some of their most important Seljuk sites. Focusing on the Yivli Minare Complex, Mahperi [Hunat] Hatun Complex, Gök Medrese, and Çifte Minareli Medrese, respectively, this project uses historical research processes that include the interpretation of primary resources such as newspapers and journals, architectural documentation, and visual works and ephemera to produce a more robust picture of Republican-era engagement with the Seljuk monument-turned local museum.*

**Keywords:** *Early Republican Turkey; Adaptive reuse; Museums and institutions; Seljuk monuments; National heritage*

## Introduction

The physical and intellectual control of cultural assets, whether movable or monumental, was deeply intertwined with the emergent nationalisms of the 19th and 20th centuries.(1)

The related disciplines of archaeology and art history, and the institutions giving rise to their modern iterations, played an important role in substantiating national identities and their assertion on the world stage during the transition from the age of empires to the world of modern nation-states. The museum, a repository of heritage made moveable, and the monument, its immovable counterpart, were among the loci employed to exemplify the continuity of nations, their cultural accomplishments, and their historical and geographic constitution. A requirement for so-called civilized societies, these two signifiers of the modern state were also instructive in the molding of national citizenry, with good citizenship and stewardship fashioned one and the same.(2)

In Turkey, the merging of these two sites of heritage through the adaptive reuse of historical buildings was an appropriative tactic favored for the potency of its political and cultural symbolism. The early republican administration, which understood well the optics of such transformations, implemented the approach within months of the Republic's founding, beginning, as Açıkgöz (2014) has noted, with the inauguration of the Topkapı Palace Museum in October 1923. Within the next decade, the Republic and its governmental departments made significant progress in the provincial exportation of this model, made possible not only through the enthusiasm of its educated elite, but the passion of key local individuals who committed themselves to the development, maintenance, and promotion of these newly adapted institutions. Moreover, the question of the reuse of historical buildings as museums became a pressing academic question, particularly on economic, atmospheric, and historical grounds, as demonstrated by Ülgen's 1943 text on the preservation of monuments.(3)

Between 1923-1950, a significant number of these museums were established in Seljuk buildings in the Republic's major provincial centers.(4) Among the historical edifices museographically appropriated and inaugurated, the Mevlana Complex (Konya, 1926-7), Gök Medrese (Tokat, 1926), Mahperi [Hunat] Hatun Complex Medrese (Kayseri, 1929-30), Gök Medrese (Sivas, 1934), Yivli Minare Complex Mosque (Antalya, 1937), Pervane Medrese (Sinope, 1941), and Çifte Minareli Medrese (Erzurum, 1942) must be included. In addition to these, a number of Seljuk buildings were also used as repositories without officially opening to the public in an institutional capacity, while other Seljuk buildings underwent renovations during this period, opening formally to the public shortly thereafter.(5) This article focuses on the Yivli Minare Mosque, Mahperi Hatun Medrese, Tokat Gök Medrese, and Erzurum Çifte Minareli Medrese as sites through which adaptive reuse can be read, highlighting key themes of the approach, such as adaptive reuse as a mode of preservation,(6) a strategy for low-level intervention and responsiveness to the historical form,(7) and a tool for the promotion of social cohesion (8) and the generation of new cultural capital.

## The Backdrop of the Seljuk Monument-Museum: Provincial Urbanization, Prime Real-Estate, and the Cultural Revolution

Several factors uniting Seljuk monument-museums distinguish them from other significant Seljuk architectural examples in Anatolia and are crucial for understanding their selection for adaptation. To start, each of these monument-museums is located within its province's central district, so, unlike their rural counterparts, they were able to take advantage of the infrastructural and urban developments that either preceded or accompanied them. In some cases, these developments had been contributing to the modern face of their cities since the late 19th century. Nascent tourism,(9) for example, had already arrived in Konya decades prior to its museumification, with the opening of the CFOAs (10) Afyon-Konya line in the summer of 1896,(11) which revolutionized access to the city and its centuries-old pilgrimage sites - of which the Mevlana Complex had long been the crowning example.(12) The construction of modern civic buildings, such as schools and statehouses, had also begun to raise the public and institutional profile of urban centers such as Konya,(13) Sivas,(14) and Sinope (15) before and throughout the Second Constitutional Era. In other cases, the founding of these monument-museums occurred in tandem with the Republic's ambitious modernization efforts. The TCDD Ankara-Kayseri line, for example - the first financed and constructed by the Republic, opened in the late spring of 1927, with its connection to Sivas and Erzurum following suit in 1930 and 1939 - just several years prior to the founding of each city's museum.(16) Subsequent developments, such as the production and distribution of key utilities, the construction of new roads,(17) and in some cases, a planned receptiveness to the city's historical monuments,(18) also produced favorable environments for the formation of these medieval-turned modern institutions.

Additionally, these museums maximized the potential of prime, and in some cases, newly vacant and relatively well-preserved real-estate. Many were set up in decommissioned medreses, meaning that a good deal of them had been maintained operationally by the Ministry of Foundations up until that point. Their closure, of course, is connected with the secularizing principles of the 1924 Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu, which codified the abolition of the medrese and the shuttering of other religious institutions, such dervish lodges, in law, while ensuring the transfer of their properties to the Ministry of Education.(19) The acquisition of these facilities by the MOE not only offered a compelling opportunity to reimagine the function of these historical buildings in their local communities through the lens of the Republic's new didacticism, it necessitated the generation of new cultural value through the adaptation of existing assets.

It is worth noting, however, that, while the legal transfer of these entities is sometimes characterized as a dramatic rupture in their history of use, the actual process of adaptation appears to have been less uniform and more complex, with some facilities having fallen into disuse even before the establishment of the Republic. The maintenance and use of some medreses had been a recurring point of contestation, alongside the issue of educational reform,(20) for decades following the Tanzimat. Matthews (2012)

writes that, by 1836, with “their financial independence …threatened,” many foundations that had once been ensured in perpetuity “were passed off to the municipality,” after which their funding became “scarce” and their maintenance “sporadic” (p.56). Moreover, instances of Seljuk medreses in dis- or mis- use can be found in the foreign travelogs of 19th century travelers, the public clarion calls of Ottoman intellectuals in the early 20th century, and archivally documented disputes between governmental departments interested in their appropriation around the same time. Such is the case for Akşehir’s Taş Medrese (21) and Erzurum’s Çifte Minareli Medrese, (22) both of which had lost their original usage by the turn of the century, were woefully mismanaged, and only later brought again to respectable form when adapted into museums. Thus, while 1924 is a significant turning point for the adaptation of these institutions toward a distinctly Republican museological vision, it should not be misunderstood as the causal effect of their disuse.

Given their physical integration in industrializing provincial centers and their openness to functional adaptation, these historical Seljuk buildings were well-poised to profit from the cultural transformation being fostered locally through the Republican-era cultural institutions and their programs. The Halkevleri, which began sweeping the country with its first fourteen centers in 1932, were formed roughly alongside these adapted museums, with centers inaugurated in Konya, Antalya, and Sinope in 1932, Tokat, Sivas, and Kayseri the following year, and Erzurum in 1934. These facilities, which localized the national project, engendered a love of the immediate historical environment while signifying its inclusion in the greater Republic. Not only did they inculcate an appreciation of Seljuk works under the banner of a formalizing Turkish history of art, but fiscally and logistically contributed to its discursive development. At least four of the nine institutional branches required for a fully-functioning center (23) brought members into contact with such topics, with Halkevi magazines circulating articles on Seljuk sites of interest whilst members penned urban and patron-centered monographs that were decidedly Seljuk in scope.(24) Bilgen (2019) has recently shed light on the contributions of the Museum and Exhibitions branch of the Tokat Halkevi to the architectural inventory project of the Tokat Museum, the earliest adaptation from a Seljuk medrese. Additionally, some artists dispatched to the Halkevi through the Yurt Gezileri (1938-1943), presided over by their ‘Fine Arts’ branches, engaged Seljuk architectural works in their own artistic productions.(25) When the C.H.P. Secretariat introduced a variation of the program for architects in 1944 - Mimarlık Gezisi - its inaugural trip installed several of the country’s leading architects in Erzurum, where they devoted extensive attention to the Çifte Minareli Medrese, converted to a museum just two years prior. Later iterations of the Yurt Gezileri program, like the 1955 Vilayet Resimleri, attempting to revive their efforts after the Halkevleri’s formal dissolution, included figures such as Halit Doral, the director of the Kayseri Museum - then operating in the Mahperi Hatun Complex’s Medrese, among its participants.(26) During his tenure at the museum, Doral is also known to have been an active member of the Halkevi giving painting classes in the center prior to its closure. In this way, the formation of these adapted museums appears inextricable from the broader cultural revolution being nurtured within these major provincial centers.

## Adaptive Reuse as the Preservation of Cultural Assets: Yivli Minare Complex and the Antalya Museum

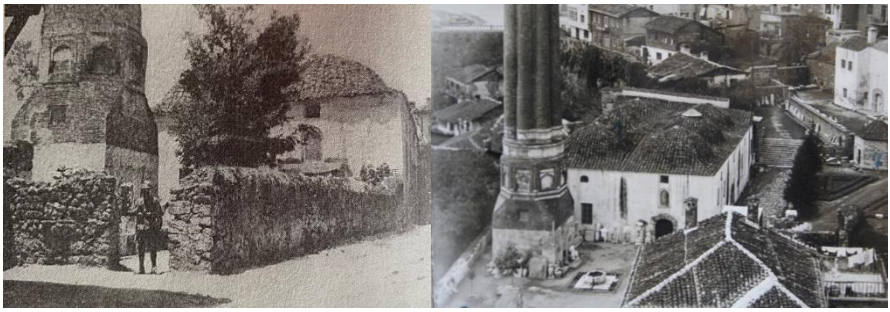
The adaptation of the mosque of the Yivli Minare Complex is among the early Republican-era examples of a monumental Seljuk work transformed for modern purposes, boasting a history intimately tied to the defense of cultural assets. In fact, both adaptive reuse and the protection of local antiquities were baked into the story of the museum before its formal realization. The founding collections, for example, were conceived of as an act of reclamation, largely comprised of antiquities salvaged from the Italian Consulate, which had been hoarding archaeological finds since the Italian occupation of Antalya in 1919. This was, by no small coincidence, the same year that Fikri Erten, then a teacher at the Antalya Lisesi, had himself appointed as an antiquities officer and began accumulating works in a small mescid and mausoleum (27) in Kaleiçi. Upon the Italian withdrawal from the city, Erten, who had been recording the built works and inscriptions of the city - itself a textual attempt at the defense of its heritage - enriched the burgeoning collections with the finds from the Consulate and transferred the collections to the Panaghia Church-turned-Cami-i Cedid.(28)

The legal and physical association of the museum with the mosque at the Yivli Minare Complex did not begin until the 1930s, when the relationship between the historical structure and the museum entity was formalized with a karaname signed by Mustafa Kemal.(29) This legal decision, guaranteeing the transfer of the building from the Ministry of Foundations to the Ministry of Education in exchange for the Cami-i Cedid, was later recalled by Işıldağ (1956), the fifth director of the museum, as the transfer of the institution to “the most important member” of a group of buildings making up a “Seljuk complex,” (p.31-2). What precipitated this switch, and why was the mosque of the Yivli Minare Complex favored in particular? Looking to the representation of the Complex leading up to the inauguration of the museum in 1937 alongside changing notions of urban heritage at the dawn of the Republic may provide some clues.

As Shaw (2014) has established, “the vast majority of publications” during the Second Constitutional Period, “concerned a growing awareness of the heritage vested in the city itself,” and the safeguarding of architectural heritage, if only through “detailed description” which offered “a measure of comfort during the troubled years of war and invasion,” (pg. 61). This ethos holds true in subsequent literature, such as Erten’s Antalya Livası Tarihi (1338-1340 AH) and Tevhid’s Antalya Kitabelerine Dair (1924), both of which aimed to capture the inscriptions of the Complex and other historical sites, not only against the backdrop of the occupation, but also a rapidly disappearing historical urban fabric, exacerbated by the destruction of the Seljuk portions of the Kaleiçi walls.

However, for Erten, who would go on to become the museum’s first director, the site must have represented more than an opportunity for textual documentation. According to Erten, the Complex was one of the last testaments to Seljuk Antalya, which had little left to show for its history as a vibrant medieval port city, other than “three portals, a minaret, and two tombs” (1940, p. 63-4) Traceable to the Complex via its two Seljuk gates and

iconic minaret, such remarks establish the complex and its immediate surroundings as the last vestiges of the city's Pre-Ottoman Turkish past. With its medrese and imaret left little more than enkaz, intervention at the Complex must have appeared critical. Moreover, the mosque building - itself, believed to be a structure historically repurposed (30)- must have seemed opportune for reuse, being, in Erten's own words, 'superbly repaired,' as recently as 1911 (1338-1340 AH, 91).



**Figures 1- 2.** Riefstahl (1931) shows the mosque grounds cordoned off prior to its acquisition by the Ministry of Education (left), an image of the Complex c. 1935-40 from Eravşar's 2019 publication shows the expansion of the Antalya Museum into the modified grounds (right).

Though documentation of the mosque as museum is meager, visual resources can assist in considerations of its use of space. Unfortunately, Erten's own text (1940), which published a plan of the building as "müze," indicates no adaptive measures taken in the building itself, capturing only its vaulting and spatial arrangement, though it helpfully suggests that interventions in the hall were minimal. Photographs bookending the 1930s do suggest, however, that spatial and functional changes were occurring outside the mosque building. If one compares Riefstahl's photographs of the site between 1927-30 (Fig. 1) with unattributed photographs of the grounds following its establishment as a museum (Fig. 2),(31) it is evident that the transformation of the mosque was accompanied by a restructuring of the exterior, including the removal of walls that cordoned off the mosque and trees that disrupted clear sightlines. It also shows the proliferation of the collections throughout the Complex, encircling the minaret with carved animals, lining the mosque facade with sculpted human forms, and accentuating the retaining wall beside the mevlevihane. This was no temporary arrangement; in 1946, Metzger of the IFEA (32) thought the collection expansive enough to allot an entire day to visiting the museum, and Istanbul University's Bosch published the inscriptions of more than thirty works installed throughout the 'museum gardens' that same year. As such, the acquisition of the mosque building for the purposes of the museum did not limit the institution to the confines of the structure, it evolved to the include stewardship of the broader complex - which included most of the city's remaining Seljuk sites. In this way,

the trading of the Cami-i Cedid for the Yivli Minare Mosque should be reconsidered as an opportunity to secure and preserve the broader grounds containing these remains.

## Adaptive Reuse as a Responsive Intervention: the Mahperi Hatun Medrese and the Kayseri Museum

Like the museum installed in the Yivli Minare Complex, the museum inaugurated in the medrese (Fig. 3) of the Mahperi Hatun Complex was the recipient of collections that had been developing well in advance of the adaptation of the Seljuk building. Archaeological objects that would serve as the base of the collections were being housed in the local Kayseri İdadisi as early as 1901-2, demonstrating that the amassing of collections items had begun almost three decades prior to their institution at the Complex.(33) Founded and inaugurated between 1929-30,(34) conversations for the conversion of the medrese are thought to have begun between the Minister of Education, Esat Bey, and the Governor of Kayseri, Fuat Bey, the year prior.

Unlike the museographic use of Yivli Minare Complex however, there exists significantly more documentation of the medrese in Kayseri. Kazım Özdoğan's Kayseri Tarihi I (1948), for example, discussed the new operational context of the Seljuk building in a section on the city's institutional history, providing a glimpse into its museological classification scheme and select information on several sections' physical distribution in the converted building. Corroborating Özdoğan's text with photographs taken of the museum's interior, it becomes clear that the intellectual organization of the collection was designed in response to the medrese's unique structural disposition, rather than in spite of it, suggesting that some of the contemporary tenets of the adaptive reuse of cultural heritage sites, such as fidelity to the historical form and minimal intervention, were at play in early Republican-era adaptive processes.

According to Özdoğan, the museological divisions of the museum reflected a classification system devised in 1938. Seven major sections of the museum were allocated physical spaces. The approach to defining these sections was not uniform - with some sections referring to architectural spaces of the medrese e.g. "büyük sayvan altı," and others to the academic discipline associated with collections items e.g. the archaeology, ethnography, and geology collections. Additional sections were defined by their medium, e.g. the 'tile and brickwork' and 'classical works' sections - the latter essentially inscriptions in stone. Another space was determined by its mode of interaction - e.g. the study room - meant to support students and scholars with a collection of study artifacts. What was the reason for such a varied and irregular approach, disposing of more conventional schemes prioritizing geographic or chronological organization? Based on the sections and their distribution, it seems to have been a negotiation between the architectural realities of the medrese, and the practical considerations of scale, security, and climate.




**Figure 3.** An undated photograph of the medrese facade, after having been transformed into the Kayseri Museum.

The 'büyük sayvan altı,' for example, contained a menagerie of works, diverse in their geographic origins and historical context, but unified by their medium and scale (35) - two characteristics necessitated by the monumentality of the eyvan and its relative openness. Artifacts displayed within it would have had to have been not only large enough to command the dwarfing space of the architectural centerpiece, but solid enough to thwart any attempts at theft or the effects of weather. The archaeology salon, comprising small works of ceramic, metal and carved bone from the Bronze Age to the Phrygian Kingdom, would have required a totally different environment: tighter in its security, more modest in its space, and appropriate for the installation of display systems, like wall and tabletop vitrines. The 1948 photographs of Jane Laroche (36) (Fig. 4-5), as well as unattributed photographs in the collection of conservation architect Ali Saim Ülgen (Fig. 6), show that this museological section was allotted the southeastern chambers of the medrese, historically the controlled point of access to the Mahperi Hatun Mausoleum.



**Figures 4-5.** Views of the interior of the adapted courtyard showing the entry (left) and main eyvan (right) taken by Jane Laroche in 1948.



**Figures 6- 7.** Entry to the Archaeology Salon (left) and the courtyard arcade (right) as shown in photographs maintained in the Ali Saim Ülgen Collection, Salt Research.

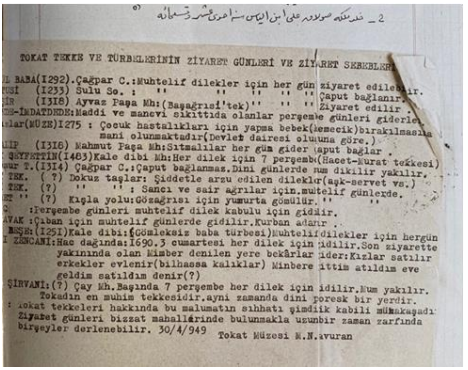
Additionally, these photographs demonstrate the maintenance and appreciation of other architectural features germane to the medrese typology, namely the communal, green space of the courtyard and its arcades, accentuated by the museum's oversized amphorae collection (Fig. 7). Furthermore, the most obvious interventions in support of the secularization and functional adaptation of the space, e.g. the electric "müze" sign above the taç kapı, the installation of salon signage, and the bust of Atatürk set in the entry, were superficial additions, removable when the building acquired later, commercial functions.

## Adaptive Reuse as a Tool for Social Cohesion: Gök Medrese and the Tokat Museum

The 13th century Gök Medrese occupying Tokat's southwestern urban center became a site of transformation both institutionally and culturally during the early Republican period (Fig. 8-9). The two-storied courtyard medrese, which had been abandoned in 1911, was reimagined through the activities of local individuals, like retired teacher, Halis Turgut Cinlioğlu, who established its collections with artifacts from the tekkes and türbes he was tasked with shuttering beginning in 1925, and who went on to become the museum's first director. The same year as the collections' genesis, Uzunçarşılı, who had included Gök Medrese in his local epigraphic studies (1927), suggested its use as a museum, and repairs were swiftly ordered to support its conversion for the display of works of archaeological and ethnographic value.(37)






**Figures 8-10.** Entry to the Tokat Museum in 1940, with hours of operation on the door (left), museographic use of the second-floor arcades (right, above), and a note on access to the tekkes

and tombs of Tokat showing that the local venerations have been deemed “mani” according to the state (right, below).



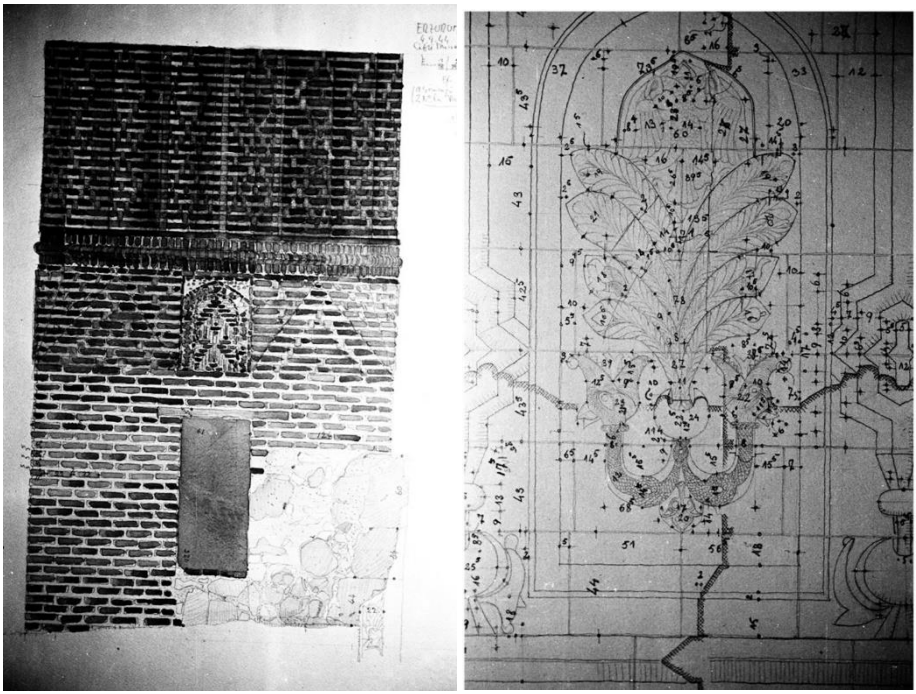

**Figures 11-13.** One of Mimar Zühtü’s twenty watercolors from his study trip in Erzurum depicting the medrese entrance from the rear of the courtyard (left), the cover of the exhibition pamphlet from the 1944 Mimarlik Gezisi showing a restitution of the medrese by Ülgen and Beyce (middle), Harika and Kemali Söylemezoğlu photographed in Erzurum during 1944, the same year as the project.

As early as 1922, the Ministry of Education had begun overseeing the development of provincial museum-libraries to elicit the desired institutional profile (Madran 2002, p.96). According to Bilgen (2019), efforts to support Gök Medrese’s new institutional context were amplified in 1933, when the newly-opened Halkevi began collaborating with the Museum, working to enrich its collections and visibility, while engendering a new appreciation of local-turned national heritage that inevitably affected perceptions of and engagement with the building.(38) As the culture of museum engagement and visitorship was changing on a social level, so too were the institutional policies informing visitor engagement. At the Tokat Museum, this was readily demonstrated by prohibitions instated to promote secular visitorship, namely through restrictions imposed on the access to the medrese’s tomb. According to the earliest Ottoman studies,(39) Gök Medrese, preserved in the local memory as a medical medrese, was a common site of heterodox veneration where women, believing the interred to be forty young girls, were known to offer babydolls to the graves in exchange for the protection of their own children from disease. Notes appending the Museum’s inventory of local monuments reveal how its library officer, Savuran, was quick to overwrite the story of these “kırk kızlar” with his own narrative of “Kırgızlar.”(40) Moreover, access to the tomb was strictly forbidden (Fig. 10). In this way, the adaptive reuse of the medrese not only constructed a performance

of its desired modernity through the addition of permitted functions, but through the active reduction of ‘undesirable’ ones as well.

## Adaptive Reuse for the Generation of Cultural Capital: Çifte Minareli Medrese and the Erzurum Museum

After decades of disputes regarding its use, the Çifte Minareli Medrese was transformed into the Erzurum Museum in the 1940s,(41) following the intake of collections from Yakütiye Medrese. This instance of adaptive reuse, which was preceded by a string of renovations throughout the 1930s aiming to reconstitute and reinforce its historical form,(42) also became a favored location of artistic and cultural production, generating new cultural capital associated with the monument and its new-found status as a site of cultural heritage.



**Figures 14-15.** Detail view of one of the medrese’s iconic minarets (TSOH467006, left) and a measured sketch of the stone reliefs ornamenting the facade (TSOH467019, right) produced by Harika and Kemali Söylemezoğlu.

The transformation of the Çifte Minareli Medrese into a museum coincided with efforts to engage Turkish architects with its visual representation, involving them in the site's study and international and domestic exhibition. Architect Zühtü Başar, who published on the site in Arkitekt (1933), produced a series of watercolors (Fig. 11) depicting its facade and interior, which he exhibited in Budapest in 1932 and Berlin in 1933.(43) The site was also chosen as the heart of the 1944 Mimarlık Gezisi,(44) (Fig. 12) which aimed to familiarize the Republic's premier architects with the characteristics of historical "national structures."(45) Dispatched in Erzurum for a month and a half, the cadre of architects, which included Ali Saim Ülgen, Dündar Beyce, Mehmet Akok, and the duo of Harika and Kemali Söylemezoğlu (Fig. 13), were to study the city's noteworthy monuments, bringing them to life in a series of architectural drawings to be exhibited after the program. The team produced a large volume of studies of Çifte Minareli Medrese, including a composite plan of the site through the ages, restitutions, sections, and numerous detail views (Fig. 14-15).

## Conclusions

Noting the importance of the monument and museum in historical nation building processes, this article has considered the role of the adaptive reuse of Seljuk monuments in the early Turkish Republic's museographic vision. Touching upon the development of key urban centers, the availability of historical Seljuk buildings, and the growing cultural infrastructure to support their museumification, it has also identified distinguishing aspects of their selection for reuse. Referring to the efforts of intellectuals like Ethem and Uzunçarşılı, architects like Ülgen, Başar, Akok, Beyce, and the Söylemezoğlus, and locals-turned-museum professionals like Erten, Doral, Cinlioğlu, and Savuran, it has considered an extended network of actors for whom these transformations were meaningful. Looking specifically at the museumification of the Yivli Minare Complex, the Mahperi Hatun Medrese, Tokat's Gök Medrese, and Erzurum's Çifte Minareli Medrese, it has also considered how tenets of adaptive reuse, such as its capacity for preservation, responsive intervention, social cohesion, and the generation of new cultural capital were at play in early Republican experiments with museographic adaptive reuse. Finding the adaptive reuse of Anatolian Seljuk edifices a feature of the early Republican period –a key moment for the former's grafting onto a burgeoning national art history, this essay hopes to provide a starting point for further investigation into the perceptions and uses of Seljuk edifices as part of the early Republican legacy.

## Endnotes

**(1)** For more on the role of museums in the nation-building process, see Aronsson and Elgenius (2014).

**(2)** For a discussion of changing social attitudes towards heritage in the Late-Ottoman context, see Shaw (2014).

**(3)** Ülgen's 1943 Anıtların Korunması ve Onarılması (pp. 69-70) addresses such questions in a section titled 'Müzeler dahilinde canlandıran eserler, abideler dahilinde ziya, teşhir, tefriş meseleleri.' Here, Ülgen considers the nature of the collections (saklanacak koleksiyonların cinsi), the desired mode of display (istenilen teşhir tarzı) and the inclinations of the audience (arz edilecek halkın temayülü) as important factors in deciding on the appropriateness of a historical structure for museographic use. While Ülgen notes that, in some cases, the principles of the modern museum may seem at odds with structures which are not purpose built, there are times when the reuse of historical structures may be advantageous. For Ülgen (1943, p.69), this is particularly true if one considers that historical buildings can attract the interest of visitors ("halkın alakasını celbeden eski binaların müze haline tahvilini münasip görüyor" / "bilhassa, bir abidenin topladığı alaka ve hatırlattığı mazinin ziyaretçinin üzerinde büyük tesirler icra ettiği unutulmamalıdır"), monotonous features in purpose-built structures can tire visitors ("uzun koridorlar, düz avlular sakin şekiller sıkarak yoracağı için bu ruhi halet, mütenevvi tesir icra eden bu gibi binalar lehine bir kazanç teşkil eder") and that there is an advantage to be had in coherency between the exhibited objects and the place of exhibition ("Bir de bina ile içinde teşhir edilecek eşyalar arasında birliği aramalıdır." ) Ülgen also considers the economic advantages of preserving an existing building over building a new one, particularly for fiscally limited governments (1943, p. 70).

**(4)** For an overview of museums in Turkey from the Late Ottoman period to the 1990s see: Önder (1995).

**(5)** These include the İplikçı Mosque (Konya, 1951), Karatay Medrese (Konya, 1955) Ince Minareli Medrese (Konya, 1956), and Sırçalı Medrese (Konya, 1960). These four institutions are a testament to the rapid growth of the early Republican museological vision, which, by the mid-twentieth century, had led to the reconceptualization of the historical Seljuk capital as a sprawling museum network, with each adapted building housing a different section of the Konya Museum or an extension of its Directorate. The abovementioned refer to the 'Division of Classic Works,' the 'Tileworks Museum,' the 'Stone and Woodworks Museum,' and the 'Division of Funerary Monuments,' respectively.

**(6)** For more on adaptive reuse as a mode of preservation, see Plevoets & Van Cleempoel (2011).

**(7)** Modern convention maintains that in conservation one should employ a "cautious approach" by "changing as much as necessary, but as little as possible" and "not distort the physical or other evidence it provides." See ICOMOS (2013, article 3).

**(8)** Adaptive processes can be linked with direct or indirect social effects. For a contemporary reflection on this, see Ferretti et al. (2014) and Lanz & Pendlebury (2022). For the 'overwriting' of existing social functions, see "Adaptive Reuse is Born of Violence" in Wong (2016).

**(9)** A useful depiction of the intersection of modern mobilities, print culture, and the image and its implication of Late-Ottoman Konya can be found in Ersoy (2022).

**(10)** For background on the Chemins de Fer Ottomans d' Anatolie, see: Quataert (1977).

**(11)** For the impacts of the industry on Konya, see: Yilmaz (2016).

**(12)** Numerous 19th century travelogs discuss the Complex as an active pilgrimage site. Among them Leake (1824, p. 50) and Browne (1820, p. 121). For a more recent take on the complex as a pilgrimage site, see: Kocyigit, M. (2016).

**(13)** For an overview of Konya's urban development and its intersection with the city's cultural heritage see Önge (2011).

**(14)** For an overview of Sivas' urban development see Tuztaşı & Koç (2017).

**(15)** For an overview of Sinope's development see Çetin (2011).

**(16)** These were 1929 (Kayseri Museum), 1934 (Sivas Museum), and 1942 (Erzurum Museum).

**(17)** For more on the development of Modern Kayseri, see Yücel, Kocatürk, Baydoğan,& Kiraz (2020).

**(18)** For more on the urbanization of Erzurum and its integration of historical monuments, see Uzunboy (2017).

**(19)** For more on the Law of Unification of Education (No. 430) see Zaim (2011).

**(20)** The idea of the abolishment of the medrese was publicly discussed as early as 1922, however some medreses were refashioned for non-educational purposes prior to that.

**(21)** The hankah associated with the complex which had still stood, albeit in ruins, in the 1890s, was replaced with residential housing sometime after the mid-1930s. Across the street, unwitting attempts to repair the medrese in 1909-10 left it permanently altered when sizable portions of the main portal's masonry were dismantled without sufficient means to secure their reassembly. The narrative of local mufti Haci Mustafa Efendi and

his role in the debacle is recorded by Konyali (1945, p. 294). A set of documents in the State Archives dated 1328 AH (1910-11) with the identifier DH.İD.00028.1.00001 demonstrates the official intention that Taş Medrese and a selection of other sites in Akşehir be repaired and their longevity ensured. However, this never came to pass, despite the outcry of public intellectuals like Halil Ethem in popular magazines like Şehbal (1327 AH/1911, s. 227).

**(22)** Documents in the State Archives chronicle the Ministry of Education's decades-long attempt to gain control of the defunct medrese to use as a school - an endeavor which was ultimately unsuccessful, especially given the amount of military equipment and loose arms on site due to its use as a foundry and arms depo. See MF.IBT.17.115, MF. MKT. 85 39, MKT 123 4., and MF. MKT. 864 13. The Ministry of Education did not succeed in acquiring the property until 1905 and even then, photographic evidence shows that it was not immediately put to good use. For an overview of the adaptation see Konak (2022).

**(23)** These were, namely, the 'Language, History, and Literature' branch, the 'Fine Arts' branch, the 'Library and Publications' branch, and the 'Museum and Exhibitions' branch.

**(24)** Significant examples include Ferit and Mahmut's 1934 Selçuk veziri sahip ata ile oğullarının hayat ve eserleri, Soyman & Tongur's 1944 Konya eski eserler kılavuzu, and Oral's 1939 Niğde Tarihi Tetkiklerinden Hüdavend Hatun Türbesi ve Hayatı and numerous articles not only in the central magazine, Ülkü, but the individual magazines of the provincial centers.

**(25)** This demonstrably includes dispatched artists such as Saim Özeren in Konya (1938) with works such as 'Mevlana Türbesi', Hamit Görele in Erzurum (1938), with work such as 'Erzurum'dan Kümbetler,' Malik Aksel in Sivas (1939) with works such as 'Gök Medrese,' Turgut Zaim in Kayseri (1939), and Şefik Bursalı with works such as 'Konya'dan.' It is possible that works whose visual likeness unfortunately went undocumented, such as Cemal Tollu's Antalya works of 1938, 'Antalya Kaleiçi' and 'Kale İçinde Sokak,' may have as well, but this is uncertain given the lack of visual documentation of these works.

**(26)** For more on Halit Doral's career and activities see Berkant (2021).

**(27)** These were located across from the Tekeli Mehmed Paşa Mosque but have since been demolished.

**(28)** Evren Dayar (2022) has recently studied the nature of demographic change in the city and the transformation of the Panaghia Church into the Cami-i Cedid. Previously, scholars have written about this church-turned-mosque-turned-museum as the Alaeddin Cami. This is the name given in Eroğlu Bilgin & Özdemir (2021) and Önder (1995, p. 50). Note that the name Alaeddin Cami can be a source of confusion, as historically, some authors have referred to the Yivli Minare Mosque using this name as well. Erten (1338-1340, p.89) is one example of an author using both Alaadin Cami-i Şerif and Yivlim to refer to the mosque in the Yivli Minare Complex. I used to Cami-i Cedid to refer to the Panaghia Church to avoid this confusion.

**(29)** Signed on the 9th of July 1934. See 30-18-1-2 / 46 - 48 - 18 in the State Archives.

**(30)** This is due to its irregularities in form and orientation. In addition to Erten (1338-1340 AH, 1940), see Riefstahl (1931).

**(31)** This image can be found in Eravşar's study of the 21st century excavations of the site ( 2019, p. 657).

**(32)** That is, the Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes. See Metzger's notes (1947).

**(33)** For details see BOA MF MKT 575 23.

**(34)** The original function of the medrese building likely persisted up to the Republican-era closures of 1924, as accounts of its active use as a university are readily found in travelogs up to the end of the 19th century. See, for example, Tozer (1881). Moreover, the city's first published monograph, Halil Ethem's 1918 Kayseri Şehri, writes of the medrese without any indication of its altered use or condition.

**(35)** Among them, a pair of monumental Hittite lions excavated in Niğde and sculptural figures and sarcophagi representing Kayseri's Roman period were included.

**(36)** Laroche is often discussed in relation to her husband, linguist and Hittitologist, Emmanuel Laroche, who served as director of the IFEA between 1965-1974. Jane Laroche was actively interested in the architecture of Turkey. She published on Fethiye for the Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu and was an avid photographer of the Anatolian landscape, its cultural heritage, and its people.

**(37)** Önder (1995, p. 252) gives the date of founding as 1926. From his overview, it is understood that while the building itself was chosen as a significant Seljuk architectural work, the archaeological contents displayed within related to the Hittite, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods.

**(38)** Among these efforts, there were local publications and even the production of an album sent to a national women's conference. For more on this, see Bilgen (2019) and Duman (2011, p. 146.)

**(39)** Early studies include those by Ethem (1331/1913) and Uzunçarşılı (1927).

**(40)** Here, see page 20 of the facsimile of the Defter reproduced in Bilgen (2019, p. 68).

**(41)** Önder provides a date of 1947, whereas more contemporary sources have suggested 1942. For the latter, see Aydın (2012).

**(42)** These included the removal of modern interventions in the lateral eyvans and the reinforcement of the minarets and mausoleum roof. For a detailed account of the renovations see Konak (2022).

**(43)** Some of these were used in the architect's publication for Arkitekt in 1933.

**(44)** The pamphlet produced for the exhibition is made accessible by SALT Research, as TASUDOCP0612 in the Ali Saim Ülgen Archive.

**(45)** See TASUDOCP0612001.

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# First National Architecture Movement Structure: Bandırma Palas

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## Abstract

*Bandırma was a port city that was called "safe harbor" since ancient times, and its name changed from the word "Panormos" to Bandırma. In 1345, it entered the administration of the Ottoman Empire. Bandırma, which was occupied in 1920 after the First World War, was liberated from the enemy occupation by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his comrades on 17 September 1922, together with the War of Independence. In the place of Bandırma Palas, there was the Duyun-ı Umumiye building during the Ottoman Empire. While the invaders were escaping from Bandırma, they also damaged this structure. In 1924, the Bandırma Palace was built in the same place by the Administration-i Hususiye (Special Administration) with the project of Architect Kemâleddin Bey, one of the pioneers of the First National Architectural Movement. The building, which was opened as Bandırma's largest hotel and restaurant, was used with different functions in various periods. It was reopened as a hotel-restaurant in 2018 and is still used with the same function. While designing the building, Architect Kemâleddin Bey made use of elements such as the lead-covered dome, eaves, consoles, pointed arches, muqarnas, palmettes and star motifs inspired by Seljuk and Ottoman architecture. The building has similarities with the buildings of the same period in various cities. The Republican period structure Bandırma Palas is important in that it has served the same function since 1926, still preserves its originality in terms of facade design and reflects the style of the period.*

**Keywords:** *Republican Period; First National Architecture Movement; Architect Kemâleddin Bey; Bandirma Palace; Turkish Architecture*

## Introduction

Bandırma district, which is an important port opening to the Marmara Sea, connected to Balıkesir province today, has been a port city where import-export has been made and a frequented point for traders since ancient times, which was called a "safe harbor" and changed to Bandırma from the word "Panormos". In ancient times, it showed its existence as a port of the city of Kyzikos in the east. Bandırma and its surroundings were conquered by the Turks for the first time in 1080 or 1081 during the reign of Kutalmışoğlu Süleyman

Shah. A second conquest took place in 1087 by a Turkish Bey named İlhan Bey, and in 1113 it was conquered for the third time by Emir Muhammed during the Seljuk period. Towards the 1280s, it came under the rule of the Karesi Principality. In 1345, it came under the rule of the Ottoman Empire from the Karesi Principality. It is known from a document dated 1530 that Bandırma was a village with a population of 200-300 (half Muslim, half Greek) and a pier. It is known that Haydar Çavuş (Sergeant) came to the city in 1590 and built a mosque, fountain, Turkish bath and fifteen shops on the seaside. It is seen that the Muslim people, who used to live in the interior, settled by the sea and their numbers increased. With the increase in the importance of the port here, immigration to Bandırma increases. Armenians come from Eastern Anatolia and Greeks from Aegean Islands. It also includes the Jewish population. With the great fire that broke out in Bandırma in 1874, the settlement was destroyed and repaired in a short time. Due to its proximity to Istanbul, migrations continued in the 19th century. At the end of the 19th century, the port becomes more lively. In 1912, Bandırma is connected to Soma by rail, and the port becomes even more important when transportation to İzmir gets closer from here. Bandırma, which was occupied in 1920 after the First World War, was saved from the enemy occupation by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his comrades on 17 September 1922, together with the War of Independence. While escaping from Bandırma, Greek soldiers damaged the whole city with artillery and fires (Bir Zamanlar Bandırma I. Bölüm (1892-1937), 2019).

Bandırma was one of the places that developed in the early years of the Republic, which Mustafa Kemal Atatürk cared about and visited three times at various times (1925, 1926, 1933). Atatürk said the following on October 8, 1925, the date of his first arrival in Bandırma: “Our nation is hardworking. I have no doubt that the people of Bandırma, who carry this virtue, will rebuild and prosper in this city, which still smells of gunpowder and soot." Although three years have passed since these words of Atatürk, it is understood that the damage caused by the invaders still continues in Bandırma. Afterwards, the settlement of immigrants from Rumelia, the renovation of the port and pier, the increase of ship voyages to Istanbul, and the fact that it became a re-export port (especially for many food products and boron mines) ensured the rapid recovery of this Republic city (Komisyon, 1999; Kaya& Tuncer, 2011; Bir Zamanlar Bandırma I. Bölüm (1892-1937), 2019).

In the first years of the Republic, various buildings showing the characteristics of the First National Architectural Movement were built in the city center and each of them became the symbol of Bandırma. Government House in Bandırma (1932), Bandırma Secondary School (1933), the last version of the Haydar Çavuş Mosque, which was bombed by the invaders while fleeing at the end of the War of Independence (1927), the Old Pier Building (1926) , Post and Telegraph Center Building (1925) are some of these (Komisyon, 1999; Kaya& Tuncer, 2011; Bir Zamanlar Bandırma I. Bölüm (1892-1937), 2019). These structures, which are still close to each other in the center of Bandırma, are the symbolic works of the Republican period. It is known that some of these structures were designed by Architect Kemâleddin. Bandırma Palas (1924-1926), the largest hotel and restaurant

of the period, designed by Architect Kemâleddin Bey, one of the pioneering architects of the First National Architectural Movement, is also located in a strategic location, close to the Old Pier building, which was built in the center, with the railway in front of it.




**Figure 1.** Bandırma Palace Hotel and other buildings in 1936 (Bir Zamanlar Bandırma I. Bölüm (1892-1937), 2019:350, From Mehmet Aytekin Archive)

In the place of Bandırma Palas, the Duyun-ı Umumiye building (the institution that oversees the Ottoman foreign debts) was built in the early 19th century during the Ottoman Empire. While the invaders were escaping from Bandırma, they damaged this structure with artillery and fire, as well as the whole city. In 1924, the project of Bandırma Palas was commissioned by the Administration-i Hususiye (Special Administration) to be built on the same place, by Architect Kemâleddin Bey, one of the pioneers of the First National Architecture Movement, and the construction of the building was completed in 1926. As Bandırma's largest hotel and restaurant, it was opened to the service of the public and merchants (Kaya&Tuncer, 2011; Bir Zamanlar Bandırma I. Bölüm (1892-1937), 2019; http://www.bandirmapalas.com/tarihce/).

The building has been called by different names such as Maarif Hotel, Grand Hotel, Old Station Hotel, Bandırma Palas at different times (Öncü&Çiçek&Seyhan&Karagöz, 2022; Kaya&Tuncer, 2011; Bir Zamanlar Bandırma I. Bölüm (1892-1937), 2019). The building, which was built as a hotel, has been used for different functions at various times. It was a Military Hospital for a while, then it was turned into a hotel again. Between 1984-1987,

it was repaired and served as a Public Library. In 1994, he was given to the Bandırma Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences of Balıkesir University. Until 2009, it was the dean's building of the same faculty (Kaya& Tuncer, 2011; Bir Zamanlar Bandırma I. Bölüm (1892-1937), 2019).

Bandırma Palas structure was transferred from Special Administration to Balıkesir Metropolitan Municipality. It was rented to a private company by the municipality and restored. The facade of the building, which bears the characteristics of the First National Architectural Movement, preserves its original state, and its interior architecture has been renewed in accordance with the structure. Since 2018, it is still used as a hotel and cafe/restaurant.

## Results

The building, which is located on a corner parcel in the center of Bandırma, is on Cumhuriyet Street and its eastern facade faces Haydar Çavuş Street. The place where the building was built is exactly the corner of a land. The building is located in the form of a triangle in the area where it is located. The entrance door is placed at the very corner of the triangular area formed by making an angle. The narrow facade above the entrance door attracts even more attention with the dome at the top. The facades of the building consist of pointed arched, low arched and round arched windows in accordance with the First National Architecture approach. Details such as moldings on the facades, console details, balcony railings are also features of the period style (Öncü&Çiçek& Seyhan&Karagöz, 2022). At the time it was built, there was a train station building and a train track in front of it. Now, only the train station structure has survived to the present day.

The plan of the building is “L” shaped and it is in the form of a combination of two rectangular main blocks in one corner. One side of the building faces north towards the sea and the other side faces east. The building is normally three storeys and becomes four storeys with the dome on the middle facade. One of the most distinctive features of the building is the octagonal high dome on the upper floor of the middle facade, which is located at the corner at the junction of the two blocks. The domed room, which is the highest point of the building, makes the building four floors at this point. Today, the domed section is still the most distinctive and high architectural form of the building, but on the fourth floor where the dome is located, there is an attic with a low ceiling and inside the building's original roof on the third floor. It is estimated that this part, which is not included in the old photographs, was probably made during the last restoration in 2018. This additional floor is located inside the original third floor, it is not visible from the outside and does not affect the silhouette of the building in any way. The building is covered with a hipped roof, the roof is covered with tiles and the dome is covered with lead. The building has wide eaves suitable for the period style and is carried with iron buttresses.





**Figure 2.** Bandırma Palas entrance facade and side facades (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)
**Figure 3.** Bandırma Palace entrance facade and facade Haydar Çavuş Street (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)

The entrance door of the building is located at the intersection of the rectangular blocks of the building, at the junction of the street and the other street. This corner, which we call the middle facade, was built with a chamfer. The entrance door in the middle of the facade on the ground floor is originally a glass door with a rectangular opening under a low arch and a wide pediment with a low arch. Today, a new door has been placed in front of this rectangular entrance in a way that will lead out. This part, which was added later, was built in a cubic form and in an architecture that is compatible with the facade of the building. On the upper part of the door, which was added later, there are moldings. On the right and left, there is a simple design consisting of rectangular forms and divided into three by moldings. The side parts of the door consist of round arches. The door and the round arches on the sides are covered with glass. When you enter the interior, this part, which corresponds to the ground part of the domed space, is today the hotel lobby. This section has a round plan and draws attention with its brick wall texture and pointed arched niches. Proceeding from the hotel lobby, you come to a high-ceilinged corridor. There is a row of muqarnas on the ceiling skirt of this corridor on the ground floor and the landings on the floors above it. There are cafes and restaurants on the right and left of the corridor, which are entered by wide and high round arches. These spaces have a rectangular plan, high ceilings and brick wall texture, and are large and spacious. From the rectangular space on the left, the courtyard, located behind the building and used as a cafe-restaurant today, is accessed. From this section, the rear facade of the “L” planned

building can be seen. There are rectangular, narrow and long windows on the ground floor, third and fourth floors, and small windows with pointed arches on the second floor. There are moldings circulating above and next to the windows on the top floor. On the part of the middle facade facing the rear courtyard, there is a balcony railing with an eight-pointed star motif on the exterior. This balcony railing was longer in its original form, and today, only a part of it can be seen as an elevator was built at that section level.





**Figure 4.** Bandırma Palas from Cumhuriyet Street (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)
**Figure 5.** The double windows on the facade and the decoration under the eaves (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)

The staircase leading to the upper floors of the building is in the continuation of the corridor after the lobby. Proceeding from the corridor, one reaches the stair landing with a high and narrow low arch. It is seen that the texture of the wall on the stair landing is brick, as in the lobby. The narrow staircase of the building is wrought iron and has voludal and “c” curved motifs. The rooms are located in the pointed arched corridor of the rectangular blocks on both sides of the middle landing on the second and third floors. The corridor is covered with tile flooring.

There is an octagonal domed room on the fourth floor. On the inner surface of the high dome, which is covered with lead from the outside, there is a painting that covers the entire dome today. It is understood from the signature and date on the aquarium themed painting that it was made by Painter Birim Erol in 2018. Just opposite the entrance door of the octagonal planned room, there is a large pointed arch window that overlooks the sea and coincides with the chamfered facade above the main entrance door of the building. There are three small windows with pointed arches lined up side by side on the upper elevation of the wall surfaces (four wall surfaces in total) on both sides of the

facade where the pointed arched window is located. These windows are now covered with stained glass. From the outside, it is highlighted with deletions.

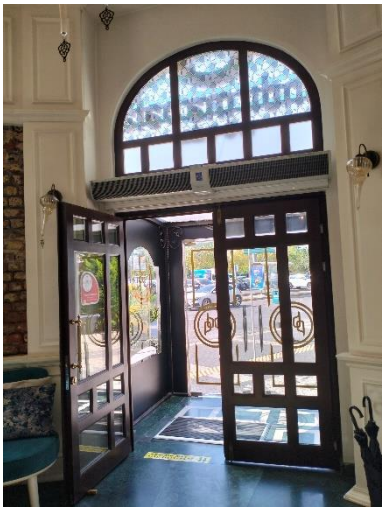




**Figure 6.** Consoles with overhangs on the side facades (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)
**Figure 7.** Relief palmette and rumi motifs under the console (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)

Bandırma Palas reflects the style of the First National Architecture very well with its facade features. Architect Kemâleddin used some distinctive architectural and decorative elements of the period on the facade and created a design completely unique to this building. The facade design of the building can be divided into two parts as the middle facade and the side facades (front street and other street frontage). The entrance door of the building is located on the middle facade where the side facades meet. Special attention was paid to the middle facade under the dome, which is at the most visible point of both facades, and an ornamental balcony was designed in front of a large pointed arched window on each side of this three-sided polygonal facade on both floors. Thus, the facade was animated and the focal point was given to this facade located under the dome. The balustrades of the small ornamental balconies on the second and third floors of the middle facade consist of a hollow arrangement of eight-pointed stars, which were frequently used in the Seljuk period. There are seven stars on the front facade above the entrance door, and six stars on the balconies of the facades on both sides. There is a star on the sides of all balconies. At the two corners of the balustrades, there are plain corners with a polygonal body in the form of towers rising upwards and ending in a round form. These corners emphasize the building facade with their forms and increase the effect of the dome above. There is a rectangular window on both sides of the entrance door and a round arched window on each, while the windows of the second and third floors, where the balconies are located, are pointed arches. The top of the round-arched

entrance door, the pediments above the round-arched and pointed-arched windows, and the balustrades with eight-pointed stars are recessed from the main surface. These parts were painted in beige, which is a darker tone than the building color, the cream color, thus increasing their depth. There are decorations reflecting the period style on the consoles carrying the ornamental balconies on the floors under the dome on the middle facade. The decorations are gradually placed on the console from top to bottom. Starting from the uppermost motif, a cartridge with a “c” motif seen in Late Period Ottoman art, then “düzbend”, “Turkish triangles”, which is frequently seen in Seljuk and Ottoman architecture, after the floor molding called “düzbend”, triple cornice, wooden “bagdadi” looking stone console, concave molding, the console ends with a long floor molding called "düzbend", a stalactite row and two rosette motifs just below it. Just below the console, there is a motif that is independently embroidered on the wall in the form of relief. In this motif, two palmette motifs intertwined, which are frequently seen in Seljuk and Ottoman art, and a small palmette motif with an arrowhead hanging down at the tip are seen. The same palmette motif is repeated under a square motif in relief, under the stirrup surface of the pointed arched window on the third floor. All three windows on the third floor each have a small eaves due to the last floor. Just below the eaves on the facades next to the chamfered facade in the middle, there is the “Turkish triangles” in a thin molding. The lower surfaces of these three eaves and balconies are animated with a rectangular molding.



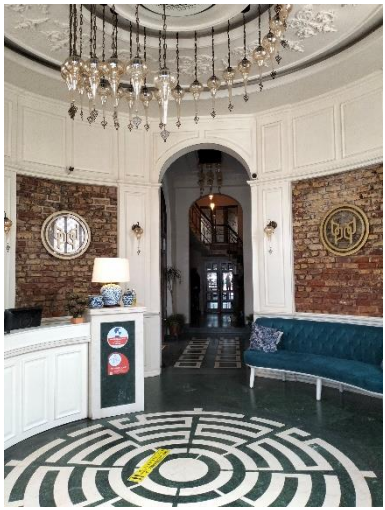


**Figure 8.** Interior view of the entrance door of the building (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)
**Figure 9.** Lobby of the building (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)

Since the interior spaces of the side facades facing the street and the other street are used as restaurants and cafes in the past and today, they consist of wide round arches on the exterior on the ground floor. The round arch under the single window at the end of the building on the ground floor only on the facade facing the street is narrower than the others. Today, although there are glass doors opening to the outside inside the arches, these doors remain closed. Adjacent to the facade facing the street, a cafe-restaurant has been added to the street today.





**Figure 10.** Hallway on the ground floor (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)
**Figure 11.** Cafe-restaurant section on the ground floor on the street side (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)

The second and third floors of the side facades on both sides of the middle facade, one facing the main street and the other facing the side street, were moved outwards with large consoles, just like in old Turkish houses. Thus, the side facades gained mobility. The design of the two side facades is almost identical. There is a double window arrangement, which is divided into six sections by moldings, only on the overhang on the facade facing the street. In the continuation of the overhang, the facade of the building comes to a flat position and ends with a section with a double window arrangement, which is again divided into two parts by moldings. On the facade facing the street, there is a double window arrangement, which is divided into eight sections with moldings. In the continuation of the overhang, the facade of the building comes to a flat position and ends with two sections, each with a double and a single window arrangement, which are separated from each other by moldings. Thus, it is seen that the eastern facade facing the street is longer and the northern facade facing the street is shorter. It can be thought that the reason for this may be to limit the wind direction from the north as Bandırma Palas, which is open to the Marmara Sea, was built with the function of a hotel. In

addition, small windows with pointed arches were opened on the walls facing the sides of the overhangs on the second and third floors on both facades, just like in the old Turkish houses.





**Figure 12.** The other cafe-restaurant section on the ground floor on the street side (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)
**Figure 13.** Wrought iron staircase of the building (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)

There are molding from top to bottom on the consoles that carry the projections of the side facades. At the top, a sixteen-segmented “rosette” motif, a “Turkish triangles” after the floor molding, a four-corner cornice after another layer molding, two wooden “bagdadi” looking stone consoles side by side, then a fold molding, a “s” shaped flat molding, The console ends with another floor molding, a stalactite row below it, and three “rosette” motifs just below it, and another floor molding. Just below the console, three palmette motifs intertwined in a square frame and rumi motifs in the corners are seen as reliefs on the wall surface. Below this composition, the composition ends with two palmette motifs intertwined in relief on the wall surface and rumis around it, and a small arrow-tipped palmette motif hanging down at the tip of the palmette. The small consoles carrying the ornamental balconies of the middle facade and its descending ornaments and the large consoles carrying the protrusions of the side facades and the ornaments underneath complement each other stylistically. Although both consoles are similar to each other, it is understood that there are differences in the decoration details.

On the side facades, the second and third floors have a double window arrangement with pointed arches. In addition, double windows and floors are separated from each other by flat moldings located horizontally and vertically. These flat moldings are beige in color, unlike the main color of the cream-colored structure. This color difference creates mobility and symmetry on the facade of the building. The double pointed arches on the second

floor are enclosed in a rectangular frame at the top. There are three “rosette” motifs, one in the middle of the two arches and the others on the sides, within this frame in the form of wiping. There are moldings framed in a different color around the pointed arches. On the sides of both arches, these moldings have two palmette motifs intertwined in relief on the wall, under a square-shaped empty frame, and a small palmette motif with an arrowhead hanging down at the tip. The double windows on the third floor are enclosed in a rectangular frame only from above and the arches are highlighted with beige moldings. Under all the windows, there is a beige rectangular form, which is narrower on the second floor, wider on the third floor, and further inside than the wall surface. This creates a plastic effect on the facade of the building. On the eaves of the third floor of the building, a design inspired by old Turkish houses can be seen. The eaves that protrude from the building are supported by iron buttresses resting on the small consoles on the wall of the building. Under the eaves, a composition consisting of palmette motifs and rumi fillings, which are frequently seen in Ottoman art, is placed as a relief, one on each double window.






**Figure 14.** Pointed arched corridor on the upper floors (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)
**Figure 15.** Aquarium-themed painting on the dome surface of the domed room (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)

The fact that the same style, called the First National Architectural Movement, can be seen in different cities during the Republican period, is due to the state's policy of highlighting the architecture of the Seljuk and Ottoman period, returning to its old and original values and nationalization. Architect Kemâleddin Bey, Vedat Tek, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu are among the important Turkish architects of the First National Architectural Movement. The Italian Giulio Mongeri, on the other hand, is an Italian architect who adopts this style and demonstrates it with the buildings he built during the Republican period. In the First National Architectural Movement, the buildings built by the same architect or other architects show similar architecture and decorations. But these elements are not exactly the same in any structure, they all have their own unique formation and character. There are architectural and decorative elements similar to each other in terms of period style in the works built by both Architect Kemâleddin Bey and other architects in various cities and with different functions.





**Figure 16.** Three small windows covered with stained glass in the domed room (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)
**Figure 17.** Rear view from the courtyard of the building (Photograph: Eser Çalıkuşu, 2023)

Architect Kemâleddin Bey (1870-1927) , Architect Prof. He was Jachmund's assistant. In the last period of the Ottoman Empire, Architect Jachmund was given the task of constructing the Sirkeci Train Station in Istanbul. Architect Kemâleddin's teacher in this project, Prof. It is presumed that he helped Jachmund with the drawings of the station. These project works affected the future working life of Architect Kemâleddin and it is seen that the structures such as Edirne Old Karaağaç Train Station and Evkaf-I Hümayûn Nezareti, which he designed himself, were influenced by Sirkeci Station (Yavuz, 1981). Thus, the teacher of the use of the corner tower, Prof. It can be thought that it is an architectural element that has passed from Jachmund to Architect Kemâleddin Bey. In the original of Sirkeci Train Station (1888-1890), Jachmund's important work in Istanbul,

corner towers are prominently located on both sides of the main entrance of the building in old photographs. Of course, the Sirkeci Station building, which belongs to the last period of the Ottoman Empire, was an eclectic structure and its towers were covered with onion domes. As a feature of the eclectic style, this effect can be thought to come from Indian architecture. Architect Kemâleddin, on the other hand, designed the corner towers in the form of a slightly pointed and high lead-covered dome, sitting on a polygonal body, emphasizing Turkish architecture with the influence of the First National Architecture Movement. Among the buildings he designed in this way are well-known works such as Edirne Old Karaağaç Train Station, Evkaf-ı Hümayûn Nezareti, and the Fourth Foundation Inn (1916-1926) in Istanbul Sirkeci. In particular, the pointed shaped high domes of Edirne Old Karaağaç Train Station and the Fourth Foundation Inn in Sirkeci are seen in the form of a tower-shaped pointed high dome at the corner where the street and the street meet in Bandırma Palas. In addition to the use of a high dome in the form of a corner tower in the Fourth Foundation Inn, wide eaves, double window arrangement with pointed arches and the use of wide round arches on the ground floor are similar to Bandırma Palace.

The "Mongeri Building" in Istanbul Şişli was built in 1925 as a mansion by the Italian architect Giulio Mongeri, one of the important foreign architects of the First National Architecture period. The building, which was later used with different functions, is known as the “Mongeri Building” or “Mongeri House” because Mongeri stayed here for a period (Çolak & Erarslan, 2021). The pointed dome covered with lead on the polygonal body of the building, which is used as an art center today, in the form of a corner tower, the pointed arches on the dome and the facade, the polygonal facade under the dome, and the idea of using a small balcony on the polygonal facade are similar to the Bandırma Palas built in the same years. In addition, the use of eight-pointed stars on the railings, wide eaves and the use of wrought iron consoles carrying the eaves in Mongeri's Ziraat Bank (1926-1929) building in Ankara are similar to the architectural and decorative elements in Bandırma Palas.

Ankara Palas (1927), which is one of the important buildings of the period in Ankara, is also the Bandırma Palas with its high dome form that tapers upwards, the main entrance door being rectangular, the balcony railings with star motifs (Demir, 2016), the simplicity of the console details and the rumi and palmette relief decorations in the building. It is similar to.

Babaeski Old Town Hall, which is located in Kırklareli but has not survived, has the characteristics of the First National Architectural Movement with its location built on a corner plot, its chamfered corner and its high tower, and it resembles Bandırma Palas. In addition, İzmir Stock Exchange Palace is similarly similar to Bandırma Palace with its location on the corner plot, beveled corner, three-storey appearance and having a tower-shaped high dome on the fourth floor (Balcı, 2022).

## Conclusions

Bandırma Palas, which is one of the structures that determines the urban center of Bandırma district, which is a port of Balıkesir province today, is a building that has survived from 1926 and still preserves its originality in terms of facade design and reflects the characteristics of the First National Architecture movement. Its architect is Architect Kemâleddin Bey, one of the pioneers of the First National Architecture movement. The building, which was designed as a hotel and restaurant that Bandırma needed during the Republican period, was used with different names and functions in various periods. It was reopened as a hotel-cafe/restaurant in 2018 and continues to be used with its original function today.

In the buildings of the First National Architecture movement, the facade design is more important than the plan and the period style features are reflected on the facades. Plans and facades are usually symmetrical, emphasizing the entrance. Particular attention is paid to the entrance facade of the buildings. Domes are usually seen at the corners of the buildings. The decoration details of the Seljuk and Ottoman periods are emphasized on the facades. In addition, in terms of arch forms, pointed, round and low pointed arches, which are frequently seen in Turkish architecture, are preferred. The overhangs seen in old Turkish houses and the eaves carried by the buttress, on the other hand, add mobility to the structures. Architect Kemâleddin Bey used all these period features while designing Bandırma Palas.

Bandırma Palace, which reflects the general characteristics of the First National Architecture movement well, has an "L" plan and has high ceilings and large restaurant areas, especially on the ground floor, in terms of character features. Plain lines and the use of bricks are particularly striking in the interiors. The exterior facades reflect the architectural and decorative features of the Seljuk and Ottoman periods, which have the main features of the First National Architecture movement. The entrance facade of the building, located at the junction of two blocks, is chamfered, and at the very corner of the building, there is a high and pointed lead-covered dome resting on an octagonal body at the top. This high dome in the form of a corner tower is the most striking element of the building.

In addition, Architect Kemâleddin Bey made the building original with some of the details he used on the facade. The most important of these are small windows on the side sections of the facades protruding in the form of old Turkish houses, small balconies on the junction facade with the dome, double window arrangement, decorations on the pediments on the arches, under the eaves and on the consoles, octagonal star motifs on the balcony railings, rosette motifs on the double window corners, arches. Relief palmette and Rumi decorations on the bottoms and consoles are architectural and ornamental elements such as Turkish triangles and muqarnas.

Bandırma Palas has similarities with buildings from the same period in various cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Edirne, Kırklareli.

As a result, Bandırma Palas is a building designed by the Architect Kemâleddin during the Republican period, reflecting the characteristics of the First National Architecture Movement, was built as a hotel-restaurant structure in 1924-1926 and has been used in different functions over the years and comes back to the present day with its primary function, maritime trade. It has an important place among the period structures in terms of the fact that it is at the focal point of a settlement that has existed since ancient times and still maintains its importance today, and that it still preserves its originality in terms of facade design.

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## Endnotes

**(1)** For detailed information about the First National Architecture Movement, see. Sözen, M. (1984); Sözen, M. (1996).

**(2)** For detailed information about Haydar Çavuş Mosque, see. October, Z.E. (2022).

**(3)** For detailed information about the Old Pier Building, see. Tuncer, A & Kaya, S. (2010).

**(4)** In some sources, it is written that the construction of the building started in 1926. It is learned from the records in the Municipality that the architect of the building was Architect Kemalettin (Komisyon, 1999; Kaya & Tuncer, 2011).

**(5)** On this subject, see http://www.bandirmapalas.com/tarihce/

**(6)** See. http://www.bandirmapalas.com/rooms/

**(7)** On the life of Architect Kemâleddin, see. Çobanoğlu, A. V. & Ertuğrul, Ö. (2022).

# Different Approaches on the Conservation of Modern Architecture: Discussion through Ankara University Faculty of Sciences and Faculty of Law Buildings

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## Abstract

*Following the foundation of the Republic and the declaration of Ankara as the new capital, the parliament accepted intense reforms rapidly under the presidency of Atatürk. For the Republican ruling class, education has always been an important aspect of modern Turkish society. In the scope of the modernization of the educational system, the buildings to house this new educational system were to be designed with a modern architectural language which was the case for all governmental institutions.*

*For Faculty of Political Sciences, established in 1859 in İstanbul with the name Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şahane, a new modern building was designed by Erns A. Egli, the chief architect at the Ankara branch of the Ministry of Education, in 1935; education started in this new faculty building in 1936. Faculty of Law was established in 1925. Until 1936, education continued in separate and temporary buildings. At last, it was decided to construct a modern building that could meet the requirements of the Faculty. The school moved to its new building in June 1941 and was completed in 1949.*

*Although designed and constructed in the same period, these two faculty buildings have different architectural languages. In this paper, the architectural designs and the transformation of these two buildings will be analyzed. In addition, some oral data collected through interviews with the members of the faculties will be put forth. With this collected data, a comparison of the different approaches to the conservation of these two buildings will be realized.*

**Keywords:** *conservation, modern architecture, faculty of political sciences, faculty of law, comparison*

## Introduction

Following the defeat in World War I, Ottoman land, including the capital city of İstanbul, was occupied by entente states. When Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his friends decided to resist this occupation and start the War of Independence, they chose Ankara as the

center of the War between 1919 and 1922. After the victory in the War, Ankara was declared the capital city of the New Republic. Batuman explains the place of this move by saying, "The foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 was a radical attempt to construct a secular nation-state with a modern national identity within an Islamic society. Accordingly, all the symbols of Islamic tradition – particularly the old Ottoman capital of İstanbul – were renounced." (2005, p. 34). As shortly described by Ahıska, “Nationalist ideas and practices would be written on Ankara, which was seen as a blank slate.” (2017, p. 349).

In the end, with the construction of the new capital of Ankara, New Republicans aimed to show, and in a way exhibit, the ideology of the modern Turkish nation. One of the main reasons for the choice of Ankara as the capital of the New Republic is put forth very basically by Zeynep Kezer: “Ankara's insignificant past has allowed Republican modernizers to perceive and describe it as a tabula rasa on which to put their big dreams into practice.” (cited by Bozdoğan, 2002, p. 83).

## 1. Modernization Efforts and Its Architectural Reflections

The motivation and will of the Republicans in a holistic modernization of Turkey with its citizens shaped the aspects and scope of the reforms. Modernism was seen as a project that would primarily encompass all social areas and focus on internal and external values. The program for revolutions had to address every aspect of public and private life and transform them in line with the intended goal, and, at the same time, it meant a definite break with the past - the Ottoman past. In 1926, the dress code in the Ottoman Empire was abandoned, the Alphabet Revolution was made, and the Latin alphabet was started to be used. A legal structure was created based on Swiss civil, Italian criminal, and German commercial laws. Together with that, women’s rights and the role of women in society took an important place in the reform movements: Polygamy was banned, and women were given the right to vote and be elected. Turkish women gained the freedom to pursue a career (Atalay Franck, 2015, p. 23).

The field of education was one of the most critical sections in the reforms that began to be applied after the foundation of the Republic. With the abolishment of the caliphate in 1924, the educational system was reorganized, and the Islamic educational system was discarded to design a new modern and secular educational system. In doing this, the government abolished religious lodges (tekke), shrines (türbe), and spaces of fraternities (zaviye) in 1925, and the Arabic alphabet was changed with the Latin Alphabet in 1928. The higher education system was also included in the government's agenda while restructuring the system, and in 1933, a new law was accepted to design education in universities which opened the way for the invitation of European professors, architects and urbanists.

Educational buildings were a part of these critical buildings and the ruling class of the Republic wanted educational buildings compatible with the new modern education system. So, the buildings that were going to be designed should be modern buildings to

raise modern young people bound up with the revolutions of the Republic. Additionally, these modern educational buildings would be a part of the prestigious face of the new modern capital with their modern architectural language and designs, which meet the requirements of modern educational programs embodied in.

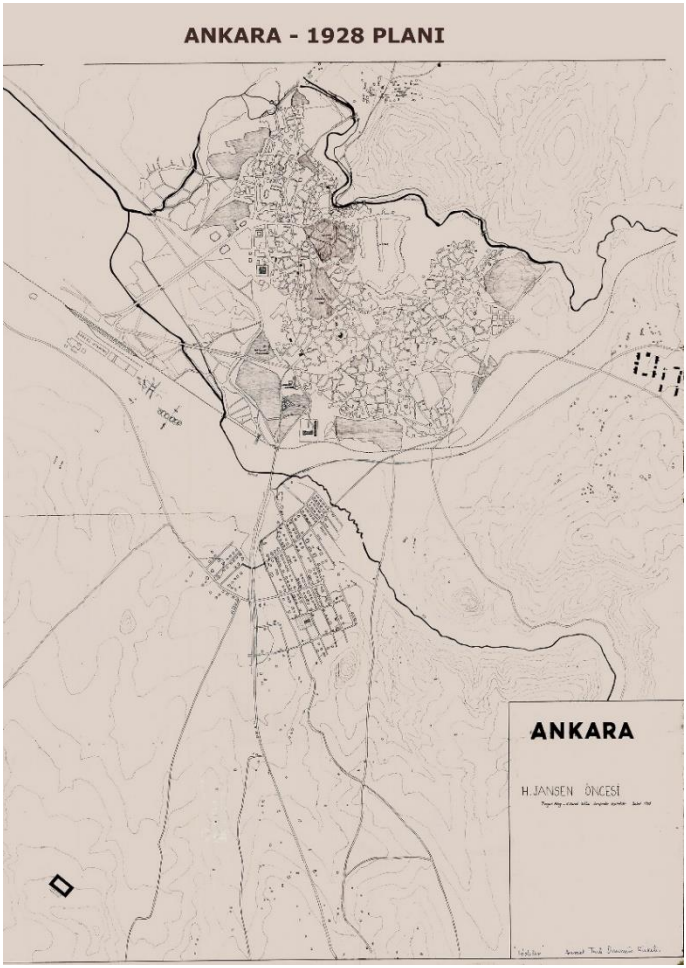



**Figure 1.** Lörcher Plan. METU Department of City and Regional Planning Archive.

## 2. New Capital Ankara and Education Zone in Cebeci

With the declaration of Ankara as the capital of the New Republic, initiatives for a city plan were begun, and the first plan of the city was prepared by the German planner Dr. Carl Cristoph Lörcher in 1924, which included the major decisions of the following planning studies also: two parts as old city and Yenişehir (Cengizkan, 2004, p. 25) (Figure 1). After that, with the decision to give a modern image to the city, in 1927, an international competition was organized for the new Ankara master plan; and Berlin-based architect Hermann Jansen's plan, based on the ideas of the Garden City Movement, won the competition (Deriu, 2013, p. 500) (Figure 2).

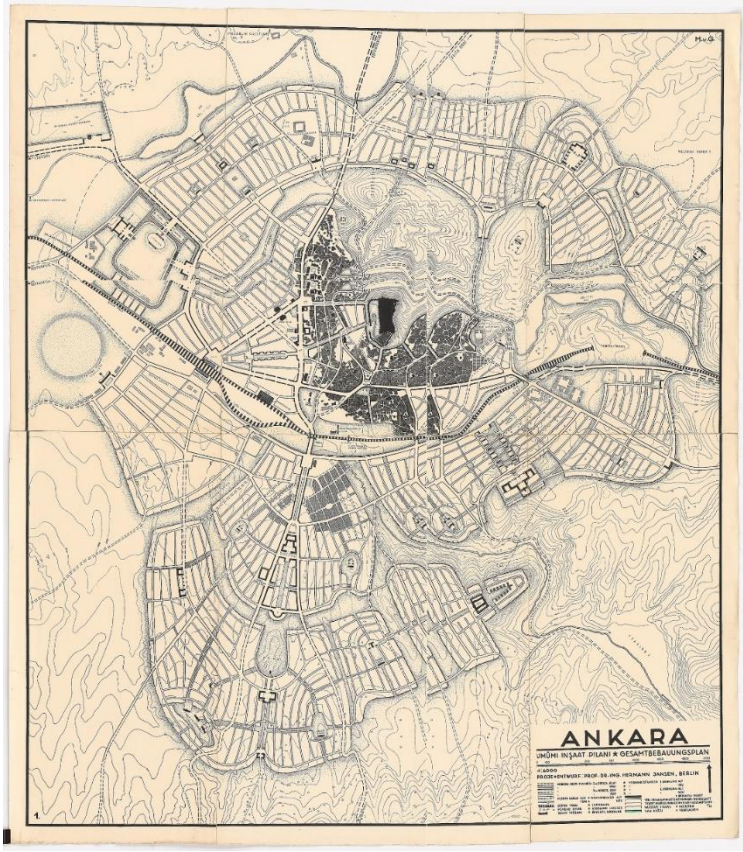



**Figure 2.** Jansen Plan. Architekturmuseum der TU Berlin, Inv. Nr. 22583.

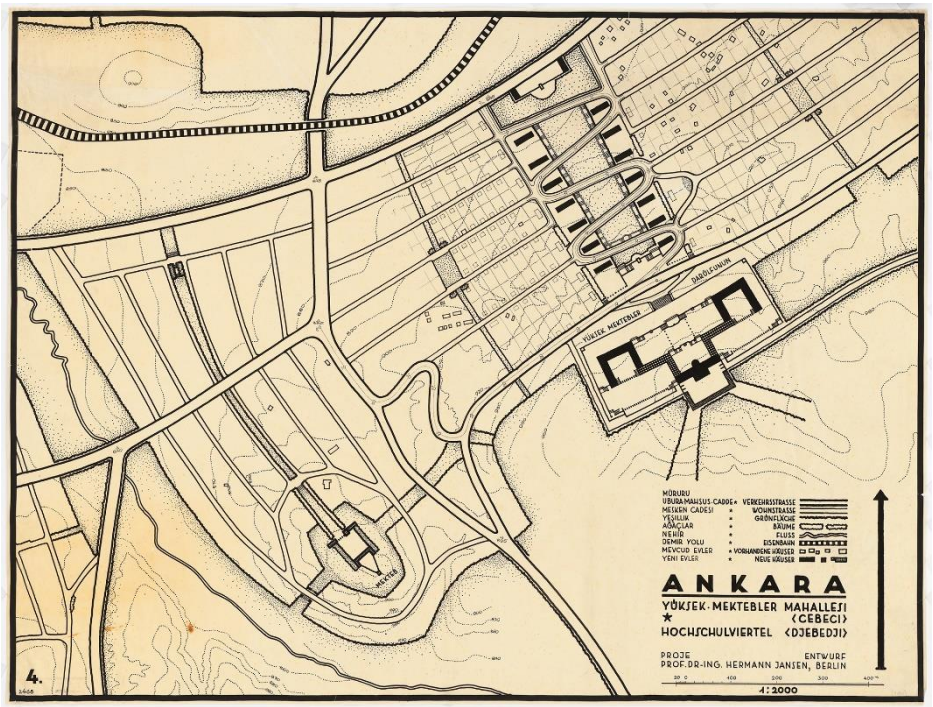



**Figure 3.** Higher Education District in Jansen Plan. Architekturmuseum der TU Berlin, Inv. Nr. 22586.

Jansen separated the city into zones according to their functions and presented a scheme that constituted the open space relation between the parts through freiflächen (free surfaces) in the draft plan dated 1927 (Burat 2008 in Yabacı, Yavuz and Kavurmacı, 2017, p. 477). At this point it must be stated that Jansen retained many of Lörcher's ideas, especially for the newer parts of town and the layout of major streets (Kezer, 2010, p. 44). Within the scope of the plan, Cebeci district was determined as the area for higher education (Figure 3).

## 3. Ankara University Cebeci Campus in the Determined Education Zone

Cebeci District was the zone reserved for higher education as mentioned above, and Faculty of Political Sciences is the first building constructed Faculty of Law was started

in 1936. The faculty was moved to its new building in 1941; however, it took eight more years to be finished completely.

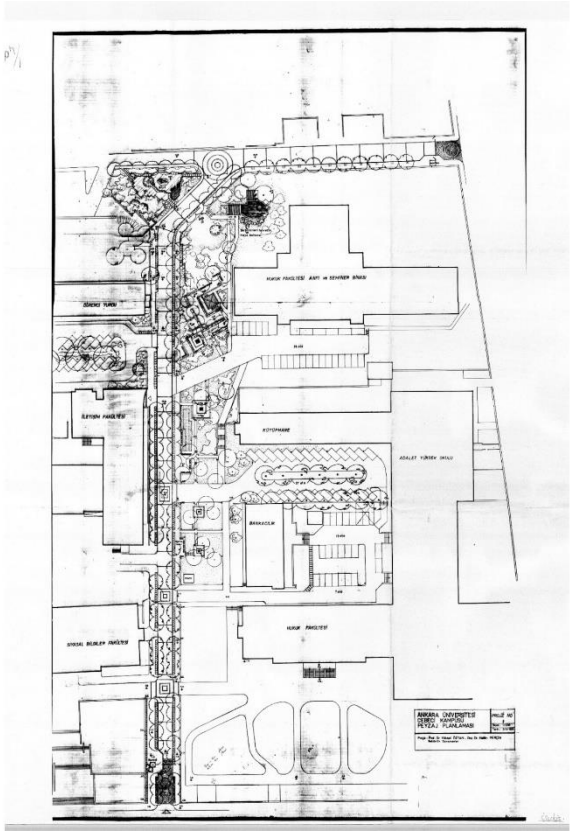


**Figure 4.** Landscape Planning prepared for the campus. Ankara University Directorate of Construction and Technical Works archive.

At the beginning, these two faculties were two different schools and independent in their own operations, both managerial and physical. After the foundation of Ankara University in 1946, these two faculties became part of the same university but still continued as independent schools with their additional buildings in their own parcels until 1995 with very-high walls in between (Prof. Dr. Erdal Onar- interview, March 2016). Günal Akbay, the President of the university at that time, decided to transform the existing buildings

into a campus (Figure 4). These high walls separating the faculties were lowered and functioned as seating places. So, the seating places between the faculties in the campus today are the traces of pre-campus situation of the faculties. Although transformed into a campus setting by the university administration, the strong identities of these two faculties have continued to exist and stand as the main obstacle to the belonging to the university and a unified stance.

### 3.1. Faculty of Political Sciences (Mülkiye)

Faculty of Political Sciences is the first building constructed in Ankara University Cebeci Campus area. The Faculty was first established with the name of Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Şahane in 1859 in İstanbul. After the foundation of the Republic, the school was planned to move to Ankara with the wish of Atatürk. The construction of the building, projects of which prepared by Ernst A. Egli, was started in 1935 and the building began to be used in October 1936. After that the amphi, library, dormitory buildings and the Faculty of Communication building were constructed due to changing conditions and different spatial needs through time between 1957-1968. Related with these additions, the main building has gone through many functional and spatial transformations.

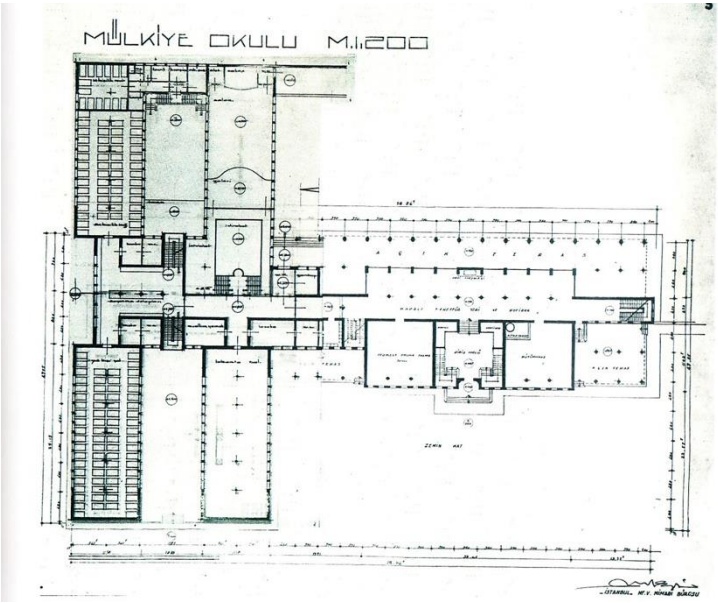



**Figure 5.** Faculty of Political Sciences Ground Floor Plan (Alpagut, 2012: 205).

### 3.1.1. Design of the Building

At the original, the building was designed with the functionalist approach and composed of two main blocks perpendicular to each other, forming a T-shape. The block perpendicular to the street involved four blocks with two-floor height, and the other block, parallel to the street, was a single horizontal block with the main entrance and one floor higher than the other block. This main block was designed to embody classes and offices, while the other block mainly involved common areas like a conference hall, dormitory, and cafeteria (Figure 5).

A small hall is reached from the main block's entrance, which is opened to a multi-purpose hall with two rows of columns. This hall has a bright and spacious effect achieved via nine large windows on the east facade, occupying most of the ground floor. Namık Kemal Güçhan talks about this hall: “We loved that hall a lot. It was a pleasure to take a walk in the hall. Especially when it rains or snows… you walk warmly and watch from the windows. Students were in the hall mostly; sat, had a chat, etc., and that gave a sense of home to you.” (Figure 6-7)



**Figure 6**. Multi-purpose hall on the ground floor of Faculty of Political Sciences building (Alpagut, 2010, p. 143).

As in the original plan, there are two stairs flanking both sides of the entrance hall to reach the upper floor. On this floor, two rows of offices of different sizes are on both edges of the corridor. The second floor, with classes and other offices, has the same floor plan as the first floor. The other block, adjacent to the main, embodies large spaces like a conference hall, dormitory, and cafeteria in the original plan. However, because of the different spatial needs through time, only the conference hall on the southeast corner of this block could preserve its original spatial qualities with minor changes substantially (Alpagut, 2012, p. 203). Aydemir Ceylan (2006, p. 38) mentions in the conference hall that influential scientists and politicians were often invited to conferences. Besides, they had the opportunity to meet with famous bands and artists and see these performances in the hall. Another use of the hall was the dance classes given by students who knew how to dance once per week in the foyer in front of the hall.



**Figure 7.** Multi-purpose hall on the ground floor of Faculty of Political Sciences building (Alpagut, 2010, p. 143).

By referring to Namık Kemal Güçhan, a student of the Faculty of Political Sciences between 1943-1947, the dormitory spaces can be explained as large enough to embody 60-100 students, with no separate rooms. The cabinets were in the corridor; students changed their clothes and entered the dormitory without turning the lights on. The space got heated well; the beds were durable and clean (Figure 8). The cafeteria provided three meals a day, and meals were clean, satisfying, and of good quality (Figure 9). Besides, there was hot water for 24 hours and service laundry for the students. Their clothes were washed, ironed, and put into their closets by referring to the signs on their clothes. It is important to mention that the school also gave students shoes and suits every year and coats every two years in addition to a certain amount of allowance. The life standard provided for students was relatively high for the period.

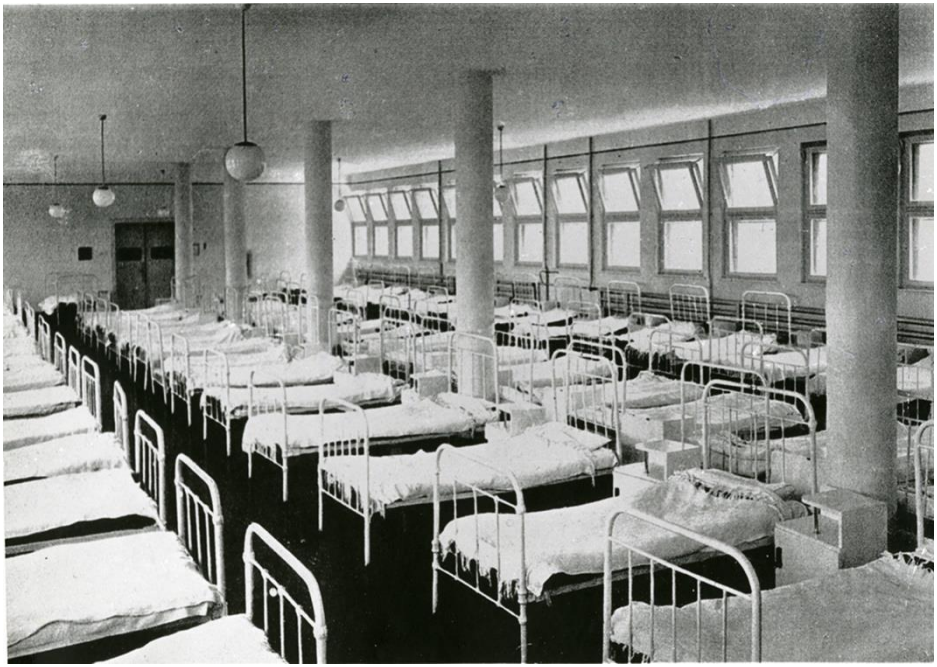


**Figure 8.** One of the dormitory rooms of Faculty of Political Sciences building. Bellek Mülkiye. Digital Archive of Faculty of Political Sciences: http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/dijital-arsiv/#iLightbox[gallery_image_1]/67

All four facades of the main blocks were designed in different manners. The one facing the street has a simple and horizontally designed façade, covered with Ankara stone till

ground floor level, and looks like the base of the building. (Alpagut, 2012, p. 204). the symmetrical arrangement of façades with a simple and plain design approach and low-pitched roofs surrounded with parapets supporting the cubic appearance of the building are the characteristics of the building, increasing it is being one of the predecessors of the Early-Republican modernism in Ankara.

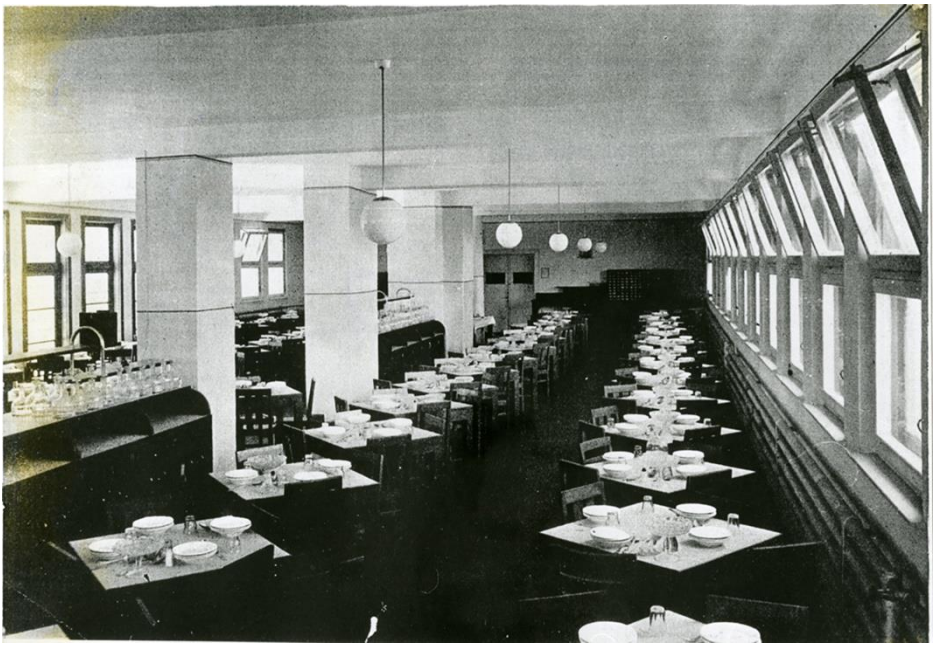


**Figure 9.** Cafeteria of Faculty of Political Sciences building. Bellek Mülkiye. Digital Archive of Faculty of Political Sciences: http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/dijital-arsiv/#iLightbox[gallery_image_1]/66

Not just the mass, plan, and façade design showing the characteristics of the modern movement, as mentioned above, the complete abandonment of decoration and simplicity were also the main principles in the design of interiors with the use of original modern details, material, and finishing of the faculty building. The lack of any decorative elements, the use of pure geometric forms in architectural elements, floor coverings, lighting elements, etc., and the simple joint details of vertical and horizontal elements prevent the user from getting lost in details and enable him/her to have a spatial experience in its pure form.

### 3.1.2. Changes in the Building

Related to increasing student numbers and changes in spatial needs according to developments in educational mediums, as being an eighty-year-old building, the Faculty of Political Sciences Building has gone through various changes and improvements. While some of these arrangements required severe constructional changes, some were just functional transformations with minor changes. There were few spaces where originality could be traced today.

The first and major transformation in the building took place with the construction of additional buildings. To meet this need, Ankara University announced an architectural competition for a library, a dormitory, and a conference hall with classes. Enver Tokay was the winner of the competition. He realized the implementation projects and the transformation of the existing building of the faculty with architects Ayhan Tayman and Yılmaz Sanlı. The construction period was completed in 10 years (Baskıcı 2009, p. 25).

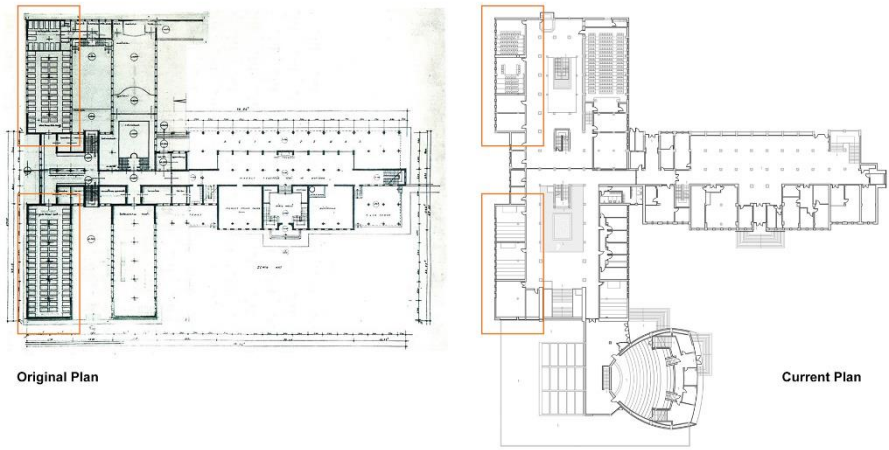



**Figure 10.** Comparison of the original design and the today's condition of the Faculty of Political Science building showing the transformation of dormitory spaces. Ankara University Directorate of Construction and Technical Works archive.

After the completion of new buildings and the transfer of the functions from the main building to these buildings, the space left in the main building was transformed into classrooms mostly. So, relatedly, the main building underwent a significant reorganization activity.

With the use of new buildings, the library and dorms were moved to their new places and the spaces left from dormitory rooms were transformed into classrooms (Öztürk, 2007, p. 40). There were two separate dormitory rooms for 50 students, and there was a single dormitory room for 100 students on the first floor. After the new building began to be used in 1963, these spaces were rearranged into four classrooms, meaning the dormitory room for 100 students was divided into two classrooms (Figure 10). While transforming the dormitory rooms, it can be observed from comparison of the original plan with the current plan that the corridor was widened, the location of the staircases was changed, and an inner garden was formed. Additionally, Prof. Dr. Yalçın Karatepe mentions that during this period of the transformation of spaces related to the dormitory into classrooms, the balconies – the voids on the façade of the vertical block of the main building were also closed and added to the inner space to be used as classrooms.



**Figure 11.** Multi-purpose hall after the transformation. Azize Elif Yabacı, 2017.

The multi-purpose hall was also reorganized in 1969; and reopened to use this year, the hundredth anniversary of the faculty (Baskıcı, 2009, p. 30-31). Although information about the time of change was lacking in written documents, it is known that the columns of the hall were cylindrical, these columns were covered with marble and reshaped in cornered form (Figure 11). Additionally, it was seen that the dining hall on the ground floor of the dormitory block was then divided and rearranged into several classrooms and offices with a corridor on the outside (Figure 12).

There are more similar spatial changes like those mentioned above; however, it is assumed that the given examples are satisfactory enough to comprehend the scope of the transformations. These significant changes are mainly dated to the period after the

expansion project for additional buildings. Following that period, there were mostly the refurbishment of the existing spaces, renewal of materials, and minor repairs. However, it must be pointed out that the removal of original materials should also be evaluated as a significant loss as a case in point is an important representative of a period in history.

It is seen that the Faculty of Political Sciences building has gone through a considerable transformation ended up with an appearance that has almost nothing referring to the original design other than the window proportions. The aim of the administrators and the users for continuity in the use of the building resulted in the loss of value and the loss of architectural identity of the building. Cengizkan defines this transformation as from the "spacious," "comfortable and airy," and even increasingly "liberating" spaces, documented in the photographs taken with the building's many first users, to the "orderly," "reduced architectural" features. The author ended his words by warning, "This depreciation, layered on top of each other with unqualified protection and guarding attitudes, is at that point that one day it may even decide on the destruction of administrative or political will." (2017, p. 92-95).

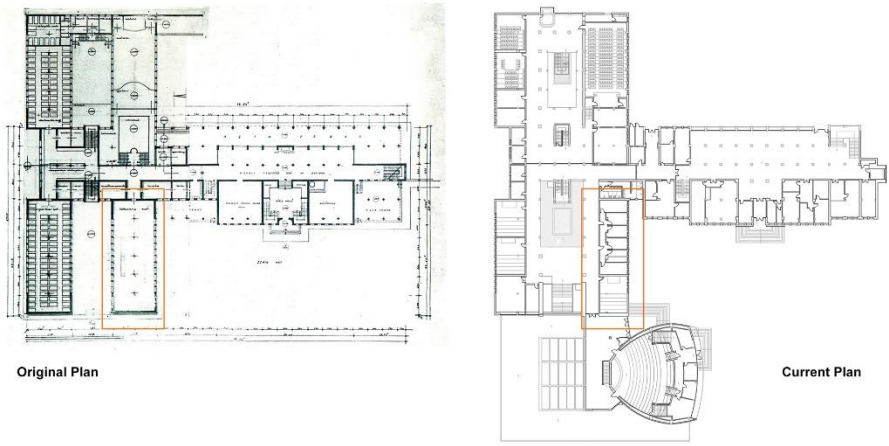



**Figure 12.** Comparison of the original design and the today's condition of the Faculty of Political Science building showing the transformation of cafeteria space. Ankara University Directorate of Construction and Technical Works archive.

## 3.2. Faculty of Law (Hukuk Fakültesi)

Faculty of Law was established in 1925 with the initiative of the Mahmut Esat Bozkurt – Minister of Justice of that time with the name of Ankara Adliye Hukuk Mektebi. Until 1936,

the education continued in separate and temporary buildings. At last, it was decided to construct a modern building that could meet the requirements of the school. In 1936, the construction began, however, it took a long time to complete the all buildings which were designed by Recai Akçay. Even so, the school moved to its new building in June 1941 while the construction was continuing. And, the buildings completed totally according to the project in 1949 (Çadırcı, Süslü, 1982, p. 112) (Mumcu, 1977, p. 167).

### 3.2.1. Design of the Building

The general form of Faculty of Law is composed of two blocks parallel to the street and a vertical one combining and cutting these two. The site of the faculty is sloped; the parallel blocks have basement and three floors, and the vertical blocks have basement and two floors. The main entrance is on the parallel block close to the street and have three openings. The extension of the vertical block has the second entrance with six high columns (Figure 13).

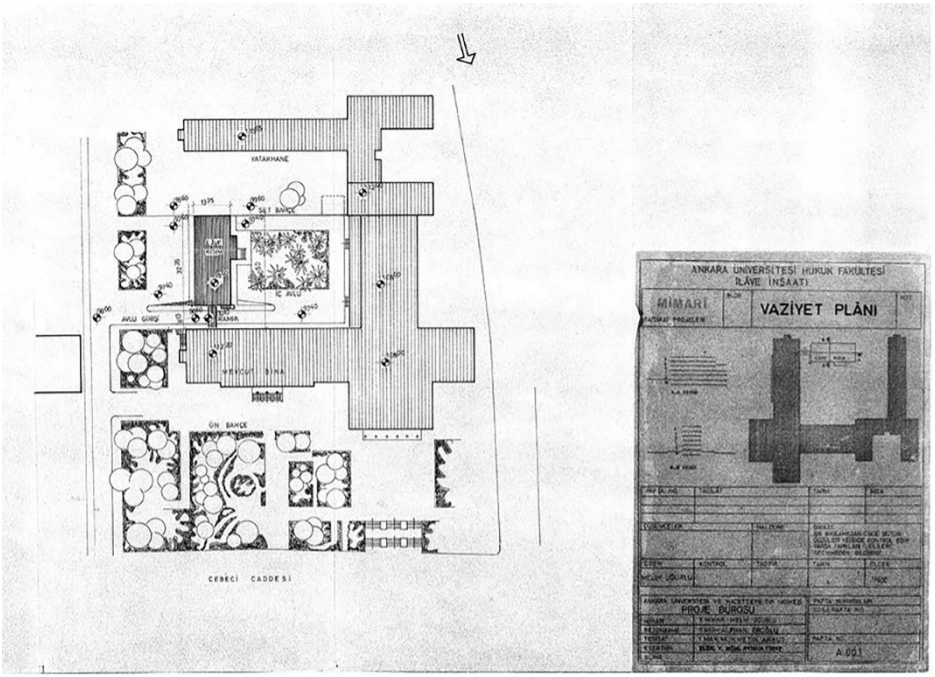



**Figure 13.** Site Plan of Faculty of Law. Ankara University Directorate of Construction and Technical Works archive.

The building has concrete frame structural system and the facades are covered with stone and rough rendering. Ankara stone is used in door and window frames, columns, pilaster and stairs of the entrances and on the exterior covering of the basement floor. Masses have pitched roofs covered with roof tiles (Aslanoğlu, 2010, p. 190). The entrances with stairs and colonnades, the entrance halls covered with marble and the facade organization reminds the ministry buildings of the period – like Ministry of Justice- and the building of General Directorate of State Railways. With large masses and the facades designed with neo-classical style, the building of Faculty of Law is an example of the last years of the period that German massive architecture gained power (Figure 14).



**Figure 14.** Faculty of Law in 1954. Ankara University Faculty of Law website: http://www.law.ankara.edu.tr/tarihce-2/

In original plan, the parallel block close to the street included administrative units, library, and classes with two entrances. In the vertical block, the school continued with classes and conference hall (Aslanoğlu, 2010, p. 190). On the south part of this block, there were lodgings of administration staff -dean, secretary etc. (Prof. Dr. Erdal Onar- interview, March 2016). This part of the block has a separate entrance from Erdem Street on the west part of the faculty; but the it is connected to the front block from the inside. On the

other block, the parallel block on the south, there was the dormitory part. Of course, within time, related with changing and/or increasing needs of space, Faculty of Law has been through many changes and got additional buildings.

### 3.2.2. Changes in the Building

The faculty building could be completed in 1949 and, Faculty of Law underwent the changes after 1950s, mainly.

The one main change seen in the faculty was the transformation of the lodgings to classrooms. Because in 1949, Faculty of Divinity was established under the umbrella of Ankara University; and due to the lack of faculty building, the classes rearranged in the lodgings Faculty of Law were used by Faculty of Divinity (Prof. Dr. Erdal Onar- interview, March 2016).

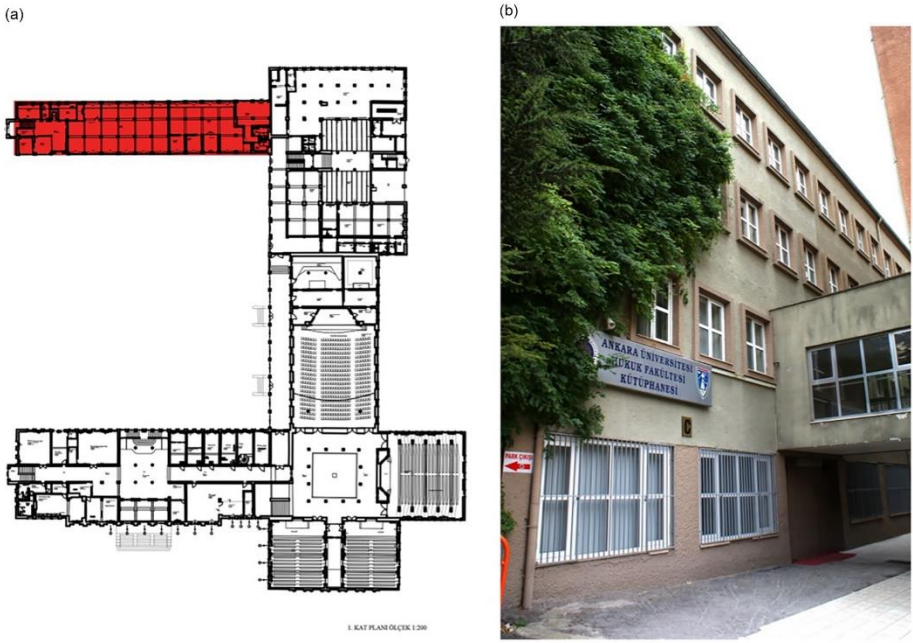



**Figure 15.** Location of the library in the main building (a) (Ankara University Directorate of Construction and Technical Works archive and the block today (b) (Azize Elif Yabacı, 2016)

Through the same process with Faculty of Political Sciences, Faculty of Law also has experienced a continuous growth and development occurred in the faculty buildings

related with the increasing number of students. Additional building blocks, changes related with construction of these new building blocks, functional changes according to changing spatial needs and improvements of spatial qualities of classrooms etc. were the main inputs of the development process of the faculty.

In 1966, the dormitory block of the faculty was emptied and made available for the use of the faculty. Then, the library of the faculty was moved to this block (Çadırcı, Süslü, 1982, p. 113); (Mumcu, 1977, p. 241) (Figure 15).

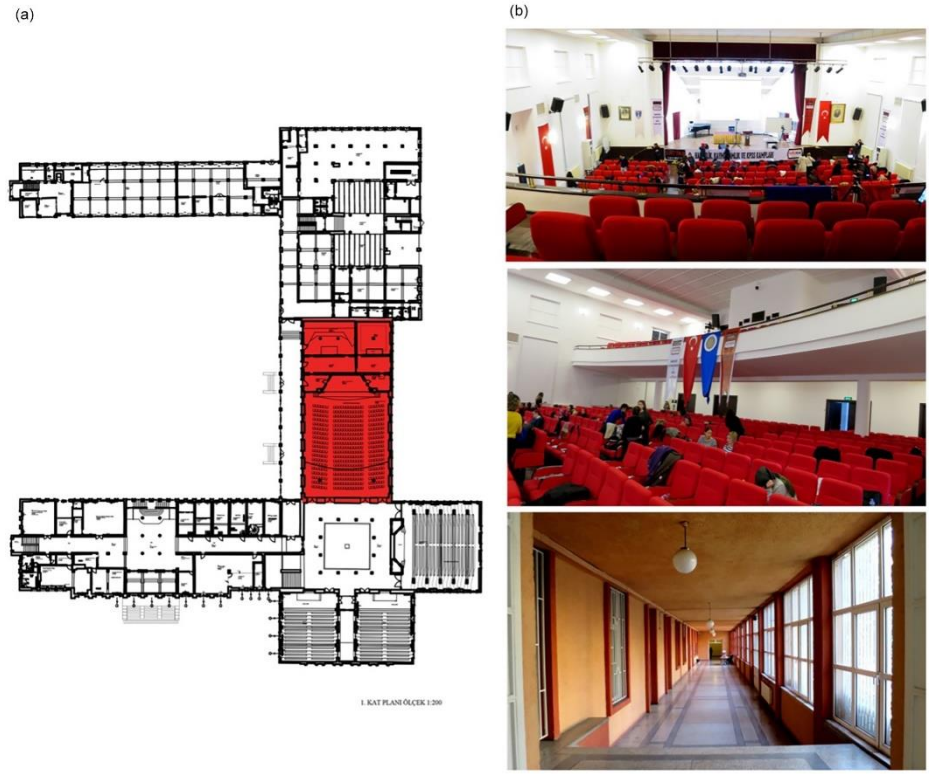



**Figure 16.** Location the conference hall in the main building (a) Ankara University Directorate of Construction and Technical Works archive. and Conference Hall and the corridor near the hall today (b) (Azize Elif Yabacı, 2017).

Vocational School of Justice was established in 1979 under the roof of Faculty of Law and the lodgings' part, that was used by Faculty of Divinity and some other governmental offices, became the zone of Vocational School of Justice from then on. Prof. Dr. Erdal Onar, director of the school for a period, mentions the incompatibility of the transformation of the lodgings into classrooms and offices by saying that "It became really strange when it was converted into a faculty from a lodging. Many stairs appeared when a number of dwellings and the walls between – or in between – them were cancelled. You go up and down stairs constantly, there are stairs that reaches nowhere. You climb them, after to reach a space, you go down from another stair, etc. It is a very nice building, in any case."

These two changes were the ones with major spatial transformations. Other than that, the building mostly witnessed minor spatial changes – not drastically affecting the layout – or, mainly, material-based changes and renovations. The renewal of the conference hall is one of the examples in this group. In this process of, the sitting units were replaced mainly; apart from them, the stage the floor coverings, etc. remains same (Figure 16).

When observed as a whole, Faculty of Law is certainly kept its originality – especially in spatial terms – mostly. This is related in some way with the construction of additional buildings in service of the faculty itself and load of changes in the circumstances is low in respect of Faculty of Political Sciences. However, the belongingness of the users of the faculty building is remarkably high which ended up a highly-conserved building. Refurbishment of a meeting hall even caused sorrow among the academicians due to the change of the ambiance. People feel attached to the building, to its historical atmosphere and appearance which motivates them to keep the building in its original condition in the most possible extend.

## 4. Comparison

Although being designed in the same period, Early Republican Period as named, and constructed through the sequence of years, these two buildings – Faculty of Political Sciences and Faculty of Law – have two different architectural language displayed side by side. Different from Egli's buildings as a representative of modern movement with general principles of pure geometric forms both in massive quality of the building and in smaller scale feature, simple detailing, no decoration, Faculty of Law building has large masses and the facades designed with neo-classical style which reflects the features of German stone architecture the ministry buildings of the period.

Based on the interviews with the users of the faculties, it is possible to say that the building of Faculty of Law appeals to people with its monumental building with its columns on the entrance façade that gives the powerful impression to them. Prof. Dr. Celal Göle, who is a graduate of Faculty of Law and became an academician and the Dean of Faculty of Political Sciences afterwards, also thinks that the building of Faculty of Law is more powerful than and holds the attraction of people. With his words, the building of Faculty of Political Sciences is like a middle school building and not stands as powerful as Faculty

of Law building. This approach may be the reason of the extensive changes realized during his management of the faculty. Another graduate of the Faculty of Law, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nurkut İnan shares his first impression on the building by saying: "When I look from the outside, the building of Faculty oof Political Sciences cannot compete with our faculty. It is much better in architectural terms."

Being on the extreme ends of conservation, the buildings of Faculty of Political Sciences and Faculty of Law are compared and the reasons of the different state and/or approach of conservation are discussed by the former deans of Faculty of Political Sciences. It is stated that, in a basic manner, Faculty of Law grew with additional blocks while Faculty of Political Sciences got smaller by losing the blocks dependent on it which ended up major transformations od the spaces at hand.

Beside this major reason behind the difference in approaching to the buildings, different architectural languages also could be effective in the intention of conservation.

## Conclusion

All the data collected and obtained by the comparisons show that 'modern architecture' is strongly attached with the life standards, comfort and modern living habits brought together with the establishment of Republic and its reforms. Modern language in the buildings were chosen to be the representative of the modernization efforts in varying fields of the Republic including education. In case of Faculty of Political Sciences, the modern and functional building was a reflection of the modern education system, the related spaces and the modern life in it. So, the users and/or the citizens made a direct relation between the standards of the period and the architecture of the building which, in fact, forms the admiration of people among the modern architecture. From this perspective, with the change in the standards, trends, and/or admiration, it become easy to change the building also.

However, in case of Faculty of Law, the monumental appearance with its powerful stance, the building think as worth to conserve. Both are modern educational institutions with modern architecture from different perspectives; yet, the feeling of 'strength' and 'power' reflected from building of Faculty of Law is seen as the motives to conserve the building while the modest and modern building of Faculty of Political Sciences is not thought to have a value to conserve.

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# Collective (Re)Construction of Urban Memory and its Mapping as a Palimpsest: Ankara Kizilay District Case

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## Abstract

*As a collective entity, urban memory is a social phenomenon that is (re)constructed and transformed through layers in the social environment. While the city becomes a multilayered structure with the transformations of the spaces over time, it is possible to face the reality that the traces of collective memory might have been erased, and the city's identity has changed. In this respect, urban space and its transforming memory can be considered with the palimpsest concept. Considering this, once Yenisehir, now the Kizilay region, has been a spatial representation of republican ideals, and today it can be read as a palimpsest. Over a hundred years, the area has experienced transformations in many aspects, leading to overlapping spatial characters representing different periods and the resulting multilayered image in memory. The change in the city and citizen profile also brings the question of to what extent does the memory of present and future generations refer to the city's past? Accordingly, this study aims to discuss the relationship between the city and the collective memory by particularly focusing on the Kizilay region through the palimpsest concept. The study critically discusses and maps the new generation of citizens, first-year architecture students in the Gazi University Department of Architecture, approach to the city, and memory. The data presented in mapping as accumulated memory traces are entirely derived from the students' discoveries and observations. It presents a picture of the current state of memory in a new generation and what parts of the city are at risk of being lost.*

**Keywords:** *Collective memory, Palimpsest, Mapping, Ankara, Kizilay*

## Introduction

The hundred years of the Republic hold the opportunity to reevaluate the processes that our cities and their architecture have experienced and to consider the future under the lenses of changing paradigms and new global world conditions. The most concrete

example of the ideals of the republic, both spatially and symbolically, was realized in Ankara, especially within the boundaries of Yenisehir. The transformations of this new city center in the hundred years have reached critical levels in particular periods, leading to changes in its image in daily life and its place in memory. Despite that, every citizen has their image of Ankara and Kizilay, its representation in the collective memory and how it changes over the years is open to discussion. Similar to the overlapping of architecture belonging to different historical layers, the traces of memory experience a similar process. This also necessitates questioning of continuing discussions on the collective memory and the city. Whose collective memory are we discussing? To what extent does the memory of present and future generations refer to the city's past? Based on this, the study aims to discuss the relationship between the city and the memory metaphorically and methodologically through the palimpsest concept. The potential of palimpsest in identifying the multilayered transformation of spaces, the traces pointing to this process, and the alternative reading of the relationship between the traces offer a path of fruitful discussion between city and memory in reference to textuality. The study critically discusses and maps the new generation of citizens, first-year architecture students in the Gazi University Department of Architecture, approach to the city, and memory. The data grounding the mapping work and the study is derived from the students' project development processes within the scope of the Architectural Project II course, conducted under the theme of city and collective memory for first-year students. While mapping the data, an alternative palimpsestous reading and discussion of the collective memory are presented.

## 1. Collective Memory

Memory has been an essential and highly discussed concept in many disciplines, starting with history in the nineteenth century. The history-oriented definition of the term has shifted, especially in the latter half of the twentieth century, with the rediscovery of Maurice Halbwachs' ideas presented in his 1925 book "The Social Frameworks of Memory." Halbwachs (1992) defines memory fundamentally as a Collective phenomenon that is socially constructed. Collective memory endures through people; individuals as part of a group remember; they preserve memories and continuously reproduce through communication. Assmann and Czaplicka (1995) add that remembering is a cultural and communicative process. Memories do not preserve the past but are the remains of society’s reconstruction within their present frame of reference.

Through remembering, society perpetuates its identity; however, as the collective memory is recalled from the past and reconstructed in the present conditions, it does not maintain its original form and appearance (Halbwachs, 1992, p.49). Similarly, in his work differentiating memory from history, Pierre Nora says that there are only sites of memory (lieu de memoire) since the real environments of the memory do not exist anymore (1989). In this respect, society's collective memory is primarily discussed about the physical environments bearing the identity and meaning for them. Regarding this, Aldo Rossi's theories from his book "The Architecture of the City" help to understand how the

city becomes the spatiality for the collective memory. According to Rossi (1982), cities are formed of urban artifacts with their history and form. Two important characteristics of urban artifacts are permanence, the past that can still be experienced, and locus, the relationship between a specific location and its buildings. "The city is the locus of collective memory." (Rossi, 1982, p.130). Its form is a particular time of the city from the many times of its formation while changing; its original references cease to exist.

While the change in urban land is in the domain of history, the succession of events leading to change forms the city's collective memory (Crinson, 2005). The traces remaining from the change form the city's identity. However, they also have the possibility of failing to create meaning and memory, leading to a memory crisis, as argued more recently by Christian Boyer regarding the problem of contemporary cities (Boyer, 1994). What is left are the fragments from the layers of different historical times, superimposed on each without generating a structural form of the city. For the future of cities, it becomes critical to recall and reevaluate the traces of collective memory, which the current conditions might influence. Searching for the traces of collective memory, not always connected but laid upon, formed in transforming cities makes a palimpsest interpretation of both memory and the city possible.

## 2. Palimpsest

Palimpsest denotes the repeated use of parchment that carries the traces of old writings in the new ones. Even if the old text is scraped off from the surface and the new one is overwritten, traces of the old can be seen (Apaydın, 2019). This quality of palimpsest has led to extensive metaphorical use of the term, starting with Thomas De Quincey in 1845 (Dillon, 2005). The metaphorical readings were inherently related to literature and writing, yet many disciplines have benefited from them, including architecture. The relation between palimpsest and the city is tied with the collective memory, the ability of buildings, and the cities to carry past traces into the present. Huyssen (2003) explains cities as "palimpsests of history, incarnations of time in stone; sites of memory extending both in time and space." (p.101). Beyond its physical being, the urban space is an image engraved into the collective memory through lived experiences of people (Al, 2011).

Sarah Dillon emphasizes the nature of the palimpsest metaphor derived from Quincey's explanations, meaning more than the traditional understanding of the term. Although palimpsest is created through layering, the resulting surface is involuted, as Quincey named it. "Unrelated texts are involved and entangled, intricately interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting each other." (Dillon,2005, p.245) Regarding the methodological difference between Foucault's archaeology and genealogy, she identifies that palimpsestous reading does not solely aim to resurrect the underlying text but focuses on the possible relationships that can be derived from the overlapping of texts belonging to different times and contexts. Therefore, a palimpsest reading of the city and the memory implies not identifying the city's conditions once but seeking how the traces forming the city's past and present relate to each other. The critical point in this regard is that the urban traces might no longer signify a collective memory relevant to the city's history, or the

overlapping traces prevent the interpretations of the memories in the current conditions. It should be noted that, besides the urban traces carrying the past to the present, it is the people themselves who, in their daily life, communicate with each other through the spatiality of traces and form the collective memory of the present.

## 2.1. Palimpsestous Reading of Kizilay

Following the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, the need to define a new city center in the capital Ankara, instead of the current one, has arisen to strengthen the new nation-state ideal. Accordingly, the city was mainly conceived as a tabula rasa and designed through a top-down approach. The first urban plan of the city was designed by Carl Christoph Lörcher in 1925. As one of the earliest planning attempts of the new state, the Lörcher plan laid the foundation for the Yenisehir – the new city, a new development area. With a baroque character, he proposed an axis connecting the old city to a new one and several public squares and green areas along the way (Cengizkan, 200). Even though this early plan was not realized fully, it guided the future planning practices, especially on Yenisehir, which we observed in Hermann Jansen's plan in 1928. Continuing the garden city ideals, Jansen's plan prompted the formation of a new space that would represent the will and the ideals of the young nation and accommodate a new form of government and a new way of life (Batuman, 2002). The axis connecting the old and the new city is defined as Atatürk Boulevard, not only with the vehicular flow but with the pedestrian flow as the main access route to the city (Cinar Ozdil et al., 2020). In the 30s, the Boulevard, together with the buildings on both sides, had been the city's sociocultural and administrative center. The traces of today's Kizilay region was part of the series of urban parks and squares designed along the boulevard.

Starting in the 1950s, the period marked political and economic struggles for the state and the uncontrollably increasing population in the capital. Abandoning the implementation of the Jansen Plan, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality adopted a new plan through competition in 1957, the Yucel-Uybadin Plan. While the traces from the Jansen plan remained as 'leftovers' from the early Yenisehir urban image, the public squares along the boulevard experienced deterioration and interventions in many ways. Boulevard has mostly lost its pedestrian-oriented character with the widening of the traffic lanes. Moreover, many buildings along the boulevard have been demolished and reconstructed according to the new master plan (Bölge Nazim Plani). The new plan did not improve the existing planning decisions and actions, as Cengizkan (2005) explains. While Kizilay becomes the central business center in the city, the ground and basement floors of new buildings are allowed to be designed as arcades. Thus, the fragmented daily life continued on a more controlled scale through the appearance of new architectural use and image, concentrated around Sakarya, Izmir, and Yüksel Street sub-spaces (Batuman, 2002).

In the last period starting with the 1980s, the construction of the subway network underneath the Kizilay marked the complete transition of the area into a transportation junction. On both sides of the boulevard, the average building height has significantly

risen, and the facades are altered following the emerging uses. The loss of early Republican period buildings and parks in cases like Kizilay and Zafer Park has been replaced with newer architectural productions. Moreover, in this period, newly developed subareas Karanfil, Sakarya, Yuksel, and Izmir were pedestrianized by the Metropolitan Municipality. This development in the urban tissue has dramatically influenced daily life and the role of these areas serving several purposes, such as social, cultural, commercial, gastronomic, and political (Cinar Ozdil et al., 2020). Overall, it can be reached that Kizilay district's character in terms of its architecture, role in daily life, and place in the collective memory has significantly changed according to the changing conditions of the city and the state organization. While some traces from the early Republican period is still visible, the district has become a multilayered urban area. Today's experience of the Boulevard and Kizilay is tied to these three historical periods of urban development and to what extent they are remembered or forgotten. In this respect, it is natural to consider the region as a palimpsest.

## 3. Methodology

In order to discuss the place of Ankara Kizilay region and its surroundings in the collective memory, unfold its transformation and understand how this corresponds especially to new generation citizens, the research focuses on an architectural design studio process and its outputs. The Architectural Design II (Mimari Proje II) course given to the first-year students at the Gazi University Department of Architecture was conducted with 110 students in the spring of 2020. The Kizilay region and the collective memory subjects constitute the main discussions of this particular studio experience. As a threshold studio transitioning from basic design to upper-level architectural design courses, this course enables students to comprehend the urban environment and its basic elements. It encourages them to design small-scale projects and architecture by examining the relationship of space with context. Considering this, the works referencing and grounding the research also reflect a new generation of urban citizens who are yet to develop a full architectural consciousness and perspective. So, the discussion on collective memory is rather experiential and tied to daily life rather than professional conceptions and assumptions. During the studio, students have extensively read about Ankara and memory, experienced the space directly, and collectively discussed their findings. Then, within the boundaries presented by the studio coordinators, each student decided on a specific area in the Kizilay region as the study area and selected spatial, conceptual, and symbolic references regarding collective memory. This resulted in a heterogeneous working environment in tracing the city's memory; while some areas became more concentrated, the revealing process of the relationship between different historical traces also varied significantly. The study adopts mapping as a methodology to unfold how new generation citizens respond to the traces of the collective memory.

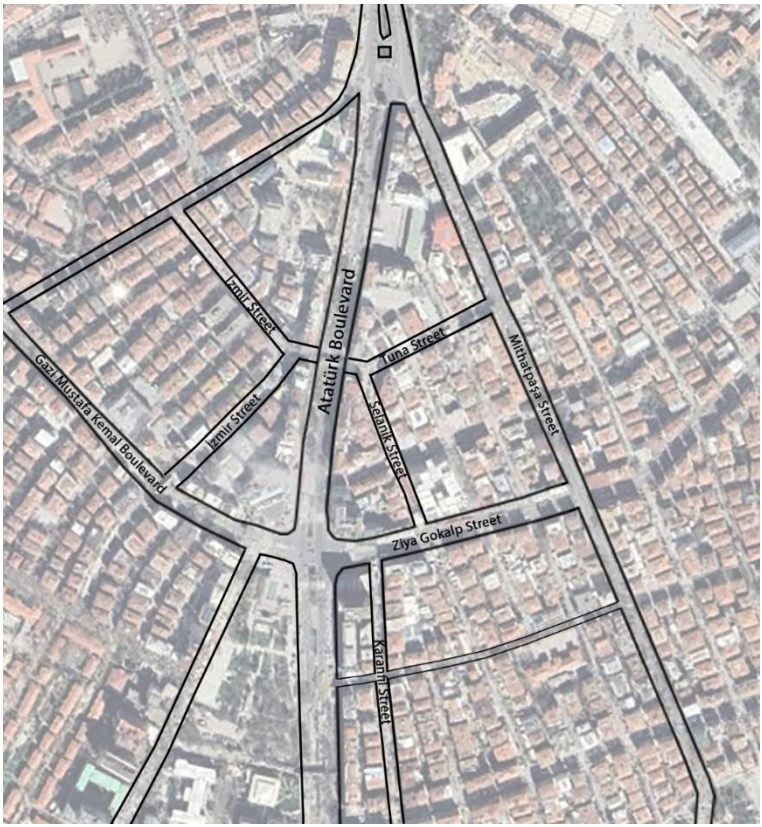



**Figure 1.** Study area, Kizilay District, Atatürk Boulevard and its surrounding

As defined by Corner (1999), mapping allows to reveal hidden realities beyond the direct representation of the already existing. While exposing and revealing, it connects and restructures the knowledge in a particular way. In this respect, palimpsest as a concept exhibits similarities with what mapping aims to achieve. Thus, palimpsest is utilized in the study both methodologically and as a representational reference during the mapping process. As already explained, it is possible to identify three distinctive periods in the urbanization history of Ankara. The traces from these periods occasionally coincide or dissociate. Accordingly, the traces students identified in terms of spatial and symbolic memories are grouped in the periods of 1920-50, 1950-1980, and 1980-2020. These traces are reproduced as texts, and a series of script maps are produced in line with the

areas that these texts refer to. By doing so, the Kizilay region's spatial map has transformed into a palimpsest in itself, overlapping the memory traces. In the following part of the research, the findings from the relational reading of the Kizilay palimpsest's traces are discussed conceptually and concerning its spatial transformation in the hundred years. It should be noted that most of the students already resided in Ankara before the studio, and the remaining ones have experienced the district in particular extensively over two years thanks to the university's proximity. The data mapped in the research should be considered accordingly. While the distribution of memory signifiers (texts) could change if conducted with another group, the overall formation of the palimpsestous reading and relations between different periodic layers would remain mostly similar for the new generation of urban citizens, considering the debates over the generational definition of collective memory and the results of studies conducted in this field.

## 4. Mapping the (Re)Constructions of Memory as Palimpsest

The concepts and places pointed out or emphasized by the students in their words regarding the collective memory of the Kizilay region are mapped in three periods, as indicated (Figure 2). The images emerging from a palimpsest reading of the periods point to some essential aspects of the region. In the 1920-50 period, the signs of memory were primarily identified with monuments and the public spaces where they are located. The axis connecting the old and new cities appears as the dominant trace. In contrast, the villas and the three-four-story newer buildings replacing them are not mentioned as part of today's collective memory, which might be related to private functions secluded from public life at that time. Between 1950 and 1980, the fact that there were few positive changes concerning the architecture and the planning of the region is represented in the memory traces identified by the students. The city center's growth causes the use of the axis defined by the boulevard to expand. Accordingly, sub-regions like Izmir and Sakarya streets emerge without disturbing the region's linearity. While new architectural typologies like passages appear, the traces of the previous were preserved to a great extent but began to fade in memory. In the last period starting in the 80s, the concepts and spaces referencing the memory have significantly changed; beyond monumentality, they are primarily characterized by daily life practices and functions. The collective memory structured around the linearity of the boulevard in the 20s is now spreading and intensifying while its boundaries are becoming more blurred. This can be associated with the absence of strong images and architecture of the city that can carry the memory and stimulate the act of remembering, as observed in old Kizilay.

In addition to the general evaluation of the Kizilay region through the traces of memory pointed out by the students, it is possible to unfold how the city and memory are formed for today's urban generation through a palimpsest reading of particular areas in the layered mapping work. Considering the changing connections and disconnections between the traces, several generic conditions of the region can be identified conceptually as follows:

- The disappearance of dominant memory traces under the others (Kizilay Park, Güvenpark)

- Conflicting traces from different periods become indecipherable (Zafer Park – right side)

- Traces of memory gradually fade and lose their dominance (Zafer Park – left side, Hittite Sun Disk Monument)

- Continuing the dominance of memory traces while diversifying (Emek and Soysal Commercial Blocks)

- The emergence of new memory traces daily life (Izmir, Karanfil, and Sakarya Streets)

- The absence of a dominant memory traces

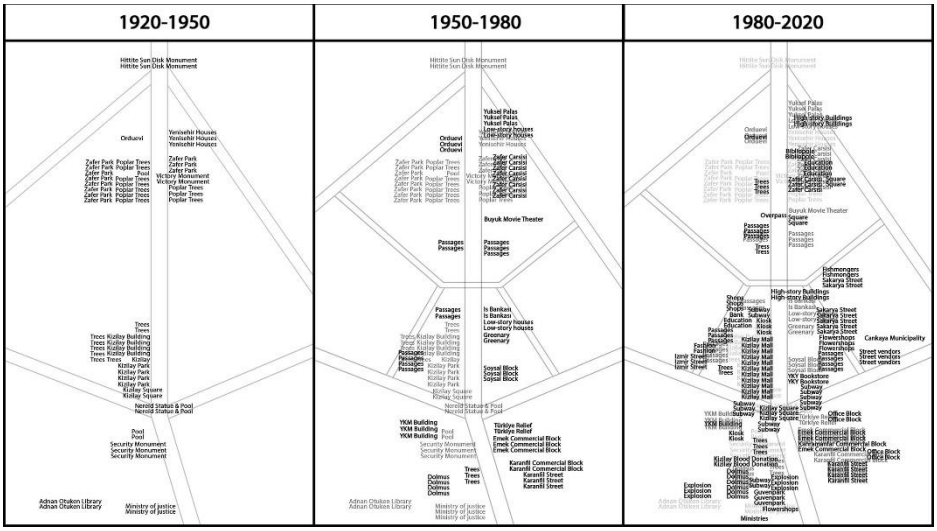



**Figure 2.** Mapping of Kizilay as Palimpsest

The area where the old Kizilay Park and the building defining it are still present in the collective memory of new generation citizens. However, it is dominated by the strong presence of the newly built Kizilay Shopping Centre (Figure 3). Despite the debates over the building In terms of its scale and relationship with the past and the surrounding, it achieved to form a sort of memory in the city today. Despite being the most prevailing trace of today and dominating the past traces underneath, the fact that the diminished traces of old Kizilay is present in the new generation's memory might be related to the importance of the area once in the city's public life. It can be interpreted that the new

building has formed a place in collective memory not organically but forcibly, as it suppresses its surrounding in terms of public use. Although the area remained empty for thirty years after the Kizilay Building was demolished in 1979, the fact that the new building has been impactful in collective memory supports this argument.

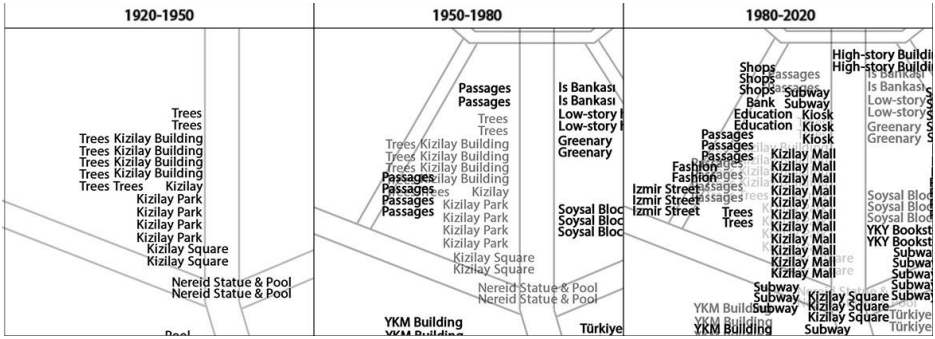



**Figure 3.** Kizilay Park and it surrounding's palimpsestous mapping

An example of the disappearance of dominant memory traces in the daily life of the new citizen is observed in Güvenpark. The park, mostly remembered for the Security monument and the public green area around it, has not been subjected to a direct demolition as in Kizilay Park. However, it has started to deteriorate and lose its integrity with various developments in each period (Figure 4). As Kizilay gradually became a commercial center, it has become an alternative place for incremental solutions against the increasing transportation problems. While the dolmus phenomenon serving the informal sector has become the main urban situation engraved in the memory since 1950, the place of monuments in the memory has become more obscured with the subway's opening. While Güvenpark's monument, pool, and its surroundings were originally a meeting point where citizens took a break in the flow of their daily lives, with the intensification of functions and transportation, they can only find a place in the memory of the new generation as a crossing area. A discussion that can be opened here about the memory of the new citizens is also about the experience. The monument placed in the area commemorating July 15th does not refer to a dominant memory among the new generation of citizens. Whereas the explosions at Kumrular Street and Ministries side bus stops have become a part of their memory through the urban environment itself. It can be said that the strong identity that the region has already gained over the century, even if it can be characterized as transforming and problematic, makes it difficult for a new monument to gain an identity through the act of remembering. The fact that the traces of daily life are the most indicative of memory today shows that the new generation of citizens forms their memory through their daily experiences rather than monumental elements.

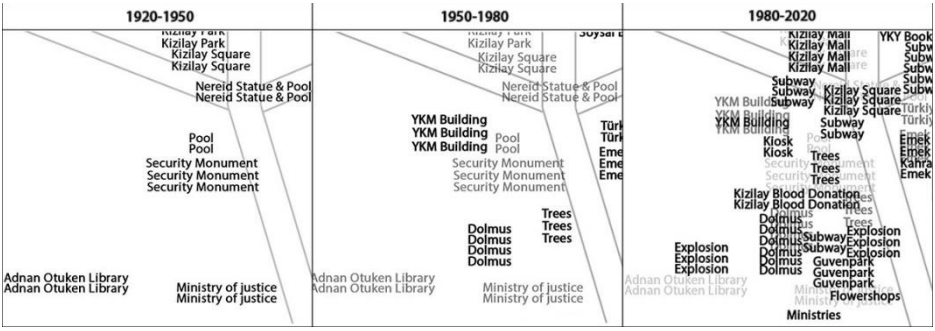



**Figure 4.** Güvenpark's palimpsestous mapping

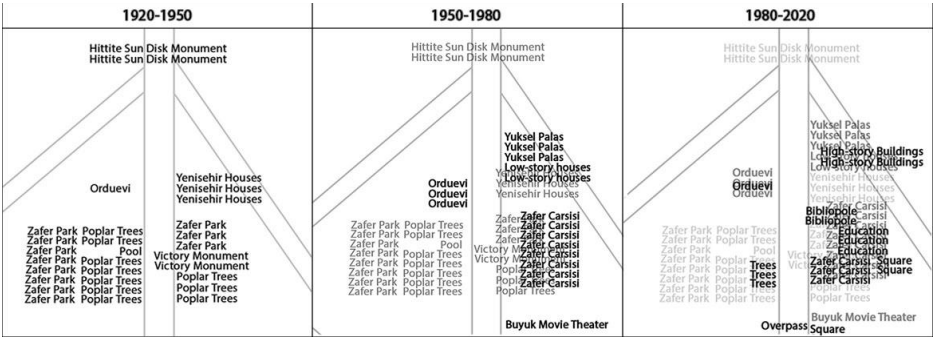



**Figure 5.** Zafer Park's palimpsestous mapping

Making a definitive palimpsestous reading of the memory traces may not always be possible. An urban development in this direction is observed in Zafer Park. In the 1920s, Zafer Park, conceived as a whole with the boulevard and Atatürk Monument by the students, underwent a significant transformation from 1950 onwards. It is seen that the traces of the past and the present are conflicting as a result of the destruction of the green texture in the process of transforming the left side into a carsi and then the anonymous state of the carsi from the first years when it functioned as a sociocultural center to the present day (Figure 5). As expressed by the students, it is not possible to talk about a dominant memory of the area. On the right side of the park, another situation observed about Kizilay has become visible. While students attributed the dominant memory of the Park to this place in the 20s, this part of Zafer Park gradually started to lose its place in memory in the 50s. This was due to the widening of the boulevard, the transformation of the left side into a carsi, the destruction of this part while its transformation into a car park, and the project's abandonment. The new generation of

citizens sees the side as a park as part of the collective memory instead of seeing this part still existing. This indicates that the transformed areas in the city are being dragged into a struggle for existence in the daily collective memory. As a result, an ambiguous trace of memory remains. One of the areas that gradually fades and loses its place in memory is also the Hittite Sun Disk Monument. Although it is an important part of the city and memory in defining the boulevard and the axis of the 1920s, today, with the transformation of its surroundings into a vehicular junction point, it no longer constitutes a prevailing memory among new citizens.

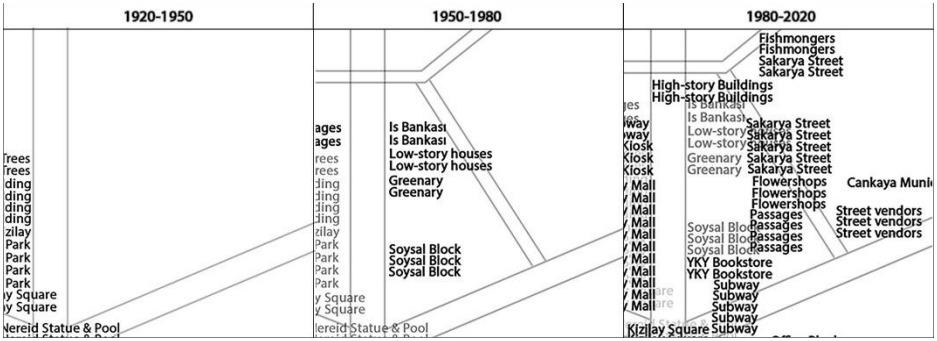



**Figure 6.** Sakarya Street's palimpsestous mapping.

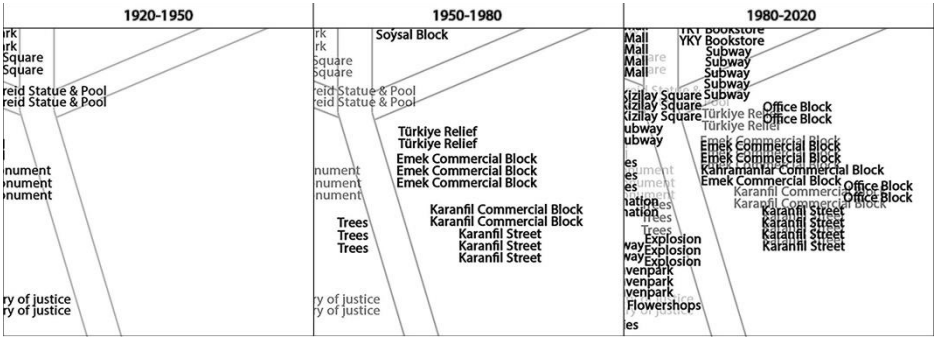



**Figure 7.** Karanfil Street's palimpsestous mapping

Besides reconstructing new generation citizens' memory upon the traces of the past, the mapping reveals that daily life practices appear as another form of memory today. This is observed in Sakarya, Izmir, and Karanfil Streets, which have emerged as sub-regions and led to the blurring and spreading of Kizilay's boundaries. Even though the shopping patterns and spaces of the new citizens have changed, it is evident that the fishmongers

and florists on Sakarya Street, the fashion and textile shops on Izmir Street, and the bookstores along Karanfil have built a new collective memory of Kizilay that persists (Figure 6, 7). As the functions clustered, each of these streets acquired an identity of its own. The arcade architecture that emerged in these areas has significantly changed the area's profile with the functions it embodies. Tracing the continuity of memories formed through daily experience in other parts of Kizilay is possible. Buildings such as the YKM Building, Emek Commercial Block, and Soysal Passage seem to have succeeded in carrying the memory they have created in the city since the middle of the twentieth century to the new generation, albeit through transformation.

Despite Kizilay's multilayered structure being characterized differently in each period, the mapping work reveals some areas that are not included in the students' research or works. These areas can be interpreted as lacking a significant spatial or symbolic expression of collective memory among new-generation citizens. Some areas along the boulevard and the sides of Necatibey and Mithatpasa Streets closer to Kizilay remained empty. The fact that they remained empty, although many studies and documents present the wide variety of spaces in these areas from the past, is likely linked to changing and overwhelming character of the region over the years. As the boundaries of Kizilay becomes more blurred, and its center becomes dominant in daily life, its surrounding becomes more vague and unnoticeable spatially, neither bearing the past memory into the present nor forming a current collective memory in daily experience.

## 5. Discussion

Based on the multilayered transformation of the Kizilay district of Ankara in the century of the republic, this study questions its palimpsestous character and how it is represented in the collective memory of today's new generation citizens. Many studies focus on the place of Kizilay in the collective memory from various aspects and reveal many values related to the 100 years of the republic. However, some of the values are now entirely lost, and some others cannot be carried into the future, facing the danger of being lost behind new traces to be written. This study's focus and contribution to the concept of palimpsest is to highlight a different perspective on memory debates to comprehend a future of republic's architecture in the next hundred years. Collective memory is a phenomenon constructed through cultural and social relations. In this case, it is also challenging to make a general definition of it. It is difficult to talk about any particular border or periodic definition; experiences mostly shape it. Therefore, the conditions of periods and generational parameters become significant in shaping the collective memory. The sociological definition of a generation highlights the "idea of a shared or collective cultural field and a set of embodied practices" and, consequently, the importance of collective memory (Eyerman & Turner, 1998, p.93). When we consider the architecture that carries the city's memory, regardless of how long it survives or disappears, the memory becomes a collective narrative built on the experiences of another generation that cannot be directly experienced now by the present ones. While the republican traces have become a palimpsest, this study discusses how these traces

of the past century can be carried to the new generation of citizens who will define the next century.The data presented as accumulated traces of memory is entirely derived from the students, their discoveries, and observations and presents a picture of the current state of memory. If the study were conducted with the same method by involving elderly citizens who resided in Ankara over the years, the results would be a representation of another memory that emphasizes the present or lost values of Republican Kizilay, a kind of memory that newer generations will only comprehend as a distant past. Although the traces from the proclamation of the Republic are significant, memory is a social and living phenomenon, as Halbwachs presents it. What remains today is Kizilay, free from the ghosts of the past, intertwined with daily life, where the emerging new generation of citizens can experience and trace its traces emotionally and physically. Therefore, while discussing Kizilay particularly, this study also opens a new debate while reaching the end of the Republic's hundred-year period over how a new generation can perceive the city as a memory, what they can claim as their own, and what is at risk of being lost. Entering a new chapter for our cities and the Republic, instead of being trapped in the past and resisting the present, it is necessary to understand it, grasp its reflections in the emerging new generation of cities, and strengthen it for a better and brighter future.

## 6. Epilogue

While conducting and presenting this research, it was announced that the Kizilay Shopping Mall, which had formed a collective memory in the new generation, had officially gone bankrupt. Even this coincidental situation strongly shows how shifting the traces and memory of the city are. But what about Kizilay Shopping Mall's traces in the palimpsest of future Kizilay? Will it remain vacant, and its traces will fade in the palimpsestous memory of the next century? Will a new urban memory be written in bold over the existing fabric, or will the building transform and form its trace? Or will the traces of the republic underneath be resurfaced with intensive efforts? Supposing these traces are resurfaced, will they have the power to mark a memory in the new Ankara of future republican days, or will they be added to the list of symbolic, uninhabited places? Time will tell the answers to all these questions. However, while the collective memory of the new generation of citizens is being formed in the new century, those of us who can formulate a discourse on the city needs to think about how interventions can be made that will keep the urban fabric alive without isolating the traces, preventing them from being blurred and erased while incorporating them into daily life.

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5TH SESSION: DEISGN ISSUES IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Chair: Prof. Dr. Orhan Hacıhasanoğlu

# A REPUBLICAN DREAM FOR SPACE AND FUTURE IN YEŞILÇAM

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## Abstract

*In Early Republican Period, new strategies focusing on science and technology were started to be discussed but due to the current conditions, the development and the implementation of these strategies had –nearly become possible starting from late 1930s. In 1940s and 1950s, still, there was not a severe and innovative understanding towards technology in Turkey. Despite that situation, the dream of achieving new, futuristic and visionary was visible. One of the vivid reflections of this dream is the interpretation of the notion of space and future. By the 1950s, with the help of the effect of the media, space, space flight dreams and cinema had become a phenomenon not only in Turkey but in the whole world. So in 1950s, the dream of tracing the concept of future had become visible specially in cinema in relation with the reflections on architecture and design.*

*This study focuses on the relationship between design and cinema in 1950s Turkey through a selected film; "Flying Saucers over Istanbul". It investigates how the interiors and envisioned constructions related to the space concept were considered. It puts emphasis on the relationship between architectural design and cinema through the phenomenon of the spaceship/UFO with the help of the film. this study, it is anticipated that the modern architectural buildings used to depict unknown space-borne spaces in the film, provided information about the social aesthetic perception. Therefore, the impact of modern architecture on society and the reflection of American influence is underlined.*

**Keywords:** *Republican Turkey, design and cinema, Yeşilçam, UFO, 1950s*

## Introduction

Nowadays Turkey tries competing in international arena, through Turkey Space Program founded in 2021, that aims for a moon-landing in 2023; in the Republic's centenary, after half-century from the first moon-landing of the world (URL-1). Here, it should be pointed out that space theme is not a brand new concept in Turkey. Actually, even in 1920s, right

after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, “tomorrow, future, new” were considered as the keywords. In fact, in 1924, in a newspaper; Resimli Gazete, an illustration of Henri Lanos called “Les découvertes de demain” (discoveries of tomorrow) was included (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** The illustration that took place in Resimli Gazete (Resource: http://expositions.bnf.fr/utopie/grand/sf2.htm)

Space theme became quite popular in 1950s in social and cultural environment as a part of the international space debate. This debate became visible in Turkish media. The reflection of these news also effected Turkish cinema, Yeşilçam. In this context the film “Flying Saucers over Istanbul” (1955) is critical since it is the first case of the representation of space theme. In this study, the representation of space is emphasized through this film in order to understand the interior organization and architectural design language of the era. Since there are international precursor examples in that sense international background should be included to the context of the study. Afterwards reflections in Turkey and the film are deeply analyzed.

Although Sputnik marks the beginning of the space journey in 1957, the space dream shows up through media earlier than this date. Even the book of Jules Verne; From the Earth to the Moon (1865), can be counted on among them by envisioning the man on the moon. After the World War II, the Cold War period starts, and reaches up to the sky. The two prominent figures of Cold War; Soviet Union (USSR, Russia) and United States compete with each other through literature and cinema in space race.

The biologist Alexander Bognadov's s novel “Red Star (Krasnaia Zvezda)”, which stages a Bolshevik utopia on Mars (1908), a science fiction film; “Aelita” of Iakov Protazanov (1924). Are among the Russian resources. In 1962, Fantastika the journal reprinted science fiction of the revolutionary era. In the following period many worthwhile examples meet with the audience. “The Andromeda Nebula (Tumannost’ Andromedy)”, Ivan Efremov’s novel about intergalactic socialism published in the same year with Sputnik launch (Banerjee, 2018). Meanwhile American media publishes many books such as “Rocketship of Galileo” (1947) comics, songs, and articles related to spaceflight. In addition to these reflections, in 1950s and 1960s, the dream of achieving the future had become visible in the field of architecture through many projects as well. Kiyonari Kikutake's "The Marine City," project (1959), Arata Isozaki's "Cluster in the Air" project (1960), "Plug-In City" project (1962) by the Archigram group, "Tripod City" (1964) designed by Yves Salier, the "Walking City" project (1966), by Archigram are such cases (Özkuş, 2006).

Around the world, space theme captivated the public’s attention and, becomes the focus of consumption as well as art and design. Specifically, science fiction films focusing the theme of space increased in 1950s. In these films, space travel is shown in two directions as coming to earth and coming from the earth. For example, “The Day the Earth Stood Still (1951)” and “It Came from Outer Space (1953)” stand out from other productions as they show extraterrestrials from outer space while the 1950 movie “Destination Moon” celebrated the idea of a Moon landing. Accordingly, the 1950s can be defined as the golden age for American science fiction cinema with the space theme. One of the reasons for the most ambitious period of American science fiction cinema in the 1950s was related to the increase in the number of people claiming to have seen UFOs (Scognamillo, 2006).

A similar situation was experienced in Turkey. Mysterious flying saucer and suspicious objects news starting from America, are also featured in the Turkish press. It results in

an increase in the flying saucer incidents in Turkey. In these news, figures who are respected by the society, such as soldiers or professors, also take part. Depiction of “a crimson flame” (Yeni Gazete, 1947) “Brightly glowing, egg-shaped (beyzi), object”, “a very, very white object in the sky” (Akis, 1954) was seen in the news with their stories and actors.

## Turkey’s Intentions on Space

In Turkey, it is possible to mention amateur attempts related with the space time in late 1950s. For example, a few high school students in Bandırma who followed the news focusing on Sputnik 1 and Explorer 1 in late 1950s had been influenced by the space theme and had established Bandırma Rocket Club in 1958 (Figure 2). Students made experiments with the consultancy of Kirkor Divarcı; an engineer, lecturer from Istanbul Technical University. In fact, they even created a rocket named Marmara 1 and the rocket had been fired vertically up from the ground to 5.4 kilometers. Afterwards, the club had aimed to send a mouse to the space (Aktrüs project) (Ataoğlu, 2022) but unfortunately, a fire was burned down in Divarcı’s house. Even if the research was gone, it is possible to observe that early Republican dreams continue to exist.




**Figure 2.** News about Bandırma Rocket Club (Resource: https://www.fikriyat.com/kultur-sanat/2018/02/07/basarili-olan-ilk-turk-fuzesinin-akibeti)

In the following years, Erich von Daniken's book "Chariots of the Gods" published in 1968 received a wide attention in Turkey. As a reflection of this, the most important magazine of the period, SES, devoted an issue to this subject in 1974 (Figure 3). It broadcasts a section where the movie stars and singers of the period share their views. Celebrities such as Zeki Müren, Gönül Akkor, Türkan Şoray and Cüneyt Arkın express their belief that there may be life in space. Additionally, Sevim Tuna describes that she saw a bright object passes from the terrace of her house in Bebek towards Beykoz from the direction of Adalar and stands still on Bebek, and its light goes out on the Levent sides (URL-2).




**Figure 3.** Published media showing public's interest. (Resource: URL-2).

It is understood that Turkey could not become a noteworthy actor in the space race. Turkey established its first relationship with the air with the THK Glider Factory in 1925. Its first move to space was the Military Electronics Industry (ASELSAN), which was established in 1975 to operate in the field of Avionics (in aviation, airplanes, artificial satellites, electronic systems of space vehicles). The Science and Technologies in Space Committee was established in 1990 within the body of TÜBİTAK. Turkey's first satellite was put into orbit by the French Aerospatiale company in 1994 (Bilim ve Teknik, 2000).

There are also some other attempts such as "Feydamid project" which had started in 1960 and continued until 1978 (URL-3). In Feydamid, Fevzi Yertut and his team aimed to travel through space and atmosphere; create a regular journey between Earth and Space with the vehicles to be prepared according to this project (Figure 4). However, the form of the project was similar to the flying saucer form depicted in popular movies. Steel

and glass were chosen for the space ship materials on the basis of high-technological new materials idea.




**Figure 4.** Feydamid Project (Resource: URL-3).

With the loss of the effectiveness of the theater period (and Muhsin Ertuğrul) in Turkey in 1950s, science fiction cinema began to develop focusing on adaptations. Space-themed films shot in Turkey after 1950 were adapted from American films due to lack of technology (Akser 2013). In this adaptation, storytelling, which includes cultural codes, is effective (Arslan 2011). Hollywood movies were Turkifizied (Türkleştirme) and re-emerged with cultural codes (Arslan 2011). "Gökler Kraliçesi (1958)", "Turist Ömer Uzay Yolunda (1973)" adapted by "Star Trek-The Man Trap" and "Dünyayı Kurtaran Adam (1982)" adapted by "Star Wars" can be counted as some examples of that period. But it should not be forgotten that melodrama and comedy are the most common genres in Turkish cinema and science fiction does not resonate with the audience usually (Balcı, 2021). In fact, Demirhan and Scognamillo discuss that science fiction cinema has not been improved too much due to audience's limited interest and financial reasons (1999).

Turkish cinema gives the similar results with the adaptations of American movies, the film Flying Saucers Over Istanbul (1955) movie stands out from the other examples with its design elements. Since, science fiction films are rare in Turkey, this film is worth examining.

## Flying Saucers over Istanbul

The film, "Flying Saucers Over Istanbul" (Uçan Daireler İstanbul'da) which is dated back to 1955 is written and directed by Orhan Erçin. In this film, alien women from planet Mars land their spaceship (UFO) in Istanbul to search for men since all the men in Mars are dead. Alien women with the help of a robot found two people; a journalist and a reporter named Şapşal and Kaşar (URL-4). The film which is a combination of comedy and sci-fi shows a strong tendency to the comedy concept even through the names/nicknames of the main characters Şapşal; meaning goofy and Kaşar; meaning a type of cheese. The tendency to the genre of comedy instead of sci-fi genre was not unique for Turkey. There

are precursor worldwide examples such as Hungarian Sziriusz (1942) and Austria, 1. April, 2000 (1952) (Figure 5) (URL-1).

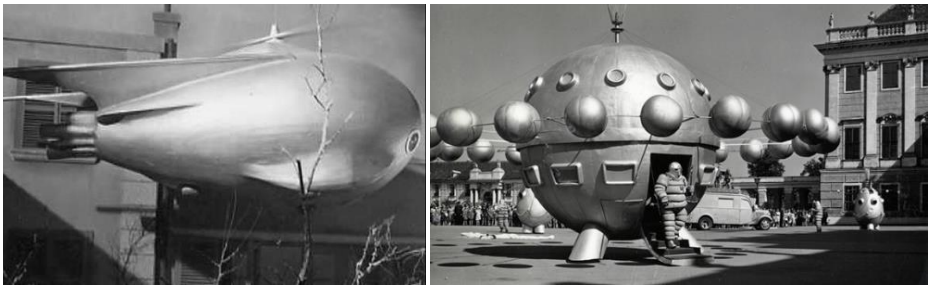


**Figure 5.** Sziriusz. (Resource: URL-1). 1. April, 2000. (Resource: URL-5)

The film starts with the dance of a belly dancer. Afterwards, a host makes a speech about the club that they have founded soon. The women in the club wanted to find themselves partners which is also the hint for the following scenes related with the fact that alien women and their search for Earth men. Also, in the first minutes of the film, in the club, Şapşal and Kaşar might be recognized. Additionally, the scone wall lamps in the club are shown. These lamps have a clear, geometric form and circular holes on their surfaces. The lamps here in this scene, in comparison with the dining tables and chairs in the club, are the design items which have a specific futuristic design language (Figure 6). When this scone wall lamp is searched, similar international lamp examples with perforated surfaces from 1940s and 1950s in which Atomic Age (Chokhachian, 2014) and Googie (Acar, 2020) influence in design and architecture is observed are found. This may be considered as a showcase of the international influence. Since the ruling party in Turkey in early 1950s, appreciated the strategies of United States of America, the lifestyle, artistic sensibility, architecture, design of US had been mirrored in Turkey (Tulum, 2018).



**Figure 6.** The wall scones in the film and the similar examples. (Resources: URL-6, URL: 7)

In the following scenes, Şapşal and Kaşar visit their boss. The boss is frustrated due to the current topic of many newspapers; the observation of flying objects. Boss tells them

to follow and understand the truth. So, Şapşal and Kaşar visits a private observatory in order to follow the incident secretly. Here, two different buildings are used in order to show the observatory building. One of them is Istanbul University Observatory which was designed by Arif Hikmet Holtay in 1936 (Figure 7). This building; with its form and composition is considered as the one of the showcases of "New Architecture"; modern architecture in Turkey in 1930s. When the form and the composition of the building is analyzed, an international peer; the Einstein Tower designed by Erich Mendelsohn in 1919 is realized. Zeynep İrem Küreğibüyük (2013) points out that the director of the observatory Erwin Finlay-Freundlich was in charge of the construction process of Istanbul University Observatory. Freundlich was also in charge of the Einstein Tower's construction. In this sense, it might be considered that Istanbul University Observatory could compete with its peers and a modern architectural language is followed. Also, in Republican Period, in 1930s, modern architectural practice started to flourish and an architectural vocabulary with volumetric and geometric compositions, asymmetrical organizations, rounded corners had been developed (Bozdoğan, 2010). In addition to the international interaction, the desire of Turkish Republic was to develop a contemporary architectural approach which was leading the rise of modern architecture in Turkey.

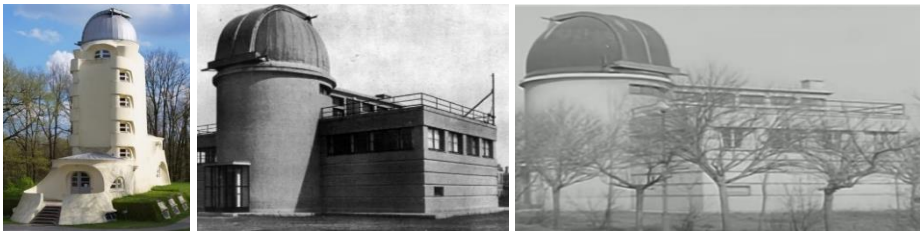


**Figure 7.** The Einstein Tower Istanbul University Observatory from Arkitekt journal and a scene from the film. (Resource: URL-8, Arkitekt.).

Since Istanbul University Observatory provides opportunities for sky observations, observatory building may be related with a film which focuses on the space. But on the contrary, second building which was shown in order to show the observatory is not related with an observation function, this building is the entrance pavilion of Mecidiyeköy liqueur and cognac factory which was designed by Robert Mallet-Stevens in 1930 (Figure 8). It is interesting that this pavilion is used to exhibit a different function; an observatory. It might be assumed that the curved form of the building is considered as a proper form for the composition of an observatory. Also, one may claim that aesthetical approaches of these two buildings (Istanbul University Observatory and Mecidiyeköy liqueur and cognac factory) were considered as similar buildings due to their geometric compositions, forms, flat roofs and metal, linear railing designs by the director Orhan Erçin. It should be underlined that these two buildings are not located nearby, so Erçin's decision about the location of the spots is intriguing. This shows that the selection of these buildings was a specific strategy of the director.

The pavilion by Robert Mallet-Stevens which would be demolished later is an important part of the single building that the architect designed outside France (URL-9). Since the director had specifically chosen that building for the film, the design language of the building might have attracted the director. For the interior scenes of the observatory, both of these two buildings' interiors were not used. Here, set designer (art director, director, actor) Sohban Koloğlu, created a set for most of the following interior scenes (URL-10).

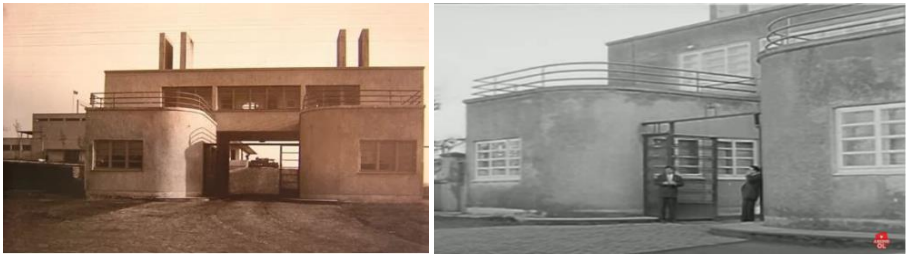


**Figure 8.** Entrance pavilion of Mecidiyeköy liqueur and cognac factory; a scene from the film (Resource: URL-9).

In the following scenes, Şapşal and Kaşar accidentally contact with the alien women from Mars through communication machines. Alien women who seek for men due to the lack of men in Mars launch to earth through their space ship/flying saucer and for the very first time in Turkish cinema, a representation of the space ship of an alien is seen. This topic in cinema was not a brand new concept, actually, an earlier film; "Devil Girl from Mars" has a very similar topic; the search for men. It should be underlined that in Turkish Cinema, sci-fi movies were mostly based on international inspirations, direct implementations (URL-11). In following years, with the same strategy, many other films; "Betmen Bat Man", "Badi" would be released. The influence is so clear that sometimes even the original names or costumes of the characters are repeated. As an illustration, in the final scenes of the film; Flying Saucers Over Istanbul, even an American star; Marilyn Monroe is impersonated by the actress Mirello Monro (URL-1). These show the American influence on Turkey.

In the following scenes of the film, a female figure and a simple robot with the spaceship; flying saucer with poor workmanship are noticed. Since the representation of the space ship is new for Turkish cinema, in order to understand the common representation of this context, international examples which are dated back to 1950s should also be analyzed. For instance, in the film; "The Day the Earth Stood Still (1951)", space ship with a design language focusing on pure lines and a man with a space suit are seen. When it is compared with the film; Flying Saucers Over Istanbul, the outer shell of the space ship seems like it was designed elaborately. Only, the overall forms of the ships are similar. Also, in the film; "It Came from Outer Space (1953)" a space ship representation is seen but this time, the form is a sphere which is composed of hexagons. This is completely different than the common design language of the space ship. In the film; Devil Girl from

Mars (1954), the space ship is designed with the saucer form and some legs for the launch (Figure 9).

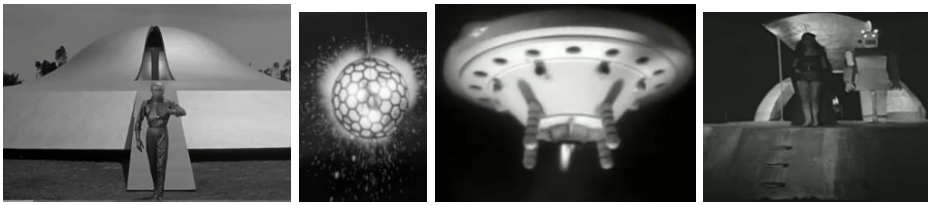


**Figure 9.** The Day the Earth Stood still (1951), It Came from Outer Space (1953), Devil Girl from Mars (1954), Flying Saucers Over Istanbul (1955) (Resource: Youtube).

In the following scenes of Flying Saucers Over Istanbul, the interior of the space ship is showed. This is interesting because in the peers of that film; The Day the Earth Stood still, the interior of the space ship is not showed. In the film; It Came from Outer Space, only a light source is showed through a foggy atmosphere. In the film; "Cat-Women of the Moon (1953)", since a travel of the aliens was not the topic, the space ship of people is seen. Also, in the film; Devil Girl from Mars (1954), an entrance or hallway part is showed but again only an overall interior. But here, for the first time, the concept of materiality comes to the fore and devil girl mentions that the construction material is a type of organic metal material that is fire resistant and keeps the interior cold. In one of the very early examples of this genre which is based on the context of space, a Russian film; "Aelita", the space ship is barely showed with the space ship door (Figure 10).



**Figure 10.** It Came from Outer Space (1953), Cat-Women of the Moon (1953), Devil Girl from Mars (1954), Aelita (1920) (Resource: Youtube).

When the interior of the space ship in the film; Flying Saucers Over Istanbul is analyzed, a unit with a seating element, stool which is similar to a counter is realized. In this counter, it is possible to find many buttons and a small rectangular screen. Alien women mention this screen as a television for observation and they watch/observe the real life scenes from the buildings due to their wishes (URL-12). The television concept is highly interesting because in 1955, when the film was released, there was not a pervasive television broadcast in the whole country. As evidence, the first national television

channel in Turkey would be available in 1968 but the launch of ITU TV by Istanbul Technical University in 1952 in Istanbul, watching television soon would be a desire for many people (Tutuk, Barutçu, 2018). Since there was an intimate interaction between United States and Turkey in 1950s, television may have been considered as a major invention and innovation. Also, the television/camera idea in the film is quite different, it seems like it has the function of a camera in the film, but it should be emphasized that in this era, the camera in such a context was not used at all (Figure 11).



**Figure 11.** Scenes that show the interior of the space ship and "television". (Resource: Youtube).



**Figure 12.** American diner bar, diner style American kitchen, American cabinet and Soviet cabinet design with sliding doors (Resources: URL-13, URL-14, URL-15, URL-16)

In the following scenes, it is seen that some parts of the counter in the space ship have an organic form. For the set design, two dimensional effect was considered and in volumetric context, an unrealistic counter is prepared. Here, for the space ship scene, the film; Cat-Women of the Moon (1953) might have been inspirational due to the fact that in this film's set design, a unit with screens and several technological devices are used. However, when this unit is compared with the one in Turkish film, it is clear that the craftsmanship of the one in the Turkish film is not professional at all. Actually, the counter in Flying Saucers Over Istanbul film is partially similar to American diner bar counter, stool or American diner style of 1940s and 50s visually. With an overall evaluation, it might be assumed that in order to represent a futuristic design approach, some footprints of the international design approaches were considered as inspirational sources and these were followed. In addition to the unit with a counter that includes a tv/camera in the film, it is understood that the use of technology is critical. This is shown through the automatic shelving system with sliding doors in the space ship. This system has some common features with American and Soviet cabinet designs of 1950s. Again, the

international design approaches were inspirational. Furthermore, it should be noted that the concept of sliding doors is pervasive in the films in this era, especially the doors of the space ships are considered as sliding doors. These show that sliding doors or surfaces might have been considered as a trace of advanced technology (Figure 12).

The curiosity for the technology could not reflect on the outer view of the space ship due to the limited budget of the Turkish film. One of the actresses of the film declares that the set designer Sohban Koloğlu, built the ship with cartoons (URL-1). Even if Koloğlu, had created a representation of a space ship, with the insufficient materials, the representation of the space ship did not become realistic and promising (Figure 13).

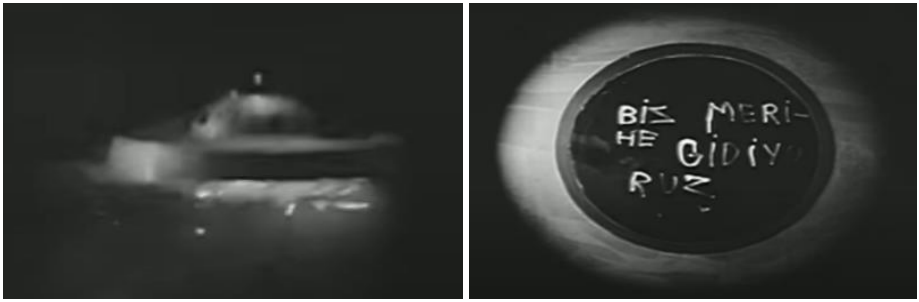



**Figure 13.** Last scene of the film showing the space ship's exterior view.

When the film and its scenes are evaluated in overall sense, it is detected that the international influence is visible. As a matter of fact, Ufuk Uğur and Sezen Altay claim that Turkish cinema in 1950s, puts emphasis on the themes of Hollywood and remakes of these Hollywood films. According to Uğur and Altay, in these films, local, cultural interpretations may be highlighted (2018). But in this Turkish film, local additions are quite rare. Instead, the act of copying is so much visible such as the representation of Marilyn Monroe in the film by the actress Mirella Monro cartoons (URL-1). Altay also explains that the reason for the rise of the sci-fi films in 1950s is the emphasis on the worldwide space based researches and the people who claim that they had seen UFOs, space ships (Altay, 2019).

Even if the film does not promise scenes with a noteworthy architectural approch and design quality in terms of insufficient and poor craftsmanship and/or limited budget issues, it is important because the film is dated back to 1950s when even Hollywood space narrative films are barely visible. Even if the dream of achieving the space is a popular theme is valid in Turkey, until 1960s and 1970s, films that focus on space topic are very rare in Turkey. Additionally, when these examples are compared with their international peers, the interior organizations and architectural design approaches in Turkish films are unable to compete with the international ones. It may be considered

that there was not a valid or promising scientific research on this topic in Turkey unlike the other countries.

## Conclusion

Space theme which is still active in Turkey, appeared in media in 1920s and became vogue in 1950s in Turkish cinema, made a progress through the imitations of Western and Soviet films with current limited circumstances. The film, Flying Saucers Over Istanbul, which is analyzed in this paper is considered as a premise since it is the first sci-fi space themed film in Turkey in 1950s. In this film, modernist design tendencies of the country are visible specifically through furniture in interiors in a partial approach. The outside shootings showing the early Republican buildings including the aesthetical canons of modernist architecture of 1930s can be evaluated as the continuation of this approach. Also it is observed that technological concerns were visible, even though set design was poorly executed in comparison with its international peers.

The film including the cultural codes of the era, may be considered as an important case, in terms of the evaluation of the Turkish approach on space. Here, in the film, the reflection of a futuristic mindset on architecture and interior organization in 1950s can be realized. As an exceptional example, the interior of the spaceship is displayed, which can be rarely seen even in the international films in that era. On the other hand, in this period's architectural and design language a futuristic approach is barely seen, it might be assumed that the depiction of the space based futurism is stronger in Turkish cinema than the Turkish architectural environment. In this paper it is aimed to underlined these issues, so this paper may be considered as a reference for future potential studies focusing on 1950s space theme.

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# Confrontations in Close Proximities: Experiments among Postwar Architectural Competitions in İstanbul's Historical Palimpsests

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## Abstract

*Postwar architectural competitions in Turkey played a vital role in integrating the young generation of architects into professional practice and created new experimental landscapes for re-interpreting architectural modernisms. Located alongside the Atatürk Boulevard, the İstanbul City Hall open competition, İstanbul Textile Traders' Market's limited competition, and Social Security Complex limited competition were held in 1953, 1960, and 1962, respectively. Although having distinctive topographical conditions, those competition sites have a strong connection with each other, and each project has a very close relationship to the previously existing patterns in the historical peninsula as they share a temporal and physical proximity and are surrounded by historical layers of the city. Influential architectural photographs, which were taken right after the completion of those competitions capture new experiments of postwar architectural modernisms side by side with the previously existing historical fabric. Following the archival documents, architects' insights, concerns, and preoccupations with the city, the past unfold in distinctive narratives through their references. By critically analyzing the discourse patterns of the archival documents and exploring the architects' preoccupations about their competition projects via jury reports, architecture magazines, and booklets prepared for the Aga Khan Awards, this study will provide how the architects mentioned in this text conceptualized new ideas and re-interpreted architectural modernisms by working in the locus of the historical strata of Istanbul.*

**Keywords:** *Architectural competitions; Modernism; Postwar architecture; İstanbul*

## Introduction

In 1953, Nevzat Erol was announced as the first winning prize for the competition of İstanbul City Hall (Figure1). Although the jury members of the competition were indicated as Samim Oktay, Emin Onat, and Orhan Alsaç in the competition directory ("Yarışmalar Dizini", 2004), due to various circumstances of the main jury, the final participating jury members of the competition were under the head of Emin Onat, including Orhan Alsaç, Aydın Boysan, and Sedat Erkoğlu (İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, 1953).



**Figure 1.** Two main blocks of the İstanbul City Hall composition are visible from the 50.Yıl Park. Photograph by the author.




**Figure 2.** Fragmental composition of the İstanbul Textile Traders' Market from the Ataturk Boulevard. Photograph by the author.

Similar to the after-mentioned competition project in terms of its lengthy construction process, the project started in December 1953, and it was opened in May 1960 (İstanbul Municipal Palace Brochure, 1960). In the very same year of the completion of İstanbul City Hall, Doğan Tekeli, Sami Sisa, and Metin Hepgüler's proposal for the İstanbul Textile Traders' Market Competition (Figure 2) won the first prize in a limited competition. It only held twelve project invitations by the jury members comprising of Asım Mutlu, Mukbil Gökdoğan, Kemal Aygün, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, and Faruk Akçer alongside the committee member Luigi Piccinato (Tekeli, Sisa & Hepgüler, 1965). This complex competition site and nearby zones, located in the historical peninsula, had previously been experimented in a different scale as an urban competition before the architectural competition was held.

In 1958, a partial urban planning competition was realized with the jury members Ertuğrul Menteşe, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Ali Rıza Ünsal, İsmail İşmen, and Faruk Akçer. Tekeli, Sisa, and Hepgüler's proposal won the third prize in this urban planning competition, which was not a limited one unlike the second competition in 1960. On the other side of this project, in 1962, the winning prize for the limited competition for the Social Security Complex (Figure 3) was announced as Sedad Hakkı Eldem, which was awarded the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1986.



**Figure 3.** Ruptures in the composition of the Social Security Complex, which overlooks the Ataturk Boulevard. Photograph by the author.

The postwar architectural landscapes in Turkey paved the way for experiments in architectural modernisms with the participation of multiple actors. As Sibel Bozdoğan (2001) notes, "until the 1950s, modern architecture in Turkey was a contrived representation of a desired but non-existent modernity, not the natural outcome of the country's transformation into a modern society by its own internal dynamics" (p.297). Following Bozdoğan's particular attention to the architectural landscapes of the 1950s is important because "it is only after the 1950s that one can talk about 'modern architecture' as a real force in Turkish society" (p.301). Another significant postwar development of the profession is the establishment of the Chamber of Architects, which played a

significant role in architects' rights over competitions and their presence in the juries. Also, as Bülent Batuman (2008) elaborates, the Chamber became the most pivotal civil organization in the formation of urban politics by producing a solid opposing force towards the policies of governments thanks to the active participation of architects and urban planners, who played a decisive role in the creation of urban politics.

## 1. Reasons behind the Proximity Relations to the Historical Palimpsests

The three architectural competition projects mentioned above were designed by completely different architects with different approaches, but they all have common intersection areas with regard to the time period they were designed and to their surroundings as historical layers. The shared zones among the projects increase when their interrelations are elaborated not only with their architectural qualities as references but also through time dimension as an extension of a reference among the projects. As Esin Kömez Dağlıoğlu (2015) addresses, relieving the concept of context from rigid and clear-cut definitions, which merely suggest an alignment with traditional patterns or focus solely on the visual experience of nearby surroundings; further interpreting context as an enlarging and comprehensive definition can develop a critical and multidimensional perspective for thinking practices of architecture. Although this study will not dwell on the concept of context, evaluating the competitions from multiple dimensions, including time can reveal more about the shared characteristics of the projects.

The reason why the site allows so many intense encounter areas with the palimpsest of the old fabric can be unveiled via the great changes in the urban land of the historical peninsula. While articulating micro and macro scales of dense, complex, and multifaceted relationships between architecture and politics, Güven Arif Sargın (2016) articulates that re-evaluations of contemporary architecture and architectural history studies, which undertake the dimensions of the political economy into consideration lead to the creation of new fields of architect-subject. Sargın (2016) notes that embracing this framework can formulate new facets of architects and can aid in understanding the social duties of the profession. The competition triad in this study not only acts as infill projects among the core of the historical patterns but also shares a common feature regarding the postwar politics in Turkey. All of the three competition sites settle alongside the enlarged boulevards and zones, which were the outcomes of the so-called urban renewal projects of Adnan Menderes. As İhan Tekeli (2013) notes, between 1956 and 1960, Menderes operations resulted in the demolition of 7.289 buildings. Tekeli (2013) follows, Menderes operations exhibited its aims as easing of traffic, as achieving so-called beautification of the city, and as restoring some of the historical religious buildings, which actually tried to create a false impression to counterbalance the destruction and complete loss of the invaluable historical fabric of the city. On the examination of these operations, İpek Akpınar (2006) argues that with his close site visit examinations, Menderes aimed to strengthen his own legitimacy from İstanbul to the whole country by announcing the

change of Turkey's political power and rendering his will as the modernizer of the cities. By inviting architects to think alongside the newly opened boulevard, by encouraging them to further think about those sites, and by forming juries, these competitions should also be scrutinized in relation to the intention behind their initiation, which is related with the desire to legitimize Menderes operations and to counterbalance the destruction of the invaluable historical fabric of İstanbul.

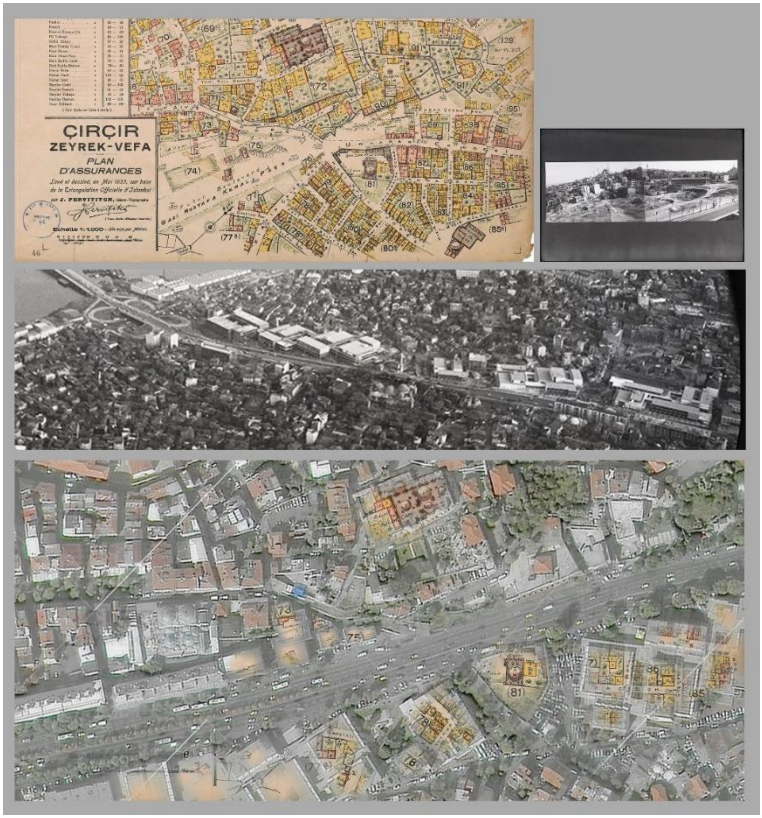



**Figure 4.** Jacques Pervititch map includes the site conditions of Social Security Complex and İstanbul Textile Traders' Market in the 1930s (top left). The condition of İstanbul Textile Traders' Market before the competition (top right). Aerial view of İstanbul Textile Traders' Market (middle), Juxtaposition of Pervititch and today's map (bottom). **Sources:** Salt Research, Jacques Pervititch Archive (top left), Salt Research, Doğan Tekeli-Sami Sisa Archive (top right and middle), Pervititch map at Salt Research was modified by the author with the Yandex map (bottom).

The map of Jacques Pervititch illustrates the organic pattern of the roads and houses of the historical peninsula during the 1930s (Figure 4) (Salt Research, Jacques Pervititch Archive). By overexposing today's map onto Pervititch's with reference to the historical landmarks, it can be followed that while the empty plot in number 75 turned into the site of the Social Security Complex, the organic pattern composed of intricate patterns labeled as 77, 78, 87,86 and 85 were already demolished during the process previous to the competition of İstanbul Textile Traders' Market. Although the units of Tekeli, Sisa and Hepgüler are carefully fragmented, because of the density of the program, their presence in the urban pattern is clearly visible (Figure 4).

## 2. References among the Triad of Competitions

The publication of the İstanbul City Hall Competition appears in Artkitekt with an extensive number of architectural drawings of the prize-winning projects, which give an overall idea about the jury criteria as all of the winning proposals embraced the aesthetic features of international style. Locating at the intersection of the Ataturk Boulevard and Şehzadebaşı Street, the site has a close connection to the Valens Aqueduct and Şehzade Mosque. Surprisingly, at the very beginning of the publication, the jury highlights the contrast between the number of competition brief acquisitions for the application and low number of participants. This can be related with the architects' silent reaction to the competition site in the historical peninsula. This silent response was clearly enough to create a reaction from the jury in a written format. Also, it becomes no surprise to observe that the entire winning prizes share certain characteristics. The jury report expresses its appreciation of the organizational decisions, which follow the jury consent of having a tall block for the sea view and a low block alongside the Şehzadebaşı Street, which enable the definition of a square for the İstanbul City Hall. (İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, 1953). While the alignment with the jury's expectations is visible in all of the winning proposals, the elimination of fragmental units at the first stage was also delineated in the report. This approach prevented alternative suggestions and possibilities of how the participating architects approached the site's historical past.

First winning prize of Nevzat Erol's competition drawings and the third winning prize of Turhan Ökeren and İlhan Filmer indicate absolutely no trace of the nearby surroundings (except Erol's site plan having Ankaravî medrese just next to the tall block) in competition model photographs, sections, perspectives, and plans. While both architects embraced abstract and pure geometries, and created a contrast with the existing pattern via their proposals, they also embraced expressing architectural ideas without the presence of nearby historical tissues in the competition panels. The boundaries of the frames in hand-drawn perspectives just capture the proposals and the trace of adjacent roads without framing the historical layers. Interestingly, only the second winning proposal by Harika Söylemezoğlu, Kemali Söylemezoğlu, and Mesadet Adaş acknowledges the site and what constitutes it in all of the perspective drawings and also in the site plan. Although the masses have a similar abstract quality that of Erol's proposal, they greatly differ in further articulation and have rather monumental and rigid undertakings.




**Figure 5.** İstanbul Municipal Palace Brochure (left).The lower and higher units of the proposal define the square and enable the presence of public. **Sources:** The author's archive (left), the author's archive (right).

One of the other visible shared aspects of the first and third winning proposals is the inclusion of artworks in the competition drawings. Without any detail about the character of artworks, competition drawings included the traces for their possible locations. In Erol's competition proposal, the façades of the units have traces that were drawn in a very thin lightweight on the rooftop of the taller block, and on the lower block's façades. The final stage of the building included the works of the artists such as Şadi Çalık, Hüseyin Gezer, Nuri İyem, Ferruh Başağa, and Nazım Koşkan. (Proje Tatbikat: İstanbul Belediye Sarayı, 1965). Also, Ökeren and Filmer' giant urban sculpture, which appears in the competition drawings, seems to be a part of the space organization. The three-dimensional spiral sculpture, which is as high as the proposal locates at the intersection of the main streets and acts as a distinctive feature in defining the square of the proposal.

The artwork narrative also continues in the competition for the İstanbul Textile Traders' Market, which includes the artworks of Füreya Koral, Eren Eyüboğlu, Kuzgun Acar, Ali Teoman Germaner, Yavuz Görey, Nedim Günsur, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, and Sadi Diren. Experiencing the building in person, they were located around important circulation points or walls that are significant to the approach to the different units rather than the spaces that the building shares with the historical fabric. In his autobiography, Doğan Tekeli (2019) elaborates on his participation to the İstanbul City Hall Competition with Sami Sisa, Altay Erol, and Tekin Aydın. He highlights the team's disappointment with the results as they received no prize in this experience. Although a limited number of

architects' and artists' short-time collaborations are visible in the postwar magazines, the extensive number of artworks in this competition project can also be related to Tekeli and Sisa's previous competition experience in 1953.

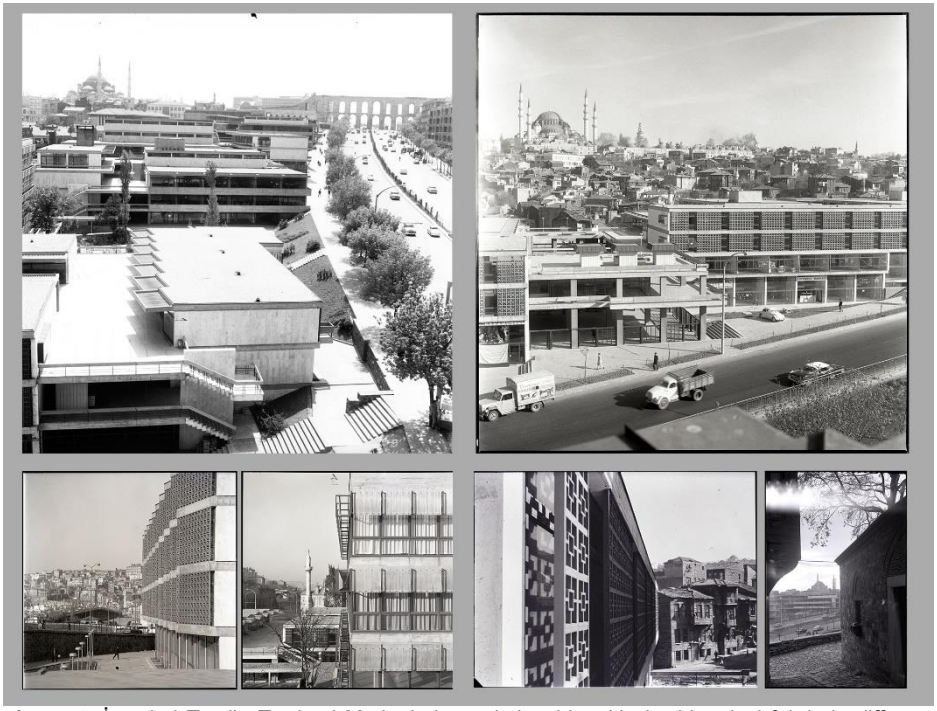


**Figure 6.** İstanbul Textile Traders' Market's interrelationship with the historical fabric in different scales. **Sources:** Salt Research, Gültekin Çizgen Archive (top left), Salt Research, Doğan Tekeli-Sami Sisa Archive (top right), (bottom)

The very close physical and visual relationship between the İstanbul Textile Traders' Market Competition site and the historical buildings include a wooden residential fabric, Valens Aquaduct, Church of Mary, Süleymaniye Mosque, Seb-i Sefa Mosque, Yavuz Er Sinan Masjid, and Hacı Kadın Mosque. From the project site towards the hills of the Süleymaniye Mosque, there exist the second proximity level strata, some of which include Vefa Church-Mosque, Atıf Efendi Library, Sarı Beyazıd Masjid, and Mimar Ağa Masjid. Across the Atatürk Boulevard, the historical buildings are comprised of Pantokrator Monastery, Çinili Bath, and Piri Mehmet Paşa Mosque. Following those dense historical layers, the architectural composition responds to the location and vistas

of the surroundings with sensitivity of height, use of materials, and proximity relations. Also, with the implementation of transitionary circulation routes, architects enable the dissolution of large masses by integrating them into the urban land through a partial flexibility and transparency. Each photograph captures a distinctive encounter with a historical stratum in different vistas, perspectives, and creates an entirely different aesthetic feature in each scene (Figure 6). An observation about the multiplicity of the fragmented units and compositions of the İstanbul Textile Traders' Market and Social Security Complex's differentiation from the large blocks of the İstanbul City Hall is also elaborated by Sibel Bozdoğan and Esra Akcan (2012). While the writers underline distinctiveness among the design approaches of those two projects by highlighting the first two via their responses to the surroundings thanks to the careful articulation of courtyards, semi-open spaces, and inclusion of pedestrian routes within fragmental units; the latter was described under the influence of international style aesthetics with an emphasis on compositional singularity (Bozdoğan and Akcan, 2012).

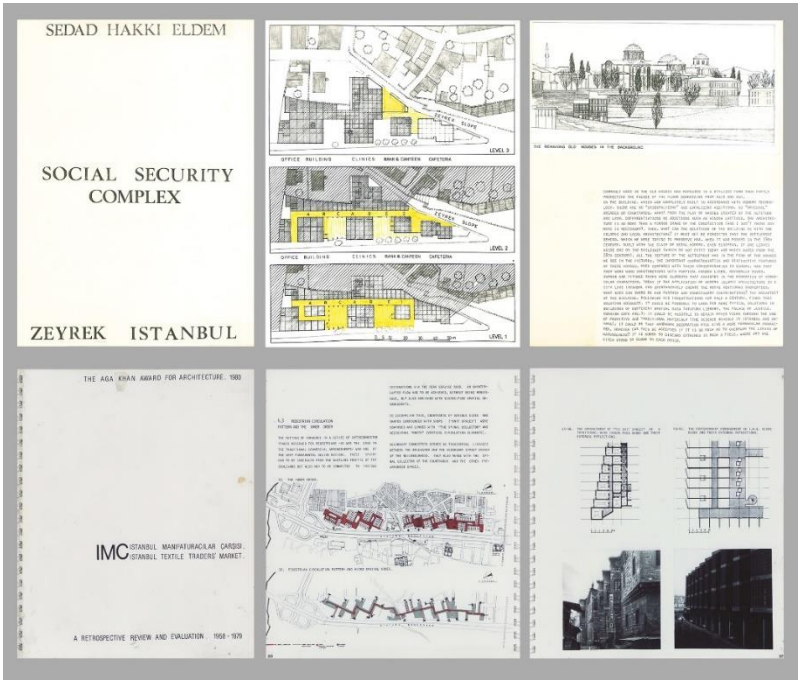



**Figure 7.** Selected pages from Eldem's draft for the Social Security Complex Booklet (top). Selected pages from Tekeli and Sisa's İstanbul Textile Traders' Market Booklet for Aga Khan Award (bottom). **Sources:** Wikimedia Commons (top), Salt Research, Doğan Tekeli-Sami Sisa Archive (bottom).

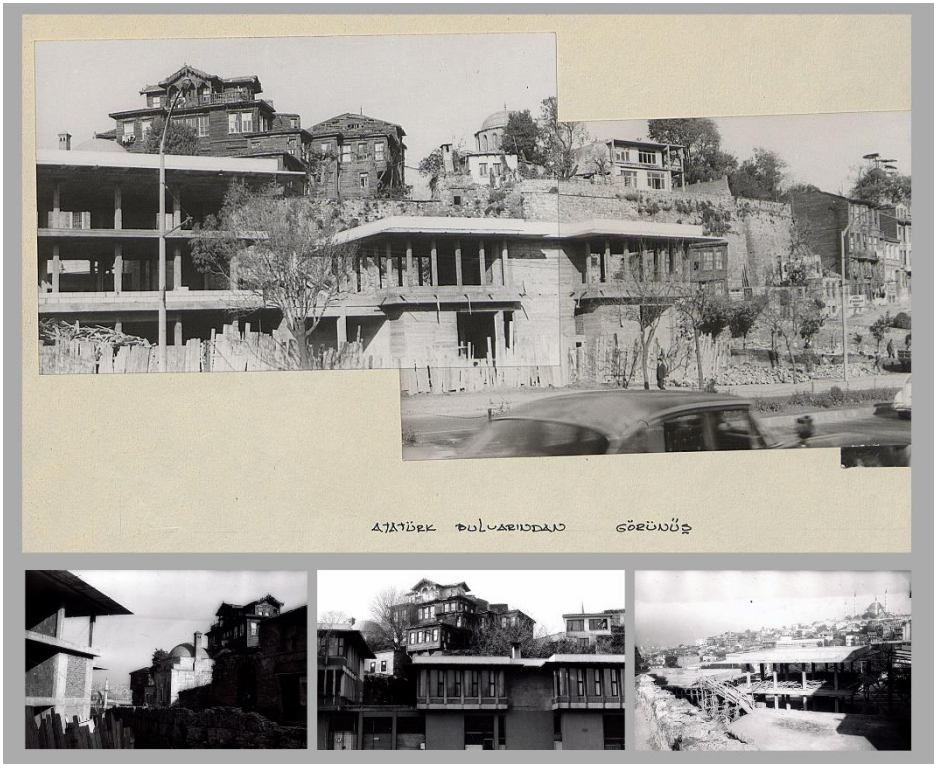



**Figure 8.** Social Security Complex during and after its construction alongside the historical palimpsests. **Sources:** Salt Research, Harika-Kemali Söylemezoğlu Archive (top) and (bottom-left and right). Salt Research, Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes (IFEA) Archive (bottom-middle).

In 1979, Tekeli and Sisa prepared a booklet titled as İstanbul Textile Traders' Market, A Retrospective Review and Evaluation 1958-1979 (Figure 7) for the application to the Aga Khan Award for Architecture. The booklet comprehensively explains of the projects under the headings of project history, background, data, design, construction, post-construction, and closing remarks. (Salt Research, Tekeli-Sisa Collection). Although the drawings include the nearby historical buildings, the explanation of design decisions mostly depends on Şebsefa and Süleymaniye Mosque because the architects used their principal role in the organization and articulation of the units by providing an extensive description of how the units act as a threshold between the grand scale of Süleymaniye and minute urban fabric. It is interesting to observe that not only the content but also

even the font type of this report is the same as the draft of the book prepared by Sedad Hakkı Eldem for the Social Security Complex (Figure 8), which stands on the opposite side of the İstanbul Textile Traders' Market, and realized as the first winning degree for the limited competition in 1962. As Sibel Bozdoğan very sensitively articulates on the project:

"In the design of the complex, Eldem looks back to the lessons to be derived not only from the traditional houses, but also from the character and scale of the streets and squares containing them. It is the traditional mahalle (neighborhood), as the smaller unit of the urban fabric, that constitutes the starting point of an architecture, recognizably modern yet sensitive to the physical and cultural context in which it is located. The major thrust of the design rests in the intention to fit the complex into its surroundings." (Bozdoğan,1989, p. 85).

In the descriptive manuscript about the competition (Figure 7), Eldem explains the project in detail, elaborates on the composition as a result of an abstract process that was related to the site conditions, and implies a direct and very one-dimensional interpretation of the historical features as kitch while defining their interpretation as art. Eldem notes:

"In the building, which was completely built in accordance with modern technology with modern technology, there are no 'orientalizing' and localizing additions, no 'oriental' arcades or courtyards, apart from the play of masses created by the altitude and level differentiations no additions such as window lattices. The architecture is no more than a mirror image of the construction (and I don't think any more is necessary." (Eldem, 1970, no pagination).

## 3. Concluding Remarks

Following extremely inspiring photographs among the triad of İstanbul City Hall, İstanbul Textile Traders' Market's, and Social Security Complex competitions suggests a thick temporal distance to the days those projects were realized. Lensed in the 1950s and 1960s, those photographs capture the historical urban fabric that once existed near the competition sites in so many influential frames and present architects' works in the presence of the historical layers.

Although the competition projects in this study had clear site definitions, by contemplating the project photographs, the definition of the project sites becomes more transitionary as the unique topographical conditions of the historical peninsula necessitate design solutions that require a high consideration to search for complex plastic qualities. Perceivable from so many approaches, the design of the competition projects in this text created unique encounters with the historical palimpsests. Visual documentations and textual narratives of these projects unfold the architects' distinctive approaches to the historical peninsula, their preoccupations with the past, and further interpretations of the historical palimpsests. As followed in the competition projects, while Erol prioritized an abstract and pure language by overlooking the historical patterns in the competition entry

panels and fostered the aesthetic language of the international style; Tekeli, Sisa, and Hepgüler explored the concept of trade by analyzing spatial compositions of khans and bazaars, defined variety in the enclosure levels of the circulation routes, and achieved a hierarchical order within the surrounding historical strata thanks to the fragmentation of architectural elements according to particular historical references. Lastly, Eldem gave meticulous attention to space creation and its interrelationship to the plasticity of the site by describing it as a reflective image, stemming from an abstract way of interpreting the features of the site, which implies the architect's detachment from historical features as artificial attachments to the design process.

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# Tracing the Bauhaus from the Republic to the Present: From Gazi University Department of Resim-İş to the Department of Architecture

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## Abstract

*Having recently passed its 100th anniversary, the reflections of the Bauhaus School in Turkey intersect with the Republic's early years when analyzed in the historical process. This study aims to decipher the relations between two different departments, Resim-İş and Architecture, which were separate in the years of their establishment, but are now united under the same institution, Gazi University. It is aimed not only to reveal the effects of Bauhaus, but also to discuss the ideals of the Republic within the scope of educational reforms. It tries to read these reflections from the perspective of the Department of Architecture through the historical background of the department over the past 50 years. Study aims to analyze the historical process by following the traces of actors. In this respect, the study presents a secondary discussion within the framework of the influence of actors in education. Hulusi Güngör, Muammer Hacıbaloğlu, Hüseyin Yurtsever, Zeynep Onur, İlhan Kesmez and Arzu Özen Yavuz have been observed to construct the basic design education and training activities in a guiding role. The significant interactive ground was created only during the Onur's period; however, the relations of this ground within the scope of the education programmes of the two departments could not be maintained. The non-crossing paths of the two departments, which tried to preserve the interdisciplinary education approach by borrowing it from Bauhaus, were questioned, and the importance of an interdisciplinary educational fiction was discussed on behalf of the two departments.*

**Keywords:** *Bauhaus; Basic art education; Basic design; Actor-network; Gazi University*

## Introduction

Bauhaus, which gave a radical direction to art and design education intending to establish a "guild of crafts," puts forward an idea that envisages the integration of art (especially applied arts) not only with architecture and design but also with life. In Sezer's (2019) words, "Institutions providing education in the fields of art, design, and architecture built

on the ground of interaction laid out by Bauhaus constitute the most important spheres of influence of the Bauhaus ideal in Turkey". Within the framework of the science and art approaches in education based around the ideals and construction of the Republic, the Department of Resim-İş was established in 1932 as Turkey's first institution to train art educators. It is expected that the Gazi University Department of Architecture, whose historical process dates back to the early 1970s, would have interacted with the Department of Resim-İş during its foundation (or formation) years since it has just completed half a century of history next to the Department of Resim-İş, which is approaching 100 years of history. The main object of study is the first-year basic design education and actors of the Department of Architecture. In this context, the historical process of basic design education will be analyzed from the perspective of the Department of Architecture, and its relations with the Department of Resim-İş will be examined. With this study, how art and design education in different departments of an institution that pioneered the Bauhaus school in Turkey influences and/or feeds, evolves, changes, and transforms each other is investigated in today's design education environment, and the position and effects of the Republic in this interaction are discussed.

The actor is vital in creating or maintaining an educational Ecole in the discipline of education. The traces of the instructor-actors who blend the designer identity with the educational Ecole will be followed in the Department of Architecture, and the network of multiple actors and relationships will be analyzed in the context of the first year of basic education of Bauhaus reflections. This analysis will reveal whether the actors shaping the historical process produce relations with the Department of Resim-İş within the same institution.

Bauhaus's reflections are customized in the context of Bauhaus's atelier organization and Basic Art Education (Vorkurs), which eliminated the wall between applied arts and fine arts and enabled the interaction of both fields of endeavor. Bauhaus, which creates an interactive collective production environment by gathering all arts, especially painting, and sculpture, under its roof, proposes an educational approach that places the basic design phenomenon at the center of all arts. What makes Bauhaus a pioneer in art education is the Vorkurs that make it unique. Vorkurs education allows students to reveal their creative powers in a particular order through practical and theoretical studies to discover the physical nature of materials and the basic rules of design (1) (Bayer, Gropius, 1938, p. 30).

## Method

The actors of basic design education in Department of Architecture, which has been going on for more than 50 years, will be discovered by reading backward from today to the foundation years. In order to analyze the actors, their relationships, and educational approaches, archival and biographical research will be applied. Interviews will be done

with the graduates of the department and the academicians who have taken part in this process or witnessed it. The whole set of observations about these people's relationships will constitute the study's method. The study, which can be followed chronologically, focuses on prominent actors and does not include those who made short-term or temporary contributions to the courses.

## 1. Gazi University Department of Resim-İş

After the Sanay-i Nefise Mektebi (1883) in Turkey, with the proclamation of the Republic, İlk ve Orta Muallim Mektebi in Ankara, which was built as the work of Architect Kemaleddin at the special request of Atatürk and opened in 1930, prepares to transform into an identity that hosts the Bauhaus in Ankara as an intellectual attitude. The 20th century's most crucial educational movement applied education, is called vocational training in Turkey. İsmail Hakkı Uludağ, Şinasi Barutçu, Hayrullah Örs, Mehmet Ali Atademir, Şinasi Barutçu, Hayrullah Örs, Mehmet Ali Atademir, who was sent to Germany (Berlin) in 1928 as part of the educational reform of the Republic, to attend seminars at teachers' schools and pedagogical institutes for painting and vocation courses, In 1932, under the leadership of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç (2), who was the director of Gazi Orta Muallim Mektebi ve Terbiye Enstitüsü, they established the Department of Resim-İş in 1932 as the first art educator training institution in Turkey. They prepared the first program of the department. These studies were known to be influential in art and design education in Turkey, especially at Marmara University (Istanbul Tatbiki Fine Arts School), Middle East Technical University, and Istanbul Technical University (Ak, 2008, p. 28).

The name of the institution was changed from Gazi Öğretmen Okulu ve Eğitim Enstitüsü to Gazi Education Institute in 1947. In 1982, after the establishment of Gazi University, it continued its education under the name of Faculty of Education. Frequently referred to as the laboratory of republican education in the years of its establishment (Ak, 2008, p. 55), Gazi Education Institute is also crucial in moving the artistic activity, which had been concentrated in Istanbul until then, to Anatolia.

Gathering different disciplines under its roof and integrating an adaptation of the interdisciplinary attitude exhibited in Bauhaus workshops into its education system, the Department of Resim-İş transforms what it has learned from Bauhaus into practice. It creates an interactive workshop layout for painting, graphics, writing classrooms, iron works, sculpture, ceramics, modeling, paper and cardboard, and woodworking workshops. The primary aim of education here is to raise a well-rounded, holistic individual. It is seen that Vorkurs, borrowed from Bauhaus, is included in the content of Basic Design I and II courses (Altunya, 2006, p. 523; Ünver, 2010, p. 70).

## 2. Gazi University Department of Architecture

In 1966, Zafer Mühendislik ve Mimarlık Özel Yüksek Okulu, and in 1967, Yükseliş Mühendislik ve Mimarlık Özel Yüksek Okulu started teaching in Ankara, followed by

Anadolu Kimya Mühendisliği Özel Yüksek Okulu in 1968. These three colleges were incorporated into the Ankara İktisadi ve Ticari İlimler Akademisi in 1971 and merged as Ankara Devlet Mühendislik ve Mimarlık Yüksek Okulu- ADMMYO and affiliated to the Ankara Devlet Mühendislik ve Mimarlık Akademisi- ADMMA established in the same year. The Academy was institutionalized in 1973. At the end of the 1960s, it should be underlined that the different times (day-night) education programs of different schools inevitably continued physically under the same roof for a while. In interviews with graduates, it was observed that some might have started their education in different schools and graduated from the same school. In this case, it was determined that there were differences in the context of basic education, especially in the first year. The Academy was later incorporated into Gazi University, established in 1982, and continued its education and training under the roof of the Faculty of Engineering and Architecture as Faculty of Architecture as of 2009.

In line with the interviews with the graduates, it was seen that basic design education was not carried out in Zafer and Yükseliş Colleges in the universal sense as it is widely carried out today and was not defined as a course; only İbrahim Hulusi Güngör was included in the academic staff of Yükseliş College as a name that would play an active role in basic design education in the future. Basic design education entered the architecture department as of ADMMYO and ADMMA periods. In this context, the formation of the first year of architectural education's identity was parallel to the institutionalized ADMMA and its gaining an identity. In line with the interviews with the graduates and academicians who contributed to basic design education in the first year of education with the role of instructors in this historical process, the actors and their relations in basic design education were identified (3).

## 2.1. Actors of the Department of Architecture

Historically, the beginning of the traces of the basic design education (estimated to be 1970-71) of the Department of Architecture dates back to İbrahim Hulusi Güngör. Muammer Hacıbaloğlu and Turan Vural were found as co-actors in the basic design education that continued under the leadership of Güngör. In this period, Güngör's guiding role as an actor in basic design education is directly related to the Temel Tasar book he wrote. In his book, Güngör (1927) refers to Gestalt and Bauhaus by stating that education based on certain principles that emerged as a result of research was adopted in architecture schools in many parts of the world (p. 1).

According many graduatees' statements, it was observed that Güngör's book accompanied the course as a guidebook. During these periods, it was observed that line, letter, and writing studies were carried out within the scope of the course, studies on the use of drawing pens, sketch paper, and rulers were carried out, short explanations were made about the concepts in Güngör's book, and 2-dimensional compositions, were mainly made weekly in line with the contents of the book, were produced about prime geometric forms and their relationships. It was reported that conceptual discussions were carried out over the compositions produced by the students during the course. In the

discussions, it was emphasized to produce ideas about how it could be better and to avoid showing examples of the concepts.

Although basic design education, defined within the framework of the contents we know today, was designed in the first semester of the first year starting from that period, it continued in the second semester. It has been continued with the same academic staff in the context of first-year design education until today, and any disconnection has been prevented. For this reason, many graduates interviewed remembered the basic design education as an education spread over one year. Here, the separate handling of half years can be considered in differentiating 2D and 3D compositions. In the approach exhibited under the leadership of Güngör, it was observed that applications between two and three dimensions gained weight in the 2nd semester, the concept of height was discussed in the applications, 2-dimensional applications were given height, and works that could be described as relief were obtained, geometrically shaped wood or chalks and matchboxes were used.

In this period, it is observed that the Free Drawing course was included in the curriculum as a course supporting basic design education. It was remembered by the graduates that the course continued for many years and that the lessons were carried out with the concepts of painting, such as light, shadow, color, and the development of free drawing and hand skills. Although there are memories of the graduates that painters graduated from the Department of Resim-İş may have been the instructors of the courses, the situation remained unclear.

It was observed that Muammer Hacıbaloğlu, who assumed the role of a supporting actor in the following process (in the mid-70s), assumed a guiding role and became the executive director of the basic design education. It is observed that Hacıbaloğlu exhibited a similar educational approach by following Güngör's traces. In this period, the construction of the educational process through Güngör's book was dominant. Within the scope of the course, the creation of applications in line with the content in the book was continued (4). A studio process in which line studies were carried out and studies on the use of drawing pen was produced, weekly 2-dimensional application studies were repeated using similar materials such as paper, cardboard, and background cardboard, how design concepts based on the Bauhaus school could be applied on paper based on certain principles and rules were discussed, and concepts were evaluated through correct or incorrect sample works during the discussions was defined in the name of basic design education.

In the mid-80s, the traditionalistic-oriented line of basic design education was changed with the setting envisaged by Hüseyin Yurtsever, and the educational approach was restructured under his leadership. Yurtsever, currently working on early design education, has transformed the course into an environment that prepares the ground for experimental studies in the context of basic design education. Yurtsever's search for a shaping method has revealed an organization in which 3-dimensional applications predominate in basic design education. Yurtsever (1992) defines his approach as

"especially the branches of mathematics related to form possibilities in three dimensions and space organization are closely related to future architecture". In addition, the importance Yurtsever (1988) attaches to mathematics and the third dimension in his course design is also related to Fechner's unchanging mathematical principles of aesthetics, which he refers to in his book Uygulamalı Estetik (p. 13).

In this period, the character of basic design education as two consecutive semesters spread over one year has been preserved; however, this organization has changed its content. It has been observed that a first-year basic design education programme has been created based on the functionalization and spatialization of 3D works in the second semester. Basic design principles and concepts are directly addressed through 3D forms and their juxtaposition methods. Yurtsever (1986) also makes a direct reference to Bauhaus in his search for three-dimensional visual compositions with the statements "...the method is the source of design principles belonging to the methods influenced by Bauhaus and shaping the design elements within the framework of repetition, intermittent repetition, conformity, contrast, correspondence, dominance, and similar design principles". In addition, it was observed that Yurtsever made 2-3 week-long lectures integrated with philosophy and aimed to change students' thoughts and themselves as individuals.

Before defining a new actor period here, it was noted on the transcripts of the graduates who started their education in 1993 that they had taken Resim-İş courses. It was observed that the code of this course in the program differed from the codes belonging to the Department of Architecture, and it was estimated that it could have been taken from the Department of Resim-İş (coded RE instead of M).

The new term, starting from the mid-90s and especially from 1997 onwards, started with an educational approach led by Zeynep Onur (a student of Muammer Hacıbaloğlu) and accompanied by Ziya Tanalı. It can be said that this approach defines a period that bears the traces of the institution's memory, integrates the past practices of basic design education with the current perspective of its period, seeks and tries with the 'new,' and puts forward its vision with an original model proposal in the exciting search process. In this model, starting from the 1997-1998 academic year, the concepts that had been taught in a single course were proposed to be taught in a set of theoretical and practical courses under the names of Basic Design, Architectural Culture and Basic Art Education (Onur, 2000).

In the Architectural Culture course, it was observed that the aim was to create or improve the cultural infrastructure of the students. Within the scope of the course, which Tanalı (2010) described as a "shower of culture," (p. 58) students were provided with an environment where many concepts of architecture (function, robustness, space, visual perception, proportion, scale, texture, material, light, color, ornamentation, acoustics, environment, meaning) were exemplified and discussed at the beginning level, and students gained awareness of the concepts. The Basic Art Education course is envisaged as a course based on analyzing artistic expression in arts such as painting,

sculpture, music, cinema, theatre, literature, and photography, where different disciplines are consulted in the search for meaning and form in design. It is designed as an interactive course in which painters, sculptors, musicians, poets, and photographers are invited as speakers. The Basic Design course, as the theoretical and practical course that constitutes the main object of investigation of this study, it is aimed to create an environment that supports practices such as problem-solving in the design process, synthesizing design principles and concepts, subjective and creative thinking, developing aesthetic senses, discussion and criticism by considering other courses (Onur, 2000). The fact that these courses, which were separately included in the curriculum, were taught by the same people ensured that the concepts discussed in one course were carried to the other courses and handled with a holistic approach, thus aiming to comprehend the whole.

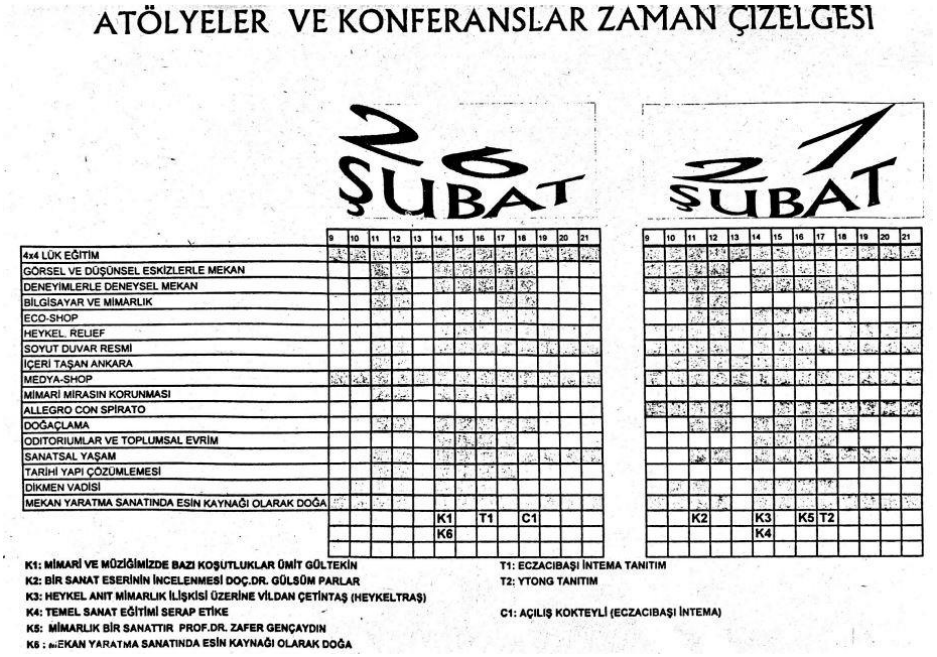



**Figure 1.** Symposium programme in the booklet of The National Student Symposium on Architectural Education

Ziya Tanalı (2010), who is often remembered for his saying "there is nothing new under the sun" (p. 59) and who sought ways to establish non-existent syntheses from existing things, emphasized the creativity that should be discovered in the student. Tanalı's

transformation into an actor during the period he took part with Onur can also be supported by the effectiveness of Tanalı's book Sadeleştirmeler. Since then, the book has maintained its place as a guidebook for basic design education. In addition, the fact that Onur and Tanalı frequently discussed the concept of abstraction laid solid foundations for the future of the course. Tanalı (2010), who used the expression "we will learn the language of what we call abstract" (p. 71) in the course where he met the students, describes the approach in abstraction as emphasizing some qualities of the object more than other qualities (Tanalı, 2010, p. 184- 185). Within the framework of this educational approach, abstraction is also considered a tool for questioning oneself.




**Figure 2.** Guidebooks for the periods respectively Temel Tasar (İ. Hulusi Güngör), Temel Tasar (İ. Hulusi Güngör), Uygulamalı Estetik (Hüseyin Yurtsever), Sadeleştirmeler (Ziya Tanalı), Ways of Seeing (John Berger)

The National Student Symposium on Architectural Education, organized under the leadership of Onur in March 1997, is the most significant example of the collaboration with the Department of Resim-İş in the historical process. Within the scope of this symposium, the two departments designed an interdisciplinary series of events by organizing an interactive workshop calendar. Contributors from the Department of Resim-İş and other disciplines take place within the framework of the following themes (Onur, 1997):

- Some Parallels in Architecture and Music, Ümit Gültekin
- Analyzing a Work of Art, Gülsün Parlar
- On the Relationship between Sculpture and Monument Architecture, Vildan Çetintaş
- Basic Art Education, Serap Etike
- Architecture is an Art, Zafer Gençaydın

Approaching the present, the foundations of the course scope applied today were laid in these periods. Within the scope of the course led by İlhan Kesmez (Zeynep Onur's student), it has been observed that the aforementioned triple course model has been disrupted and the course has returned to a single course organization. Within the scope

of the course, it was observed that the traces inherited from Onur and Tanalı were continued, the role of different disciplines supporting 2D compositions was maintained, the productions of disciplines such as literature, cinema, and music were transformed into objects to be analyzed in the context of design elements and principles, different disciplines were instrumentalized in the context of abstraction works, and emphasis was placed on producing 3D compositions. The educational approach of this period shows that the principle of being an individual first is maintained.

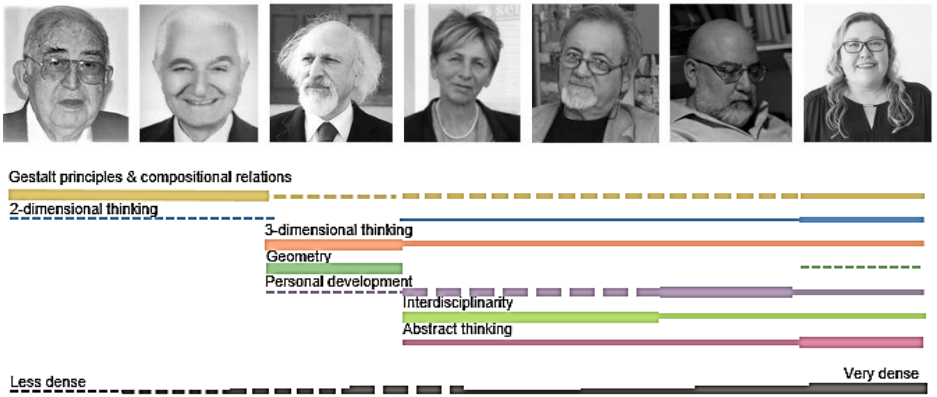



**Figure 3.** Traces of the intensity of the values that stand out in periods respectively İ. Hulusi Güngör, Muammer Hacıbaloğlu, Hüseyin Yurtsever, Zeynep Onur & Ziya Tanalı, İlhan Kesmez, Arzu Özen Yavuz

As of today, starting under the leadership of Sare Sahil, it can be said that Arzu Özen Yavuz (Zeynep Onur's student) assumed the actor role and shaped the curriculum of basic design education. Özen Yavuz, following the traces of the basic design education process of Department of Architecture, by referring to Güngör and Hacıbaloğlu in the discussion of basic design elements and principles, by adopting the principle of students learning by discovering and doing, by following the traces of Onur and Kesmez, as a reflection of the Bauhaus school, she has created a curriculum that allows interdisciplinary interaction of the course and the contributing disciplines are diversified. It is seen that different disciplines have transformed from a position that only supports the applications to a position that defines the content of the applications themselves, the concept of abstraction has gained value in the context of forming the main backbone of the course, referring to Yurtsever's 3-dimensional composition organization, not only 2-dimensional; 3-dimensional compositions by referring to the construction of 3-dimensional compositions, and incorporating digital technologies into the curriculum by following current approaches and developments. In Özen Yavuz's first year of design education, it can be said that she exhibits a stance that emphasizes the individuality of students who are new to design, question themselves, and rebuild their judgement and

sensitivity. If it is necessary to mention a guidebook for this period apart from Sadeleştirmeler, Ways of Seeing (John Berger) can be mentioned.

Periodical breaks and shifts in the basic design education process are revealed with the actors analyzed here. Holistically evaluated, it is seen that the place of Gestalt principles and compositional relations in education, which Güngör borrowed from Bauhaus, has been continued uninterruptedly with different intensities, and an approach connected to its origins is still exhibited today. In this context, Güngör and Hacıbaloğlu's methods, which bear traces of how basic design education was in the world at that time, have ensured the formation of unchanging foundations. With Yurtsever, basic design education has experienced a break with the emphasis on three-dimensional thinking and establishing a relationship with geometry. The concept of three-dimensional thinking, the foundations of which Yurtsever built, continues to be effective today with different methods. Onur and Tanalı's role in this rupture was related to opening the interdisciplinarity of basic design education to discussion and introducing the concept of abstract thinking into education. The 80s and 90s were the periods when the Bauhaus traditions of basic design education started to be questioned, the multidisciplinary understanding of the architect's upbringing was discussed, and it was discovered that basic design education could be a pioneering role for many disciplines. When the methods and approaches of basic design education are examined, it can be said that from these periods to the present day, ecoles are questioned, experimental studies have gained weight, and different disciplines have been instrumentalized and defined learning areas. The approach put forward by Onur and Tanalı is in parallel with the world in this context. Today, multidisciplinary basic design education is still being carried out with Özen Yavuz's approach by blending it with the concept of abstract thinking. Here, it is possible to say that the tool of abstract thinking has transformed into different disciplines. The concept of individual education, the foundations of which were laid by Onur and Tanalı and which experienced a break during Kesmez's period, has been a concept that integrates basic design education with personal development. Accordingly, the seeds of philosophy planted in Yurtsever's approach, not only the development as a professional discipline but also the development of the individual himself/herself was found valuable. These values, which came to the forefront in education, revealed an educational approach that puts the individual as a designer at the forefront and shows the necessity of questioning stereotyped methods and conventional design principles in education. It is seen that the ruptures experienced in this period are continued in the approach put forward by Özen Yavuz today, and basic design education is approached as an individual journey in which individuals' perceptions of beauty, aesthetic concerns, tastes, and judgments are reformed. A basic design studio can be defined as a learning-to-learn environment. In recent years, basic design education in the world has come to the forefront with values such as keeping up with the digitalized world and supporting computer-aided design. Considering this, it can be said that the basic design studio at Gazi University reinterprets the traces of the past and defines an innovative image connected to its origins. The digital world itself is not transformed into design, but its tools

support the design process, or the products of the digital world are turned into objects of study.

## 3. [Non]Coincidental Paths

In the basic design education of the Department of Architecture, which was enlightened by following the actor traces, it was revealed that short contacts were established with the Department of Resim-İş; however, it was revealed that there was no cooperation extending over years or actor relations that affected or transformed each other. When the reasons for this are analyzed, the country's socio-political situation during the formation years of the Gazi Architecture Department comes to the fore. Starting with the 1968 student events and continuing until the late 1970s, student events prevented the formation of interactive environments. Esen Onat (2010), the Head of the Department of Architecture at ADMMYO in 1977, describes that period as follows: "Universities and colleges had turned into areas where war games were played. While some students, divided into two opposing groups, were fighting with each other in order to save the country from each other's hands" (p. 60). He states that after each fight, schools were suspended for days, weeks, or months.

The secondary reason preventing the cooperation of the two departments can be argued as the fact that the departments needed to be established together under a joint mission and vision. While Resim-İş began to play a role on the stage with the republic's values in the early republican period, Architecture Department is considered a synthesis that became what it is today 35 years later with the coming together of different organizations. The difference in the educational ideals of the country at the time of its foundation and the fact that the architecture department at that time was orientated towards engineering rather than applied and fine arts may have been practical.

Another reason for the two departments not crossing paths can be considered as the physical conditions of the two departments. The two departments have never been located on the same campus since their foundation years or within walking distance. In this context, it has become difficult for them to be in a position that affects or feeds each other in educational organization.

## 4. Conclusion

Lifting the lid off basic design education, whose roots date back to 100 years with the Republic, has provided a valuable ground for evaluating and discussing the present and future of education in the name of the past 100 years. This study, revealed by following the traces of the actors and analyzing their relations, is valuable in revealing the role of actors in education. It is the responsibility of actors to create schools within the discipline of education, to carry them to future periods, to search for the 'new' regarding the traces of schools, and to do original tries, in Onat's (2010) words, "to write the scenario of the process to be kept alive, to put it on stage and to ensure its realization" (p. 64). It has been observed that the guiding actors have built a collective school from past to present

in the Department of Architecture basic design education. The periods in which experimental studies were carried out, and searches continued have always existed in a position to make inferences and produce new discourses for the next period when the whole process is considered. In addition, when the actors were examined chronologically, it was seen that they had relationships with each other such as instructor-assistant instructor or instructor-student. These relationships formed an Ecole, like splicing the rings into each other.

The study tried to decipher the relations of two different departments within the same institution by tracing the actors. The interaction of how the Bauhaus school, which brings together the Department of Resim-İş and the Department of Architecture under the same roof, is handled in different departments has been investigated within the framework of educational approaches. However, it has been observed that the relations between the two departments, which have been continuing their education and training under the same institution for half a century, have not been established on solid ground. There have been some accidental contacts in the historical process. While discussing the approach of Bauhaus as a school that invites interdisciplinary interaction, it is criticized that two different departments adopting this school do not cross paths under the same institution. In this historical perspective from the perspective of the Department of Architecture, although the different approaches in the formation phases of the department and the establishment of the Department of Resim-İş, the student incidents in the historical process and the physical conditions of the departments are considered as factors that did not bring the two departments together, the spirit of cooperation captured through the education-themed symposium organized for architecture students in 1997 could not be sustained. It is seen that the interactive grounds created by different disciplines with the ideals of the Republic and the 100-year perspectives of Bauhaus that have reached today are essential for students to gain or develop multiple perspectives in their early years. In this context, it should be considered for the future of basic design education that every discipline that does not belong to the discipline of architecture gives the individual a new perception, thinking, criticizing, and questioning opportunity and that this diversity is one of the ways to discover creativity and originality in the design discipline.

## Endnotes

**(1)** When Vorkurs is analyzed in Bauhaus, it is observed that education is explained together with the actors. The educational approach of Johannes Itten, one of the prominent names, blending his artist identity and pedagogical foresight, gave Vorkurs its real identity by trying to apply it with scientific methods for the first time. Johannes Itten (1919-1923), Paul Klee (1921-1922), Wassily Kandisky (1921-1922), László Moholy-Nagy (1923-1928) and Josef Albers (1923-1933) are prominent actors in the historical process on behalf of Vorkurs.

**(2)** It is known that Tonguç studied at the Karlsruhe School and Academy of Fine Arts in Germany in 1921, where he got to know and analyze the Bauhaus School and its Ecole (Pekmezci, 2014).

**(3)** The actors mentioned here are formed with the names obtained from the interviews; however, it will be possible to reach more information and people by increasing the number of alums and academician interviews. In this context, it is emphasized that there may be missing or forgotten names. However, Turan Vural, Cengiz Balkan, Aynur Özmen, Fatoş Tansel, Sevgi Lökçe, Demet Irklı Eryıldız, Nuray Bayraktar, Hakan Sağlam, Halil Sencer Erkman, Nurçin Çelik and Aktan Acar should be named for the periods they contributed.

**(4)** In addition to Güngör's book, it should be mentioned that Bilgi Denel's book Tasarım Üzerine Bir Deneme, which was among the academic staff of METU at that time, became influential within the scope of the course and turned into a secondary source. The book addressed basic design education with original interpretations of the Bauhaus School.

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# Hygienic Design of Schools as a Medium for Negotiating Modernity and Preventive Medicine in the 1930s Turkey

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## Abstract

*The promotion of healthy and hygienic environments for children became a national agenda during the early years of the Turkish Republic, driven by scientific progress and moral considerations. The evolution of scientific child-rearing spurred debates among medical experts and the intelligentsia, leading to the translation of preventive healthcare principles into spatial prescriptions for school environments. Schools came to be regarded as potential sources of eye and orthopedic diseases, as well as hotspots for contagion, where diseases could rapidly spread. The debates surrounding the issues of school hygiene in 1930s Turkey touched upon both ideologically charged metaphorical elements and western-originated scientific prescriptions, with their narratives occasionally intertwining. In this paper, I explore these two parallel narrative streams: the metaphorical depictions of non-hygienic conditions in former schools, and the scientific guidelines for creating new hygienic school environments. Early republican descriptions of Ottoman school buildings frequently emphasized their unhygienic conditions, reflecting the overall state of the education system and its adverse impact on students' physical and mental well-being. Metaphors of darkness, decay, corruption, dampness, dust, foul smells and cobwebs were often used to illustrate this decline. While school hygiene manuals set a series of principles that were found in architects' discussions and official directives, as well as criteria outlined in critiques of school buildings in popular media, indicate a tangible connection between hygiene discourse and its application in theory and practice. In essence, the intricate interplay among the education system, architectural thought, and hygiene considerations during the 1930s demonstrates a multifaceted interweaving of cultural, ideological, and pragmatic dynamics.*

**Keywords:** *Early Republican Turkey, School hygiene, School design, Hygiene and modern architecture, disease metaphors.*

## Introduction

In his 1930 article in Sıhhat medical advice magazine, Dr. Suat Fuat discussed the upcoming International Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden and the profound impact its

preparations were already having on him. The exhibition was set to cover a wide range of topics, including school, domestic and urban hygiene, disease control, and models of healthcare institutions such as sanatoriums. The exhibition's program, and thus the all-encompassing scope of the science of modern hygiene, urged him to reflect on the well-being of Turkish children, particularly regarding their school environments. Dr. Suat Fuat believed that a nation's true prosperity was intricately tied to the preservation and growth of its population. He recognized the inherent link between children's health and their surroundings. The parades and pageantry on April 23rd, celebrated as National Sovereignty and Children's Day, had prompted him to reflect on children's overall well-being:

It is impossible not to applaud the April 23rd Children's Day (…) However, which one of us can claim that all those children who enjoyed that day were in perfect health, robust, and well cared for? Alongside the healthy youngsters, there were perhaps just as many frail, pale, and ailing children. Do you know why this is the case? Because most of our primary schools do not have a doctor, and their buildings, small and narrow, have been turned into schools from small houses. (...) If you consider that a student spends half or even much of their day in such places and remember that boarding schools have become widespread in the country, you will realize how quickly these delicate and youthful bodies will be affected in thick and damp-walled classrooms with little sunlight. (Dr. Suat Fuat, 1930)

Dr. Suat Fuat identified school hygiene as a significant concern in Turkey, with many institutions still burdened by overcrowded classrooms from the past, accommodating as many as 60-70 students. These poorly designed and unhygienic school environments posed a notable threat to children's health (Dr. Suat Fuat, 1930). In contrast, he observed that innovative school buildings often exceeded standards in other parts of the world. Dr. Suat Fuat underscored the pivotal role of suitable physical settings in fostering a healthier learning atmosphere for children, thus contributing to national development. This narrative, weaving together the well-being of individuals, architectural structures, and nations, was emblematic of its time, finding significant resonance among the intellectual circles.

The significance of maintaining a hygienic state in school buildings had gained momentum throughout the 19th century and was further accelerated in the 20th century, particularly evident in experiments like the open-air school movement. In the early 20th century, the proliferation of new ideas on hygiene and pedagogy across Europe exposed the inadequacies of traditional building and furniture designs in meeting children's health needs. Poor ventilation in schools, resulting in discomfort for both students and teachers with symptoms like headaches and drowsiness, became a shared concern. Surveys conducted at the turn of the century highlighted the detrimental effects of conventional school furniture, which contributed to health issues such as muscle fatigue and deformities. These findings emphasized the necessity for new school environment designs (Burke & Grosvenor, 2008).

In the 20th century, schools served as fertile ground for modern architecture, supported by child-centric teaching methods and health standards emphasizing air and light. Architects integrated modernism's spatial and formal attributes, aligning with the ideology of progress and the shaping of future citizens (Kozlovsky, 2016). By the 1930s, recognizing the vital role of elements like light, air, warmth, comfort, and hygiene in shaping the health and future of schoolchildren was prevalent. Classrooms, hallways, central halls, and playgrounds became sites for governing children's bodies through quantification and visibility. This knowledge was shared by experts in medicine, pedagogy, and architecture, focusing on technologies like heating, lighting, and ventilation in alignment with children's physiological needs (Hulme, 2015).

Coupled with contemporary discourses on modern hygiene, these concerns extended to early Republican Turkey, especially in the 1930s, when children were being redefined as child-citizens, sparking discussions on their physical, moral, and mental well-being. These discussions progressively leaned towards preventive measures in public health and childcare (İlikan Rasimoğlu, 2019). The promotion of healthy and hygienic environments for children became a national agenda during the early years of the republic, driven by scientific progress and moral considerations. The evolution of scientific child-rearing spurred debates among medical experts and the intelligentsia, leading to the translation of preventive healthcare principles into spatial prescriptions for school environments. Schools came to be regarded as potential sources of eye and orthopedic diseases, as well as hotspots for contagion where diseases could rapidly spread.

The concerns regarding school hygiene extended beyond mere medical considerations, encompassing pedagogical dimensions and ideological connotations. Marta Gutman (2013) emphasizes that physical space is more than just a backdrop for childhood; instead, the two are interdependent, challenging John Locke's concept of the child as an empty vessel. Gutman proposes a Lefebvrian reading of modern childhood spaces as tangible and socially constructed, shaped by discourse. Similarly, in the Turkish context, Zeynep Kezer (2008) highlights the transformative role of the physical environment in shaping early Republic citizens and demonstrates how the materiality of educational sites systematically influenced students' perceptions of the world around them. Likewise, the understanding of school environments as influential in shaping children's mentalities supports the notion that a hygienic setting would cultivate a sense of hygiene consciousness, reaching beyond the confines of the school premises. Additionally, as demonstrated by architectural scholars, school buildings and classrooms held symbolic importance for both republic officials and the intelligentsia, and the contrast between representations of outdated Ottoman-era schools associated with religious education and the advancements brought by the republican administration spurred the focus on constructing new, modern school buildings in alignment with scientific pedagogical approaches (Bozdoğan, 2001; Kezer, 2008; Kul, 2016).

Catherine Burke (2005) notes that it is challenging to distinguish the boundary between metaphor and materiality in the context of light in the history of school design. In a similar vein, the debates surrounding the issues of school hygiene in 1930s Turkey touched upon both ideologically charged metaphorical elements and Western-originated scientific prescriptions, with their narratives occasionally intertwining. This paper will explore these two parallel narrative streams: the metaphorical depictions of non-hygienic conditions in former schools and the scientific guidelines for creating new hygienic school environments. The objective is not a strict comparison between the two, but rather an exploration of the intertwined cultural and scientific roles of hygiene in shaping modern architectural thought and practice. To achieve this, I consult contemporary texts from popular newspapers and magazines to capture the cultural dimension and review printed manuals dedicated to school hygiene to uncover the scientific prescriptions of the era. These manuals further provide valuable documents that offer insights into the architectural knowledge disseminated by non-architect experts during this period.

## 1. Background

In the first decade of the republic, educational reforms took on paramount importance as the authorities embarked on a series of radical transformations. Their foremost objective was to centralize the entire education system and establish consistency in both the curriculum and administration, placing a significant emphasis on secularization. This model stood in stark contrast to the heterogenous Ottoman school system, which encompassed a range of institutions including private, religious, and minority schools, often with limited state oversight, which reflected the empire's multicultural and multiethnic structure. In the Ottoman system, primary education was typically conducted in schools known as “sıbyan/mahalle mektebi” and “iptidai mektep,” while higher education found its place within medreses. However, following the proclamation of the republic in 1923, a significant step towards centralization and secularization occurred on March 3, 1924, marked by the implementation of the Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu, or the Law on Unification of Education. Coinciding with the abolition of the caliphate by republican leaders, this act led to the subsequent closure of medreses. These initiatives were integral parts of the broader endeavors during the Atatürk era to both nationalize and modernize the education system, thereby ushering in a centralized approach.

By 1923, Turkey had a total of 4,770 primary schools. In the 1920s, budget constraints hindered the Ministry of National Education's ability to construct new school buildings. As a result, existing suitable Ottoman-era buildings were identified, renovated, and repurposed as republican schools (Kâzım Nami, 1933a). The construction of new buildings began in the 1920s as well. In 1926, architect Ernst Egli was invited to collaborate with the Ministry of Education, leading to the establishment of a construction department under its purview. Law No. 842, dated 1926, granted the Ministry the authority to approve or disallow the construction of any official or private school building (Kâzım Nami, 1933a).

During the 1930s, both repurposed and newly constructed buildings were strained to accommodate the growing student population brought about by compulsory education. A 1930 report highlighted the resulting sanitation issues in these buildings (Anon., 1930). Numerous primary schools reportedly struggled with inadequate conditions, often housed in repurposed structures lacking proper hygiene and conducive learning environments, even in well-developed cities like Istanbul, Adana, and Bursa (Anon., 1930). The report highlighted that administrators' poor decisions regarding school design in specific provinces contributed to unfavorable conditions. The preference for ornate aesthetics often took precedence, leading to compromises in essential hygiene and educational standards. On-site visits exposed shortcomings not only in teaching materials and facilities but also in outdated student desks and overly spacious administrative offices (Anon., 1930). Complaints about unsanitary school conditions also surfaced in contemporary newspapers. Consequently, with certain exceptions, not all schools were in good shape. Nevertheless, in the 1930s, the narrative adopted by republican intellectuals gained considerable traction, effectively contrasting the so-called "unsanitary Ottoman schools" with the meticulously "clean and well-lit republican schools."

## 2. Metaphors: the sick past vs. the hygienic modern

Early republican descriptions of Ottoman school buildings frequently emphasized their unhygienic conditions in a desire to reflect the overall state of the education system and its adverse impact on students' physical and mental well-being. Metaphors of darkness, decay, corruption, dampness, dust, foul smells and cobwebs were often used to illustrate this decline. Policy makers and intellectuals held that in the Ottoman education system, particularly prior to the constitutional period, children's health was disregarded. No checks were conducted to determine if a child attending school had a contagious disease. Preventive measures against highly deadly diseases such as measles, scarlet fever, smallpox, and diphtheria were not implemented for children. Especially in the single-roomed “sıbyan mektebi,” hundreds of children would cram together like “goods haphazardly stacked onto a ship, reading their lessons piled on top of each other.” As a consequence, contagious diseases had become commonplace for children, and almost considered natural (Kâzım Nami, 1933b).

The Ottoman-era school building for republican intellectuals and administrators was thus a dismal place, eventually falling into ruins and rendering it “impossible to even sit inside during a light rain or snow” (Zühtü, 1930, p. 49). These schools could be one or two-roomed, “wooden, and damp” buildings located next to or as part of mosques and medreses, with their dimly lit interiors through clerestory windows, which overlooked tombstones adorned with turbans (Refik Halid, 1941). They were described as sometimes accommodating fifty to sixty children, ranging in ages from four to fifteen or even eighteen, all crammed into these “dirty, airless, and damp medrese rooms” (Kunt, 1944). Such contrasts found their way into the popular press as well as political propaganda, as seen in promotional publications of municipalities that highlighted their

construction activities, or in exhibitions, such as the tenth-year exhibition organized by the Ministry of Education (Figures 1-3).

The iptidai schools established in the second half of the 19th century were in no better condition. They were mostly repurposed “fusty and devastated” structures, with “the smell of the toilet almost invading the entire school” (Kunt, 1944). An iptidai, such as the one described by writer Refik Halid (Karay), could be characterized as a large, dilapidated wooden mansion that had deteriorated to the extent that “it was no longer suitable for human habitation and was rented out as a school” (Refik Halid, 1941). The republican-era schools, on the other hand, were represented as a stark contrast, featuring brand new buildings artfully placed alongside well-maintained “oil-painted mansions and concrete apartment blocks” neatly arranged on the streets. Their windows and frames were robust, and the “vibrant red Marseille tiles” adorned their roofs. As one climbed the stairs, a corridor with rows of doors on each side welcomed visitors. The walls were adorned with “colorful posters promoting health advice,” creating a hospital-like ambiance – in a positive way - so convincingly that one was “surprised by the absence of the typical smell of phenol.” The entire environment was kept “clean and simple,” with no trace of the "familiar characteristic scent of the old mekteps in the air” (Refik Halid, 1941).

Reflecting on their childhood experiences during the Late Ottoman period, many writers noted an uncanny adjacency of their school environments to religious settings. One of these writers was Ercümend Ekrem Talu, who, in his 1936 piece published in Son Posta, urged children to cherish their “joyful, airy, sunny, free, elevated, refined, and hopeful days” within their “well-lit, high-ceilinged, spacious, and spotlessly clean nests of knowledge” (Talu, 1936). Forty years ago, as a child, he had spent his days in environments that were far from conducive to a child's mental and physical well-being. He lived in a “gayrisıhhi” [unsanitary] home, had to do his homework in a poorly lit room under the faint glow of an oil-lamp, played in graveyards due to the absence of proper playgrounds, and attended a mahalle mektebi situated in the courtyard of a mosque. The school was accessed through a rickety and dark staircase, providing a cramped, dim, and confined space for learning where the students were forbidden to laugh or sing folk songs. Thus, when they “reached their most joyful ages”, they would inevitably “become melancholic” (Talu, 1936). The hodja’s desk and drawer were located near the door, and next to it were long sticks and a “strange torture device” i.e. falaka, made of ropes, wood, and sticks. His school setting inflicted both physical and mental suffering:

The side windows of our school looked out onto the mosque's coffin chamber. I was one of the fortunate ones who managed to find a spot near one of those windows. At least during spring, I could fulfill my heart's need for joy by listening to the chirping baby birds in the wild plum tree outside. However, there were days when I would witness the neighborhood watchman and the imam entering the chamber together, carrying a worn-out, old coffin and a rusty cauldron on a crippled wooden crate (Talu, 1936).

The article was accompanied by an illustration depicting his recollection of this school of the past. It was a co-ed classroom, with female students sitting on one side and males

on the other. In one corner, a hodja sat on cushions on the floor, behind his low desk, overseeing the students. Behind him were his beating devices. The room had two tall and narrow arched windows, each covered with bars. The lighting was dim, creating an ambiance that complemented the solemn setting. From one of the windows, a glimpse of the minaret of a nearby mosque could be seen (Fig. 4). In essence, through such narratives, schools' surroundings, usage, and architecture served as vital intermediaries in expressing the value of modernization and secularization in schooling and rendering it comprehensible in everyday language.

## 3. Prescriptions: preventive medicine and school design

School hygiene manuals began to emerge during the late Ottoman period, initially presented as articles. However, in the 1920s and 1930s, these manuals evolved into more comprehensive forms, becoming standalone books, or being integrated into larger works that addressed various themes of child health and well-being. These manuals, authored by a diverse group of experts including teacher training instructors, hygienists, and pediatricians, shared noticeable similarities in content, structure and discourse. Despite their varied backgrounds, the authors collectively believed that school environments played a vital role in shaping children's mental and physical well-being. For them, a school was not only supposed to bring joy to its students but also serve as a tangible and scientific real-life embodiment of its hıfzıssıhha [hygiene] curriculum. Within the school premises, students should have grasped the notion of health and hygiene through their daily activities: walking, talking, and observing within the school's spaces; they should have come to "understand what hygiene meant" and even "discovered a sense of comfort there that might have been lacking" in their parents' surroundings (Alantar, 1931, p290). Hence, "the school building, its classrooms, equipment, and all materials" were required to be designed to facilitate the child's intellectual and physical progress, equipped with suitable structures and resources to meet their diverse needs (M. Cemal, 1929–1930, p. 6). Creating a hygienic school environment necessitated collaboration across disciplines. As Dr. Abdi Tevfik noted, the assessment and selection of school equipment should not have been left to doctors and architects alone; educators needed to play a role, and the insights of other experts should have been incorporated. "Only through such comprehensive assessments" could "the health and aesthetic necessities of the school environment have been adequately addressed" (Abdi Tevfik, 1929, p. 6).

The subjects covered were extensive, ranging from site selection and surroundings to aspects such as land, foundations, water supply, wall construction, heating, natural and artificial lighting, ventilation, toilet facilities, and the dimensions of corridors and classrooms. Furthermore, these manuals prescribed materials to be used, as well as paint colors and application details. Particularly detailed information was provided regarding students' seating furniture. Another major concern addressed in these manuals was the prevention of contagious diseases within school premises. Schools, as gathering places, posed a "highly susceptible milieu" for the spread of infections (Say, 1938, pp. 1–

2). This prompted the authors to emphasize the need for spacious and well-ventilated classrooms with large windows to ensure adequate light and fresh air. When natural ventilation was insufficient, artificial means were suggested. The arrangement of the seating layout was also given careful thought, with recommendations to limit the number of students per row to prevent overcrowding. The manuals recommended easily washable materials and even surfaces to prevent the accumulation of dust and debris, which could lead to potential health hazards. Moreover, they discouraged the use of ornate decorations and materials that were prone to dust accumulation. For instance, on the ceiling, there would be “absolutely no decorative carvings or embellishments that are prone to dust accumulation” (M. Cemal, 1929–1930, p. 24). Additionally, coatracks were to be strategically positioned in corridors to prevent congestion, and restroom facilities were designed to counter waterborne diseases effectively. The goal was to ensure that the school environment itself acted as a barrier to the transmission of diseases.

One common recommendation was to apply oil-based paint to the walls. In specific instances, the proposal included covering a section of around 1.50 meters from the base of the walls with tiles to ensure easier cleaning. When tiling was not feasible, an alternative method involved painting the initial 1.20-1.50 meters of the walls with a dark-colored oil-based paint, enabling easy wiping. This practice, which has endured to the present day, was also prevalent in hospitals and sanatoriums of the time. Notably, considerable attention was given to the corners where walls intersected, suggesting the use of rounded plaster finishes to prevent the accumulation of dust. Moreover, the application of wallpapers to the walls was discouraged (Tokgöz, 1936, p. 123). In classrooms, the flooring was required to be easily washable and completely even. There should not be any permanent recesses or “gaps that could become dust traps” (M. Cemal, 1929–1930, p. 23). The accumulation of debris that fell through the cracks and gaps in the flooring was a significant concern, as it could lead to the buildup of a pile that serves as a potential source of infection. To address this, the use of linoleum or seamless materials like “ksilolit” and “porfirolit” were recommended, as they were easy to clean and maintain. Although ceramic tiles were sometimes used, they were not ideal in classrooms due to their potential to make feet cold.

The hygiene manuals also extended their focus beyond contagious diseases to address concerns related to “school diseases” such as myopia and scoliosis. Factors such as optimal natural light distribution, appropriate seating, and acoustic comfort were carefully considered. The manuals advocated for classrooms designed as 2/3 or 3/5 rectangles, with a maximum length of 9 meters on the longer side and accommodating no more than 50 students - only 30 according to Abdi Tevfik (1929, p. 22) (Fig. 5). The placement of windows, curtains, and the methods for artificial lighting was discussed in detail to ensure an ideal learning environment. Besides optical comfort, most manuals recommended placing windows at a height of 1.20 to 1.30 meters to prevent students from getting distracted by street views during their lessons. When artificial lighting was required, it was advised to be indirect and evenly distributed to prevent glare. Remarkably, even

decisions such as selecting fonts and colors for educational materials, including books, adhered to optical health criteria.

The primary school regulations of 1929, effective throughout the 1930s, included hygiene rules for school buildings, although not as comprehensive as manuals. The regulations stated that classrooms lacking direct sunlight exposure should avoid curtains on windows and recommended rooms with optimal ventilation and abundant natural light to be designated as classrooms and workshops. They moreover emphasized the careful cleaning of surfaces with recessed and protruding features prone to dust accumulation, placing doormats at entrances to prevent students from tracking mud inside during winter, repainting interior walls annually, and ensuring daily damp wiping of school floors (T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1929). Regarding the distribution of indoor lighting, the regulations proposed well-lit rooms have walls painted in a light green or straw-colored shade, with shadowy areas coated in white paint. In corridors and classrooms, they suggested applying brown paint to the lower part of walls. Notably, a key provision reiterated was “no decorations are to be applied to walls” (T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1929, p. 61). The primary school regulations also stipulated well-ventilated classrooms during breaks, and, in winter, classrooms maintain a temperature range of 16-18 degrees Celsius. Each classroom required a thermometer for temperature monitoring (T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1929).

How effective were these manuals in architectural thought and practice? While architectural texts did not explicitly refer to specific authors or manuals, there are indications that architects were attuned to the contemporary discourse on hygiene in school construction. For example, Zeki Sayar critiqued ornamental elements in school buildings, highlighting the transition from “dust-collecting” features like plaster ornaments to a more sanitary design approach characterized by plain surfaces. In his article titled “Aesthetics in School Buildings,” he underscored the importance of harmonious and flat surfaces, as well as the psychological impact of color choices on children (Zeki Selâh, 1931).

Regarding the implementation of hygiene principles, a prominent case is the Gazi Primary School designed by Necmettin Emre in Izmir. Emre's design incorporated key elements aligned with hygiene concerns, such as optimal sun orientation, the positioning of large windows starting at a height of 1.20 meters from the floor, proper natural lighting from the left side of students, ventilation openings on walls, and transom windows for improved airflow. The classrooms were illuminated with indirect lighting, adhering to visual comfort standards. Emre detailed these features in his description published in Mimar (Arkitekt), emphasizing his incorporation of “the new methods for room volumes and window placements,” and the use of rounded corners in wall plastering as a measure to prevent dust accumulation (Mimar Necmeddin, 1934, p. 191) (Fig. 6). Notably, Emre also paid meticulous attention to the design of the concrete staircase, employing rounded edges and minimalist cylindrical metal railings, which potentially aimed to deter dust buildup. A similar approach was observed in the design of the concrete staircase by

architect Sırrı Arif Bilen in Valde Mektebi in Istanbul, where the architect explicitly stated that the design aimed to prevent dust accumulation (Anon., 1931).

## Conclusion

The education system of the period played a pivotal role in forging a unified national identity, while also championing positivist values. This approach incorporated tailored materials from textbooks to buildings, strategically disseminating the ideals of the nascent republic. These considerations underscore the comprehensive nature of the modern hygiene discourse, which aimed to ensure the holistic well-being of students: body and mind, linked with buildings, materials, air, light, and surfaces. Even if their full practical implementation had not yet been realized, the 1930s marked a period when theoretical foundations for architectural and hygiene principles were being established. While school hygiene manuals did not impose direct regulations, shared expressions found in architects' discussions and official directives, as well as criteria outlined in critiques of school buildings in popular media, indicate a tangible connection between hygiene discourse and its application in theory and practice. Extending the scope of this study to examine various school prototype projects from this period could further enrich the discussion.

The endorsement of secular and positivist education, coupled with the critiques of the decentralized and religious educational approach of the Ottoman era transformed the architectural features and materiality of school buildings into symbolic representations of this profound cultural shift. During this era, individuals grappling with these changes turned to architecture as a means of making sense of the ongoing rapid transformations. In essence, the intricate interplay among the education system, architectural thought, and hygiene considerations during the 1930s demonstrates a multifaceted interweaving of cultural, ideological, and pragmatic dynamics. This interplay not only echoes in architectural discourse but also operates on functional levels, tapping into a broader cultural recognition of the symbolic link between hygiene and modernity.

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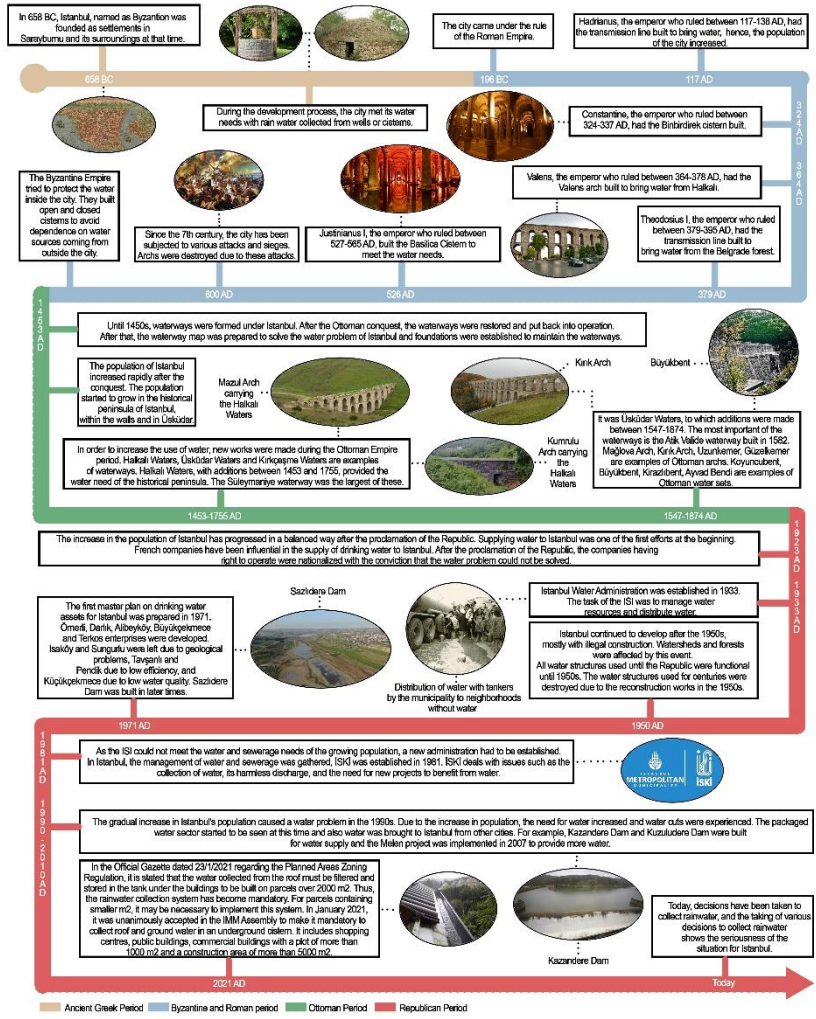
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# POSTER SESSION

THE REPUBLIC, ARCHITECTURE & THE CITY 2023

# The Water Problem That Istanbul Has Experienced Since the Establishment of the Republic of Turkey

LEVENT ÖZTÜREL, IKU INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES



THE REPUBLIC, ARCHITECTURE & THE CITY 2023

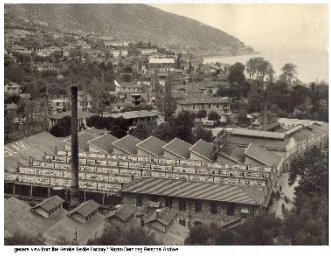
# ECHOES FROM AN EMPIRE TO A REPUBLIC: HEREKE FACTORY CAMPUS (1925-1950)

DİDEM YAVUZ VELİPAŞAOĞLU, IZMIR UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS





























**THE REPUBLIC, ARCHITECTURE & THE CITY 2023**

# AN ARCHITECT AND ACADEMICIAN FROM THE 1950'S; ORHAN SAFA

AYLİN AKÇABOZAN TAŞKIRAN & CAN ŞAKİR BİNAN, YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

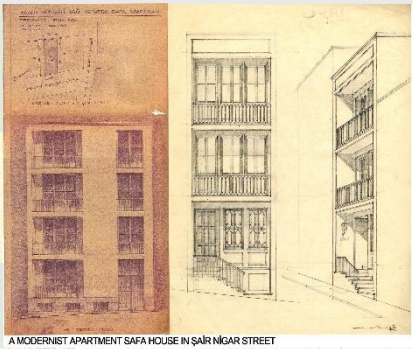


Born in Bucharest, **Orhan Safa Bey (1911-1986)** contributed to the development of modern architecture in Turkey in the 1950s. During his **50 years of professional life** in Turkey, he worked as a professor at Istanbul Technical University, laid the foundations of architectural education in the **Building Science Chair**, and played an essential role in the coexistence of architectural practice and theoretical education.



AYASPAŞA AFİF TEKTAŞ HOUSE

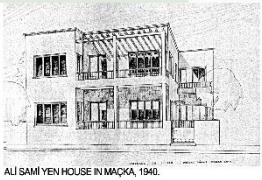
After his successful application, Orhan Safa joined the Academy of Fine Arts in 1929. In 1930, when the academy's overall teaching system changed, Orhan Safa, who passed the second year, was a **student of Ernst Egli**, who was brought to the architecture department to restructure this department. As a result, the workshop system connected to old teachers (Vedat Bey and M. Mongeri) was abolished, the **modern architectural concept** was emphasized in architectural project studies, and the critical influence of Orhan Safa in the formation of the architectural identity during this period, carried out by **Arif Hikmet Holtay, Ernst Egli and Sedad Hakkı Eldem.**



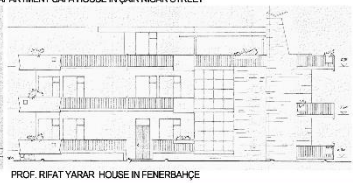
A MODERNIST APARTMENT SAFA HOUSE IN ŞAİR NİGAR STREET



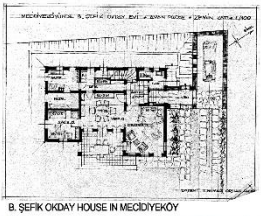
AYŞE ENÜNLÜ APARTMENT IN BOSTANCI



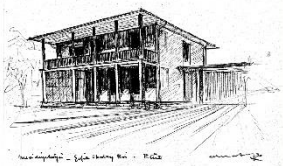
ALİ SAMİ YEN HOUSE IN MAÇKA, 1940.



PROF. RIFAT YARAR HOUSE IN FENERBAHÇE



B. ŞEFİK OKDAY HOUSE IN MECİDİYEKÖY



During his career, he participated **23 architectural competitions** alone and with his colleagues; 7 won the first prize, the others had awards and honorable mentions, and he served on the jury of 10 competitions. Apart from the competitions, there are 27 architectural project works, all of which have been built except two. It is noteworthy that he signed a considerable number of projects and practices among the academician architects of the period. Even if some of his works are lost, what remains is enough to prove that he is a productive professional.

Orhan Safa contributed to the modern housing and apartment buildings in Istanbul, **Ayşe Enünlü Apartment in Bostancı, Mrs. Cünsel Aru and Vera Safa Apartment, Ali Sami Bey Apartment, and other residential buildings in Tarabya, Maçka, and Salacak in the 1950s**, which bear the traces of modernism, and to have dealt with the changing architectural practices, living culture, and daily life in a modernist context. Today, some of these modern housing and apartment buildings are structurally in good condition, while some others couldn't survive due to the urban transformation.



B. BURHAN TAMER HOUSE IN TARABYA, 1948





Through a comprehensive study of Orhan Safa archive, this study intends to demonstrate the 1950s modern architectural heritage and its values, as well as to present a discussion concerning similar modern apartments in the period. The study will lead to conclusions on **1950s modernism** in Turkey, through residential designs and architectural practices of Orhan Safa, which are examples that demonstrate the architectural culture of the modern period in Turkey.

The essential point Orhan Safa emphasized on the reform at ITU is the lack of engineer architects who can make modern design based on aesthetic and functional foundations and the lack of an institutional structure that can train the new generation of Turkish architects who fit the profile of modernist architects.

* We would like to thank Orhan Safa's daughter Ms. Semra Çullu for the documents which are used in the research of this Poster which are taken from the Orhan Safa Archieve.

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# URBAN DESIGN COMPETITIONS IN TURKEY : SEARCHING CLIMATE RESILIENCE APPROACH

ESIN OZKILIC [1], EZGI YILDIRIM [2], ECE YORULMAZ [3], *ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY*

**INTRODUCTION**

Urban design competitions in Turkey mostly organize in public spaces which are important places for the entire society and can affect future generations. Likewise, competitions have been seen as an important tool in transforming spaces and cities within the disciplines of architecture and urbanism during the first century of the Republic of Turkiye. In parallel, while the young Republic was processing, the scope and contents of design competitions developed as a result of the evaluation of urban approaches.
In this context, Turkey's first 100-year period is divided into 4 different categories. Respectively;
I) The period where the concept of urban design, which started in the 1930s and extended to the 1990s, developed and researched mostly at the urban planning scale.
II) The period from 1990 to 2002. With the regulation issue in 1990, the content and scale of urban design emerges for the first time.
III) with the following regulations about urban design competitions made in 2002, with that their contents and participants became clear and varied.
IV) The competitions opened in 2020 and later followed a method such as the selection of the project to be implemented with the participation of the public. In these competitions, also 'urban transformation practices that came to the agenda after natural disasters" and "sustainability discourses" were more included into the discussion (Check Figure 1 ).
In summary, urban design competitions held in Turkey are considered important platforms where different perspectives and future scenarios are discussed and produced.

**PURPOSE**

On the other hand, the concept of 'Resilience to Climate Change' is rarely investigated under the scope of current sustainability discussion on urbanization while urban design competitions were held. In this respect, during the transformation of the Turkish cities at the beginning of the second century of the Republic, it is important to be aware of the vulnerability of the citizens and urban spaces to the effects of climate change.

**SCOPE**

In line with that, we should consider. Kuleminova (2019) descriptions of how public spaces play an important role in achieving sustainable development goals and in coping with climo changes by being the vital elements of successful cities.
This study, which examines the development process of the Turkish Urban Design discipline, discusses the hot topic of 'Resistance to Climate Change' through the competition specifications, which is the most decisive element in the competitions.Thus, the study mainly focused on urban design competitions which were held after 2020 during 4th period of Urban design competitions history.
These competitions are:
• Kadıköy Square Urban Design Competition (2020)
• Bakırköy Cumhuriyet (Kopuklu) Square and its surroundings Urban Design Competition (2021)
• Tarsim Square Urban Design Competition (2022)
• Bayraklıada Phenion Square Urban Design Competition (2021)
• Istanbul City Walls Topkapı Kaleiçi Square Urban Design Competition (2022)

**METHOD AND EVALUATION**

Mella (2019) determined that the success of the projects to be achieved as a result of urban design competitions is related to directly guiding the researcher with competition specifications which are sufficiently developed. In this study, in line, the method of the study is based on the examination of competition specifications. The headings of the indicator set to be used in the text analysis were determined from the literature review, and then the metrics were determined as a result of the examination of sustainability assessment tools which were based on LEED-ND, BREAM-N, CASBEE, and Yeş-TR (Check Figure 2).
Here, the study mainly focuses on the neighborhood scale of sustainability assessment which basically help to create a framework on which design elements should be added to the projects in order to increase the resilience of public spaces such as urban squares, streets, and green areas to climate change. In this stage, the framework for Climate Resilience in Urban Public Squares, i includes four main categories which are (i) Thermal & Wind Comfort (ii) Water Saving & Flooding (iii) Accessibility ,ve (iv) Energy Efficiency (Check Figure 3 ).
Subsequently, the identified categories of the indicator sets were analyzed in the specifications and the final chart of urban competitions has been developed as a result of the findings ( Check Figure 4 ). As a result of these findings Kadıköy Urban Design Competition and Bayraklıada Phenion Square Urban Design Competition specifications reasonably stand out and drew a framework for resilient design solutions.

**CONCLUSION**

With the inference identified by Schuetze, Chelioni&Jo (2016), Wellington, Mumayiz&Hauser (2017) and Mattia (2019), the importance of creating an indicator set in the study emerges. The creation of design solutions for climate change will be emphasized constantly for designers and will move away from being a personal issue with the inclusion of such indicator sets and scores in the competition specifications,. Thus, the result of Turkiye 's urban design competitions may cause more successful, comprehensive, and sustainable projects. For this reason, it is expected that the study will contribute to the development of strategies that will increase the resilience of cities in reducing the destructive effects of climate change.

***KEYWORDS: Urban Design Competitions in Turkey, Climate Change Resilience, Urban Square, Specification***



Figure 2

## Brief Summary of Urban Design Competitions History in Turkiye

**1923** — **Foundation of Republic of TURKIYE**

*Design competitions were very important platforms of the development process of different disciplines during the first 100 years of Turkiye. On the one hand, according to Sahin (2016) , the design competitions should be considered as a tool for creating and searching national identity of young republic.*

**1927** — **Ankara International Urban Planning Competition**

*1st Competition of Republic of Turkiye*



**1945** — **Istanbul International Urban Planning Competition**

*During 1927 and 1980 , many city scale competition had been held by Ilter Bankan in the 1940s and by the Ministry of Public Works and Urbanism in the 1960s and 1970s. Mainly these competitions were focused on urban planning and zonin planning of cities and we can count 1932 2nd Ankara, 1942 Samsun and 1944 Ordunia urban and zonning planning competitions among most important ones.*

**1955**

**1980** — *In the 1980s, there was a transformation in the content and handling of the competitions in line with the economic and political transformations experienced throughout the world and therefore the neoliberal policies that started to dominate. ( Eraydın & Arıtan , 2021 ). As a result of in 1980 , cityscape competitions named as urban design competitions by Ministry of Public Works and Urbanism.*

**1981** — **Eskisehir Fairground and Recreation Space Urban Design Competition**

*1st Urban Design Competitions*



**1990** — *During the 1980-1999 period, 8 competitions were held as on an urban scale. Among these competitions, in addition to parks and recreation areas, square arrangements; Istanbul Beyazıt Square, Istanbul Taksim Square, Bursa Zafer and Sehreküstü Squares can count as most important ones.*

**1999** — *Between 1990-1999, 8 urban design competitions were opened. Unlike the previous period, some of the competitions of this era were on large urban areas closer to the planning scale such as Ankara Central Business Area Planning and Development Competition, Gaziantep Central Market District Urban Design Competition for Conservation and Development, Sandıma Municipality Cin Çukuru City Center Editing Contest.*

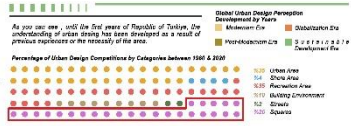
**2000**

**2002** — *In 2002, "Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Engineering, Urban Design Projects, City and Regional Planning and Fine Art Competition Regulation" was introduced and the competitions rules was described. The objectives of the competitions in the regulation are "specific to the subject it belongs to; to develop cultural, artistic, scientific and environmental values through competition, to choose the most economical, functional and innovative solutions from many options, to identify their authors, to encourage fine arts and to develop professions within the scope of the regulation, to establish ethical values, to gain international competitive power. "Providing a suitable environment".*

**2005**

**2010** — *Between 2010-2020 , 34 urban design competitions were held.As in the previous period, different scales and scopes were included in the competitions. Kahramanlı Square and its Surrounding Urban Design Project Competition , Canakkale Municipality City Square and its Surroundings, "Green" Urban Design Competition and Adana-Seyhan Sakıagede Neighborhood Urban Renewal Area Urban Design and Architectural Project Competition.*

**2020** — *Since 2020, 16 urban design competitions were held. Expecially urban square competitions were tried to hold as participatory work and the prizes were given as a result of public consultations. Here , we can consider most out standing as Prince Island Feyton Square , Sarıköy Square, Tatarlı Square Urban Design Competition, Bursa Han Area Cumahoyu Urban Design Competitions, Bursa River and Surroundings as Ecological Urban Spine and Olivelo Ecological Urban Design Competitions.*




*As you can see , until the first years of Republic of Turkiye, the understanding of urban design has been developed as a result of previous experiences or the necessity of the area.*

Figure 1

## 4th Period of Urban Design Competitions in Turkiye -Post 2020 Urban Square Design Competitions in Istanbul

**1958** — *Beyazıt Square Arrangement*

**1970** — *Ulukışla Square Urban Design Competition*

**1987** — *Taksim Square Urban Design Competition*

**1988** — *Beyazıt Square Urban Design Competition*

**1990** — *Beşiktaş Square Urban Design Competition*

**1993** — *Kartal Cevizli and Square Urban Design Competition*

**1996** — *Sarıgöl Square Urban Design Competition*

**2000** — *Kadıköy Haydarpaşa-Nunn Square Urban Square Urban Design Competition*

**2020** — *Taksim, Kadıköy and Bakırköy Square Urban Design Competition*

**2021** — *Prince Island Phaeton Square Urban Design Competition*

**2022** — *Istanbul City Wall Square Urban Design Competition*

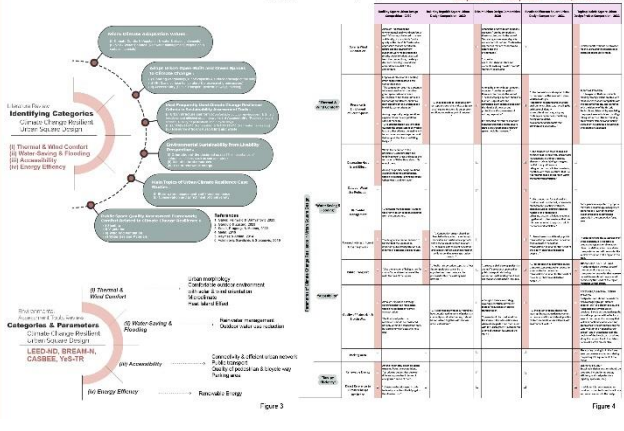



Figure 3

Figure 4

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# REFLECTIONS OF HOUSING PROBLEM IN TURKISH POPULAR CULTURE IN THE 1980S

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## Introduction

Popular media and artistic products carry the social and political traces of the periods and geographies they belong to. Like many social phenomena, architectural issues also become subjects of popular culture products, either directly or indirectly. This study examines how the issue of housing, which was a remarkable problem, in the 1980s is reflected in popular culture in Turkey.



Figure 1: The theater play depicting the struggle of fishermen in protecting their homes (Kuruyer Gisaleri, 1987)




Figure 2: "The standardized housing drives people into depression" (Tek tip konut, 1984)



Figure 3: The construction worker utilized in the housing advertisement campaign (*Talihli Amele, 1980*)

## Housing Problem in Turkey

Although the housing problem is often defined as the imbalance between supply and demand, it is one of the topics discussed in the literature that should not be solely approached from a quantitative perspective. The housing shortage, leading to many people being unable to own a home, also brings along various social crises. Especially since the 1950s, factors such as population growth, increased urban migration, and the development of nuclear family structures are considered as the fundamental factors contributing to the housing shortage. Additionally, the proliferation of informal settlements and dense high-rise constructions can lead to insufficient infrastructure, limited green areas, and decreased livability of neighborhoods. All of these social ramifications are evaluated within the framework of the housing problem.

Since the beginning of the Republic's history, housing policies have primarily aimed to increase property ownership and viewed housing solely as a shelter. However, this approach has had the most negative impact on low-income groups. Subsequently, the definition of the "right to housing" in the 1982 constitution without specifying any income group further complicates the matter (Çoban, 2012). As a result of allocating public resources for housing, conditions were created for all social strata to benefit, leading to the emergence of a housing market targeted at middle and upper-income groups. Consequently, housing has evolved into a cultural element during these years and started to hold different meanings for various segments of society. It now serves as an investment tool and provides individuals with social status and security within the community (Tekeli, 1994). Housing has gained significance as a safeguard against the inflationary economic environment in Turkey, leading individuals to purchase more properties than they actually need with the aim of generating rental income (Alkan, 2014). Considering all these factors, it can be asserted that the social dimensions of the housing problem reached new levels in the 1980s.



Figure 4: Cater Zorlu's cartoon adressing the housing problem (Milliyet Sanat, 1987)

## Reflections of the Problem

The 1980s is also a critical period of change in terms of Turkish media history. As a result of the spread of 24-hour journalism and the dominance of entertainment in the media, production has diversified and increased. In this environment, architectural issues were also transferred to the public realm. The housing problem appears as a subject that is criticized in various popular culture products of the 1980s. Through the newspaper news of the period, the discourses of the politicians on the housing problem are often conveyed or the victimization of the people caused by this issue is explained. The solution of the problem is presented and the housing policies are criticized by the columnists as well. Furthermore, it can be observed that television programs focusing on the housing problem and incorporating street interviews have been broadcasted in the mainstream media. Additionally, it is known that the issue has also influenced various art forms, and in 1988, a cartoon competition titled "Housing Problem" was organized (Milliyet Sanat, 1987).

Some films, theater plays, and literary works of the period directly engage with the housing problem and narrate stories through the lens of the right to housing. *'Kiralık Ev'* (Rental House) (1986) refers the difficulties a mother and daughter face while searching for a home. *'Şanslı Amele'* (Lucky Worker) (1980) critiques the production of manipulative policies through the media, using the housing problem of a construction worker as a means. *'Kiracı'* (The Tenant) (1987) is a film adapted from Suhi Dölek's novel of the same name, presenting the hardships faced by tenants. The novel *'Toprak Kovgunları'* (The Expelled from the Land) (1982) addresses the harsh living conditions of rural-to-urban migrants in slum settlements. The theater play *'Lodos'* depicts the struggle of fishermen to keep their homes against urban transformation. These narratives can be considered to be more focused on the right to housing due to their tendency to vilify landlords and their emphasis on the situations of those without homes. Additionally, they serve as significant examples in critiquing the way the housing problem is portrayed and discussed among the public and in the media.



Figure 5: A forcibly evicted mother and daughter are left homeless on the streets (*Kiralık Ev, 1986*)



Figure 6: Low-quality and neglected rental housing (Kiracı, 1987)




Figure 7: Legal measures should be taken for building cooperatives' (Konut Sorunu, 1987)



Figure 8: Suicide Attempt of a Non-Homeowning Civil Servant (Kiracı, 1987)



Figure 9: Yavuz Tarani's cartoon adressing the housing problem (Milliyet Sanat, 1987)




Figure 10: "The housing issue is unsolvable" (Konut sorunu, 1987)

## Assessment

The 1980s, marked by significant changes in media and popular culture, saw the housing problem gaining prominence in various media outlets and art forms. Films, theater plays, and literary works contributed to raising awareness about the housing crisis and shed light on the right to housing as a fundamental human right. Additionally, the poor living conditions of housing occupied by the low-income group are depicted, emphasizing that the problem is not merely about having a place to stay. However, some narratives may have looked from limited perspectives and overshadowed the broader dimensions of the housing problem. As society continues to grapple with housing challenges, it is crucial to maintain a balanced portrayal of the issue and consider all aspects to foster comprehensive solutions for a more equitable and sustainable housing environment.

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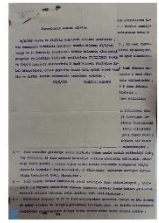
THE REPUBLIC, ARCHITECTURE & THE CITY 2023

# The FIRST YEARS of the REPUBLIC (1923-1950) in TAVŞANCIL BASED on ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

Prof.Dr.Elif Özlem AYDIN, GTÜ; Res.Asst.Şeyda ARSLAN ERCAN, GTÜ







## Introduction

Tavşancıl is located in the Dilovası district of Kocaeli province. The village is located on the transportation route between İstanbul and Anatolia, which is very important in the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman periods, as it is today. Its history, together with the archaeological sites around it, dates back to ancient times. Much of the traditional fabric of the settlement has been preserved. Declared as an urban cultural site in 1994, the settlement has many tangible and intangible cultural heritages: trade axis, rural landscape, production styles, the traditions of everyday life, traditional houses of civil architecture, mosque, fountain, hamam, building of train station.

Before the restoration to be carried out in the Tavşancıl Merkez Mosque in 2010, archive documents were found in the roof of the mosque. These documents are preserved in the archive of Kocaeli Archeology and Ethnography Museum today. These documents describe the economic, social, political and cultural life of the Tavşancıl settlement in the Ottoman, Turkish National Movement and the Republic periods.

## Metodology

All the documents in the archive were read and the documents important in terms of architectural and conservation history were classified. Documents that are useful for the study are reserved. A total of 660 documents, 56 in Ottoman and 604 in Turkish, were digitized.

In this study, 125 documents dated between 1929-1950 were used and divided into 26 groups according to their subjects. After that, the summaries of the documents were prepared and tabulated according to the 26 groups by using the MS Excel program, considering the dates of the documents (F). Considering the basic issues of both the archive documents and the Village Law, three main headings were determined: village planning, production activities and cultural surroundings. Then, keywords were determined in order to define the relationship between the documents. The analysis of the research was made on the documents collected around the same keyword.



F



G





## Analysis of Archival Documents

**village planning**

Three reports dated 1939 and 1940, prepared by the mobile health officer, contain information about the health conditions in Tavşancıl and the surrounding villages and lists about what should be done against them:

closing the water wells with caps,
putting pumps in them,
drying the puddles,
whitewashing the inside and outside of the public toilets,
building toilets at least 100 m away from the village,
providing medicine cabinets and medicines,
bringing the toilet and dish water pits to a sufficient size, cleaning them as often as necessary,
covering them.

Correspondence was made between 1937-43 in order to improve the environmental conditions of Tavşancıl village:

Closing the Sağir Ömer Kahvehanesi in the village bazaar due to health conditions and excess kahvehane in the village,
building toilets suitable for the project,
warning the headmen for the cleaning of the village,
drinkingmo drinking on the fountains on the road route the necessity of hanging the sign.

From the 1939 article, it is understood that many workshops, cheddar, curd, yogurt, olive and linseed oil workshops were opened in Tavşancıl. It was requested to report whether these workshops meet the health conditions.

It is understood from the article dated 1938 that linen yarn was produced in Tavşancıl, Köseler, Damirciler, Demirli, Cumakoy, Akviran, Pelitli and Tavşanlı villages. It is reported that the water of the stream flowing into Tavşancıl village is poisonous because the flax dalk is got wet in the Ova stream by the Çerkeşli village.

Between 1936 and 1947, correspondence was made regarding the implementation of the 3rd article of the Village Law. In the letter of the Ministry of Internal Affairs dated 1939, it was requested to draw the borders of the village, emphasizing that 15 years had passed since the adoption of the village law (A, B, and C).

In the document dated 1936, there is a 5-year work program belonging to Tavşancıl village. It has been programmed construction of roads around the village, construction of fountains and springs, closure of sewers, closure of open wells, drying of puddles, repair of mansion room, existing roads within the divan, working in road, culverts and bridges, children's playgrounds, plant saplings, to improve the telephone, to buy one buffalo and one cow on the sofa, to surround the graves with walls and to plant trees (D).

It is understood that the villagers contributed to the construction of the İzmit-Karayakuplu road in 1940, the maintenance of the railways in 1943, and the construction of the İzmit-İstanbul Coastal Road in 1946.

A report was submitted to the Gebze District Governor in a 1933 letter on the implementation of the Village Law by the Director of Taşköprü. This report includes the rehabilitation works carried out in the villages, the repair and new construction works of buildings such as schools, bridges and roads (E).

It is understood that between 1933-45, repairs and or new construction works were carried out on the government office, police station building, bridge, school, housing for village health officials and village reading room.

In the documents describing the village and village affairs from 1937 to 1950, there are regulations on the village clerk, tax, expenditure and population information of the village, and information on how to prepare the village work program.

**productive activities**

In 1938, on the grounds that the financial value of the linen cloth increased, peasants were encouraged to produce at home looms. And then, home weaving looms were encouraged so that the peasants would not be dependent on the market in 1940. It has been stated that local craftsmen and halkevi can be helped to increase the efficiency of home benches (H).

It is known that in the first years of the Republic, cherries, olives, grapes, barley, wheat, rye and oats were grown in the village. It is known from the complaint petition in 1937 that there was an oil mill in the village, that in 1938, cheese, curd, yoghurt, olive and linseed oil workshops were opened in Tavşancıl. Moreover there was the Tavşancıl Agricultural Credit Cooperative No. 86 in 1944.

**cultural surroundings**

Republic Day, opening and anniversary celebrations of halkevi and halk odası, Hereke and Eskihisar grape festivals, tree festivals were held in 1933-1946 (I). The 1938 letter of the Ministry of Economy Tourism Bureau was forwarded to the Tavşancıl Subdistrict Directorate. In this document, there are recommendations to improve tourism. It is also seen that Kocaeli is included in the "first three-year tourism plan" (J).

## Conclusion

The main purpose of the state in the establishment of the Republic of Turkey was to ensure the modernization of the country in all areas. The most important factor in the realization of modernization was the participation of the peasants (80%), who made up the majority of the population at that time, to modernization. For this purpose, the Village Law was enacted 5 months after the proclamation of the Republic (g). In the Village Law, there are 10 chapters and 97 articles, including the definition of the village, its borders, village affairs, settlement decisions, road construction, village rehabilitation, and education.

In the archive documents examined in this study, it is seen that most of the documents sent to and from the Tavşancıl and Taşköprü Sub-District Directorates are for the implementation of the Village Law. The efforts of the village and the villagers to improve the physical environmental conditions and production, to provide various cultural environments and to form the idea of tourism are followed on the archival documents.

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# SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PARTICIPANTS

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During graduate education, she worked in various architecture, restoration and planning offices and construction companies as an architect. Currently, she continues research studies on conservation of modern heritage, modern university campuses and campus-city relationship.

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Her primary research interests encompass diverse urban culture-related subjects, including public space, the urban environment within its cultural context, architectural and urban design, urban transformation and regeneration, and architectural theory. Beyond her research, she actively engages in pedagogical activities, having assisted in design courses spanning various academic levels, from first-year to fourth-year students, as well as graduate courses at METU. Her scholarly contributions extend to publications in reputable journals, including nature-culture dialectics, spatial mapping, and intricate spatial political issues. These works underscore her substantial impact on the academic environment.

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Narratives". In his master's study, he explored concept of gecekondu narratives by focusing on gecekondus' transformation from use to exchange value and their gradual commodification phases with respect to their spatial expansions. Alongside participating international and national group exhibitions, regarding his artistic productions, he opened two solo drawing exhibitions titled "Studies on Duality" and "Works on Paper" in Furuzan Olşen Exhibition Hall with the forewords Prof. Dr. Jale N. Erzen in 2016 and 2018, respectively. In addition to his scholarly studies in Finland, in 2022, he participated in Antero Kare's Artist Residency Program and had the possibility to produce works in the artist's studio space.

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Şeydanur Özcanlı graduated from Çankaya Faculty of Architecture with a full scholarship. Afterwards, she worked as a scholarship holder at the same university and completed her master's degree. She wrote her master's thesis entitled "Early Republican Period Architecture's Discourses: A Historiographical Reading of the Architectural Photographs of La Turquie Kemaliste Magazine (1934-1948) through Visual Theories and Historical Texts" under the supervision of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ceren Katipoğlu Özmen. She is currently pursuing her Ph.D. in Architectural History at Istanbul Technical University. Her areas of interest include architectural photography, Orientalism, early Republican architecture and historiography.

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# THE REPUBLIC, ARCHITECTURE AND THE CITY:

## THE LEGACY OF 100 YEARS

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