

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON THE WORKS OF
GERMAN EXPATRIATE ARCHITECTS IN THEIR
HOME-LAND AND IN TURKEY DURING THE
PERIOD OF 1927-1950**

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**by
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İZMİR

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ABSTRACT

A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON THE WORKS OF GERMAN EXPATRIATE ARCHITECTS IN THEIR HOME-LAND AND IN TURKEY DURING THE PERIOD OF 1927-1950

This thesis studies the professional activities of the German architects in the first half of the 20th Century who have worked as expatriate architects in the newly founded Turkish Republic before and after their arrival in Turkey. The aim of the thesis is to elucidate the effects and interactions of environmental and personal factors which impacted the architectural approaches of the German architects in the Turkish context.

Due to the extensive emigration movement from Germany caused by the National Socialist Government after 1933, Mid-European Modern Architecture has detached from its original context and spread throughout the world. The relocation of experienced architects to a new geographical setting, in this case the newly founded Turkish Republic, has provided means for novel experiences and applications. How these architects diversified and progressed under the prevailing multidimensional conditions have been discussed in the light of the unique opportunities and restrictions specific to the Turkish context.

The first chapter of the thesis is introductory; the second chapter depicts the architectural milieu in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century and the activities of the German architects who have later come to Turkey. The third and fourth chapters investigate the professional careers of the German architects with emphasis given to the evolution observed in their architectural approaches specifically in the reformist attitudes they introduced to education, and in their architectural designs for the Turkish context. The fifth chapter is the conclusion.

Keywords: Exile German Architects, Architecture in Turkey in the Early Republican Period, Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Hans Poelzig, Wilhelm Schütte, Martin Elsaesser, Robert Vorhölzer

ÖZET

1927-1950 YILLARINDA ALMANYA'DAN TÜRKİYE'YE GELEN MİMARLARIN ANAVATANLARINDA VE TÜRKİYE'DE MESLEKİ ETKİNLİKLERİNİN KARŞILAŞTIRMALI ÇALIŞMASI

Bu tez, 20. Yüzyılın ilk yarısında kendi vatanlarının dışında, yeni kurulmuş olan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde çalışmış olan Alman mimarların Türkiye'ye gelmeden önce ve sonraki mesleki etkinliklerini incelemektedir. Tezin amacı, Alman mimarların Türkiye bağlamındaki mimari yaklaşımlarında belirleyici olan çevresel ve bireysel faktörlerin etki ve etkileşimlerini aydınlatmaktır.

Almanya'da Nasyonal Sosyalist Hükümet özellikle 1933 yılından sonra dışarıya büyük bir göç yaşanmasına sebep olmuş ve böylece diğer alanlarda olduğu gibi mimarlıkta da Orta Avrupa Modernizmi kendi orijinal bağlamından koparak tüm dünyaya yayılmıştır. Deneyimli mimarların farklı coğrafyalara yerleşmeleri - bu tez bağlamında söz konusu olan yeni coğrafya Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'dir - yeni deneyimler ve uygulamalar için bir ortam oluşturmuştur. Bu mimarların Türkiye bağlamına özgü imkanlar ve kısıtlılıklar çerçevesinde nasıl farklılaşıp geliştikleri, hem çok faktörlü olan hem de bu faktörler arasında etkileşimleri içeren yeni ortamlarında değerlendirilmiştir.

Tezin ilk bölümü girişi oluşturmaktadır; ikinci bölüm 20. yüzyılın başında Almanya'daki mimarlık ortamına ve daha sonra Türkiye'ye gelmiş olan mimarların bu ortamın içindeki mesleki aktivitelerine odaklanmaktadır. Üçüncü ve dördüncü bölümler Alman mimarların Türkiye bağlamındaki profesyonel kariyerlerini, ağırlıklı olarak mimarlık eğitimine getirdikleri reformist yaklaşımları ve mimari tasarımlarını tartışmaktadır. Beşinci bölüm sonuçtur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sürgün Alman Mimarlar, Türkiye Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı, Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Hans Poelzig, Wilhelm Schütte, Martin Elsaesser, Robert Vorhölzer

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	X
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Background.....	2
1.2. Definition of the Study	11
1.3. Method of the Study	17
1.4. Importance (Significance) of the Study	20
1.5. Limitations of the Study	23
CHAPTER 2. PROFESSIONAL CAREERS OF THE ARCHITECTS IN GERMANY, BEFORE THEIR ARRIVAL IN TURKEY	27
2.1. Modern Movement in Germany	30
2.1.1. The Early Stages of Industrialization in Germany.....	33
2.1.2. The Foundation of the German Werkbund	38
2.1.3. The Architecture Scene in Germany after the First World War	60
2.1.1.1 Hans Poelzig and Bruno Taut in Berlin.....	63
2.1.1.2 Paul Bonatz in Stuttgart	83
2.1.1.3 Martin Elsaesser and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in Frankfurt ...	91
2.1.1.4 Robert Vorhölzer in Munich.....	101
2.2. The Turkish Context for the German Architects	106
2.2.1. Historical Roots of Turkish-German Relations and the Turkish- German Friendship House Competition	107
2.2.2. Turkey as a Destination for German Architects (Situation of the Country in the 1930s)	119
CHAPTER 3. GERMAN ARCHITECTS IN TURKEY	126
3.1. The Acceptance of German Immigrants in Turkey	128

3.1.1. German Architects in Turkey: Status and Fields of Work in Turkey	137
3.2. The Organization of Appointments at the Universities and Architectural Education	143
3.2.1. Bruno Taut: Efforts for Reforming Education.....	152
3.2.2. Wilhelm Schütte and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in the Academy of Fine Arts	165
3.2.3. Robert Vorhölzer: End of the Foreign Architects in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts.....	173
3.2.4. Paul Bonatz: In the İstanbul Technical University	177
CHAPTER 4. DESIGNING AND BUILDING FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC: ARCHITECTURAL PROJECTS OF THE GERMAN ARCHITECTS IN THE TURKISH CONTEXT.....	188
4.1. Martin Elsaesser and the Reflections of Frankfurt	192
4.2. Hans Poelzig and Architectural Competitions for the Turkish Context ...	209
4.3. Bruno Taut and the Search for Synthesis.....	217
4.4. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and Social Engagement in Architecture	245
4.5. Paul Bonatz and the Search for a National Style	255
CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION.....	273
REFERENCES	285
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A. LIST OF ARTISTS DISMISSED FROM THE PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS.....	304
APPENDIX B. EXAMPLES FROM JOB APPOINTMENTS OF IMMIGRANTS...304	

APPENDIX C. THE INTERVIEW OF THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR	
KEMALETTİN SAMİ PASA WITH ADOLF HITLER	306
APPENDIX D. MEMORANDUM TO ALL GERMANS IN TURKEY	307
APPENDIX E. LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE IMPORT OF	
CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS FOR SÜMERBANK.....	308
APPENDIX F. LIST OF THE TEXTS OF THE GERMAN ARCHITECTS IN	
TURKEY:	309
APPENDIX G. DOCUMENT CONCERNING THE BERLIN TRIP OF ARIF	
HIKMET HOLTAY	311
APPENDIX H. LETTER CONCERNING THE TRIP OF PROFESSOR HOLTAY	312
APPENDIX I. REPORT OF A MEETING AT THE PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF	
ARTS BERLIN.....	313
APPENDIX J. REPORT OF A MEETING DATED NOVEMBER 30, 1933 AT THE	
PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS BERLIN	314
APPENDIX K. A TYPICAL WORKING CONTRACT OF A GERMAN	
EMPLOYEE	315
APPENDIX L. EXAMPLE OF A CONTRACT FOR A PROFESSOR AT THE	
ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS IN ISTANBUL	316
APPENDIX M. TWO PAGES OF THE “ <i>ISTANBUL TAGEBUCH</i> ” OF BRUNO	
TAUT.....	317
APPENDIX N. THE WORKING CONTRACT OF PAUL BONATZ	318
APPENDIX O. REPORT OF A MEETING DATED SEPTEMBER 21, 1936	
AT THE PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS BERLIN.....	319

APPENDIX P. THE MEMORANDUM SENT TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS.....	320
APPENDIX Q. LETTER FROM BRUNO TAUT TO MIBARE.....	321
APPENDIX R. LETTER FROM BRUNO TAUT TO CARL KRAYL	322

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>Page</u>
Figure 2.1. The AEG Factory Complex by Peter Behrens, Berlin, 1912	40
Figure 2.2. The AEG Turbine Factory by Peter Behrens, Berlin, 1908	41
Figure 2.3. The Gasworks by Peter Behrens, Frankfurt, 1911	42
Figure 2.4. The Werkbund Exhibition Theater by Henry van de Velde, Cologne, 1914 44	
Figure 2.5. The Model Factory by Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer, Cologne, 191.....	44
Figure 2.6. The Construction of the Glass Pavilion by Bruno Taut, Cologne, 1914.	45
Figure 2.7. The Drawings of the Glass Pavilion by Bruno Taut, Cologne, 1914.....	46
Figure 2.8. The Interior of the Glass Pavilion by Bruno Taut, Cologne, 1914	48
Figure 2.9. The Model of the Monument of Steel by Bruno Taut, Leipzig, 1913	50
Figure 2.10. The Construction of the Monument of Steel by Bruno Taut, Leipzig, 1913.....	51
Figure 2.11. Water Tower by Hans Poelzig, Posen, 1911	51
Figure 2.12. Chemical Plant by Hans Poelzig, Luban, 1911	52
Figure 2.13. Front façade of the Main Train Station of Stuttgart by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1914-1917.....	55
Figure 2.14. Aerial view of the Main Train Station of Stuttgart by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1914-1917.....	55
Figure 2.15. Sketch of the first phase of the design process of the Main Train Station of Stuttgart by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1914-1917.....	56
Figure 2.16. Sketch of the second phase of the design process of the Main Train Station of Stuttgart by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1914-1917.....	57
Figure 2.17. Market Hall of Stuttgart by Martin Elsaesser, Stuttgart, 1911-1914	58
Figure 2.18. Interior of the Market Hall of Stuttgart by Martin Elsaesser, Stuttgart, 1911-1914	59
Figure 2.19. Interior of the Schauspielhaus in Berlin by Hans Poelzig, Berlin, 1919- 1920.....	65

Figure 2.20.	Sketch of the Schauspielhaus in Berlin by Hans Poelzig, Berlin, 1919-1920.....	66
Figure 2.21.	Section and plan of the Schauspielhaus in Berlin by Hans Poelzig, Berlin, 1919-1920	67
Figure 2.22.	The Capitol Cinema in Berlin by Hans Poelzig, Berlin, 1925	68
Figure 2.23.	A panel from the Exhibition of Unknown Architects: Alpine Architecture by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1919	70
Figure 2.24.	Section and façade of the Chicago Tribune Tower competition entry, 1922.....	73
Figure 2.25.	Photomontage of the Chicago Tribune Tower competition entry, 1922.....	73
Figure 2.26.	An aerial view of the Rental Barracks Meyer’s Hof, Berlin, 1920.....	75
Figure 2.27.	The site plan of the Falkenberg Settlement by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1913.....	76
Figure 2.28.	The facades of the row houses of the Falkenberg Settlement by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1913	77
Figure 2.29.	The plan of the row houses of the Falkenberg Settlement by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1913	78
Figure 2.30.	Uncle Tom’s Cabin by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1926-1931.....	80
Figure 2.31.	The model of the Horseshoe Housing Development by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1925-1930	81
Figure 2.32.	The aerial view of the Carl Legien Settlement by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1928-1930	81
Figure 2.33.	The Taut House by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1926-1927	82
Figure 2.34.	The plans of the Taut House by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1926-1927.....	82
Figure 2.35.	The Bonatz House by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1922.....	84
Figure 2.36.	The Villa Porsche by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1923.....	86
Figure 2.37.	The Springorum House by Paul Bonatz, Dortmund, 1928	87
Figure 2.38.	The administration building of the Stumm Company by Paul Bonatz, Düsseldorf, 1922-24.....	88
Figure 2.39.	Sketch for the administration building of the Stummhaus Company by Paul Bonatz, Düsseldorf, 1922-24	88

Figure 2.40.	The Landenburg Dam for the Neckar River by Paul Bonatz, Mannheim, 1927-1933	89
Figure 2.41.	Sketch for the Landenburg Dam for the Neckar River by Paul Bonatz, Mannheim, 1927-1933	89
Figure 2.42.	An example of a living room of the New Frankfurt Housing Scheme, Frankfurt, 1927	92
Figure 2.43.	An example of the ground plan of a prefabricated apartment of the New Frankfurt Housing Scheme, Frankfurt, 1927	93
Figure 2.44.	An example of a bathroom of the New Frankfurt Housing Scheme, Frankfurt, 1927	94
Figure 2.45.	The Frankfurter Kitchen by Margarte Schütte-Lihotzky, Frankfurt, 1927	95
Figure 2.46.	The Frankfurter Kitchen by Margarte Schütte-Lihotzky, Frankfurt, 1927	96
Figure 2.47.	The Frankfurter Kitchen by Margarte Schütte-Lihotzky, Frankfurt, 1927	97
Figure 2.48.	Design of details for the Frankfurter Kitchen by Margarte Schütte- Lihotzky, Frankfurt, 1927	97
Figure 2.49.	The Ludwig-Richter School by Martin Elsaesser, Frankfurt, 1928	99
Figure 2.50.	The Römerstadt School by Martin Elsaesser, Frankfurt, 1928	100
Figure 2.51.	The Holzhausen School by Martin Elsaesser, Frankfurt, 1928	100
Figure 2.52.	The Post Office on Frauenhofer Street by Robert Vorhölzer, Munich, 1929-1931	102
Figure 2.53.	The constructive body of the Post Office on Frauenhofer Street by Robert Vorhölzer, Munich, 1929-1931	103
Figure 2.54.	The Post Office in Goetheplatz by Robert Vorhölzer, Munich, 1931-1933	104
Figure 2.55.	The construction of the Post Office in Goetheplatz by Robert Vorhölzer, Munich, 1931-1933	104
Figure 2.56.	Robert Vorhölzer and Paul Bonatz together in an excursion in the begging of the 1930s	105
Figure 2.57.	The aerial view of the Site for the German-Turkish House of Friendship, İstanbul	113
Figure 2.58.	The perspective for the German-Turkish House of Friendship in İstanbul by German Bestellmeyer, 1916	117

Figure 3.1.	Bruno Taut (in the middle) with guests in his flat in İstanbul	154
Figure 3.2.	Site plan, site section and the axonometric drawing for the Residential Buildings for Government Employees in Ankara; the Project of Kemal Ahmet from the Bruno Taut Studio in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts	159
Figure 3.3.	Site plan and the axonometric drawing for the Residential Buildings for Government Employees in Ankara of the Project; the project of Süleyman Köktürk from the Bruno Taut Studio in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts	160
Figure 3.4.	Ground Plan suggestions for housing units of the Residential Buildings for Government Employees in Ankara, from the Bruno Taut Studio in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts	161
Figure 3.5.	Bruno Taut with a student during a lecture in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul	162
Figure 3.6.	Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and Wilhelm Schütte in İstanbul, 1938...	166
Figure 3.7.	Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and Wilhelm Schütte on a boat trip in İstanbul, 1939	167
Figure 3.8.	Plan for a small apartment flat, designed by Wilhelm Schütte	170
Figure 3.9.	Robert Vorhölzer, around 1930.....	174
Figure 3.10.	Paul Bonatz	178
Figure 3.11.	Sketch indicating the difference between a Turkish and an Italian wooden roof detail, by Paul Bonatz	180
Figure 3.12.	Student project by Rauf Beyru (1946-47 Summer Semester, Ankara'da Sergi Evi – Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University	182
Figure 3.13.	Student project by S. Sarıgöl (1946-47 Summer Semester, Ankara'da Sergi Evi – Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University	183
Figure 3.14.	Student project by Zahir Saatçioğlu (1949-50 Summer Semester, Stuttgart Belediye Sarayı – Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University.....	183
Figure 3.15.	Student project by Hayati Tabanlıoğlu (1949-50 Summer Semester, Stuttgart Belediye Sarayı – Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University.....	184
Figure 3.16.	Student project by İlhami Vural (January 1950, Anıtkabir Parkı Etrafında bir Zitlunk Projesi) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University	184

Figure 3.17.	Student project by İlhan Artuner (1948-49 Summer Semester, A Neighborhood in Ankara- Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University.....	185
Figure 3.18.	The drawing of the design of a bridge for the Bosphorus by Paul Bonatz, İstanbul, 1951.....	186
Figure 3.19.	Student project by Haluk Alatan (year/semester unknown, Tepebaşı'nda Garaj Otel Büro Projesi) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University	186
Figure 4.1.	Martin Elsaesser	194
Figure 4.2.	The perspective of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Martin Elsaesser, İstanbul, 1916.....	195
Figure 4.3.	The facades and sections of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Martin Elsaesser, İstanbul, 1916	196
Figure 4.4.	The ground floor plan of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Martin Elsaesser, İstanbul, 1916	197
Figure 4.5.	The model for the competition entry of the Sümerbank Headquarters by Seyfi Arkan, Ankara, 1935.....	198
Figure 4.6.	The ground plan for the competition entry of the Sümerbank Headquarters by Seyfi Arkan, Ankara, 1935	199
Figure 4.7.	The plans of the Sümerbank Headquarters by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938.....	200
Figure 4.8.	The Sümerbank Headquarters by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938	200
Figure 4.9.	The interior space of the Sümerbank Headquarters by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938.....	201
Figure 4.10.	The Sümerbank Headquarters by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938	201
Figure 4.11.	The aerial perspective of the competition entry for the Ankara City Cemetery by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1935.....	204
Figure 4.12.	The plan of the competition entry for the Ankara City Cemetery by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1935	204
Figure 4.13.	The details of the competition entry for the Ankara City Cemetery by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1935	205
Figure 4.14.	The Ankara City Cemetery in 2005, Ankara	205

Figure 4.15.	The perspectives of the back and side facades of the University Hospital for the Ankara University by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938	207
Figure 4.16.	The model and plan of the competition entry for the Ankara Municipality Bank by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1934	207
Figure 4.17.	The courtyard perspective of the competition entry for the Parliament Building by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937	208
Figure 4.18.	The perspective of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Hans Poelzig, 1916, İstanbul	211
Figure 4.19.	The plans of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Hans Poelzig, 1916, İstanbul	211
Figure 4.20.	The sections and facades of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Hans Poelzig, 1916, İstanbul.....	212
Figure 4.21.	The Ground Floor Plan of the Competition Entry for the Theater and Conservatory Building by Hans Poelzig, İstanbul, 1935	214
Figure 4.22.	The Section of the Competition Entry for the Theater and Conservatory Building by Hans Poelzig, İstanbul, 1935	214
Figure 4.23.	The Model of the Competition Entry for the Theater and Conservatory Building by Hans Poelzig, İstanbul, 1935	215
Figure 4.24.	The Perspective of the first proposal for the Hotel for Diplomats by Hans Poelzig, Ankara, 1935	216
Figure 4.25.	The Perspective of the second proposal for the Hotel for Diplomats by Hans Poelzig, Ankara, 1935	216
Figure 4.26.	Bruno Taut with his wife on his balcony in İstanbul	219
Figure 4.27.	The perspective of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Bruno Taut, 1916, İstanbul	221
Figure 4.28.	The perspective from the courtyard of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Bruno Taut, 1916.....	222
Figure 4.29.	The facades and ground plan of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Bruno Taut, 1916, İstanbul.....	222
Figure 4.30.	The entrance of the Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938	226
Figure 4.31	The plan of the Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938	226

Figure 4.32.	The perspective drawing of the Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938.....	227
Figure 4.33:	The interior of the Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938	227
Figure 4.34.	The Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938	228
Figure 4.35.	The Cebeci Junior High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1938	230
Figure 4.36.	The plan of the Cebeci Junior High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1938	230
Figure 4.37.	The Cebeci Junior High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1938	231
Figure 4.38.	The Trabzon High School for Boys by Bruno Taut, Trabzon, 1938.....	232
Figure 4.39.	The rear façade of the Trabzon High School for Boys by Bruno Taut, Trabzon, 1938	232
Figure 4.40.	The ground plan of the Trabzon High School for Boys by Bruno Taut, Trabzon, 1938	233
Figure 4.41.	The ground plan of The Republican Vocational School for Girls by Bruno Taut, İzmir, 1938.....	233
Figure 4.42.	The Republican Vocational School for Girls by Bruno Taut, İzmir, 1938	234
Figure 4.43.	The Culture Pavillion by Bruno Taut, İzmir, 1939	235
Figure 4.44.	The plan and perspective drawing of the Culture Pavillion by Bruno Taut, İzmir, 1939.....	235
Figure 4.45.	The plan of the Atatürk High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1937-1938	236
Figure 4.46.	The Atatürk High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1937-1938.....	237
Figure 4.47.	The entrance of the Atatürk High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1937-1938	237
Figure 4.48.	The Taut House by Bruno Taut, İstanbul, 1937-1938	238
Figure 4.49.	The interior of the Taut House by Bruno Taut, İstanbul, 1937-1938 ...	239
Figure 4.50.	The drawings of the Taut House by Bruno Taut, İstanbul, 1937-1938.	239
Figure 4.51:	The concept drawing of the Catafalque by Bruno Taut, Ankra, 1938 (Source: Batur 1998a: p. 18)	240
Figure 4.52.	The Catafalque by Bruno Taut, Ankra, 1938.....	241

Figure 4.53.	The ground plan and perspective drawing of the Chemical Institute by Bruno Taut, 1937, İstanbul.....	242
Figure 4.54.	The site plan and model of the Technical University by Bruno Taut, 1937, Ankara	243
Figure 4.55.	The perspective drawing for the competition entry for the Turkish Parliament by Bruno Taut, 1937, Ankara	243
Figure 4.56.	The facades of the Nissen House by Bruno Taut, 1938, İstanbul	244
Figure 4.57.	The plans of the Kurtuluş Junior High School by Bruno Taut, 1938, Ankara	244
Figure 4.58.	Perspective drawing of the Triumph Arches by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, İstanbul, 1938	247
Figure 4.59.	A sketch of the aerial view of the Anatolian Village Schools by Magarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938-1939	248
Figure 4.60.	A perspective of the Anatolian Village Schools by Magarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938-1939	248
Figure 4.61.	Proposals for the prototype plans and their extensions for Anatolian Village Schools by Magarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938-1939	249
Figure 4.62.	The Ankara High School for Girls by Ernst Egli, Ankara, 1931-1933.	250
Figure 4.63.	Perspective of the extension of the Ankara High School for Girls by Schütte-Lihotzky, Ankara, 1938	250
Figure 4.64.	Plans and section of the extension of the Ankara High School for Girls by Schütte-Lihotzky, Ankara, 1938	251
Figure 4.65.	Model and perspective of the glass corridor of the extension wing for the Ankara High School for Girls by Schütte-Lihotzky, Ankara, 1938.....	252
Figure 4.66.	Plans and facades of the house for Dr. Kemal Özsan by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, İstanbul, 1939	253
Figure 4.67.	Perspective drawing of a house by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1940	254
Figure 4.68.	The three winning projects of the Anıtkabir Competition from left to right: Johannes Krüger, Arnaldo Foschini and Emin Onat Ankara, 1942	256
Figure 4.69.	The plans and section of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Paul Bonatz, İstanbul, 1916	258
Figure 4.70.	The facades of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Paul Bonatz, İstanbul, 1916	259
Figure 4.71.	The Technical School for Boys by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1944.....	260

Figure 4.72.	The Saraçoğlu Settlement by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1944 -1946.....	262
Figure 4.73.	The Saraçoğlu Settlement by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1944 -1946.....	262
Figure 4.74.	The Saraçoğlu Settlement by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1944 -1946.....	262
Figure 4.75.	The Exhibition House by Şevki Balmumcu, Ankara, 1933-1934.....	263
Figure 4.76.	The foyer of the State Opera by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1946-1948.....	264
Figure 4.77.	The State Opera by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1946-1948	265
Figure 4.78.	The sketch for the State Opera by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1947.....	265
Figure 4.79.	The State Opera by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1946-1948	265
Figure 4.80.	The sketch and the photo of the interior of the Taşkışla Building by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1947-1948	267
Figure 4.81.	The Süren House by Paul Bonatz, İstanbul, 1954-1955	267
Figure 4.82.	The Grand Ephesus Hotel designed by Paul Bonatz, İzmir, 1950.....	268
Figure 4.83.	The model of the Grand Ephesus Hotel designed by Paul Bonatz, İzmir, 1950	268
Figure 4.84.	The winning project of the İstanbul Radyoevi by İsmail Utkular, Doğan Erginbaş and Ömer Güney, İstanbul, 1945	269
Figure 4.85.	The sketch of the winning project of the Çanakkale Monument by Paul Bonatz	269
Figure 4.86.	The winning project of the Çanakkale Monument by Feridun Kip, Çanakkale, 1945	270
Figure 4.87.	The İstanbul Palace of Justice by Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat, İstanbul, 1948	271
Figure A1.	The list of architects, city planners and other artists who have either resigned or have been dismissed from the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin.....	304
Figure B1.	Some examples from job appointments of immigrants working in the construction field, handicrafts or marketing in the years 1937 – 1938 in Turkey	305
Figure C1.	The interview by the Turkish Ambassador Kemalettin Sami Paşa in July 31, 1933 with Adolf Hitler	306
Figure D1.	Memorandum sent by the German Embassy to all Germans in Turkey	307

Figure E1.	Legislation of the Prime Ministry, allowing the import of construction materials from Sweden, for the foundations of the Sümerbank building	308
Figure G1.	The document concerning the financial support provided for Arif Hikmet Holtay after he was commissioned for traveling to Germany..	311
Figure H1.	The letter sent to the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin from the German Embassy in Istanbul, informing them of the arrival of Professor Holtay, asking for their support in finding a German architect to work in Istanbul.....	312
Figure I1.	A report prepared during a meeting organized in the Prussian Academy of Arts Berlin. The series of documents appended demonstrate the continuing efforts to find a professor who can be offered a position to work in Turkey to take the place of Hans Poelzig after his sudden death. Bruno Taut's name is not mentioned in those documents, but the names of Mies van der Rohe, Carl Bense and Martin Elsaesser are included.....	313
Figure J1.	Report of a meeting in the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin, in which Prof. Hermann Jansen reports to the board, that Bruno Taut has been hired for the position in Turkey, without any previous notice to the Academy, and without the mention of any names that they have previously discussed	314
Figure K1.	A typical working contract, regarding the salary of German city planner Professor Martin Wagner, including the detail that one fourth of his salary will be sent to his family in Berlin	315
Figure L1.	Example of a contract for an unnamed professor of architecture being hired for the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul	316
Figure M1.	Example pages from the " <i>Istanbul Tagebuch</i> " of Bruno Taut.....	317
Figure N1.	The acceptance of Paul Bonatz by the Turkish Government to work in Turkey as a consultant for the Ministry of Education.....	318
Figure O1.	Report of a meeting held at the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin, trying to offer the Turkish Government a German professor to step in the position that originally Hans Poelzig was supposed to take as the director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. In this document Martin Elsaesser is one of the names that comes forward, and is mentioned as working in Stuttgart as a professor.....	319
Figure P1.	The memorandum from the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts sent to all its members, informing them that all members have to fill in an official form about all their family members in order to prove that they come from the Arian race.....	320
Figure Q1.	Letter from Bruno Taut to Mibare, written in Ortaköy on April 28th, 1937	321

Figure R1. Letter from Bruno Taut to Carl Krayl written in İzmir on
February 1st, 1938 (Taut 1938h)..... 322

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to study the professional activities of the German architects that have worked as expatriate architects in the newly founded Turkish Republic between 1927 and 1950 within two domains. The first domain is the relationship, interaction and congruence in the architectural approach and style of the German architects before and after their arrival in Turkey. The second domain is the influence of the nation-state policies, specific to the Turkish Republic during the foundation stage, on the cultural environment which has imposed direct or indirect restrictions and freedom upon the German expatriate architects, thereby affecting their architectural performance during their stay in Turkey. It is a qualitative study, which uses data collection through extensive literature search and archive research.

The period covered in this thesis marks an extraordinary period in world history and spans through the two world wars. The German architects that have experienced the culturally stimulating atmosphere of the early 20th century followed by the painful distress of the First World War and of fascism, subsequently have come to Turkey and before the onset of the Second World War, witnessed the remarkable efforts of a proud nation following a war of independence against imperialism. These extremes are not frequently encountered in history in periods covering less than three decades, and it is not surprising to observe the substantial influence of the changing social, political, economical and cultural climate on the careers of the German architects who continued their careers under dissimilar circumstances. The basic assumption of this thesis is that the change of context from the German to the Turkish, has had significant effect on the professional lives of the expatriate German architects. Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Hans Poelzig and Robert Vorhölzer are specifically investigated to test this assumption, since they differ from the rest of the architects regarding their eminence and performance in the German context until 1933. Their professional merit has probably contributed significantly to the more prestigious jobs they were offered in the Turkish context compared to other architects. Furthermore, while it is practically impossible to study the rest of the architects regarding this

assumption due to limited resources, the projects that the above mentioned four architects had worked on can be traced in more detail and richer resources and documents are available.

There are few studies conducted on the German architects that have worked in Turkey in the period covered, possibly due to the fact that they have not been part of the mainstream architectural agenda after their arrival in Turkey. Among these architects the works of Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz and Hans Poelzig, followed by Martin Elsaesser, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, and Robert Vorhölzer until the 1930s have attracted attention from architectural historians and critics world-wide. The rest of the German architects that have worked in Turkey cannot be considered distinguished in the German context at the beginning of the 20th century, as they had not played an outstanding role in the architectural scheme in Germany before they took refuge to Turkey. On the other hand, despite their prominence at beginning of the century, after their arrival in Turkey, a decline in literature on the well-known architects is observed. This reduced attention is most likely attributable to two factors. First, their impact on the mainstream agenda has decreased and their networking through personal encounters has been interrupted. The second factor, which is directly related with the inquiry of the thesis, is that their careers in the Turkish context has confronted them with different concerns and problems, thereby transforming them and deviating their way of thinking from the previous German context. The thesis is based on the individual stories of each architect assuming that this is the key to understanding the dynamics of the circumstances. Subsequently, the careers of the architects have been separately investigated in the German and Turkish contexts.

In short there is lack of data, documents and interpretative and critical studies on their works in Turkey, despite their substantial influence on the Turkish architectural scene in the 20th century.

1.1. Background

From the Turkish perspective, the first half of the 20th century –in which the German architects have worked in Turkey - marks the Turkish revolution and involves the establishment of a *nation building* phase of the new Turkish Republic. Specifically,

the transformation from the long standing multinational Ottoman Empire to the nation-state of the young Turkish Republic involves a radical change in all cultural fields, as well as in political and economical domains¹. It is essential to analyze the paradigms underlying the cultural transformation in the country when the expatriate German architects, who constitute the focus of the present thesis, arrived in Turkey, in order to be able to communicate the historical evolution of architecture under the influence of these paradigms. Moreover, a thorough understanding of the four decades, spanning the period between 1893 (*Tanzimat*) and 1940 (*transition to the multi-party regime*) will be illuminating, as these years mark one of the most critical phases in Turkish political history and also overlap with the presence of the expatriate German architects. The special attributes of this critical period should have affected the Architects practicing in Turkey, regarding their dilemmas, interaction with the existing cultural media, their advantages and the like. A better understanding of the background of this influence will help elucidate the hypotheses of the thesis.

When the Turkish Republic was declared on 1923, Ankara, as the capital of the new political movement, had to be totally constructed from scratch. The ideology of the republic was a radical social movement and therefore a city with no historical references was chosen as the symbolic capital. Ankara did not possess a structured environment which a capital city should have. With this aspect, the city had a unique potential to develop into an ideal metropolitan utopia in the beginning of the 20th century, a period when modernist ideologies claimed a non-historical approach. Detached from historical references, Ankara was an ideal choice which would be totally constructed as a symbol. On the other hand, the history of early Turkish modern architecture, which went back and forth between pure modernity and nationalistic themes, presented a dilemma between a modern utopia claiming total disconnection from historical references and nationalistic themes which were indispensable in a nation-state. This controversy has been previously encountered in the old continent, but it had never reached the dimensions observed in the Turkish Republic because in the Turkish republic the effects involved vital connections to the continuity of the regime. The main reason underlying this dilemma was the construction of the Kemalist ideology based on the rejection of the Ottoman cultural heritage. Therefore, during the Republican regime, whenever there

¹ This change, allows the examination of the dependency of architecture on social history and restructuring. However, this dependency should not be perceived within a mechanical principal of causality where social history has had direct reflections on architecture.

was a need to provide references to the past in culture-related construction, there was a debate as to which references should be adopted: Ottoman, Anatolian or Central Asian. Within this context, this thesis which aims to study the architectural performance of the German expatriate architects in Turkey has to consider the government-architecture relationships which have influenced Early Turkish Architecture as the oscillations of a pendulum went back and forth. The architectural performance (building and theory) of the German architects within the Turkish context reflects these oscillations and portrays exactly the nature of the Turkish modern architecture.

Following the formation of the Turkish Republic, the Turkish state, from the cultural viewpoint of representing itself through architecture, intended to demonstrate the victories of the Revolution, while at the same time trying to disseminate symbols of the modern and the West by using a new architectural language detached from any Islamic touch or association with the Ottoman tradition. Within this framework, the architectural expression chosen by the new state was the formal language of central European architecture, which was often referred to as *yeni mimari* (new architecture) or *kübik mimari* (cubique architecture) in the Turkish context. This new style was viewed as being an alternative to the *old*² Ottoman tradition; however it was not revolutionary either, since there existed post-war economic difficulties³, and a rise of nationalistic tendencies which were considered indispensable to build up a nationwide spirit.

The German technique, combined with the national culture and Turkish spirit, was the prominent view supported since the constitutional monarchy period, and was defined by Mustafa Kemal in 1923 as follows:

As basis of our investigation and research, we should adopt our own country, history, traditions, individuality and needs. In showing this nation the direction to follow, we should make use of all the scientific discoveries and developments throughout the world. However, we should never forget that we have to acquire the original foundation from within our inner selves. We have to see the history, traditions and spirit of our nation from a strong and honest perspective. (Ural 1974, p. 22)

Although the efforts of westernization can be traced to the Ottoman period, it was transformed into a radical process during the Republic Period. Many historians

² There are recent criticisms regarding the connotation of the word ‘old’ as it has been used during the early Republican period; what was defined as ‘old’ implies the rejected Ottoman tradition (Hobsbawm 1983, translated by Uğur Tanyeli).

³Economically, in the construction front, there was an urgent need to build governmental buildings, symbolizing the new Turkish Republic. Furthermore, this had to be accomplished promptly but within the economical limitations of a country which had just come out of a war, with limited resources, building/construction materials and know-how.

mark the *Tanzimat Period*⁴ of the Ottoman Empire as the beginning of the Westernization Efforts and perceive this period as a major element of the integrated modernization paradigm. The fundamental nature of *Tanzimat* is portrayed with terms such as economical reforms, urbanization, secularism and structural organization of the state (Toprak 1992). In the second half of the 19th Century, a group of Turkish intellectuals who are known as the *Jön Türkler*⁵ (Young Turks) adopted a reformist, pro-Western and pro-enlightenment attitude and opposed the government. The Young Turks managed to accomplish reforms in many fields, including education. Subsequently, the *Jön Türk* movement became to be regarded as an important influence in Ottoman history because it played a critical role regarding the political implementation of the reforms and the establishment of the constitution, thereby mediating in the transition to democracy during the *İttihat ve Terakki* period in 1908. Starting with 1908, the constitutional reforms led to an active enlightenment reform process in the intellectual substructure and politics. This revolutionary development was interrupted by The War of Independence, but gained impetus again immediately after the foundation of the Turkish Republic (Lewis 1968). One of the major driving forces for the revolutions during the transition period from the Empire to the Republic has been Westernization and consequently, modernization (Tanju 1998). This attitude during the Republic times has involved the rejection of and segregation from the Ottoman heritage. Accordingly, the Izmir Economy Congress in 1923 forecasted that the current political approach of turning towards the West will extend to the cultural domain as well (Batur 1998). However, as Turkey approached from the 1920s to the 1930s, the nationalistic attitudes gained power. According to many authors, the nation-state paradigms emerged as centrally determined dominant policies⁶.

⁴ The *Tanzimat* (which means reorganization) Period was a period of reform in the Ottoman Empire that lasted from 1838 to 1875 during the reign of the Sultans Mahmud II and Abdülmecid, which aimed to fight the slow decline of the Empire whose borders were shrinking with an increasing weakness against European powers. Some of the prominent reformers of the *Tanzimat* Period were Ali Paşa, Fuat Paşa, Ahmet Cevdet Paşa and Mithat Paşa who were bureaucrats educated in Europe (Toprak 1992).

⁵ *Jön Türkler* (Young Turks) is the name given to a group of revolutionary and progressive Turks who prepared the foundations of the second constitutional monarchy under the influence of the acceptance of the republican regimes in Europe, in the 19th century. They played an important role in establishing the ideas of liberty and constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire. One of the most important organizations of the Young Turks is the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*.

⁶ For example, Aykut Köksal defines the selection of the architectural style in the state buildings in Ankara, as well as the *Halkevleri* (people's home) and the Ist Turkish History Congress, as important determinants of the nationalistic program in architecture and proposes that this attitude delayed the Turkish modernization movement (Köksal 2002).

It should be noted that in the 1940s Turkey, nationalistic attitudes had gained a more legitimate status in cultural policies, because this is the period when there was a transition from the single party- to the multi-party regime and the Democrat Party took its place in the political arena as the voice of the conservatives. Atatürk's death in 1938 decelerated the revolutionary sprint of the Turkish Republic. Starting with the 1940s, the opposition party (Democrat Party) influenced the statements of Atatürk's Republican Party as well. Subsequently, the cultural taboos of the 1923's Turkey were shattered and a different political atmosphere dominated where more conservative themes could be articulated freely. All these undulations were encountered only in two decades and underlie the hybrid quality specific to the cultural history of the Turkish Republic.

Within this context, Turkey has gone through a unique modernization process in architecture. The first shift from the traditional architecture during the Ottoman Period had started with the *First National Style*⁷ in Turkey, which marks the end of the 1910s and the 1920s. Although nowadays this style is interpreted as the first attempt to internalize and integrate an approach that has arisen from the modern world (Tanyeli 1998), it was initially conceived as being far from reflecting the determination of the young Turkish Republic for advancement and modernization (Pöğün 2000). In the 1930s, the First National Style was followed by the introduction of a set of modern architectural languages in order to represent this advancement and modernization. This set of new architectural languages, which were reflective of the architectural agenda of the previous decade in Europe, was introduced mainly by Turkish architects who had been educated in Central European countries, and also to a great extent by European architects who have come to Turkey in the 1930s. The European architects who have worked in Turkey in the 1930s, some of which are investigated in this thesis, have played significant roles in implementing new architecture in the Turkish Context.

However, the works of these foreign architects were particularly criticized by their Turkish colleagues regarding not only their architectural preferences, but their

⁷ The First National Style is unique to Turkey, and through borrowing the formal language of the traditional Ottoman elements such as domes, arches and certain decoration elements, combines Ottoman motifs with modern plans and construction techniques for contemporary buildings. The representatives of this style are Vedat Tek, Kemalettin Bey, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu and Gulio Mongeri. (For further readings on the topic please refer to Aslanoğlu İ 2001. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1928*; Batur, A. 1983-1985. "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk Mimarlığı" in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Sözen, M. 1996. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi*; Holod, R. &Evin, A. 1984. *Modern Turkish Architecture*

dominance in acquiring contracts compared to their Turkish colleagues (Tümer 1998). These criticisms surfaced during the 1930s when the applications of the European architects were in progress and can be traced up to the current times. Referring to the 1930s, Sedad Hakkı Eldem (Eldem, 1984) writes that the representatives of foreign and cubic schools have opposed the development of Turkish local architecture significantly and that even great masters such as Bruno Taut and Paul Bonatz followed the same direction⁸.

On the other hand, there were some instances when the traditional approach of some foreign architects such as Bruno Taut were criticized by their fellow German colleagues who were residing in Turkey during the same period⁹. Moreover the activities of European architects in Turkey were also monitored in Germany and are discussed in the literature of the period¹⁰, however, possibly due to political constraints; these criticisms are not mentioned in detail.

Bearing these sensitive issues pertinent to the period in mind, an interesting aspect of the early Republican years is the emergence of serious breaking points both in the European conjuncture, as well as the Turkish, in the 1930s. Primarily, 1930s coincide with the surfacing of nationalistic attitudes in Europe. Specifically in Germany and Austria, another outcome of the nationalistic attitude was the dismissal of architects and city planners, who were not of the Arian race or whose political and ideological views, as well as architectural language preferences, were in opposition with the state. These architects could not survive in their homelands, and were detached from Europe and searched for jobs in diverse geographical locations. The relocation of these people provided a foundation for new experiences and applications.

⁸ Under the influence of these criticisms, the new architecture era in Turkey was followed by the phase of the *Second National Style*, in which Sedad Hakkı Eldem played an important role. The *Second National Style* was reactionary against the cubic formal language of the prior and the lack of any local touch. It used a set of architectural languages derived from the research of local civil architecture. For the first voicing of the reactionary attitudes, look at Eldem, S. (1940) *Yerli Mimariye Doğru*. For second national architecture, Alsaç, Ü. (1984) *The Second Period of Turkish National Architecture*

⁹ In a letter written by Martin Wagner to Walter Gropius, the turning of Bruno Taut towards tradition in the Turkish context is discussed: "He was getting old as many of the aging people are. It is impossible to find the road leading to the novel through renaissance principles! I am disappointed and I hope that he can reach a novel belief through improved vigor" (Wagner, quoted from Spiedel 1998)

¹⁰ In German Periodicals on architecture and city-planning, such as *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst und Städtebau* and *Die Bau und Werkkunst*, published between 1920's and 1940's, there are articles which report on the architectural and urban developments especially in Ankara.

The emigration of leaders in modern architecture, including those who came to Turkey, contributed significantly, and added new dimensions to cultural transformations. The reputable philosophical approaches and design languages of the architects that immigrated, contributed to the prestige of the destination country. Although the transformation caused by the architects cannot be overlooked, the metamorphosis that the architects went through themselves, because of being in a new country, is just as important.

The foreign architects started to question the local climate and styles of living and designed accordingly. Since the period was coincidentally 1930s, architecture had a unique expression in each country based on both the local colors and the personality of the architects involved. However, the architectural expression within this context and the transformations resulting from the novel settings were inevitably different in the countries affected. The forms designed to handle the social requisites of the Weimar Republic were altered to gain new meanings under the conditions present in the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, Turkey or Israel¹¹ (Frampton 1996).

As briefly explained above, since the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic elicited many requirements in several aspects, specialists trained in Europe in many different professions were also officially invited to the country. The overlap between this period in Turkey and the immigration resulting from fascist pressures in Germany and Austria constitute an interesting aspect concerning the architects who came to Turkey between 1927 and 1950. Moreover, since the architectural expression chosen for the new representation of the new Turkish Republic was a *modern architecture*, many distinguished architects were also, in a way, imported to the country. During the period, the great depression and the resulting economical

¹¹ When evaluating the architectural practice of expatriate architects, Curtis summarizes the encountered problems under three headings. Curtis refers to relocation of architects which has started between the two World Wars and has gained impetus after 1960, and discusses the impact of this context change in the works of famous architects such as Le Corbusier and Oscar Niemeyer. “Although the speed of emigration was far more dramatic with modern architecture, some usual problems emerged. The first of these was not, strictly speaking geographical by definition, since it had to do with the broader issue of prototypes being transformed into clichéd imitations. A second problem concerned the relevance of forms in the new context: if an architectural style had been right for Manhattan could it be right for Malaya? If a form had emerged in Boulogne sur-Seine what would make it fit the conditions of Buenos Aires? In other words, what should be kept of the prototypes and what transformed to match new climates, cultures, beliefs, technologies, and architectural traditions? A third problem was complementing the second: if new ideas from abroad were accepted, which old or indigenous ones should be thrown out? Should one accept the avowed universality of modern design and bow down before it; or should one perhaps seek some fusion between the best of old and new, of native and foreign?” (Curtis 1987, p. 331)

crisis in the USA and Europe affected the architects as well. Subsequently, architects coming to Turkey in search of new jobs had different expectations.

Available records indicate that more than 20 German and Austrian and Swiss architects have worked in Turkey between the years 1925 and 1955. The Austrian and Swiss architects whose names are mentioned in related literature and have been encountered in the archive researches include: Ernst Egli (1893- 1974), Herbert Eichholzer (1903-1943), Philipp Ginther, Clemens Holzmeister (1886-1983), Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1897-2000), Robert Oerley (1876-1945), Theodor Post (in some texts referred to as Theodor Jost). The German architects include: Paul Bonatz (1877-1956), Martin Elsaesser (1884-1957), Hans Grimm, Franz Hillinger (1895-1973), Mundt, Hans Poelzig (1869-1936), Konrad Ruhl, Runge, Schiner, Wilhelm Schütte(1900-1968), Bruno Taut(1880-1938), Robert Vorhölzer(1884-1954), and Zimmerman¹².

The working conditions of these architects in Turkey provided broader professional opportunities and freedom than available in their homeland at that time. The European architects, especially in the beginning, were significantly respected in the Turkish context because they were perceived as representatives of Western and European technology.

The major fields of work for these architects were teaching at the universities and constructing in the construction offices of Turkish ministries, as well as free lance. Although these architects were given great amount of freedom regarding their work at the university as teachers and their contracts for building projects, expectations of the state from them were clearly defined and structured¹³. This state control was at two levels: education and construction. In schools, everything had to be updated, and the system of architecture education had to be revised, restructured and “westernized”.

¹² Hermann Ehlgötz, Hermann Jansen, Martin Wagner, Gustav Oelsner are the known German city planners that have worked at the time in Turkey.

¹³ Batur (Batur 1983-1985a) interprets the expectations of the state in the Turkish context of the period as involving an implicit power which constitutes ideas for forms without designating them in a deterministic fashion. This influence brings about its effects through a compelling architectural ideology. The externalization of the architectural ideology into form generates a lexicon which defines a style in the systematic domain. Alternatively, style represents the architectural ideology as it is reflected in architectural production. Style, as a theoretical speculation, however does not include the foreseen, planned and controlled marginal anonymous formations (physical environmental formations outside the academic domain of professional architecture) required for the constitution of its own systematic.

Aslanoğlu (Aslanoğlu 1994) states that parallel to all the westernization and modernization efforts on the sociopolitical front, the main reason of the legal invitation process of the foreign architects was due to the fact that the new state wished the architecture and its education to be transformed throughout the whole country.

Besides teaching duties, many contracts for public buildings were commissioned to German architects which represented the new Turkish Republic including the Ministries of Defense, Commerce, Interior Affairs, Public Works, the Turkish Parliament, University buildings such as the Literature Faculty of the Ankara University, and elementary, middle and high schools for example in Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Trabzon as well as prototype projects for schools and some stately institutions all over Turkey. These architects also designed houses for private persons, hotels and many other buildings as well.

Apparently, these foreign architects have built a big sum of public buildings of the early republican period, and have constituted almost a monopoly in the architecture scene not only because of the buildings that they have built, but also for the important roles that they have played in constructing the modernized architectural education system. Through their key roles, they had not only great influence on Turkish modern architectural history, but also they comprised a unique condition which is important in any interpretative study on Turkish modernity.

The years these architects have resided and worked in Turkey (1927-1950) mark the rise in nationalistic movements and totalitarian regimes leading to the Second World War in Europe. In Turkey, the pride of a nation following a successful war of independence against imperialism and building a new Republic is apparent, notwithstanding the fact that the young republic had to face substantial hardship regarding economic constraints and expertise.

Architects within certain movements and schools of expression are naturally influenced by the local and international atmosphere surrounding them and their articulated architectural ideology reflects this influence (Tekeli 1984). Subsequently, the social context has had significant impact on the architectural profession of architects who were exiled to Turkey. However, it is just as important to understand how the architect himself was moved to act in a certain way that influenced his behavior and output. During the period, the profession of architecture was going through some major changes from the time of the First to the Second World War. Tekeli states that “as the profession develops and undergoes differentiation, the means of transmitting or replacing ideologies are

altered” (Tekeli 1984, p.9). Furthermore, not only the transformation of the architects, but of the country, Turkey, was also in a process of change, including changes in national economy, emergence of new economical systems, formation of new governments, municipalities, formation of new social institutions, changes in the class structure, and the configuration of a new lifestyle. Since the functions that the society expects from the architects were also constantly altered, and the organization of the profession underwent developmental modifications; the German architects who took refuge to Turkey had to identify themselves with the dynamics of this transformation. Moreover, as Tekeli depicts, “The transformation goes beyond the level of economic and social organization and leads to new ideological orientations. Such ideological redefinitions at the national level require architects to continually espouse new architectural movements and to reject prevailing ones.” (Tekeli 1984, p..9).

The significant impact of European architects during 1927-1950 on Turkish architectural modernity cannot be ignored. These architects were influential through their works, which shaped the architectural reflections of the period and through their effect, as teachers, on training Turkish architects in institutes of higher education. Subsequently, the influence of foreign architects in Turkey was prospective and not restricted to the special period mentioned, due to their roles as educators. However one must not overlook the impact of the modernization movement in Turkey, which was also influential on the architectural perspective and output of these German architects whose careers have been influenced substantially by the multidimensional and diverse atmosphere surrounding them in the Turkish context.

Overall, the complex interactions of different factors played a significant role on the development of Turkish Architecture after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, and the German architects with their unique background and transformed personal characteristics, constitute one of the key aspects in this process.

1.2. Definition of the Study

The existing literature on German architects that have worked in Turkey during the first half of the 20th century lacks detailed information regarding their initial decision to arrive in Turkey and the procedures involved in this process, their contracts which defined the scope of their status, as well as a comprehensive evaluation of all

accessible work (either theoretical studies or architectural projects and buildings). This thesis undertakes to locate the missing information about the specific conditions relating to the emigration and life of the German architects as well as their professional production in the Turkish context, and to provide links between the personal background of the architects and their performance in Turkey.

In order to do this, the factors (Political, social, financial, personal, etc.) which had impact on the architect's decision to come to Turkey are delineated, as these factors may have significant influence on the perception of the Turkish context by the architect, eventually shaping his performance. The conditions (obligatory or by free choice) under which the architect signed his/her contract defining his/her employment status are also analyzed, because these conditions reflect the restrictions and freedom imposed upon the architect in Turkey. Through doing this, the relation of the architect to the Young Turkish Republic, as defined by the agreements and respective responsibilities, is clarified since his/her theoretical and applied production during his/her stay in Turkey is shaped within this framework. Knowing the limitations and opportunities provided for the architect in Turkey within the job description, a better assessment of the contribution of the architect can be obtained.

German architects constituting the scope of this thesis, (with focus on Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Hans Poelzig and Robert Vorhölzer) have produced buildings in Turkey during the 1930s and 1940s with certain concerns. These architects have discussed extensively their dilemma of belonging versus being alienated to the country they are currently working in, within the local issues prevailing to Turkey¹⁴. It is impressive to observe these lively discussions and the pioneer position of the German architects in a period when globalization was not an issue. These discussions, concentrating on architectural production in a foreign country and focusing on native interactions, were relatively intuitive and contemporary considering the period. The nature of these discussions is centered on the approaches of the architects in the way they have educated and the way they have designed and built; their performance and production is analyzed in the thesis to elucidate the underlying

¹⁴ These kinds of discussions can be found, for example, in the autobiographical book "Leben und Bauen" of Paul Bonatz (in the sections he writes about what he has emphasized in his project studio in Istanbul Technical University), or in Bruno Taut's "Mimarlık Bilgisi" book, written in Istanbul (where he discusses the importance of local issues). These issues are also accentuated in the speech of Bruno Taut that he gave for the opening of the exhibition of his works "Bruno Taut Sergisi" in Istanbul in 1938.

driving force: Experimental modernism versus a “*bon pour l’orient*” approach to the “imaginary east”.

Undoubtedly, the expectations of the young Turkish Republic from the emigrant architects as practicing and training professionals were different from those in Europe. At this point, it should not be overlooked that the employer was the Republic and the state, the founder of the ideology. In Turkey, a new identity was being constructed and there was a strong desire to be detached from the existing Ottoman roots. Therefore, the environment that the architects from Germany came into, rejected the Ottoman tradition, but because of the nationalistic spirit during the construction of the new state, it did not accommodate ‘avant-garde’ conditions either; a nationalistic attitude coexisted with the ‘*Battıya Rağmen Batılulaşma*’ (Westernization despite the West)¹⁵ motto.

This was one of the factors that influenced the architectural milieu in the 1930s, regarding the job descriptions of German architects (especially the four specified): the expectations of the employer. There were some similarities and some differences between the expectations of the employer of each architect. The impact of the employer’s prospect on the performance of the architect is examined to depict possible associations. However, while doing this, the thesis has aimed to avoid being limited with official resources related only to the nation-state policies during the early Republican period.

Considering the insecure atmosphere in the homeland, at least for the majority of architects who took refuge to Turkey, the duration of the obligations to the employer may have been important for some architects. While a temporary appointment may be perceived as freedom and an opportunity to be involved in other projects by some architects, others may have felt a safe haven in long-lasting jobs despite restrictions imposed upon them by the job definitions. Therefore these conditions and the perception of the restrictions or freedoms in the Turkish context by the architect as an individual is analyzed, evaluated and correlated with architectural style.

¹⁵ One of the most important aspects of the Westernization efforts during the Turkish Revolution was to free the country from the manipulation of the European Countries. It reflects disputes on identity on the way traditional and national issues should be handled against westernization and cultural changes. This dispute is related to the way that the westernizing revolution should be achieved in spite of European imperialism. It refers to the struggle of the Turkish Republic who has taken the European model of democracy in order to become a part of the Western World against Europe itself. One of the finest and widely used expressions for this contradiction in Turkish is ‘Westernization despite the West’.

The influence of the restrictions or freedoms on the architect's perspective is scrutinized mainly through his/her performance and architectural choices. The behavior of the architect as reflected in his works is shaped not only by the actual circumstances, but also by his/her personal perception of these circumstances. Therefore, the data obtained through literature and archive searches is employed to reveal the personal interpretation of the architect.

Due to the controversies which were unique to the early Republic period in Turkey, the architects coming from Europe to Turkey were restricted in their freedom of action, which has been instrumental in shaping their projects and their performance as educators¹⁶. Therefore they have searched solutions, specific for prevailing conditions in the Turkish context. The personal viewpoints of these architects about the "East", their expectations about their own future and the possible diversity between their missions have been reflected differentially in their carrier in Turkey.

The situation of the specified German architects in Turkey, the unique transition that the new Turkish Republic was going through, and the means of expression employed in the 1930s interacted significantly in shaping the understanding of the terms "modern" and "national" by the German architects in Turkey. While in Europe and America modern architecture had taken a completely different turn, in Turkey architects belonging to the same school had to deal with the controversy of designing buildings which signified the emergence of the Second National Style in architecture. The conception of the architectural milieu in the Turkish context by the specified German architects is also investigated, in order to understand the traditional route acquired by some of these architects. Although all of the architects had to comply with the current architectural trends because of their jobs as experts, the kind of solutions that each architect chose to employ to deal with the problem of changing context was different.

One example of the personal differences in coping strategies of the expatriate architects in Turkey which this thesis depicts is the diversity between the two architects Paul Bonatz and Bruno Taut. Since almost all of the influential German architects in Turkey were coming from the *Deutsche Werkbund* (German Werkbund) tradition at the

¹⁶ It is important not to overlook the roles of the German architects as teachers; since they have revised the architectural education system, their influence was not only transient but long-lasting and prospective. The curriculums they have worked on, as well as their personal influences on the students strengthened their key roles. Additionally, some of the Turkish architects of the period such as Seyfi Arkan, Emin Onat had studied under their supervision in Germany and therefore they already had followers at their arrival.

beginning of the 20th century, it has also been important to study the German context in the mentioned era. There have evolved two separate German architectural trends and ideologies within the German Werkbund of the 1910s: One favoring standardization, being more conservative and the other for individualization, being more contemporary and radical. The reinterpretation of these two movements in the Turkish context through the immigration of especially Paul Bonatz and Bruno Taut is particularly interesting as they represent these two different attitudes respectively. However, in doing this, the thesis aims to avoid a simplistic approach which is based on a disagreement between the standardization versus individualization, or national versus international, or the traditional versus modern as contrasting phenomena, since this constituted an important aspect of the discussions among the German architects which had already started in Germany at the beginning of the century within the German Werkbund and continued in Turkey with their Turkish peers.

One of the results of the clash between the traditions which arose following the emigration/invitation of architects of German/Austrian decent is the establishment of new typologies in the Turkish context. These typology transfers, realized by the foreign architects in Turkey who were trained in the Central European modernity tradition, marks one of the most important innovations in the architectural domain of the period. The concept of *garden cities* and the developments in the housing schemes¹⁷, new education buildings, *köy enstitüleri* (village institutes), municipality and city planning issues were carried to the Turkish context by these foreign architects. The housing development project given to the architecture students as their diploma project in the Academy by Bruno Taut, the studies of Ernst Egli for education buildings in Turkey, the model projects prepared by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky for village institutes, constitute examples for these influences.

Some physical limitations and constraints cannot be overlooked regarding the transformation of the building style of foreign architects in the Turkish context from their production in Europe. The standardization of building elements in Europe and the use of prefabricated materials resulted in considerable acceleration and development in construction, especially in residential buildings (Kostof 1995)¹⁸. During the 1930s, when

¹⁷ An example for the development of the housing schemes in Turkey would be the replacement of the *köşk* (palace) by the *villa* typology.

¹⁸ An example to the developments in residential buildings is the Frankfurt housing project. By 1925, Ernst May and his team could complete the construction of 15,000 new housing development projects only in Frankfurt through possibilities provided by prefabrication. The

industrialization was not satisfactorily achieved in Turkey, standardization and prefabrication were missing factors in construction. When one takes a closer look in the panorama of the Turkish context, most of the building stock throughout Anatolia, including Ankara, consisted of stone and brick buildings. On the other hand, reinforced concrete was used only in a few buildings in Istanbul. It was not possible to talk about the existence of any particular *building industry* in the Turkish context at the time, since there was no major industry for the production of building materials and equipment. Production facilities for basic construction materials such as steel and cement were very few and their production capacities were extremely low; the prevailing economic circumstances of the country did not permit importing construction materials either. A small number of existing factories were run by companies from European countries, including Germany and Belgium (Tapan 1983-1985).

Additionally, the young Turkish Republic had just come out of a war and taken over the debts of the Ottoman Empire; therefore in addition to time constraints, there were budgetary restrictions for new buildings¹⁹. Regarding applications, a synthesis was actually required from the emigrant architects both by their employers and their Turkish colleagues, and involved ideological as well as practical reflections. Overall, when Turkish and European perspectives are taken into account, this synthesis involves the perception and application of modernity by the foreign architects in a context which is external to their own instruction. This bias constitutes an important element and receives emphasis in this thesis.

When the production and applications of foreign architects in Turkey are evaluated, after taking into consideration the special conditions pertaining to Turkey during the period, it is apparent that local architectural elements were initially abstracted and then employed. This synthesis was reflected in the applications and had shaped construction. The synthesis, reflected concretely in the product, varied for each individual architect and building. It was translated sometimes through the use of materials, sometimes a particular building technique, and sometimes the design of a facade.

prefabricated kitchens (called the Frankfurt kitchen) produced for these housing estates (10,000 of which were used in May's projects) were designed by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky who is one of the architects that will be analyzed in this thesis.

¹⁹ For example, Paul Bonatz, regarding the Saraçoğlu Settlement project, stated that the newly found Turkish Republic could not afford to lose time as the construction site was already settled before the application plans for the "*Saraçoğlu Mahallesi*" even started. (Bonatz 1950).

The architects who are covered in this thesis constitute a relatively heterogeneous group regarding their careers and architectural standing. The thesis evaluates the impact of specific conditions in the Turkish context on the careers of the architects who go back and forth between an international, dateless and homogeneous modern architectural understanding and a modern architectural concept which adapts a historical approach without rejecting the traditional. Additionally, the thesis acknowledges the existence of this duality within the agenda of German architecture of the 1930s and analyzes the works of the expatriate architects before their arrival in Turkey together with their production in the Turkish context.

1.3. Method of the Study

The thesis aims to evaluate the experience and performance of a unique group of architects, who had to relocate and continue their professional experience in a foreign country with completely different priorities compared to their homeland. Furthermore, this relocation took place in an exceptionally stressful period in history and, in most cases, was not by choice. The architectural practice and the expression of the architectural concepts of German architects who have worked in Turkey are analyzed, considering their values at the given time and place and the reflections of their personal adaptation processes on their architectural output. In general, when the architecture of a time or place is to be analyzed, an extensive research on the dynamics of the period becomes inevitable, since the architectural products constitute a certain part of the cultural production resulting from economical and political interactions. They are also considered to be a particular structure within the dynamics of the discipline 'architecture', which means that solely cultural, political and economical means are not enough to reveal all the qualities of the architectural production.

This thesis deals with the elements described above in its research. The underlying literature search additionally includes works on the historical, cultural-political affairs of the two countries at the given times, as well as literature from within the architectural discipline about the critics and developments of the architectural milieu of the two countries of the period. This thesis undertakes to methodologically broaden the established norms of architectural historiography, because, it not only emphasizes

the research of the architectural discipline, and the cultural-political-economical dynamics of the places and times involved, but also to meticulously examine the architects as individuals whose works (theoretical or solid product) are being analyzed. Within this capacity, the evaluation of the architects as individuals also involves all personal influences. In this regard, the relocation of an architect (moving to a foreign country) will have significant impact on his building design and construction, theoretical production, his performance as an educator, personal interpretations he imposes or does not impose on his students, in other words to his architectural activities as a whole. Subsequently, the German architects included in this thesis, with specific focus on Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Hans Poelzig and Robert Vorhölzer, who resided in Turkey, are analyzed not only regarding their architectural productions in the Turkish context but also their activities before their arrival in Turkey, and the bureaucratic processes around their emigration. In order to do this, personal letters and/or diaries of the architects are used to analyze if his/her personal thoughts and ideas were reflected in his/her architectural production. Through these analyses, the satisfaction or disappointment of the architects in the Turkish context are unveiled.

The thesis is based on extensive literature search on the political and cultural situation of the two countries, modern architecture in Turkey during the Early Republican period, the architecture scene in Germany in the beginning of the 20th century, and the German professionals in Turkey in the early Republican Era. Overall, the thesis brings together original documents from five different²⁰ archives on related topics from Germany and Turkey. These documents include public documents which are archival material. For example, official Turkish documents of the Prime Ministry regarding the German architects on issues relating to the formalities of their stay, their incomes, any special conditions, etc. Another group of documents are also the authentic projects, and architectural drawings of the architects, as well as the architectural drawings of their students during the time when they were in Istanbul lecturing as professors. An important resource is the personal letters and diaries written by the architects, as well as their autobiographies (when available) and biographical texts.

²⁰ Turkish Prime Ministry Archives, Ankara; Istanbul Technical University Archives, Istanbul; Berlin Technical University Architecture Faculty Archives; Academy of Arts (Academie der Künste), Berlin; Prussian Academy of Arts (Preussische Akademie der Künste), Berlin.

However, since autobiographical works are not enough to fully conceive the persons, it is important to understand how other persons such as his/her local colleagues and students have perceived and interpreted the person. In order to provide this perspective, available information/data has been collected and discussed within the thesis to disclose subjective observations of the architectural community in Turkey, including students, on the architect.

The thesis is divided into five chapters, including the introduction, which are divided thematically and almost chronologically. An appendix is appended, which contains relevant archive documents and personal letters of the architects.

The second chapter has two sections. The first section provides an overview of the German context in the beginning of the 20th century before the National Socialists come into power. The aim of this section is to delineate the working atmosphere of the German architects before their arrival in the Turkish Republic, and to investigate their professional careers from the beginning. As the thesis seeks to describe the transformation that the architects have gone through later in their careers in a different location, a thorough understanding of the starting phase was considered to be essential. The second section of the second chapter explores the historical Turkish-German relationships, to disclose the reasons which may underlie the invitation of German-speaking specialists, specifically, during the Early Republican era. This section also depicts the general framework and dynamics of the emigration wave from Germany to Turkey and describes the architectural milieu in the Turkish context. Since the political transformation from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic had brought about different architectural demands, the socio-political environment of the newly founded Turkish Republic has influenced the architectural profession and consequently the German architects working in Turkey at the time as well. Therefore, besides the personal references of the German architects, the factors which have influenced the architectural milieu in the 1930s Turkey are also defined in this section in order to unveil the effects of the confrontation of the German architects with these factors, and to scrutinize the magnitude of this influence.

The third chapter covers, in depth, the story of the arrival of each German architect in Turkey, describes their appointments and contracts with the Turkish state, and also their positions at the Turkish universities. This chapter defines the expectations of the employers and explains the job description of these architects especially as professors and as assistants at the universities' architecture departments. The theoretical

productions of the architects in the Turkish context are also covered in this chapter, by evaluating all the texts (articles and books) they have written as well as the speeches they have given.

The fourth chapter deals with the architectural artifacts produced by these architects and studies each architect's production in detail. The effect of being in Turkey during the period under the special pertaining conditions as it is reflected in the attitudes and production of the foreign architects are analyzed. Another formulation of the same issue, considering only applications and morphological transformations can be stated as follows: Is it possible for an architect to design buildings in the national style in a country from whose history they are totally detached? In general, does designing and building in a different geography and foreign country involve behaving differently?²¹ In other words, all the projects (built or not) produced by German architects is not only documented in this chapter, but also discussed together with the ideologies of the architects. Furthermore, a critical view is included regarding how the architectural products were received at the time in which they were produced, and also how they are interpreted from today's point of view, including the critical approaches of both Turkish and German architectural critics in detail.

The fifth chapter comprises the conclusion.

With the methodology employed, the extensive research and literature review is presented coherently to provide an overall understanding of the period and to depict the specific characteristics of each architect as an individual and his or her works. The impact of the changing social, political and cultural atmosphere on architecture is achieved by merging autobiographical information with the historical outlook and architectural milieu of this unique period.

1.4. Importance (Significance) of the Study

Currently, modern architectural heritage is accepted to have preservation value. Specifically, the foundation of DOCOMOMO (Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement) in 1990 confirms world-

²¹ These questions are unique neither to Turkey nor to the modern world; they reside in the ethical and eternal domain of the profession.

wide concern for documentation and research on the modernist movement. The earlier phases of the 20th century have become an interest of research, after the 1990s. The republication of the articles written in the 1930s by the journal “Oppositions”, and the manuscripts written by Joan Ockman in the USA involving the transition from the modern to the international style, are examples from studies concentrating on re-evaluation of modernity.

In Turkey similar approaches were observed after the 1990s, but there is a serious handicap in writing history of architecture pertaining to the early Republic period, when Turkey was going through modernization, basically due to the fact that documents were not stored properly and relevant information is missing. However, Uğur Tanyeli draws attention to the fact that, in addition to the lack of stored documents, since this was a period of transformation and change, theoretically the writing of history is specifically troublesome (Tanyeli 2002). The writing of the history of the modernization of Turkey, particularly involving transformations and metamorphosis, is not easy. The main reason for this hardship resides in the fact that most of the literature on the issue attributes the transformations and changes to the determination of state authority alone. The remaining documents basically consist of the texts which describe the formal aspects of the buildings that have been built in this certain period of time. This approach is especially prominent in articles about modern Turkish architecture written before the 1990s. After the 1990’s, there are more critical and detailed studies of the period. These studies divert from the previous ones before the 1990s in Turkey which have conveyed European and American perspectives on the topic without much criticism, and have accepted the western views as an *a priori* or dogma.

However, comprehensive research dealing specifically with the German-speaking architects in Turkey in the early Republic period is limited. Most of the studies on Turkish modern architecture do refer to these architects²², but there are three detailed studies about architects who took refuge to Turkey. One of them, authored by Gürhan Tümer published in 1998 in Turkish is titled: “*Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nde Yabancı*

²² Some of the studies on Turkish modern architecture referring to the German-speaking architects in the Early Republican era are: Aslanoğlu, İ., 2001. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı 1923-1928*; Batur, A., 1983-1985. “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk Mimarlığı” in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*; Sözen, M., 1996. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi*; Ural, S., 1974. “Türkiye’nin Sosyal Ekonomisi ve Mimarlık 1923-1960” in *Mimarlık*; Holod, R. and Evin, A., 1984. *Modern Turkish Architecture*

Mimarlar Sorunu” (The Problem of Foreign Architects in Turkey during the Republic Period). This study discloses the criticisms concerning the foreign architects through articulations in the Turkish architectural community. Another study is the associate professorship thesis of Bernd Nicolai, published in 1998 in German: “*Moderne und Exil, Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei 1927-1955*” (Modern and Exile: German-Speaking Architects in Turkey 1927-1955). Bernd Nicolai has written another article about the same topic with emphasis on Bruno Taut, in a book published in three languages (Turkish, German and English) in 1997: “*Thinking for Atatürk. Two Works of Art: Katafalk and Antkabir. Two architects: Bruno Taut and Emin Onat*”. In his article in this book, titled “*Academy reform and the pathway leading to a new architecture for Turkey*” Nicolai discusses and emphasizes that the basis for Taut’s hypothesis in 1930s was to examine modernity and avant-garde, but this has been possible only after his exile experience and following confrontation with the conditions in Turkey, his host country. Although the contents, regarding style, are different Nicolai mentions a transformation in the 1970s, which is analogous to the transition from modernism to postmodernism after the war. The third study is the doctoral thesis of Ayşe Nasır, completed in 1991 in Turkish, and titled “*Türk Mimarlığında Yabancı Mimarlar*” (Foreign Architects in Turkish Architecture). This study compares the European architects who came to Turkey during the Ottoman period with those who arrived during the early Republican period. As a documentary study, it uncovers substantial information about the German-speaking architects in Turkey, but the study is rather descriptive than critical.

The present thesis is different from the ones mentioned above because it aims to surpass the dogma concerning the nation-state and architecture relationship reflected in the history of architecture and to investigate each architect’s professional life as a whole career considering all its aspects, theory or construction. Furthermore the thesis aims to provide and interpret the period through available first-hand evidence (documents/letters/diaries) directly stemming from the architects themselves. In opposition to general macro historical analyses of the period, it investigates in detail the micro history of each architect through the collection of first hand data.

1.5. Limitations of the Study

The thesis is restricted within the span of time between 1927 and 1950, and deals only with the German architects and one Austrian architect that have worked and lived in Turkey within this time period. These German architects are: Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser, Hans Grimm, Franz Hillinger, Mundt, Hans Poelzig, Konrad Ruhl, Runge, Schiner, Wilhelm Schütte, Bruno Taut, Robert Vorhölzer, and Zimmerman; and the Austrian architect is Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky.

The Austrian architects that have worked in Turkey during this period are not included in the thesis with the exception of Margarete Schütte Lihotzky, because the arrival dates of the Austrian architects (except for Margarete Schütte Lihotzky) differ from the Germans. The Austrian and Swiss architects have been in Turkey from the second half of the 1920's onwards. (Ernst Egli: 1927, Philipp Ginther: 1929, Clemens Holzmeister: 1927, Theodor Jost: 1926, Robert Oerley: 1928), while the German architects have arrived in Turkey after the second half of the 1930s (Paul Bonatz: 1943, Martin Elsaesser: 1933, Franz Hillinger: 1936, Hans Poelzig: 1935, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky: 1938, Wilhelm Schütte: 1938, Bruno Taut: 1936, Robert Vorhölzer: 1939, Zimmerman: 1935).

This means that the Austrians have arrived at the stage the Republic was still in the process of being founded, directly after the declaration of the Turkish Republic on the 29th of October in 1923. The revolutions which have been realized one by one starting in 1924, were not over until 1938, the ministries and inner hierarchies, and the system were not yet elaborately structured. Therefore, in the 1920s the Austrian architects had completely different relations to the state and the politicians, even to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself, compared to those who came after the 1930s into a more settled system. Their contracts, agreements and the description of their duties were different, as well as the economical, political and social situation of the Turkey (the establishment of the parliament and a nation which had just come up from a war).

There is no evidence of any direct confrontation of the German architects such as Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz or Martin Elsaesser - who had highly qualified jobs as heads of architecture faculties, directors of construction offices of the Education Ministry, and had notable contracts for important state buildings- with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk or İsmet İnönü, the second president of Turkey. However, for some architects

such as Ernst Egli and Clemens Holzmeister, there is evidence of this direct relationship. For example, the job definition of Egli, as the head of the architecture faculty in the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts, was articulated directly by Atatürk. Egli says: “I worked enthusiastically on a modern school and education reform which Kemal Paşa wanted from me, aimed at training hard-working, contemporary architects suitable for the profession to serve the country.” (Atalay-Franck 2004). Balamir (Balamir 2002) reports that Clemens Holzmeister also has had direct contact with Atatürk in many occasions.

The inclusion of the Austrian architect Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, in this thesis is due to the fact that she has come to Turkey as a practicing architect directly from the German city Frankfurt where she was working with Ernst May in *Das Neue Frankfurt* (the big housing project for the city Frankfurt), and her arrival in Turkey is much later than all other Austrian architects. Therefore her presence in Turkey coincides with the period when the Germans were in Turkey; furthermore, she has literally been working and living as an architect in Germany before her arrival. Based on these facts (being a practicing architect in Germany prior to her arrival and the period she served Turkey, after the 1930s) she is included in this thesis.

Another group that is not included in this thesis is the German city planners. Although they were in Turkey during the period covered in the thesis, their specialty was not architecture. Since the roles of the city planners differed from those of the architects, the transformation is not easy to follow within the scale of city planning. Nevertheless, there were other factors underlying the decision to exclude the German city planners relating to their personal specifics including their residences and job definitions. For example, the German city planner Martin Wagner stayed in Turkey between 1935 and 1938 due to purely political exile reasons, but did not have any contracts to actually construct anything, although there is one plan which was not realized²³. Since he has built nothing in the Turkish context, an analytical discussion of his performance is difficult. However, he has written theoretical and critical texts with a strong public attitude on the principles of modern city planning²⁴.

²³ He did get a contract from the governor of Istanbul to design the urban scheme for the public bath for Florya; however this contract was given to and realized by Seyfi Arkan directly by Atatürk with another building program Therefore Wagner never accomplished actually building it (Nicolai 1998)

²⁴ Nicolai states that although his name is never mentioned, he was indirectly criticizing the Ankara plan of Hermann Jansen (Nicolai, 1998).

Hermann Jansen, another German city planner who worked in Turkey, had a completely different situation than Wagner, since he got especially one big contract from the government in Turkey, for the city planning of Ankara. He was neither in an exile position, nor is there any trace found within the research of this thesis that he was actually living in Turkey in the time period when the Ankara plan has been realized between 1928 and 1939. In this way, he also differs from all of the other architects discussed in the thesis. He was actively working in the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin under the influence and preferences of the Nationalist Socialist government as a prominent member on the Senate board of the Prussian Academy of Arts as one can trace from the Senate meeting protocols of the 11th of September 1936 and 30th of November 1936 (Preussische Akademie der Künste document number 947/pp. 68-71 and 9-13 respectively). He was influential in the Prussian Academy of Arts as having substantial experience with the Turkish context, and subsequently in the process of deciding which architects should be recommended to the Turkish state officially as of 1936. He possibly got more contracts besides the city plan of Ankara, such as Diyarbakır, however it is not clear if he actually did work on the city planning project for Diyarbakır, because it can be found in the documents of the prime ministry archives dated 14th of December 1935 that he actually did not go to see the city of Diyarbakır in order to work on its plan (Turkish Prime Ministry Archives, document 030.10/81.533.10). He is also not considered to have gone through any of the transformations, discussed in this thesis (German and Turkish contexts), since for him city-planning was a “hierarchically articulated entity, a plan which is aware of its final aim, and the creation of a city with a business street, registration quarter, quarter for foreign embassies and consulates, quarter for universities, and a residential zone.” (Akcan 2005).

The thesis is limited in its time span to the early Republican Period between 1927 and 1950. This period defines the dates in which all foreign specialists from any field have been invited to, took refuge and have worked in Turkey, officially hired by the state through the political infringement of Turkish German relations after the end of the second world war and the last German specialist has left Turkey (1950). The time scope is wider than that in which only the German architects have been in Turkey, since the thesis discusses this whole span of time in which all foreign specialists have worked in Turkey.

Although the period (1927-1950) is important for Turkey regarding the constitution of a young republic, it also marks a turning point in world history and spans

through the two world wars when dominant sociopolitical views were questioned, challenged and restructured. This is the period in which the German architects have experienced the culturally stimulating atmosphere of the early 20th century in Europe followed by the painful distress of the First World War and of fascism, and then subsequently the Turkish context, witnessing the remarkable efforts of a proud nation following a war of independence against imperialism, before the onset of the Second World War.

In summary, the thesis aims to analyze this unique period in world history through the architects who were relocated from their homeland to continue their architectural performance in a country in transition from the traditional to the modern in the case of Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

2. PROFESSIONAL CAREERS OF THE ARCHITECTS IN GERMANY, BEFORE THEIR ARRIVAL IN TURKEY

In order to reach a comprehensive understanding of the German architects that have been in Turkey and to appreciate the transformations that they have gone through in their career, it is vital to investigate their roots, understand where they are coming from, and what kind of tradition they have been exposed to. In the cases of Paul Bonatz, Martin Elseasser, Hans Poelzig, Wilhelm Schütte, Bruno Taut and Robert Vorhölzer²⁵ this context had been Germany in its new industrialization phase, blooming with production in the beginning of the twentieth Century, followed by the First World War, which had brought a very traumatic end to this achievement. When the National Socialist Regime came into power, the atmosphere was changed completely and these architects, as well as many others, were forced to take refuge to different countries; Turkey was the destination country for the architects dealt with in this thesis.

All of the architects who came from this specific German modern background, have witnessed the vivid architectural atmosphere of the country and the early discussions about industrialization, national culture and architecture interactions around 1910; subsequently, they have had to adapt to the new situation following the First World War in the 1920s with the emerging housing needs followed by the boom especially in Frankfurt, Berlin and Stuttgart. It is important to understand the dynamics of the architectural organizations such as *Der Deutsche Werkbund* (the German Werkbund), The Crystal Chain, and the Worker's Council for Art, found by some of these architects or alternatively in which they have played important roles²⁶.

²⁵ Eric Mendelsohn's position is also interesting because of the similar transformation that he has gone through, in his new context after Germany, the New Palestine.

²⁶ The collaborators of the architects examined in this thesis and their professional relationship with their peers in the time period between 1910 and 1930 are also important in architectural

The viewpoints and tendencies of the architects within the German context in the beginning of the century are studied, in order to be able to compare their tendencies within the Turkish context later in the century. The perception of the architects by the community, as well as their self-evaluation was also different in the two settings. In Turkey, unlike in Germany, the German expatriate architects were foreign specialists and belonged to a minority group. Therefore, it is essential to evaluate the personal attitude of each architect within these two different contexts. In order to comprehend their careers in the Turkish context in depth, it is vital to acquire an understanding of the careers of these architects as a whole. Accordingly, this chapter deals with the details of the architects' careers in the German context before their arrival in Turkey.

This chapter also deals with the immigration process and how the related bureaucratic procedures were handled. In addition to the immigration process, this chapter cross-examines the factors that have influenced the architectural milieu in the 1930s Turkey, the architectural demands that the political transformation from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic brought about. Subsequently the influence of the socio-political environment of the newly founded Turkish Republic on the architectural profession of the German architects working in Turkey at the time is discussed with emphasis on the expectations of the employer as well as the obligations to the employer.

The architects that were invited to Turkey following the foundation of the Turkish Republic have had successful careers and recognition in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century. They were quite specifically selected and therefore should neither be treated simply as “some exile architects”, nor should their distinguished background be perceived as mere coincidence. The architects that are cited in architectural literature from the beginning of the 20th century and that have later been in Turkey, are usually the ones who have worked as professors in the Turkish context, and not their assistants. These architects are: Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, Hans Poelzig, Bruno Taut and Robert Vorhölzer.

Paul Bonatz, was more conservative and his ideology was completely different from that of Taut and/or Poelzig, although they have been supportive of each other as

history. They have developed in concert with some colleagues such as Mies van der Rohe, Erich Mendelsohn and Walter Gropius, who had lead a completely different course in their career after the 30s, following their migration towards the west of Europe, instead of the east.

friends. There are striking differences regarding the evolution of Bonatz's career at the same time, however in a completely different direction, as disclosed.

Martin Elsaesser is considered to have worked with a historical vocabulary in the new architecture of the early 20th century German architecture in order to awaken a new reality in the architectural language. He was an architect who interpreted *Sachlichkeit* (objectivity) differently than most of the prominent German architects, which today is interpreted as being *Neuromantik*; Elsaesser's name is mentioned together with architects such as Paul Bonatz, among the Stuttgart School (Maier 1985).

Hans Poelzig, was considered to be among the Expressionist wing of early twentieth century German architects. His designs are evaluated as a different kind of architecture compared to Bruno Taut or Eric Mendelsohn, since Poelzig was not searching for a new world, or a world of new forms of construction, like Taut. What was new in the work of Poelzig in the German context was identifying architecture as an art, not a philosophy. However, the architecture of Poelzig contains both old and new collectively; it has a certain link to history as he was especially attracted to the history of construction forms (Posener 1992).

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky had received recognition as she was working together with Ernst May in the new Frankfurt housing scheme after the First World War. *Die Frankfurter Küche* (The Frankfurter Kitchen) that she designed and her ideas aiming for user friendly concepts especially for women of all social classes have been well received and was evolutionary in the 1920s. A very important aspect of her personality was her social activist character and her involvement in politics.

The fame of Bruno Taut as an architect in Germany is marked with his Glass Pavilion of 1914, which also contributed to his recognition as an Expressionist in architecture. The project was meant to be the poetry of a crystal-pure society, and as the sign of a new culture brought about in architecture through glass at a time when many architects were already expecting the emergence of glass architecture. Banham evaluates all the later activities of Taut in Germany, in parallel to Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius, who shaped the German Architecture of the twentieth century (Banham 1967).

Robert Vorhölzer who was not as prominent as the other architects described above, has had an architecture career in Germany as a government employee for the German Post and had built a variety of a building stock for the Post. Although his career until 1920 was rather regular and common, in the German context he is considered

among the group of the architects belonging to the *Neue Bauen* (the new architecture) movement. His stylistic evolution was relatively conservative, but in an evolutionary way, towards the modern (Walter 1990).

2.1. Modern Movement in Germany

In the course of the investigation of the careers of the German architects, it is important to appreciate what these architects thought of modernity and how they each interpreted it, in the beginning of the twentieth Century within the German context. With a closer look, the gap between the discourse of the modern movement in the agenda of architectural activity and the cultural theories of the early twentieth Century becomes apparent.

Currently, modernization is also considered to have roots in the economic and political fields in the nineteenth century. With industrialization, political alterations, and increasing urbanization, modernity became far more than just an international concept in the early twentieth Century. In the urban environment, changing living conditions and everyday reality, the dissociation from the established values and the assurance of all old traditions could be both seen and felt. Furthermore, the momentum of change caused by enormous technological and industrial developments was so rapid that the gap between the ideas and the feelings grew and led to contradictory tendencies of the modern becoming visible at many different levels, of which architecture is one (Heynen 1999).

Tafuri also states the importance of the comprehension of this situation in the writing process of such architectural history:

Architectural history assumes diverse tasks. On the one hand, it must be made capable of critically describing the processes that condition the “concrete” side of the creation of projects, that is to say, the autonomy of linguistic choices and their historical function as a specific chapter in the history of intellectual labor and its mode of reception. On the other hand, it must be built into the general history of structures and relations of production; in other words, it must be made to “react” with respect to the development of abstract labor. (Tafuri 1987: p.14).

Today, the concept of modernity is considered to be a way of understanding the culture in general, without breaking the human activity up into “fragments and locking the fragments into separate cases” (Berman 1988), which can all be described by time, place, language, genre and academic discipline. This broader and liberal way of conceiving

modernity is only one of the many possible approaches, which has the advantages of enabling one to realize all types of artistic, intellectual, religious and political activities as part of one dialectical process, and to develop a creative interplay among them. According to Berman, this attitude creates conditions for dialogue between the past, the present and the future. It allows for cutting across physical and social space, and demonstrating the unity between great artists and ordinary people.

Heynen (Heynen 1999) refers to modernism as reference to “a condition of living imposed upon individuals by the socioeconomic process of modernization”. She, similar to Berman, discusses that the experience of modernity involves deviation from the existing tradition and has profound impact on ways of life and daily habits. The diverse effects of this separation are reflected in modernism, the body of artistic and intellectual ideas and movements that deal with the process of modernization and with the whole experience of modernity.

In the early twentieth Century Germany, there have also been many questions and various positions developed to question the projected role of architecture in relation to the societal conditions brought about by modernity. The positions before and after the First World War have changed quite drastically, due to the emerging needs after the war. Before the war, there were more debates on the role of architecture in relation to coping with the developments and changes in the society due to the effects of industrialization. After the war a different attitude, accommodating social concerns more heavily, seems to have dominated the architecture scene due to very immediate and primary needs. Certain groups and organizations of architects and also some individuals represent such different positions in Germany as well. Examples for these groups are the German Werkbund, the Crystal Chain, the Frankfurt Project and Ernst May, the Ring, and later, the Bauhaus. Not only have these groups represented the different positions, but also within some of these groups there have been polarizations with tendencies towards one certain direction or the other concerning the role of architecture; the German architects that later came to Turkey were involved in these groups and contributed to the discussions substantially. As would be expected, the ideas of these architects were sometimes congruent and sometimes conflicting.

One of the questions this thesis discusses is: In what respect do these divergent positions regarding modernity are particularly dissimilar regarding different individuals or the same individual in different phases of life? Being in Turkey would constitute a distinctive phase in the life of an architect coming from Germany, especially between

1927 and 1950. However, the other question is how these positions are to be viewed from today's point of view in architectural historiography. If they were naive and unbalanced during the early twentieth century architecture in Germany²⁷, the instability in the careers of architects such as Bruno Taut, which took different directions after contextual changes, could be explained.

Two of the earliest historians of the German modernist movement are Nikolaus Pevsner and Sigfried Gideon. They interpret this new architecture in rather formal terms. Pevsner has published his book "Pioneers of Modern Design" in 1936, in which he says that the intellectual roots of the industrial aesthetic - reflected in the model Fagus Factory of Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer that they built for the German Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne - was concluded with the beginning of the First World War (Pevsner 1960). Gideon, in "Space, Time and Architecture", published in 1941, reaches back as far as the sixteenth century Rome, while discussing urban planning, as well as the technology of construction. However Gideon tied the new concepts of architecture and urban planning to modern physics instead of changing social dynamics; this also tends to be a more formal orientation (Giedion 1949).

In general, the early twentieth century architecture in Germany moves away from historical styles towards an engagement with space, which was also predicted in part by technological changes, but James-Chakraborty also mentions the existence of a shift for architecture in the public domain. By the 1910s German architects and their clientele have addressed the working and lower middle classes in buildings which they hoped would, by being experienced in the same way regardless of social station, help transcend the country's deep political divisions²⁸. Germany's most celebrated architects, including those that have later come to Turkey, such as Bruno Taut and Hans Poelzig, were embedded in widely held beliefs about the power of architecture to influence society. Shared by architects and patrons across the political spectrum, these ideas inspired their attempts to literally build a community²⁹ (James-Chakraborty 2000).

²⁷ Heynen (Heynen 1999) states that although critical theories such as those of the Frankfurt School gave birth to a complex and sophisticated discourse concerning modernity and modernism, the history and theory of 20th century architecture is nowadays interpreted to have developed rather independently from this rich tradition, and even many of the more recent developments in architecture went along without considering critical positions such as those of the Frankfurt School.

²⁸ However, the pioneers of the modern movement did justify their architecture as uniquely expressive of the qualities of the new construction materials such as steel and concrete.

²⁹ With today's perspective, it is not considered that such formal and technological aspects are enough to understand how modernization transformed the environment without understanding

2.1.1. The Early Stages of Industrialization in Germany

When one takes a closer look at the roots of the German architects that have come to Turkey in the 1930s and 1940s, there are specific features that need to be considered in the German context. The growth of the tradition of Modernism in Germany is compelling because Germany had not started off as an industrialized nation, but has become one later than France or England; therefore the twentieth century industrialization debates have surfaced more prominently in Germany compared to other European countries. Industrialization is vital in the development of architecture and arts in Germany, since the careers of architects have evolved under its influence. This transition period has been thoroughly investigated by philosophers, artists and architects and has been identified as the major factor shaping the transition of the society; the transformation is said to have been more distinctive in Germany compared to all of the other nations which have gone through industrialization earlier.

Germany has not become an industrialized nation until late 19th century, since under the rule of Otto von Bismarck³⁰, after the unification of the nation, the resources were channeled to development and expansion. The movement started only after 1890, questioning what the nation was accomplishing regarding the arts and crafts frontier (Fragen an die Deutsche Geschichte 2000). Subsequently, industrialism emerged later in Germany compared to Britain and France.

The debate on industrialization was first articulated in Germany, since the country aimed to penetrate into new overseas markets traditionally controlled by the older maritime powers. In this regard, the products of their competitors were systematically studied, typological selections were made and re-designed to develop the “machine aesthetic” of the twentieth century (Frampton 1996).

The essay written by Gottfried Semper in 1851 for the London Exhibition “Wissenschaft, Industrie und Kunst” (Science, Industry and Art), examines the strong effect of industrialization on architecture and all applied arts in Germany. He stated that

economical, social and political aspects. Regarding the influence of industrialization and urbanization on architecture, one is expected to address social issues as well, especially in Germany

³⁰ Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck (1815-1898) was the minister president of Prussia from 1862-1890 whose most significant political goal was to turn Prussia into the most powerful state within the German Confederation, and did succeed in the unification of numerous states of Germany.

Science enriches itself and life incessantly with newly discovered materials and natural powers that work miracles, with new methods and techniques, with new tools and machines. It is already evident that inventions no longer are, as they had been in earlier times, a means for reducing needs and for helping consumption; instead, requirements and consumption are the means to market inventions. The order of things has been reversed (Semper quoted from Frampton 1998, p. 109).

Basically, at the end of the 19th century, Semper had started to question issues that would consequently be the main topics of the whole twentieth century, not only the relations of new materials and methods to production, but also a whole cultural debate.

In the decades before the First World War, especially in Germany, philosophical, poetic, and eventually formal attitudes emerged in which an extreme praise of mechanization can be found.

“Modern” architecture presupposed a progressivist sense of history; it is only by examining the theories of industrialization followed by the German Werkbund in Germany and the parallel architectural ideas of men like Peter Behrens and Walter Gropius that one can grasp how industrialization came to be regarded as a kind of essential driving force to the forward march of history, enquiring an appropriate expression in architecture and design (Curtis 1987).

James-Chakraborty (James-Chakraborty 2000) states that the German intellectual history, with roots in this debate, has also made a contribution to architecture regarding the interactions between architecture and politics; the industrialization discussions had created a political view of art. She claims that industrialization has served to unite rather than segregate architecture; this was inspired by competing political positions and styles, and was still able to respond to a modern development simply due to the fact that the professionally designed buildings were to encompass a mass public which had emerged through the allegiance of the lower middle, and working classes, which was being encouraged by politicians, merchants and employers. Many features of German architecture from the early 20th century are not limited to the buildings designed by certain architects affiliated with the modern movement, but instead, pervaded German architectural culture as a whole in order to be able to reach the public domain. She claims that this was due to the idealistic conception that harmonious societies could be recreated through artistic rather than political means.

How exactly this was to be done, especially in architecture, has evidently never resulted in a clear definition or a solid solution in architecture; however, the whole of the century to follow, has gained impetus through questioning the issues of industrialization and society. Through this kind of mixed inspiration, and the challenges

of new materials and new industrial processes, a handful of German architects pushed the search for a modern architecture, while a relatively large part of the profession, the conservatists designing in *Heimatstil* (the style of the homeland) held onto, and even widened its historical faith, which will be seen especially after the rise of the National Socialist regime.

Germany experienced both the opportunities and traumas of the industrialization process deeply; there were constant debates about the ideal relationship between the artists and the industry. According to Curtis (Curtis 1987), there were four main paths of opinion, of which one was a direct continuation of the British Arts and Crafts values in the *Kunstgewerbeschulen* (Arts and Crafts Schools), where the idea that the quality of products would be achieved only through focusing on handicrafts was sustained. This view was similar to the second opinion that the role of artistic invention which kept authentic forms in architecture could arise only from the mark of the “expressive temperament” and was highly individualistic, and this position tended to lead later to the ‘expressionist’ outlook. A third position was more materialist and modest, unlike the prior one, and stated that the best forms would emerge from the most logical and direct use of new materials to solve building problems; in other words, it was more functionalist. The fourth position regarded the functionalist view as an ‘uncultivated brute’, the expressionist view as an ‘irrelevant remnant of the cult of genius’, and the craftsman view as ‘an extinct entity unless directed at the problems of designing objects for mass production’. At the end, it was the business of the artists and architects of the newly mechanized and “German” civilization to design the objects of industrial design, building elements, and pieces of an urban structure; and according to the last view, the artist had to function as a mediator between personal style and the appropriate form for the *Zeitgeist* (spirit of the times), between a sense of the contemporary world and reliance on age-old artistic principles. *Der Deutsche Werkbund* (the German Werkbund) was one of the most important supporters of this last approach.

Nikolaus Pevsner indicates that thoughts of the German Werkbund and the first decade of the twentieth Century modern movement in architecture in Germany has remains that can be traced back to the “Arts and Crafts” movement of the 19th century in England. The influence of thinkers like William Morris and John Ruskin, who have had ideals concerning “the reintegration of art and life, craft and utility”, have been modified in order to allow for mechanization, and therefore their ideas contributed directly to the creation of the modern movement. In the beginning of the twentieth

century, when the French “Beaux-Arts” was beginning to be influential in England, on the German scene, the “Arts and Crafts” values were being imported to Germany. Hermann Muthesius, who was working at the German Embassy in London to observe domestic design in Britain in light of the debates mentioned above, was one of the most important figures. In 1902 he wrote his book “Das Englische Haus”, which was basically a study of the English houses. However, in this book, he actually gives references to the ideals behind the concept of the house³¹ (Pevsner 1993).

Muthesius states that the English movement was an intelligent application of formal quality to everyday design and mythologizes the Englishmen and their homes by claiming that what he calls the Modern English artistic movement is no longer attached to the ideas of “superfluous and fanciful”, which he depicts that the Europeans are still dealing with. In connection with this observation, he praises the plain simplicity that comes out as a result of this attitude³². According to Muthesius, one other feature of the English housing was the relationship it created with its own garden, through the use of architectural elements such as sunken gardens, pergolas, pathways and such elements.

Muthesius also praises some English architects which are grouped as “Arts and Crafts architects” by Curtis³³ (Curtis 1987), for believing in the use of local crafts and materials. One reason was because this was simply practical, and the other was that it resulted in an automatic harmony between the house and its architectural and natural surrounding. The Arts and Crafts architects were the innovators of domestic design, but for the first decade of the twentieth century, in many ways they are also considered to be traditionalists³⁴.

³¹ These British ideals for English houses, which did not have anything to do with German culture, are nevertheless considered to have caused a belief among German elites who had already started to feel that their German culture was inferior and was being disrupted by industrialization (Durth 2001).

³² “A minimum of forms, and a maximum of peaceful, comfortable and yet lively atmosphere, that is what the Englishmen aims for... Such accord seems to him (the Englishmen) to be a link with beloved Mother Nature, to whom, despite all higher cultures, the English nation has remained more faithful than any other people. And today’s house is proof of this... the way in which it fits so admirably into surrounding Nature in the happiness of its coloring and the solidity of its form: in all these ways it stands there today as cultural proof of the healthy tendencies of a nation which amid all its wealth and advances in civilization has retained, to a remarkable degree, its appreciation of what is natural. Urban civilization, with its destructive influences, with its senseless haste and press, with its hothouse stimulation of those impulses towards vanity which are latent in man, with its elevation of the refined, the nervous, the abnormal to unnatural proportions, all this has practically no harmful effect on the English nation” (Muthesius 1979).

³³ Some of these British architects are Edwin Lutyens, Charles Rennie Macintosh and Charles Francis Voysey

³⁴ Curtis writes about the English Houses of the early 20th Century: “the freedom of their planning and the directness and honesty of their use of materials was perhaps emblematic of a

On the German front however, the admiration of the English “Arts and Crafts” movement went beyond the rural housing projects and included an attempt of raising the values of honesty in the design of architecture and everyday objects, in the curricula of design schools, and eventually lead to a national obsession with the ideal of good formal quality in industrial design. This approach has been interpreted as the effect of “English Arts and Crafts” on the foundation of German industrial design. The manner, in which the movement has been conceived, can be interpreted as a reaction against the vulgarity of industrialization becoming the basis of a national design philosophy. Following the export and transformation of the British Arts and Crafts values in Germany, they became important elements in the jigsaw puzzle of the modern movement (Posener 1972). However, from the beginning onwards, the Arts and Crafts movement in Germany was infused with preservationist emotions and the longing for the integrated society before the chaotic influences of industrialization (dal Co 1982).

Following the publication of the buildings of Luis Sullivan and subsequently of Frank Lloyd Wright in Germany in the 1910s, significant interactions were observed. The Americanism myth of Tafuri can also be considered within this context (Tafuri 1987).

It was after Muthesius’ return to Germany that he was handed the special assignment of reforming the national education in the *Kunstgewerbeschulen* (Schools of Arts and Crafts). Within the two years in this job, he started building his ideology, which happened to be also against the more conservative and protectionist groups of artists. This is how the idea of the German Werkbund slowly evolved.

In summary, in observing the unique modernization processes of Germany at the beginning of the 20th century, the relatively later onset of the industrialization process compared other European nations, the fact that the Unitarian identity of the German nation was delayed and Germany became a unified nation after the rule of Bismarck in the late 19th century. The genuine relationship between cultural fields, technology and engineering, and the sensitive relationship of between nationalism and the connection to the historical cultural roots special to the German context are the main elements that mark the pre-First World War period in Germany. All of these factors combined, have

reaction against the clutter and pomposity of earlier domestic architecture, but these architects were certainly far from attempting the creation of a brave new world. In a sense their designs were micro cosmos of deeply felt values concerning the meaning of the home: worlds in miniature in which details like door latches or dovecotes, as well as the overall mood, were infused with a sense of reverence for the ideal of a happy family life lived in rural setting” (Curtis 1987: p. 54).

influenced the cultural and social atmosphere of the German context and therefore also those of the practicing architects in the country. The fact that conditions in Turkey in the 1930s in which the German architects were working were completely different in all aspects (cultural, economical, social), as well as the historical, geographical differences. These dissimilarities might have contributed to the different professional attitudes of the architects within the two different contexts. The architectural agenda in the two countries surrounded by their unique political-cultural contexts have been remarkably different. The only similarity, despite different underlying reasons, between the two contexts might be that both countries were searching for a way to keep up with the contemporary agenda while adhering to their cultural values, without slipping into the realm of traditionalism.

2.1.2. The Foundation of the German Werkbund

Der Deutsche Werkbund (the German Werkbund), was found by Hermann Muthesius, as a union of manufacturers, designers and architects in Munich in 1907. Its aim was to improve the quality of German products, with the basic idea that the industrialization of Germany was a threat to its national culture. Similar to the “Arts and Crafts” Movement, their purpose was to reunite art, craft and industry; with the distinct purpose of creating a closer relationship with the German industry and artists; the exclusive aim was escalating the quality of the national product design. However, they had no desire to return to romantic notions of handicraft. They believed that there were aesthetic issues to art, and that it was a moral power which would eventually lead to economic power.

The aim of the German Werkbund was not to represent the relationship between distinguished art and mass culture, but to transform it. They were motivated by an idealistic desire to market ideas rather than goods through buildings whose appearance was intended to reach out to rather than impress the community as a whole (James-Chakraborty 2000).

Hermann Muthesius, the founder of the German Werkbund had been inspired from England, and started in Germany to dig deep into the nature of the German spirit going beyond that of only commercial issues. The pursuit of the early twentieth century,

involved the spirit of the nation but in the physical forms of the new “Industry” (Schwartz 1996).

The founders of the German Werkbund were motivated to demonstrate that an organization dedicated to elevating the standard of German efforts in the applied arts through cooperation with progressive elements in industry could restore the dignity of labor and at the same time produce a harmonious national style in tune with the spirit of the modern age. The pioneers were dedicated to bridging the gap between art and industry, and worked to realize their vision of a Germany in which the machine, directed by the nation’s best artists, would revitalize the applied arts in all fields of arts “from the sofa cushion to urban planning” (Campbell 1978).

The German Werkbund was a novel approach aimed to establish links between the designer and the producer, as well as between art and industry. It was an attempt to initiate and strengthen the dialogue between artists and producers, thereby reforming the German arts and crafts. Industrialization was in progress and mechanization was overwhelming. Therefore the German Werkbund had to struggle to balance the excessive materialism and rationalism that were its by-products without sacrificing the positive benefits of modernity. To establish the envisaged harmonious culture, realistic artists and idealistic entrepreneurs should work in concert. If successful, the result would be a new cultural synthesis embracing the realities of contemporary life. Subsequently, the aims of the Werkbund were parallel to those of the German Arts and Crafts movement. However, it should be noted that despite the apparent progressive ideals, the underlying motivation was essentially conservative; the Werkbund aimed to restore the ethical and artistic unity of the German culture. These conflicting attitudes were reflected at the Munich convention, where “romantic nostalgia for a lost world (was) combined with determination to meet contemporary needs” (Campbell 1978: pp.10, 11). Accommodating these rather incompatible approaches constituted an important feature of the Werkbund and, independent of its existence, persisted throughout the following 26 years (Campbell 1978).

An important member of the German Werkbund was the designer Peter Behrens. He was employed by AEG (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft) to undertake the responsibility of all the company’s architecture, products, graphics and advertising. He designed the AEG Turbine Factory in 1908 which was the first example of corporate identity in Germany. The studio of Peter Behrens at AEG has had a strong impact in the German architecture milieu and is referred to in almost all literature cited in this thesis

on German modern architecture, since it has employed (meaning they physically worked in the office of Behrens) and also influenced many designers of the time including Walter Gropius, Hans Poelzig, Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz, Adolf Meyer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Le Corbusier. (James-Chakraborty 2000).

AEG is also important because it marks the first step in the architectural history of Germany to create a working alliance between art and industry. In Germany, with a delayed industrialization phase, AEG accomplished this through the appointment of Peter Behrens as the official designer of the company. Following AEG, Germany's most progressive and rapidly expanding industrial groups started considering employing eminent artists. (Schwartz 1996)



Figure 2.1. The AEG Factory Complex by Peter Behrens, Berlin, 1912
(Source: Frampton 1996: p. 113)

In the architecture front, the German Werkbund specifically stressed the social and aesthetic responsibility of private industry to set high standards for office and factory construction. In the area of industrial architecture, its role was indeed seminal. Following the example of AEG and Peter Behrens, some progressive firms gave opportunities to German Werkbund architects, including Hans Poelzig and Walter Gropius, to experiment. Since the modern factory buildings were designed by world-class architects, the methods and style they used received public recognition and

acceptance. In addition to the factories, the architects convinced their employers, big business patrons, that providing well-designed and inexpensive housing for the industrial labor force was also essential. Although it was customary to provide accommodation for the workers before 1914, the German Werkbund provided solutions which accommodated social, aesthetic, and economic concerns (Banham 1967).

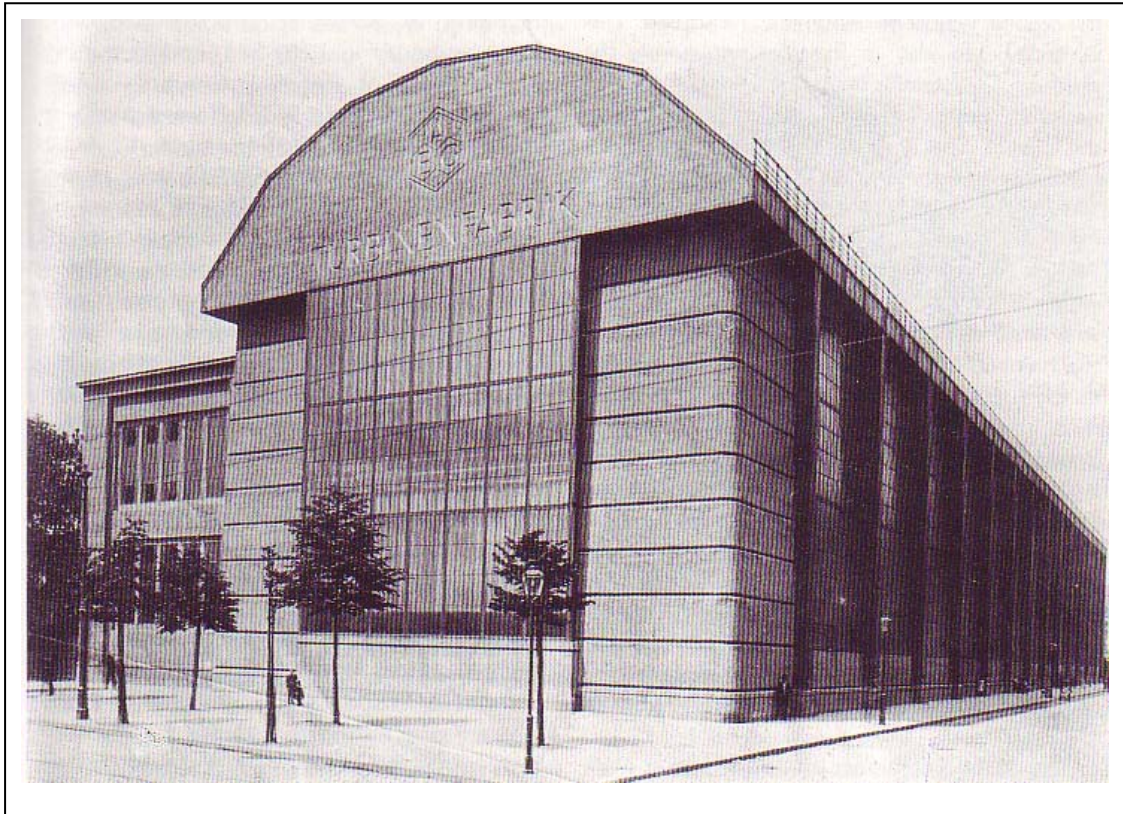


Figure 2.2. The AEG Turbine Factory by Peter Behrens, Berlin, 1908
(Source: Frampton 1996: p. 113)

Initially, although the responsibilities of the architects were well defined, the German Werkbund had no specific aesthetic direction. The Werkbund Congress of 1907 marks a changing point: Muthesius stated that aesthetics could be independent of material quality, standardization could be a virtue, and abstract form could be the basis of aesthetics in product design. He proposed *modernity*, as being opposed to ornamentation, and as the basis for the expression of contemporary cultural values. He stood for order and discipline instead of the individualism of German craftsmen, architects and designers.

Far higher than the material is the spiritual; far higher than function, material and technique, stands form. These three aspects might be impeccably handled but – if form were not – we would be still living in a merely brutish world. So there remains before

us an aim, a much greater and more important task- to awaken once more an understanding of Form, and the renewal of architectonic sensibilities. (Muthesius quoted from Curtis 1987, p. 61).

He argued that beauty came through form and not through decoration; and that this could not be achieved individually, but would have to employ a national typology using standardized designs (Curtis 1987).

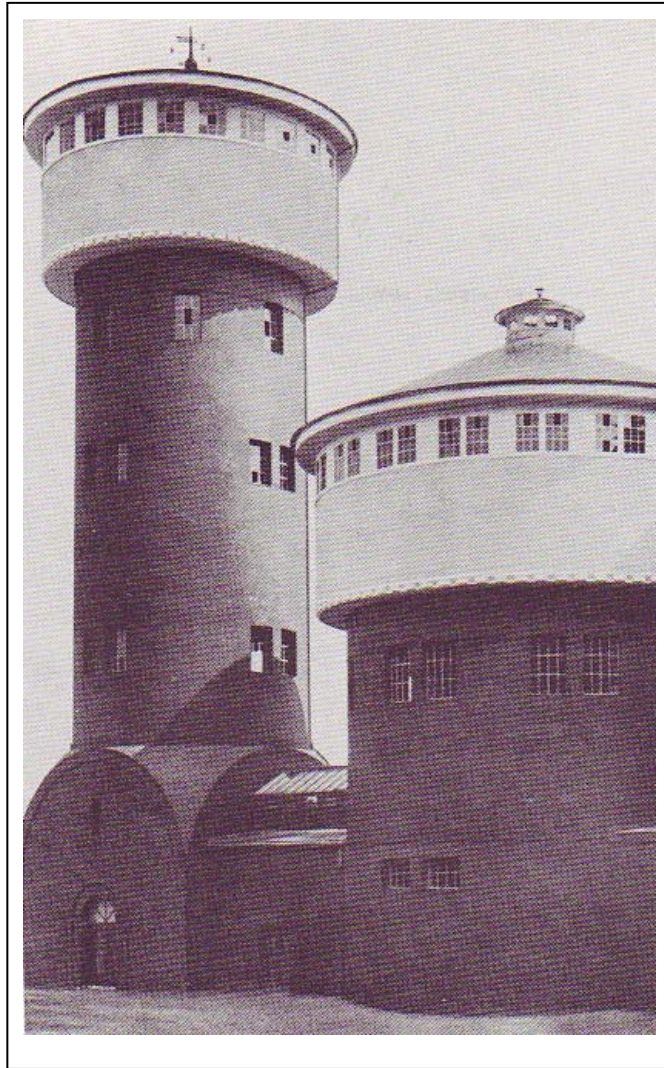


Figure 2.3. The Gasworks by Peter Behrens, Frankfurt, 1911
(Source: Curtis 1987: p. 64)

This was a problem to many members, who saw modernity as a threat to artistic freedom and creative individuality. Henry van de Velde was the first architect to oppose these ideas³⁵. The push of Van de Velde for artistic freedom caused a heated debate

³⁵ Henry van de Velde (1863-1957) was a Belgian artist, architect and designer who is considered to be one of the main representatives of Art Nouveau.

known as *Typisierung* versus *Kunstwollen*³⁶ which came to a peak at the Cologne exhibition of the German Werkbund in 1914 (Schwartz 1996).

The Cologne Werkbund Exhibition in July 1914 with the theme *Raum der eleganten Welt* (Space of the elegant World) is an important milestone in the development of modern architecture. According to Giedeon (Giedeon 1949), the German Werkbund created opportunities for the talented youth. At the Cologne exhibition, the young and promising architects and the more senior generation at the highest levels of their performance were represented side by side. However, the exhibition also unveiled the ideological split within the Werkbund: the “collective acceptance of normative form” defined as *Typisierung* and “the individually asserted expressive will to form” defined as *Kunstwollen*. These terms can be plainly interpreted as standardization versus individualism. The young artists were opposing the nationalism, utilitarianism, and materialism of the period. As a reaction, they chose to neglect practical design problems and preferred to reflect their feelings regarding man and the city, through the emotional and symbolic powers of art. The approach of the Werkbund to cooperate art and industry was perceived as the commercialization of art. On the other hand, the proponents of the Expressionist movement envisaged the Werkbund as a means to reach their artistic goals (Campbell 1978).

The three buildings which symbolize the *Kunstwollen* fraction were: the Werkbund Exhibition Theater of Henry van de Velde, the Model Factory of Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer, and the Glass pavilion of Bruno Taut.

Although somewhat reluctantly, the Werkbund at the Cologne exhibition allowed Bruno Taut to demonstrate his capabilities, and as a result, German architects recognized Bruno Taut through his famous Glass Pavilion. The exhibition was supposed to be a unique show of new tendencies in architecture³⁷; and according to Sharp (Sharp 1966), the Glass Pavilion, the Werkbund Exhibition Theater and the Model Factory turned the otherwise architecturally undistinguished exhibition into “the real public birthplace of dynamic architecture”, since all the other buildings were built in a neo-classical style.

³⁶ This debate was so publicly known, that the famous literature periodical of the time, *Simplicimus*, published a caricature of this argument which showed van de Velde with an “individual” chair, Muthesius with a “type” chair, and a carpenter with the “real” chair.

³⁷ However, all these buildings would be unfortunately removed when the First World War broke out

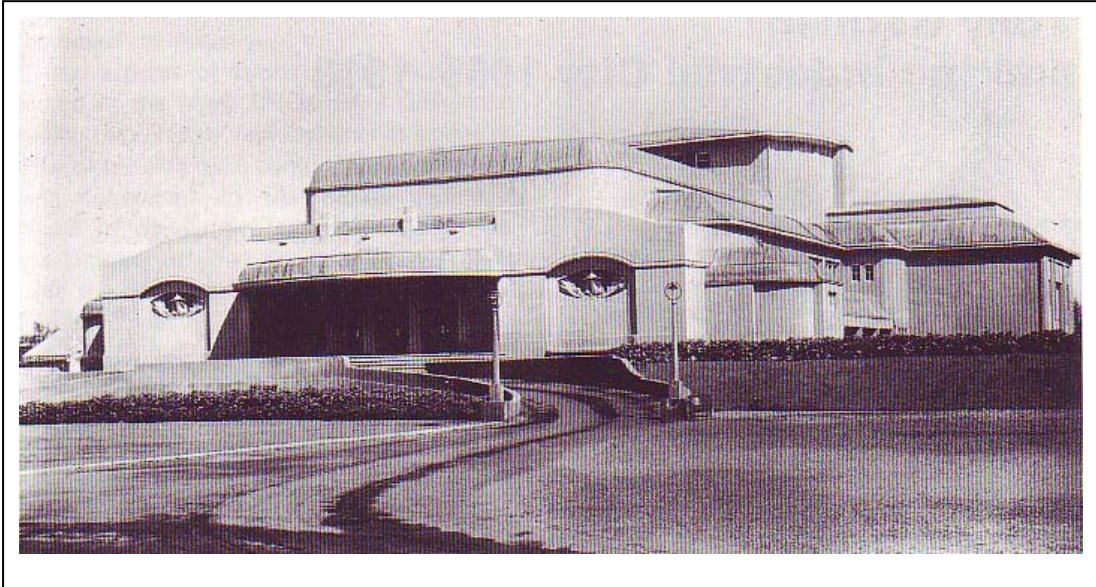


Figure 2.4. The Werkbund Exhibition Theater by Henry van de Velde, Cologne, 1914
(Source: Frampton 1996: p. 99)

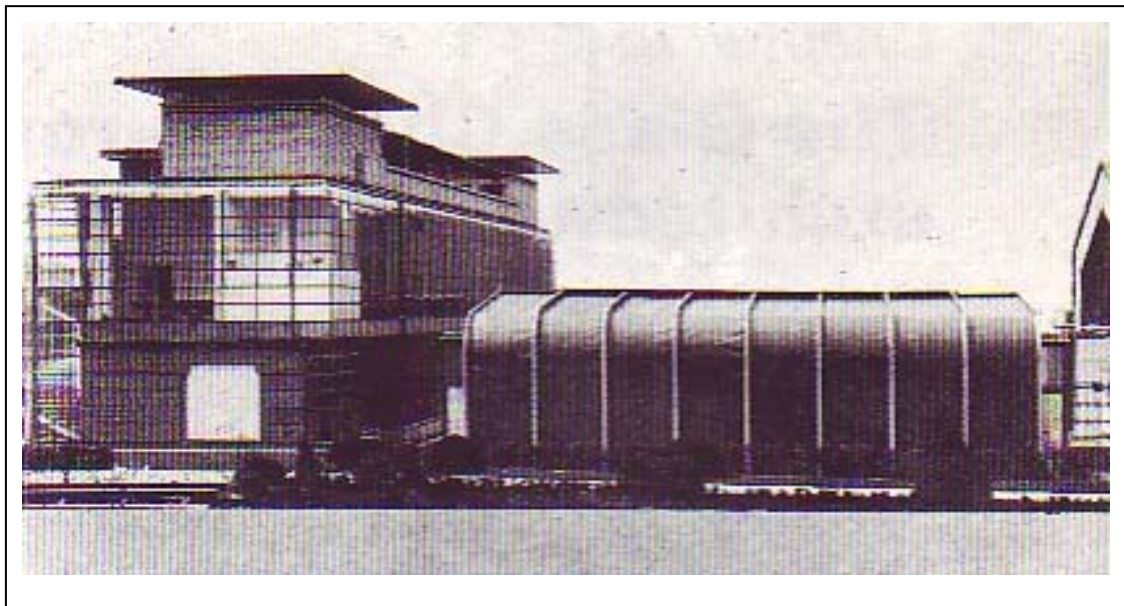


Figure 2.5. The Model Factory by Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer, Cologne, 1911
(Source: Frampton 1996: p. 115)

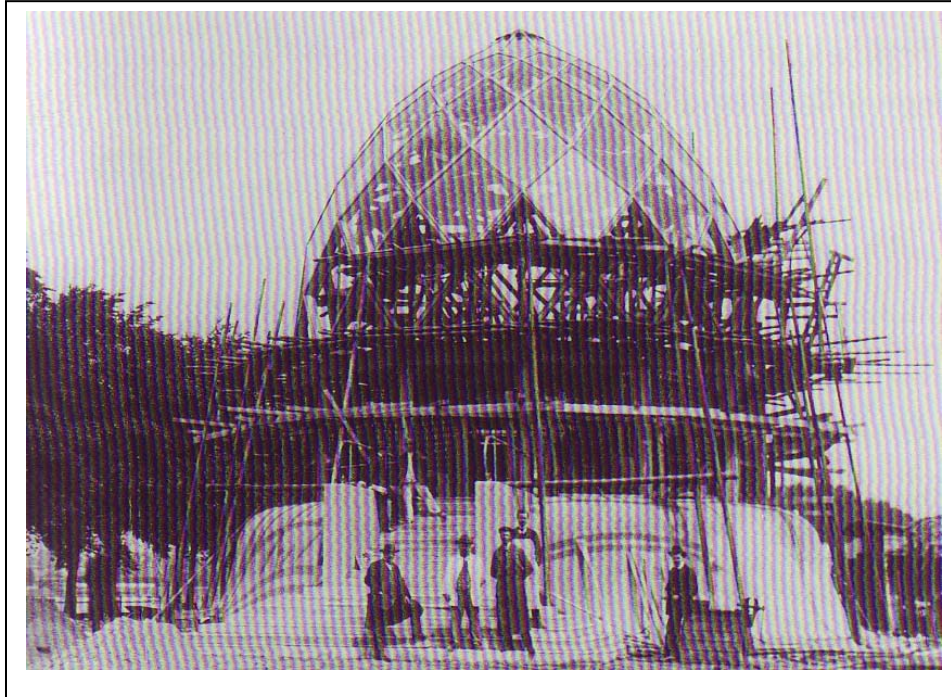


Figure 2.6. The Construction of the Glass Pavilion by Bruno Taut, Cologne, 1914
(Source: Claus 2001: p. 42)

The Glass Pavilion was commercially noteworthy for the German glass industry as well, since the German Werkbund had taken up the problem of how to produce articles that were good in quality, well made, and also aesthetically beautiful (Sharp 1966). The pavilion was exclusively devoted to the glory of glass, and according to Banham (Banham 1959) had instantaneous impact on the imagination of German architects, as well as on non-architects that visited the exhibition at the time.

When Taut designed the Glass Pavilion, he was a proponent of the *Kunstwollen* and searching for a free expression in his buildings; the design was inspired from a Gothic cathedral, analogous to the ‘city crone’ idea. Bruno Taut was closely associated with the Expressionist painters and writers, and he completely rejected the idea of functional art and dedicated his imaginative glass house at Cologne, which was a kind of an industrial mausoleum, to Paul Scheerbart³⁸, the poet of glass. Scheerbart described

³⁸ The poet Paul Scheerbart (1863-1915), who came up with his manifesto about glass architecture had great influence on Taut. “In order to raise our culture to a higher level, we are forced, whether we like it or not, to change our architecture. And this will be possible only if we free the rooms in which we live of their enclosed character. This, however, we can only do by introducing a glass architecture, which admits the light of the sun, of the moon, and of stars into the rooms, not only through a few windows, but through as many walls as feasible, these to consist entirely of glass- of colored glass.”(Scheerbart quoted from Conrads 1991: p. 19).

this glass pavilion architecture with aphorisms such as: “light wants crystal”, “glass brings a new era”, “we feel sorry for the brick culture”, “without a glass palace, life becomes a burden”, “building in brick only does harm”, “colored glass destroys hatred” (Conrads 1991).

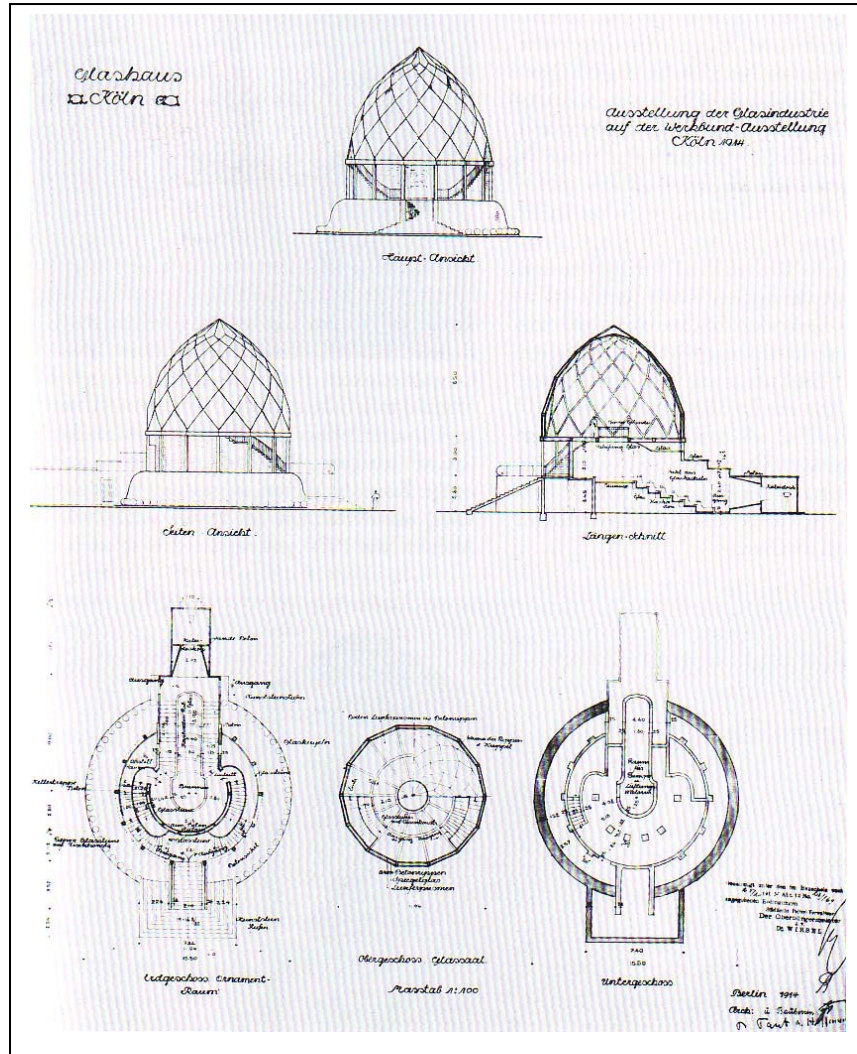


Figure 2.7. The Drawings of the Glass Pavilion by Bruno Taut, Cologne, 1914
(Source: Hartmann 2001: p. 57)

The Glass Pavilion received comments from other architects who had contributed to the exhibition. For example, Theodor Heuss described the Glass Pavilion as being “the least emotional and most functional of the whole exhibition”, “that irrational and purely poetic has found its form”, and “that it was the expression of most well-done fairytale”. In the end, Bruno Taut, himself, had the impression that with its dazzling and transparent walls, its shiny cascade and kaleidoscope theater, it was only possible for children and women to really enjoy his building (Hartmann 2001). The

pyramid form postulated by Taut was “the universal paradigm of all religious buildings, which together with the faith would inspire an essential urban element for the restructuring of society” (Frampton 1996: p. 116).

The Glass Pavilion was a dome which consisted of different colored glass, standing high on double walls of colored glass carried by a reinforced concrete frame; this frame was clad in mosaic and mother of pearl. The entrance was through a grandiose flight of stairs. The Glass Pavilion was an attempt to rejoice industrialization and to expose its capacity for being poetic, while signifying its progressive cultural potential (Banham 1959).

The discussion between individualism and standardization which continued and gained impetus after the Cologne Exhibition was more than just a disagreement on one certain subject, but it rather revealed a major division between people such as Hans Poelzig and Bruno Taut who demanded unlimited freedom for the artists to create and experiment, and those such as Muthesius and Paul Bonatz who stressed “the need to raise the general level of quality and expected all Werkbund members to subordinate their personal inclinations to this common goal”. The standardization wing, urged the designers to concentrate on the development of standard or typical forms in order to be able to manufacture them in large quantities to meet the needs, and the main task was not to invent new forms but to refine those which already existed. Nevertheless it was also mentioned that these shall not be a mere imitation of past styles; Muthesius stressed that with his ideas on standardization; he had no intention of limiting artistic freedom and stated that he is on the side of the *avant-garde*. However for young architects like Bruno Taut, this was not satisfactory, since they had their creative years ahead of them, and could not be expected to support someone who claimed that the modern style “existed in embryo and merely needed to be developed and applied on a broader scale”³⁹ (Campbell 1978).

³⁹ Although both groups had the shared desire to see a unified style emerge which was modern and distinctively German, the point of disagreement was that the standardization supporters believed that this could be achieved through conscious and organized efforts, the individualists believed that this could be achieved through an evolutionary development, spontaneously generated by the design decisions of numerous creative brains. The disagreement then further increased with the individualist opinion completely rejecting any unified style, since a unified style would mean the death of creativity, and that a “truly vigorous artistic culture” would only be possible through diversity rather than uniformity. The argument of the standardization group against this was that “a few outstanding artists, creating forms for limited production would never produce enough to raise the general level of quality and taste. This caused big problems in the Werkbund, because the standardization movement was seen to be against the very ideals of its foundation of a cooperation of the artists and the industrialists on the level of equality, and giving the control to the manufacturer, who would exploit the artists’ skill and reputation simply for his profit (Campbell 1978)

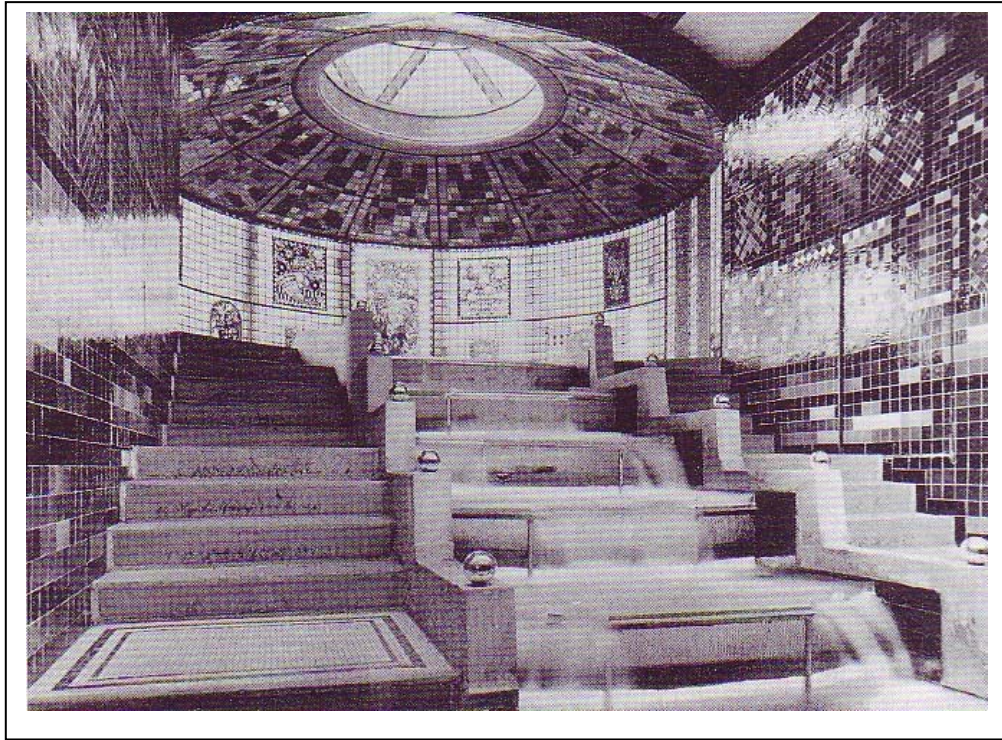


Figure 2.8. The Interior of the Glass Pavilion by Bruno Taut, Cologne, 1914
(Source: James-Chakraborty 2000: p. 50)

Although Muthesius' view was prevalent, the Werkbund suffered from internal tensions⁴⁰. On one hand it was nationalistic, on the other, it aimed to be modern and internationalist. Furthermore, in addition to its internal problems, the German Werkbund as a whole was opposed by the German Arts and Crafts which consisted of the conservatives. The attempt of trying to weld industry and designers into a single effective organization was interpreted by the conservatives as an attack on German art (Lane 1968). Dal Co (dal Co 1982) states that the conservative architects interpreted the Werkbund ideas, together with the rise of a scientific civilization, as the loss of a unified and harmonious culture, and these architects considered it to be their job to reinsert the old culture into the lives of modern citizens. Since this was a threat to all the German Werkbund members, the discussions slowed down with the final agreement that in the end, it was everybody's wish that the Werkbund should disseminate "good taste" and at the same time "encourage artistic innovation". No choice was made between "art or industry" and "creativity or standardized production". The hope was that the Werkbund

⁴⁰ The meticulous efforts of the "Werkbund" wing following Muthesius led to the invention of the Deutsche Industrie Normen (German Industrie Norms), known today as the DIN format, and to the initiation of large scale standardization in Germany.

could reconcile these opposites and combine them in a more coherent synthesis, to bring both tendencies in balance and reject “both dogmatism and anarchy, both stylistic conventionalism and lack of style” (Campbell 1978).

Taut was quite active in the Werkbund, and by 1919 Bruno Taut was positively writing: “German Werkbund! The point is the work. What work means here has been said clearly often enough. Each work that sets off aesthetic feelings, the culture of its production and towards this goal, the union of all those involved – artists and workmen– that is the German Werkbund” (Taut quoted from Günter 2005: p. 16).

He had already designed the *Monument des Eisens* (Monument of Steel) which was a pavilion for the steel industry for the fair in Leipzig in 1913. It was a building constructed of an elegant frame in steel, the object of promotion. Taut had designed it with an octagonal ground plan rising four stories in the form of a ziggurat, with “yellowish-green cathedral glass” windows (Maasberg&Prinz 2001: p. 330); the structure was crowned by a sphere. This design style was affiliated with the expressionist wing of the German Werkbund described as “mystical, if not Utopian, spirit somewhat at odds with the restraint and sobriety, the beliefs in standardization and normative solutions.” (Curtis 1987: p. 70)

During the debates going on around in the Werkbund about standardization and individualism, an important figure in the Werkbund was Hans Poelzig who had commissioned a number of industrial buildings at the time. Poelzig referred to the standardization group and to the Werkbund as a “monster” and that he is almost determined to withdraw from the Werkbund of which he was a member since 1908 (Campbell 1978). It is worth mentioning that Poelzig was supporting the concept of machines producing the objects. He interpreted the industrial age as one of new construction methods. However, he did not use prefabricated elements since he found them unpleasant (Heuss 1948). He did not respond to the calls of the Werkbund of bringing the industry into the building site. He stated instead: “Let us take the new means of construction for granted, let us use them alongside craft methods, so that they open up new possibilities for craftsmanship and in that sense change it.” Poelzig put more emphasis on craftsmanship. He worked for the industrial buildings believing in “progress based on acknowledged principles of architecture” (Conrads 1991: p. 4).

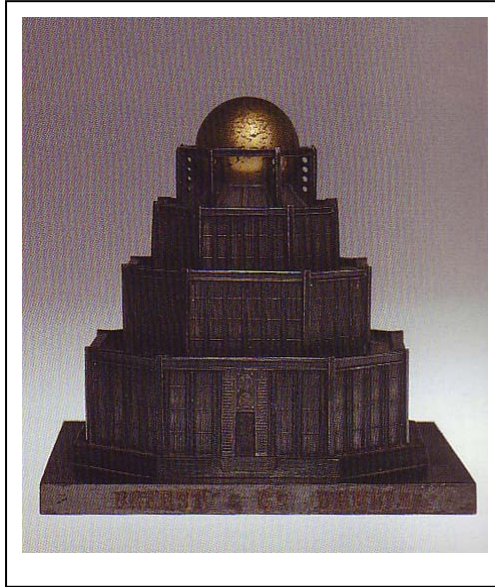


Figure 2.9. The Model of the Monument of Steel by Bruno Taut, Leipzig, 1913
(Source: Hartmann 2001: p. 63)

However, in the way Poelzig dealt with the new materials and constructions, he did not oppose *tradition* in both Posen and in Luban. Posener states that according to Poelzig, if their ancestors had had the materials that they had, they would have done the things that Poelzig has done at his time. According to Posener, these works do reflect the philosophy of the German Werkbund⁴¹. The Werkbund's attitude of the distaste to the old, medieval like, dark atmospheres can all be found in the writings and buildings of Poelzig of the time as well. The chemical plant by Poelzig was celebrated by the German Werkbund indeed, and many pictures of it were printed in the yearbook of the

⁴¹ The reflection of the German Werkbund can be seen especially in the teaching of Poelzig which was quite stable, and did not change through time. Regarding his teaching, his former student Posener (Posener 1992) describes him in his studio as a professor who especially tried to avoid influencing his students with his own style. In Poelzig's studio, there were different styles, philosophies, drawing techniques of which probably had no resemblance to any of Poelzig's work. Posener says, "he never spoke of what architecture might need at a particular time, even less of what architecture is." He talked about the position of the kitchen, about comfortable and uncomfortable staircases, about the structure of roofs with large spans, about how different spaces with different functions could be made to relate to each other. He attached great importance to the basic facts of daily life and how one should build for them. (Posener 1992: p. XIII). Posener emphasizes that Poelzig refused to impose a particular form, and continues that he thought that it was not possible to teach art, but rather technical, social, practical and cultural aspects of architecture, although Poelzig did talk about aesthetics, when he was referring to things that one should avoid.

Werkbund of 1913, in which it is commented to be have even more sculptural quality compared to the buildings of Peter Behrens⁴² (Posener 1992).

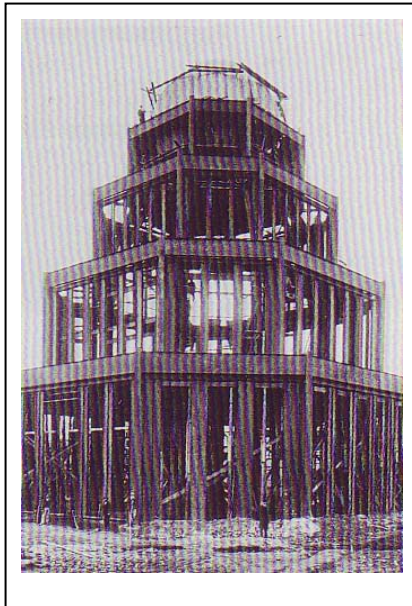


Figure 2.10. The Construction of the Monument of Steel by Bruno Taut, Leipzig, 1913

(Source: Maasberg&Prinz 2001: p. 330)



Figure 2.11. Water Tower by Hans Poelzig, Posen, 1911

(Source: Heuss 1948: p. 115)

⁴² Frampton describes the highly articulated chemical plant in Luban as “rivaling” the industrial style that Behrens had used for the AEG buildings (Frampton 1992).

According to Heuss (Heuss 1948), among other architects Poelzig was unique in the Werkbund in representing both “fantasy and pure reason”. The difference of Poelzig from the other individualists in the Werkbund was his perception of the creation of new forms purely as natural developments of history.

Curtis (Curtis 1987: p.64) claims that Poelzig “sought to dramatize the process of movement with a highly sculptural formal arrangement” in the context of industrial design. Although the industrial buildings of Poelzig did have the functional rationale, there was great emphasis on formal expression and, according to Curtis, this formal expression is considered to be referring to “sobriety and stability eschewed in favor of restless, dynamic, and highly emotive forms” (Curtis 1987: p. 65).

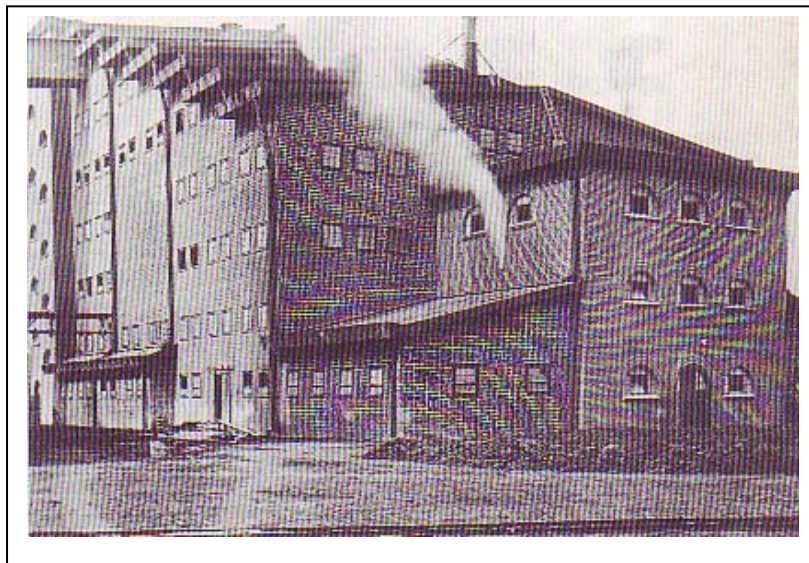


Figure 2.12. Chemical Plant by Hans Poelzig, Luban, 1911
(Source: Posener 1992: p. 71)

Hans Poelzig himself expresses his ideas on how the industrial architecture should be in his article “Der neuzeitliche Fabrikbau” as:

Our factory buildings will never look as though they were meant for eternity; each building can only express the essence of its being. Whereas in old functional buildings thick walls rise up with hardly a window in them, we now need wealth of light for the work, even our grain elevators demand more light than the old barns. We limit the strength of walls and columns to the minimum – the deep shadows cast by the reveals of the old gateways and windows cannot give expression to the buildings of our time... In old buildings mass dominates, and the windows, small and in deep shadow, interrupt the strong walls. Today the actual surface of the wall is often less extensive than the windows, so that emphasizing the window within the wall would tear the wall apart. (Poelzig 1911: p. 102; trans. J. Posener)

However, it is not easy to trace the light-weightedness, and the many windows in these buildings. They are made in brick, and also quite massive, supporting Theodor

Heuss's interpretation of Poelzig's approach: a devotion to the spirit of the old times, which reflects his love to carry history over to the present.

Hans Poelzig later describes how the young architects at that time favored industrial building, because in that field, they were free of hindering ties of tradition and could use new building materials and construction techniques (Junghans 1970). Frampton (Frampton 1996) states that these important industrial buildings of Poelzig have later influenced the formal language of Bruno Taut, referring to his Glass Pavilion and the Monument of Steel. These two buildings do seem to exemplify the exhibition buildings of Taut, but besides these two exhibition projects, during the pre-war times Taut was mainly engaged with housing projects. Taut emphasized the personal obligation to social responsibility in the search for spatial quality in the housing projects⁴³.

The Werkbund coincides with the period when Bruno Taut was beginning his career and was searching for a position that would enable using societal powers; he was increasingly attracted to the dominant anti-bourgeois and anti traditional movements of the pre-war era. The fight against the *Mietskasernen* (the Berliner Rental Barracks) with their dreadful social outcomes had reached a peak by mid 1910s. Compared to his housing projects, the rather impractical and apolitical Glass Pavilion apparently reflects other aspects of social responsibility of the architecture profession.

Paul Bonatz, is another architect who was active in the German Werkbund before the First World War and later came to Turkey. Although in his autobiographical book "Leben und Bauen" (Bonatz 1950) he does not refer to his Werkbund activities, Bonatz has been in the German Werkbund in the beginning of the 20th century. He was living in Stuttgart at the time, and was working as a professor at the Stuttgart Technical University.

Bonatz belonged to the more traditional wing of the Werkbund and supported the views of Muthesius. Durth (Durth 2001) describes his attitude (together with Heinrich Tessenow's) as being cautiously traditional and tentatively or hesitantly modern.

Being a professor in Stuttgart was one of the most important aspects of Paul Bonatz's professional career in the early 20th century. He describes his own attitude in his studio as being reserved to correcting the projects of the students, but controlling

⁴³ The housing projects of Bruno Taut are discussed further in chapter 2 under the subtitle 2.1.3.1. Bruno Taut in Berlin and Magdeburg.

inconspicuously in order to maintain the creative ambitions of the students; he says that he would be supportive and follow the route that the student wants to take as long as it is possible. The design problems that he gave were always chosen to be different and flexible, and which he himself did not yet know how to solve. His studio did not simply transfer knowledge, but was aimed at provoking and inspiring the capabilities of the students under guidance (Bonatz 1950). Werner (Werner 1977) claims that the most revolutionary attempt of Bonatz at the Stuttgart University was his effort to unify the architecture and construction engineering professions. Bonatz (Bonatz 1942a: p. 73) talks about this issue in his speech in Ankara in 1942, and claims that the specialization of the construction engineers and the separation from the architects, has caused “*tekniğin çirkin binaları*” (the ugly buildings of technology) to emerge.

The most important building that Bonatz realized during this period is the *Hauptbahnhof Stuttgart* (Main Train Station of Stuttgart). Together with other works and ideas of Bonatz, this building is considered to be outside of the main line of the modern movement, but as the consciously modernized version of a historicist style. Frampton (Frampton 1996) states that the Main Train Station of Stuttgart constitutes an example where Bonatz managed to break the Neo-Baroque approach in order to return to the spirit of ancient Rome with its gravity and clarity.

Bonatz devotes a chapter of his autobiography (Bonatz 1950) to the Train Station, in which he tells the story of how he accomplished to do the project and some of his initial decisions. He explains that in the first phase of the project his decisions were targeted to the main entrance of the building, its tower and the arcade on the main façade, through which the building became quite romantic. However, the design phase of the building was interrupted by a journey that Bonatz made to Egypt. He returned with a new realization that for every problem that an architect confronts, it is essential to concentrate on the simplest elements, and trace these elements all the way back to their roots. He asserts that this would be the only way to overcome the illness of time, and to surpass every challenge with images of existing forms. Bonatz continues to say that this is the reason why formalism exists before investigating necessities. In order to break this pattern, and be freed from these formalisms, one must seek and reach the seed, which is always simple and clear.

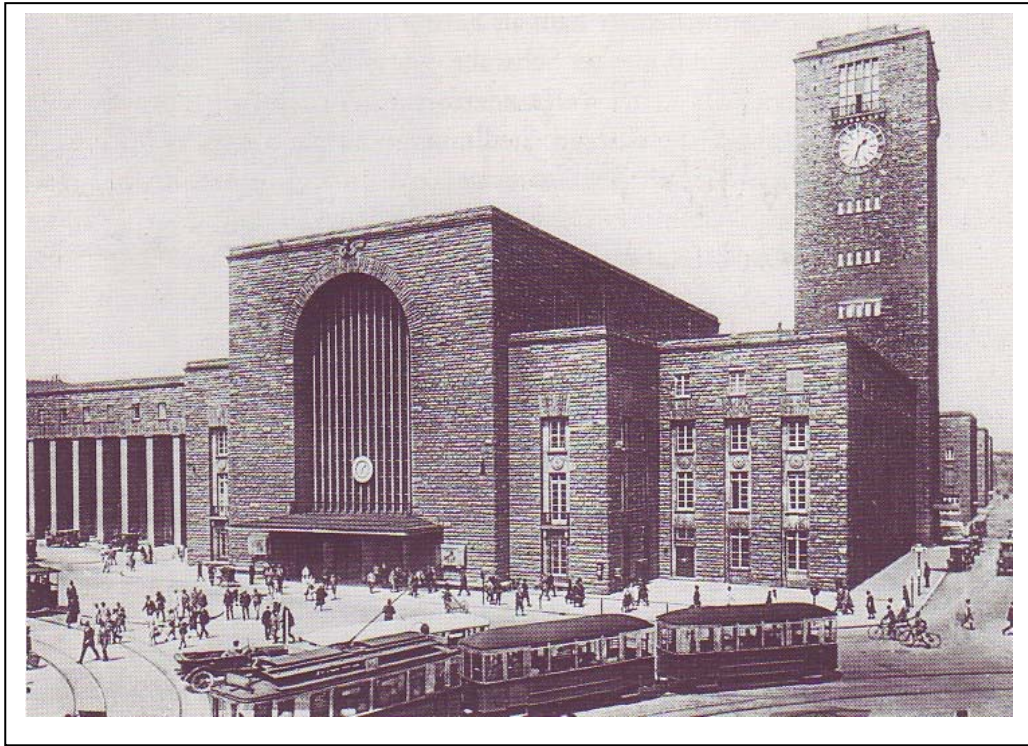


Figure 2.13. Front façade of the Main Train Station of Stuttgart by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1914-1917
(Source: Durth 2001: p. 47)

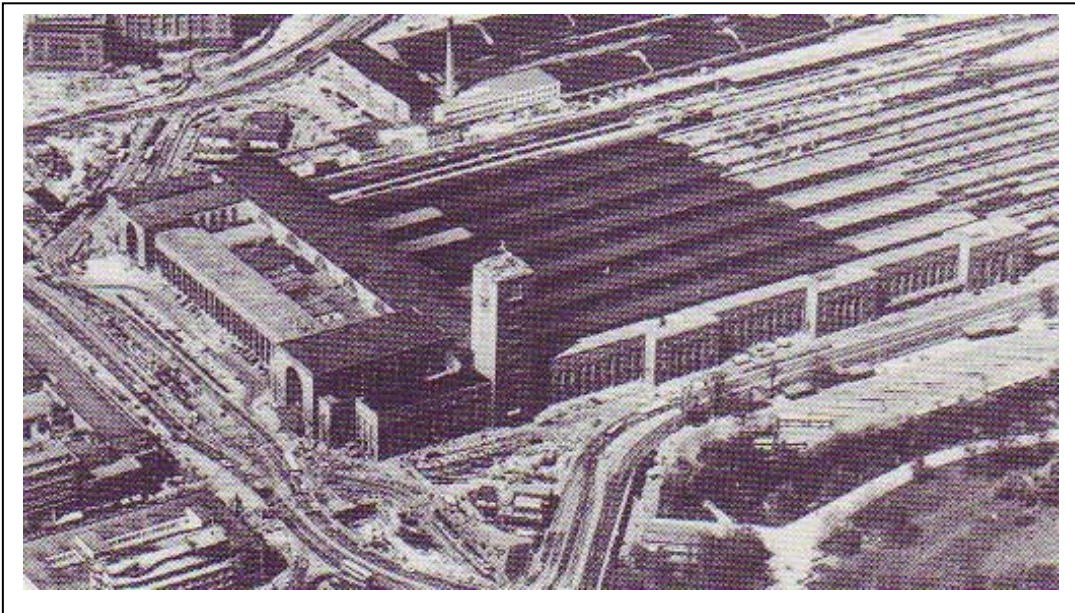


Figure 2.14. Aerial view of the Main Train Station of Stuttgart by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1914-1917
(Source: Werner 1977: p. 14)

After this moment of realization, Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) explains that his existing design for the Station had to go through a second designing phase, a purification process, in order to become simpler. However, although Bonatz says that he had simplified his project, in the early 20th century he conceived the train station as a gate of the city and an important element of the big organism, thereby deserving a high level of rank and expression. His design for the station was not considered to be truly pure, and was criticized by the Werkbund members as being “a building that drowns its function in Victorian bombast” (Bonatz 1950: p. 66).

Paul Bonatz was an exception among the other architect members of the German Werkbund, since he was the only one directly involved with politics. He had become a member of the Municipal Workers Council and had later joined the Social Democrat Party (SPD)⁴⁴. This was unusual within the Werkbund, because even the activist members disagreed with the parties and preferred to form or join groups where they would have an opportunity to dominate and to maintain the integrity of their ideals (Schwartz 1996). For example, Martin Elsaesser took part in establishing a Chamber of Architects in the city of Württemberg in 1918, in order to represent the professional interests of people connected to the building trades, and to uphold principles of quality and design in a period of economic stringency (Campbell 1978).

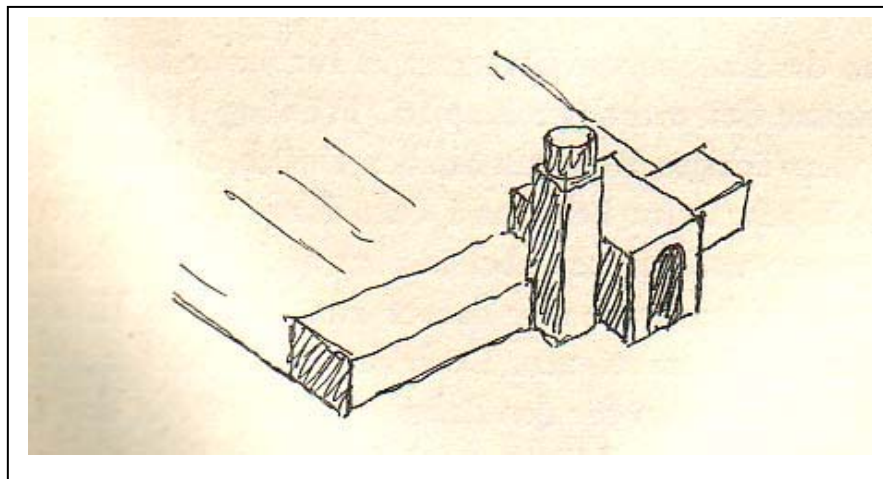


Figure 2.15. Sketch of the first phase of the design process of the Main Train Station of Stuttgart by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1914-1917
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 62)

⁴⁴ Bonatz withdrew from the Party within one year, and turned away from party politics.

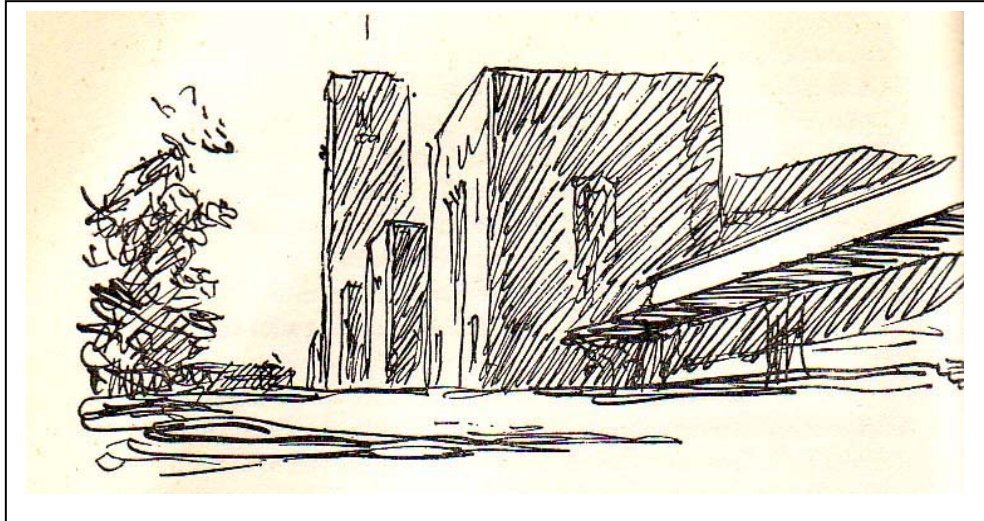


Figure 2.16. Sketch of the second phase of the design process of the Main Train Station of Stuttgart by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1914-1917
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 66)

The roles of Martin Elsaesser and Robert Vorhölzer in the German Werkbund are not easy to trace. Together with Paul Bonatz, they are mentioned as being more traditional compared to Bruno Taut.

Until the war, Martin Elsaesser was also involved in the Stuttgart school and was working there as the assistant of Paul Bonatz. Besides his assistantship, he worked on many projects for church buildings in rural areas. At the time, there was breakthrough from historicism in church buildings as well, and they were becoming more contemporary. According to Maier (Maier 1985), Elsaesser also worked in this direction; however he did interfere with the functions of some particular elements borrowed from history. Examples to these are gothic construction and tectonic language, baroque windowsills, and Art Nuevo doors, mountings, lamps, heater claddings.

An important project of Elsaesser from this period is his *Stuttgart Markthalle* (Market Hall for Stuttgart). This building has an interior courtyard covered with a glass roof supported by steel beams, allowing for the long span between the concrete walls without columns. The building contrasts the other buildings in Stuttgart of the time with its steel roof construction and light courtyard. The exterior, by its arcades with arched windows and a small polygon tower, is also not typical for a purely functional understanding of a market hall where food is sold.

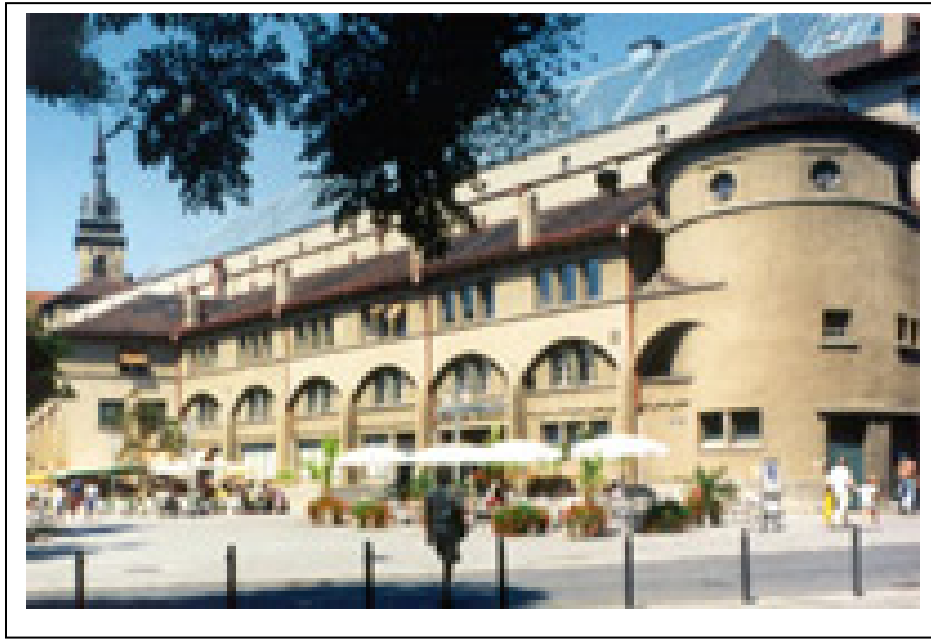


Figure 2.17. Market Hall of Stuttgart by Martin Elsaesser, Stuttgart, 1911-1914
(Source: WEB_1 2003)

Robert Vorhölzer was working as a government employee. His reasons for choosing this position to work are not clear. He either wanted to have a safe career or identified the job as being genuinely interesting. In his career until 1920s, there are not many irregularities or exceptional events. From 1910 until 1911 he worked as an assistant at the Munich Technical University for one year. Subsequently, he quit this assistant position to work in the operations of the administration of the railway in Munich, and later in Augsburg. It is only after 1920 that Vorhölzer started building with the principles of the new architecture movement in Germany. In the 1910s, his architecture exemplifies a conservative attitude, although in an evolutionary perspective, towards modern architecture (Walter 1990).

As revealed through the performance of the German architects within the German context before the onset of the First World and consequently their arrival in Turkey, there were diverse attitudes regarding their understanding of the profession of architecture, as well as their positions within the profession as practicing architects, teachers or government employees.



Figure 2.18. Interior of the Market Hall of Stuttgart by Martin Elsaesser, Stuttgart, 1911-1914

(Source: Maier 1985: p. 125)

Campbell (Campbell 1978) claims that although the German Werkbund was never able to fulfill the aims of its founders, its impact should not be underestimated. Despite the efforts of the German Werkbund, art and architecture were still alienated from the world of the labor force. Although there were genuine efforts, a substantial portion of the industry was still detached from the ideal of quality and good design. However, the Werkbund constituted a forum and initiated debates on issues such as providing an enjoyable atmosphere in the workplace, considering the needs of the industrial society, bridging the gap between high and popular culture, and redefining the role of handicrafts in the machine age⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ By 1933, the Werkbund, with its new members, tried to fit into the Nazi regime, working for the Third Reich - a move which was allegedly fiercely opposed by Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus. This was followed by the dissipation of the Werkbund in 1934. It returned in 1947, but never achieved the status anywhere near to its position before the First World War. However, it remained as a strong promoter of design (Schwartz 1996).

2.1.3. The Architecture Scene in Germany after the First World War

The outbreak of the First World War had dramatic impact on the general mood in the cultural prospect of Germany. The optimistic reform atmosphere and the ideas of the German Werkbund came to an abrupt stop and all of a sudden, overwhelmed by the hard times, the blooming atmosphere seemed to be an outdated fashion of the past.

At this time, America was enjoying a lively building boom from 1921 until the great depression; however the situation in Europe was completely different. Almost all the construction activity stopped for the duration of the war. Modernist experiments retreated to the privacy of the sketchbooks of some architects, and there was even a shortage of paper to draw on. The younger architects had to hit the trenches, in which some died fighting; others lived to learn that the technology of the First Machine Age was evil and observed the destruction of the humane plans of a progressive society. When the war finally ended, the task of rebuilding was far beyond the power of individuals. The long pause in production, the war damage, and the upward swing of population growth, precipitated an acute housing crisis. States and public bodies had to assume the responsibility of sheltering Europe. Entire residential districts and large housing estates were now to become the principal challenge for the practicing architect (Kostof 1995).

This resulted in a rather irrational situation for building in Germany during and shortly after the First World War. After the termination of conflicts, although there was necessarily a large building program, Germany's financial condition was far less secure than that of the Allies. These economical restraints, despite a great need for housing, resulted in developing building strategies which could be accomplished with a very limited budget. There was little money for non-essentials and for palatial facades dressed with classic architecture, since a very modest amount of money could be spared beyond the demands of necessity (Whittick 1956).

This particular state of affairs which encroached on the building sector in Germany after the First World War, also accounts for the evolution of a new style of architecture with no roots into the past. The rejection of the preceding architectural tradition represented a cataclysm of war. In the post-war atmosphere of the defeated countries, Austria and Germany, the modernists could move upward easily into positions of power, because, due to the corrupted social system, the former ruling class

and the designers who served them had been discredited. Subsequently the roles of the modernists in the system have changed. This post war period can be called the beginning of a new architecture in Germany. The movement was disengaged from commercialism and mainstream architecture; the war experience had induced a movement towards antimilitarism and doctrinaire internationalism among architects.

The radical anti-capitalism of the immediate post-war years involved and caused also an ethical revulsion against the spirit of modern economic life. A typical example was Bruno Taut's indignant assertion at a meeting of the Werkbund executive committee that: "to earn money is always a dirty business. Things originate themselves, and what happens to them afterwards should be left to others"⁴⁶ (Taut quoted from Campbell 1978: p. 124). Architects with radical ideas such as Walter Gropius⁴⁷ and Bruno Taut, started to claim that they were preparing for a new and socially conscious architecture which would play an important part in the political revolution occurring in the German context. The new style which would be a result of the revolution, would express the new culture and the new society. A sense of this unity of intentions and of architectural languages has encouraged many architectural historians to look for similarly unified, common foundations in the development of modern architecture, starting with a new role for the architect within society. In the second half of the 1920s, the architects realized that a new professional attitude was expected from them to construct and organize the living space of city inhabitants. This new understanding of construction and organization had its major emphasis on reforming the city and consequently the society. The historians were also convinced to formulate a consistent line of development for "modern" architecture that takes into account the social duties of the committed architect, through an enlightened vision of society. The perception of the term "enlightened" implicated a social point of view for industrialists and a cultural point of view for citizens (Lane 1968).

Initially this was the idea of architects, for example Bruno Taut, in founding groups such as the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (The Workers' Council for Art⁴⁸) and becoming more powerful through writings and exhibitions which would reach the public. In some

⁴⁶ However against these words, Theodor Heuss in the German Werkbund replied that "money had to be made by someone if the arts were to prosper, and that one therefore had a duty to ensure that it was made decently" (Campbell 1978).

⁴⁷ The Bauhaus, set up in Weimar in 1919 is a very important example of this patronage.

⁴⁸ Der Arbeitsrat für Kunst is translated in some literature into English as the 'Working Council for Art', and in some as the 'Workers' Council for Art'. This thesis uses the "Workers' Council for Art".

ways, the conditions marking the beginning of a new era in architectural expression, the difficulties of a post-war era and the political influences on architecture in Germany have resemblances to the Turkish context in the 1930s when the German architects arrived. For architects such as Taut the Turkish context must have had similarities to the German context of the post First World War period.

In Germany, the transformation in the professional attitudes of architects between the 1910s and after the First World War is evident. Even Walter Gropius, who has been professionally very different from Bruno Taut before the war, has had certain indulging fantasies similar to Bruno Taut, just before the foundation of the Bauhaus and immediately after the end of the First World War (Posener 1992).

The “City Functional” concept for Frankfurt and Berlin are important regarding the architectural atmosphere of the period. Ernst May initiated the “The New Frankfurt” movement which involves an important part in the careers Margret Schütte-Lihotzky and Martin Elsaesser in Germany. In addition to Frankfurt, very intensive housing projects were taking place in Berlin, in which the “Garden City” concept of Bruno Taut deserves special emphasis. The period marks an important phase in the architectural careers of Bruno Taut and Hans Poelzig, before their arrival in Turkey.

The period between 1920 and 1923 has encountered opposing approaches in architectural expression. The futurists and constructivists placed the pre-war acceptance of industrialization above crafts, which they denoted as a symbol of outdated romanticism. However, their attitude, which was closely related to the *Werkbund*, had little impact on the German architectural scene after the war. The influential architects in Germany, such as Poelzig in Stuttgart, insisted on basic distinctions between artistic and technical forms. On the other hand, revolutionary artists in Italy, the Netherlands and the Soviet Union, were promoting the new “machine art”. Amid these controversial view points, the *Werkbund* sided with Germany’s progressive artists and adopted their preference for the crafts (Banham 1967).

After the second half of the 1920s, especially from 1925 to 1928, European architecture encountered the emergence of an irreversible “transformation”. In many countries, Architecture no longer concerned only small avant-garde groups but had actually taken shape in the public mind. Walter Gropius proclaimed the birth of an *Internationale Architektur* (International architecture) in 1925, but it was still necessary to prepare new instruments for exchanging, comparing, and testing ideas and positions. Some publications closed (*L’Esprit Nouveau* in 1925, *De Stijl* and *ABC* in 1928), while

others entered the scene (in 1926, *Die Form*, the publication of Deutscher Werkbund, as well as *Das Neue Frankfurt*). In 1927, the Stuttgart publisher Julius Hoffmann started a new series, *Die Baubücher*; Richard J. Neutra's *Wie Baut Amerika?* and Ludwig Hilbersheimer's *Internationale neue Baukunst und Grossstadtarchitektur* were published (Ciucci 1981).

Consequently, one can observe the new seeds of the excitement and the intellectual activity of the upcoming years in Germany after the First World War.

2.1.1.1 Hans Poelzig and Bruno Taut in Berlin

Following the end of the war, the German Werkbund gained impetus on its activities again, and Hans Poelzig was addressed as the chairman of the German Werkbund in 1919. The controversy of *Typisierung* and *Kunstwollen* resumed its place in discussions and Poelzig, as the chairman, effectively argued for the principle of the *Kunstwollen* again. He expressed his thoughts about art as having nothing to do with any purpose or reason, and that it is always better to exploit purpose and reason in creating a real work of art, rather than letting reason to win (Pehnt 1986).

Poelzig, in his duty as the chairman, concentrated on the relationship between Art, Industry and the Crafts, and believed that a clear line should be drawn between the world of industry and arts and crafts. In his opinion, in the post-war atmosphere, industry was a profit-seeking materialist which had “exploited artists to produce goods of ephemeral value for a fickle market” (Campbell 1978: p. 135). On the contrary, proponents of the “arts and crafts”, believed in the value of work for its own sake and due to this view point, they were able to create forms of enduring worth.

An example of Poelzig's *Kunstwollen* approach in architecture is the Berlin *Schauspielhaus* (Theater) project⁴⁹ for 5000 people, where arched forms were assembled in such a way as to create a ziggurat whose interior was a prismatic cavern made up entirely of pendentive elements, which look like stalactites. This project seems to be

⁴⁹ The way this project is treated is similar to the competition entry of Hans Poelzig in the House of Friendship competition which is covered in Chapter 2 under section 2.2.1.1.

very different from his projects for industrial buildings that he did before the war, reflecting the variation between his pre and post war ideas⁵⁰.

In a lecture Poelzig gave in 1926 at the State Library in Berlin, entitled *Festbauten* (Festive Buildings), he discussed his Theater building (Poelzig 1986). He started explaining the simplistic perception of festive space from a historical perspective. He asserted that festive space was defined by stylistic principles. This style accommodated elements exaggerated in richness of form and material rather than dimensions. These typologies had evolved from the Asian styles, and through Baroque and late Gothic picturesque influences, lead to a collection of forms with festive decorations and stage design in theaters. The festive component was achieved by means of enhanced space dimensions ornamented with precious and colorful material, reminiscent of antique, early Roman or Gothic periods. Examples of this approach are Byzantine mosaics, the glass windows of medieval times, and wall paintings of the Renaissance. In the past, richness in a festive building was obtained through fashionable forms and color. Poelzig continued to describe his approach, in contrast to the past, as a stylistic development necessitated by technical concerns in modern buildings as well as financial restraints. He claimed that basic needs such as food, preceded the need for festive buildings and people needed *panem et circences* (bread and circus; food and mindless entertainment). This prevailing condition had to be respected and big housing projects were important achievements. However, people still needed to fulfill their humane longing for recreation. At this point, architecture has a magical impact on people, because nothing compares to experiencing a great dome, even if the impression is detached from its original context. Having said this, Poelzig focused on the feasibility of creating festive spaces. He said that since festive spaces were essential, there should be ways to economically realize these spaces, without neglecting the artistic component. Since the traditional baroque decorations cannot be obtained without excellent craftsmanship and since constructing bad replicas was worse than not building anything, other elements had to replace the styles of the past. Poelzig pointed out that it was difficult to free ourselves from tradition, since the influence of the past persists in

⁵⁰ However, Heuss (Heuss 1948), claims that certain rhythms and some major motifs always seem to recur in Poelzig's designs through the years before and after the war. But not all of these designs were built, and the recurrence might be due to the fact that he could not build them all, and the motifs were simply waiting to be built.

subconscious. According to Poelzig, the ground plan was the most important aspect of modern buildings.

Poelzig's inclination towards the arts is quite visible in his post-war projects; he perceived form as an element in his buildings which offers a space for recreation and perking up.

However, Pehnt (Pehnt 1986) claims that Poelzig's realistic personality would prevent him from accommodating conflicts in architecture when he dealt with necessities, conditions of construction, economical constraints, and legislative guidelines for planning.

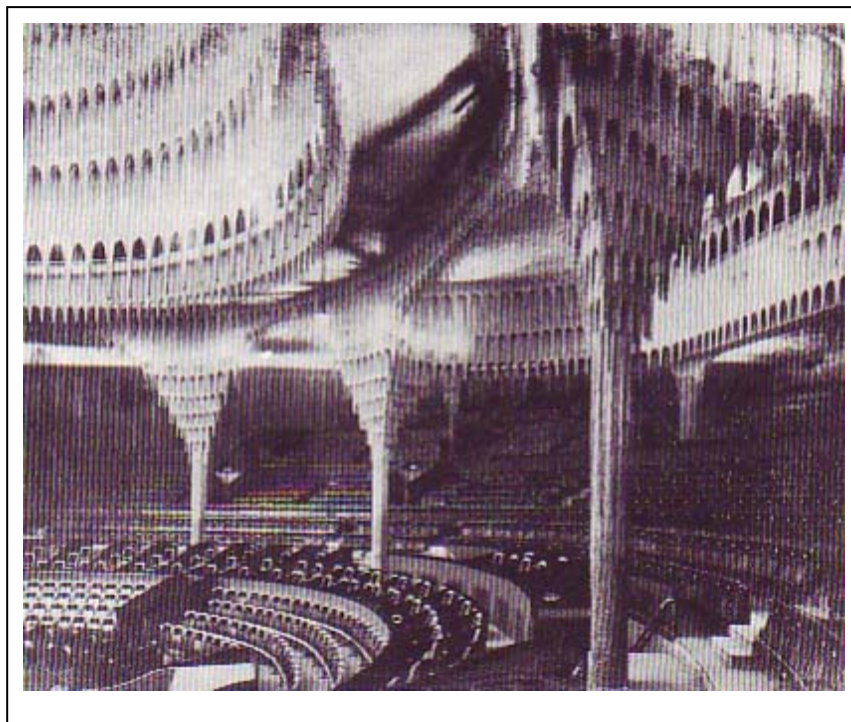


Figure 2.19. Interior of the Schauspielhaus in Berlin by Hans Poelzig, Berlin, 1919-1920

(Source: Posener 1992: p. 120)

Poelzig did not only design theater, concert hall and festival buildings, in which he got carried away by the festive task, and the emotions of the high valued moments, but also designed and built housing facilities, business and administration buildings, fair halls, factories, a gas works building, a fire station, and a broadcasting station. He knew that the clients of those buildings would not have excused deficiencies of practical probation in these buildings. Building art might have been possible in the time of

Poelzig with open-minded clients and beneficiaries. However, it was absolutely necessary to comply with the budget, to fulfill the purpose, and to satisfy the client.

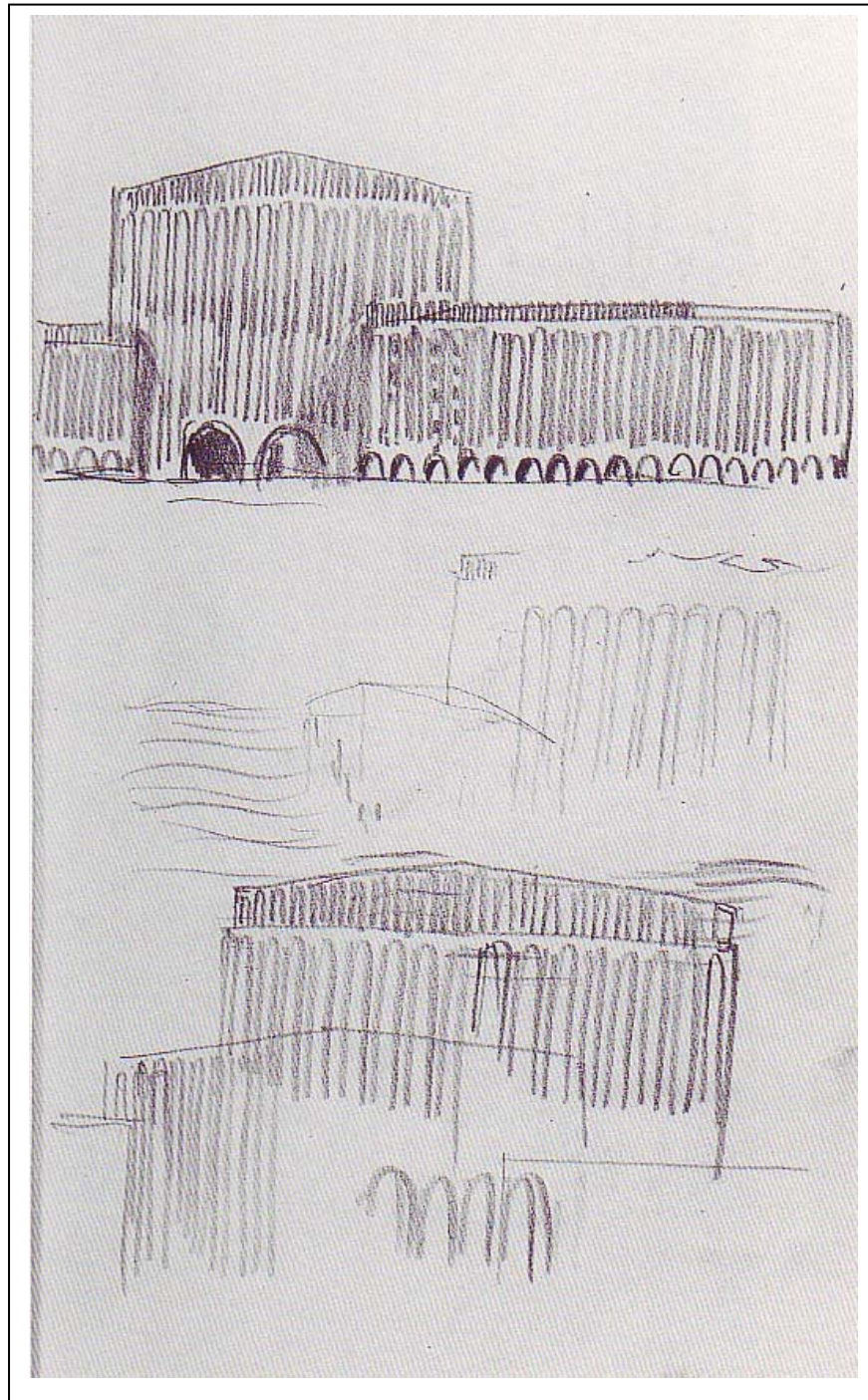


Figure 2.20. Sketch of the Schauspielhaus in Berlin by Hans Poelzig, Berlin, 1919-1920

(Source: Feireiss 1986: p. 19)

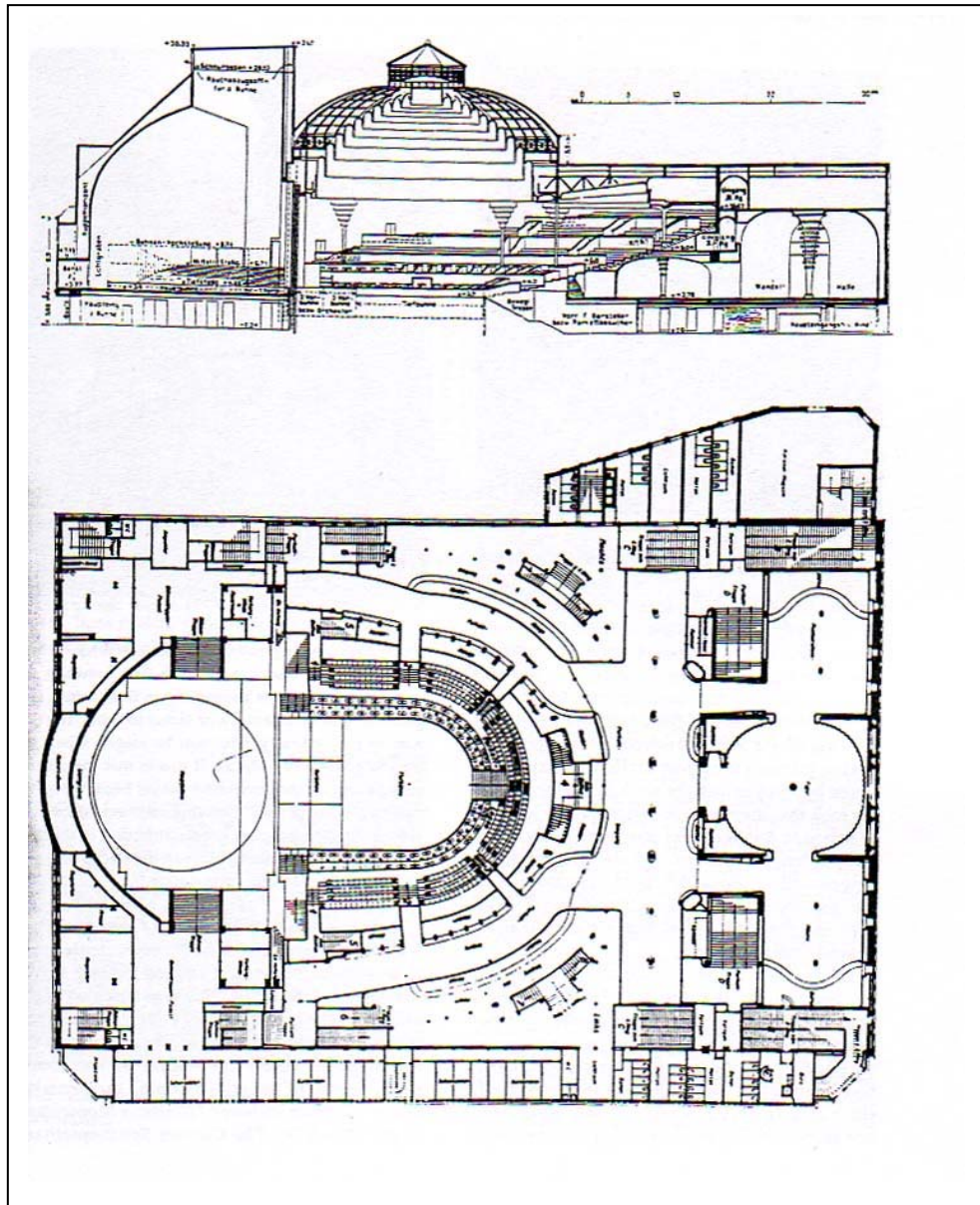


Figure 2.21. Section and plan of the Schauspielhaus in Berlin by Hans Poelzig, Berlin, 1919-1920

(Source: Posener 1992: p. 120)

Posener (Posener 1992) describes Poelzig's architecture as not being an exclusively Werkbund follower, and that his expressionism was different than that of Taut; furthermore, Poelzig never belonged to any of the Expressionist groups that evolved after the First World War. His work, as it was progressing through the different stages and changes in his life always retained his individual character. Despite the different movements he was exposed to, such as the early years of the Werkbund, the post war period, and the international style phase, his designs had a unified

composition. Although Poelzig's works accommodated unity within change, and always had a strongly expressive character, there were exceptions. For example his Capitol Cinema for Berlin (1925) marks a return to the "crypto-Classical".



Figure 2.22. The Capitol Cinema in Berlin by Hans Poelzig, Berlin, 1925
(Source: Posener 1992: p. 166)

According to Frampton (Frampton 1996), the pendentive motif that Poelzig had invented for the *Schauspielhaus*, was an image of the *Stadtkrone* of Bruno Taut in heroic proportions. It was also in 1920, when the *Schauspielhaus* project was in progress, that Poelzig announced his affinity to the artists of the Crystal Chain of Bruno Taut.

Bruno Taut was very active in Germany during the period after the war. He was leading the *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* (Worker's Council for Art) and the *Die Gläserne Kette* (The Crystal Chain⁵¹) groups and was publishing the periodical "Frühlicht"; all of these organizations were supported by the members of German Werkbund who were on the *Kunstwollen* side.

⁵¹ Die Glaeserne Kette is referred to in English texts sometimes as 'the Glass Chain' and sometimes as 'the Crystal Chain' this thesis uses the "The Crystal Chain".

Bruno Taut founded Worker's Council for Art the in November 1918, at the end of the First World War, following the armistice. The Worker's Council for Art⁵² comprised of around 50 artists and architects, such as: Georg Kolbe, Gerhard Marcks, Lyonel Feininger, Emil Nolde, Hermann Finsterlin, Max Pechstein, Karl Schmidt-Rotluff as artists, and Otto Barting, Max Taut, Bernhard Hoetger, Adolf Meyer, Erich Mendelsohn, Walter Gropius and Adolf Behne⁵³ as architects.

In 1919, led by Bruno Taut, Walter Gropius and Adolf Behne summarized their ideology as: "Art and people must form an entity. Art shall no longer be a luxury of the few, but should be enjoyed and experienced by broad masses. The aim is the alliance of the arts under the wing of a great architecture." (Conrads 1991: p. 33)

Taut summarized the basic aims of the Workers' Council for Art in the architecture program in December 1918, which argued that the total work of art had to be created with the active participation of the people. Taut claimed that architecture was the leader of all plastic arts and subsequently, artistic and ultimately social regeneration can be best achieved through the support and guidance of a new architecture⁵⁴ (Conrads 1991).

The exhibition *Austellung unbekannter Künstler* (An Exhibition of Unknown Architects) was organized by the Workers' Council for Art⁵⁵ as a challenge to the rich bourgeoisie living in the west part of Berlin. It was an exhibition of radical sketches of young architects, among which sketches of Taut's "Alpine Architecture" were also present.

⁵² This group and the November group of Mies van der Rohe which was also established in 1918 have evolved parallel to each other and have worked together and corresponded.

⁵³ However, Bruno Taut's friendship with Adolf Behne ended during the First World War, because Behne was fascinated by the war whereas Taut was against it. Paul Scheerbart died in 1915 during the war. Bruno Taut himself had never served as a soldier (Junghans 1970).

⁵⁴ In order to please the avant-garde wing, the German werkbund published this architecture program in their *Deutsche Wekbund* magazine of April 1918, pp14-19.

⁵⁵ The introduction for this exhibition was written by Walter Gropius. This introduction, which was also published later, is in the first draft of Gropius' Weimar Bauhaus program: "We must want, imagine, and create the new architectural concept co-operatively. Painters, sculptors, break down the barriers around architecture and become co-builders and comrades-in-arms towards art's ultimate goal: the creative idea of the Cathedral of the Future (Zukunftskathedrale), which will once more encompass everything in one form-architecture and sculpture and painting" (Gropius quoted from Frampton 1996).



Figure 2.23. A panel from the Exhibition of Unknown Architects: Alpine Architecture by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1919
(Source: Whyte 2001: p. 72)

The Workers' Council for Art was not a secret organization, but had to discontinue after the Spartacist Revolt⁵⁶ of 1919 when it was already reaching the public. That is how and why the The Crystal Chain⁵⁷ took the form of a series of letters. The Crystal Chain started in the December of 1919. A total of 14 of the artists and

⁵⁶ (Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919) and Karl Liebknecht (1871-1919) were German communists of the Spartacist League, they led the Spartacist Revolt, which was an insurrection against Germany's Social-Democratic government. They were considered as rebels and were defeated by the government in alliance with the army, in which both were captured and murdered in January 1919.

⁵⁷ For detailed study and all the letters written in the Crystal Chain look at: Whyte, I.B., 1985. The Crystal Chain Letters, (MIT Press, Massachusetts)

architects⁵⁸ from the Worker's Council for Art continued with the Crystal Chain, with the aim of developing the various attitudes they represented. The idea was initiated by Bruno Taut, who is the official founder of the Crystal Chain and who had opened this series with the first letter that he wrote on November 24th 1919 (Whyte 1985). In this letter, Taut warns the architects that he invited to join the group that they are facing difficulties in the building sector which may lead to the danger of getting lost and to witnessing the emergence of autonomous buildings. As a preventive measure, he suggests sharing ideas within the circle and invites criticisms. He leaves space for the joining of new members, provided each existing member approves the application. Alternatively any architect who leaves the group should also be approved by the membership, and should hand in all the material he has accumulated during his membership. He ends the letter "with color and glass greetings" (Taut quoted from Whyte 1985, p. 19)

In general, the letters of Bruno Taut express a passion for building, and rescuing humanity through architecture. This correspondence through letters was a source of ideas and also provided material for the journal that Bruno Taut was publishing, called *Frühlicht* (Early Light); the journal extended to include ideas of the whole group. Bruno Taut was joined by Hans Scharoun in stressing the creative role of the subconscious⁵⁹ in the *Frühlicht* (Junghans 1970).

The *Frühlicht*⁶⁰ was a periodical which was published in Magdeburg quarterly from 1920 until 1922. Its aim was to attract the interest of non-professionals. Initially the periodical was envisaged to be anonymous and published at regular intervals. It anticipated to contain conceptions of visionary images and basic thoughts of art and architecture. Bruno Taut, wished to widen the narrow vision stemming from the utter necessities of the post-war era, and to extend the imagination to a wider horizon (Speidel, Kegler, and Ritterbach 2000).

The contents of the *Frühlicht* included aphoristic texts and ideas about many aspects of architecture: discussions on style, color, building typologies, texts about

⁵⁸ These 14 were: Bruno Taut, Max Taut, Hans Scharoun, Walter Gropius, Hermann Finsterlin, Wenzel Hablik, Otto Gröne, Paul Goesch, Hans Hansen, Alfred Brust, Carl Krayl, Wilhelm Brückmann, Hans Luckhardt and Wassili Luckhardt

⁵⁹ Hans Scharoun was stating that they should create a new "wave of creativity into being" as their ancestors had done, and "we shall be happy if we are ourselves are still able to reveal the full perception of existence through the character and the causality of our creations." (Scharoun quoted from Whyte 1985: p. 44)

⁶⁰ For all the issues of the *Frühlicht*, please refer to: Taut, B., 1963. *Frühlicht 1920-1922: Eine Folge für die Verwirklichung des neuen Baugedankens*, (Verlag Ullstein, Frankfurt am Main)

existing buildings, ideas in the form of sketches and visionary projects for future cities (Taut 1963). Although in the early issues, relatively utopian ideas of Bruno Taut and Scheerbart dominated, later there was a change in the direction of the magazine, and it contained more rational ideas from architects such as Mies van der Rohe and J.J.P. Oud.

An important project that was published in the *Frühlicht* was a glass skyscraper that Taut designed as a competition entry for the Chicago Tribune Tower. This project is another example of the utopian ideas of Taut and glass architecture. Taut (Taut 2000) says that the windows of the Tower are as big as technology allows, and are arranged like a sieve to provide a cubical effect.

According to Tafuri (Tafuri 1987) the skyscraper was important at the time because it was not an “expression” of the economic policy *per se*, but it was rather an instrument with its true “value” based on a new identity resulting from economic policies. It reflected how European culture had attempted to assimilate and translate architecture into its own terms, especially in the years immediately following the First World War; he states that this, in turn, became the “paradox of the Metropolitan Age”.

Whyte (Whyte 1985) describes The Crystal Chain and the *Frühlicht* as being among the most significant exchanges on architectural theory in the 20th century, since Bruno Taut and the other members of the Crystal Chain have offered an insight into the questions and issues that preoccupied artists and intellectuals in Germany during this particularly important period of transition in Germany. Their impact extended beyond the margins of architecture and displayed the strengths, weaknesses, and inherent contradictions of the early twentieth century avant-garde in Germany.

However, in 1920 there were already discussions that started to break the solidarity of the Chain; for example, Hans Luckhardt was stating that “free unconscious form and rational prefabricated production were in certain respects incompatible” (Whyte 1985).

Frampton (Frampton 1996) suggests that in 1920, Bruno Taut was still adhering to his utopian “Scheerbartian” which he had conveyed in the *Alpine Architektur* (Alpine architecture) and in *Die Stadtkrone* (the city crown). He was encouraging the idea of breaking up the cities and the return of the urbanized population back to the land. He favored the reinstatement of agricultural societies and handicraft based communities. In addition, he had projections for glass temple buildings in the Alps. He defined three classes of citizens them being the *Künder* (the enlightened), *Künstler* (artists), and *Kinder* (children).

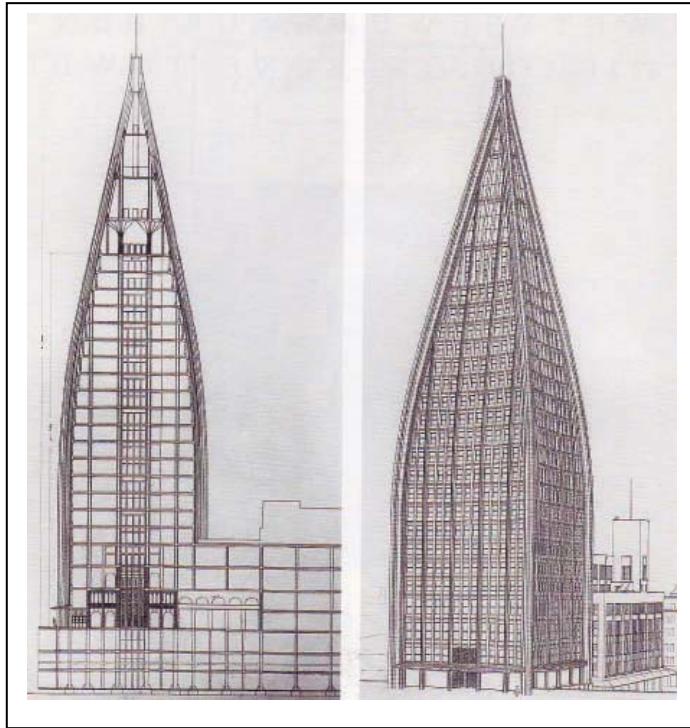


Figure 2.24. Section and façade of the Chicago Tribune Tower competition entry, 1922

(Source: Speidel, Kegler, and Ritterbach 2000: p. 98)

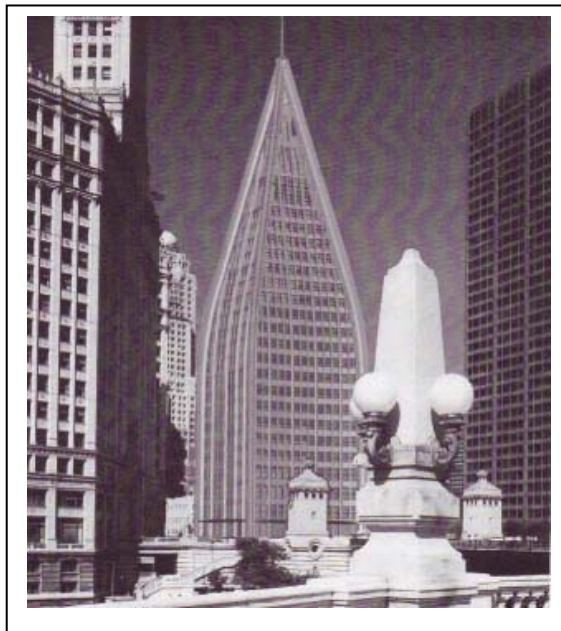


Figure 2.25. Photomontage of the Chicago Tribune Tower competition entry, 1922

(Source: Speidel, Kegler, and Ritterbach 2000: p. 100)

In summary, Bruno Taut, in this time period in Germany, emerges as an artist who was deeply moved by the events of his time and gave rise to new ideas as a creative person, although he was not able to fulfill his dreams of building these utopian ideas. On the other hand, in the beginning of the 1910s, there was the issue of dwelling which Bruno Taut was already dealing with.

One must take into account that during the pre-war years, Germany was preparing for the anticipated war, which motivated a rise in nationalism through propaganda. This atmosphere favored rather conservative tendencies in cultural fields and art. The *Heimatstil* (the style of the homeland) became more popular and neoclassicism turned out to be the official language of public buildings (Junghans 1970). On the other hand, because of the growing poverty, strikes were gaining more impetus and the needs of the working class were being articulated to a greater extent. One of the important needs was housing (Hobsbawm 2006). By 1910, it was already in the party programs as the “the elimination of the problems of housing”. Accordingly, to provide healthier living conditions for the workers, than in the existing unhealthy housing buildings in Berlin called *Mietskasernen* (Rental Barracks)⁶¹. The objective was to seek out usable ideas for rational and inexpensive building alternatives. Berlin was also suffering from a general alienation of architecture from daily life, and additionally, there were serious speculation problems (Geist& Kürvers 1984).

After the First World War, Bruno Taut adapted the garden city concept of Britain on which he acquired a serious amount of knowledge through his numerous visits to England, and argued that the concept of single houses in their own gardens automatically diminish land speculation within any context⁶².

Bruno Taut was among the architects who were already dealing with this issue in 1912 with building economical and small sized houses in Berlin as an active member of the *Deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft*⁶³(German Garden city Society); one of the most

⁶¹ Hobsbawm, who is not an architect, describes Berlin as being an industrial city in the beginning of the 20th century, and one of the most insignificant capitals in Europe, because of its rental barracks and treeless streets especially in the east part of the city. (Hobsbawm 2006)

⁶² Bruno Taut will propose to integrate the Garden City concept into the design studio of architecture faculties in Turkey, and make garden city projects in his own project studio in Turkey in the late 1930s.

⁶³ The Deutsche Gartenstadtgesellschaft was founded in 1902 in Berlin, with the soul aim of promoting the idea of the garden city in terms of social reform. They formulated the garden city as a planned settlement, which always belongs to the community and never to individuals, in order to stop ground speculation. They also published a periodical called the “Gartensadt”.

remarkable projects is the *Gartenvorstadt am Falkenberg* (Falkenberg Settlement) in Berlin-Grünau designed for the worker class (Brenne 2001).

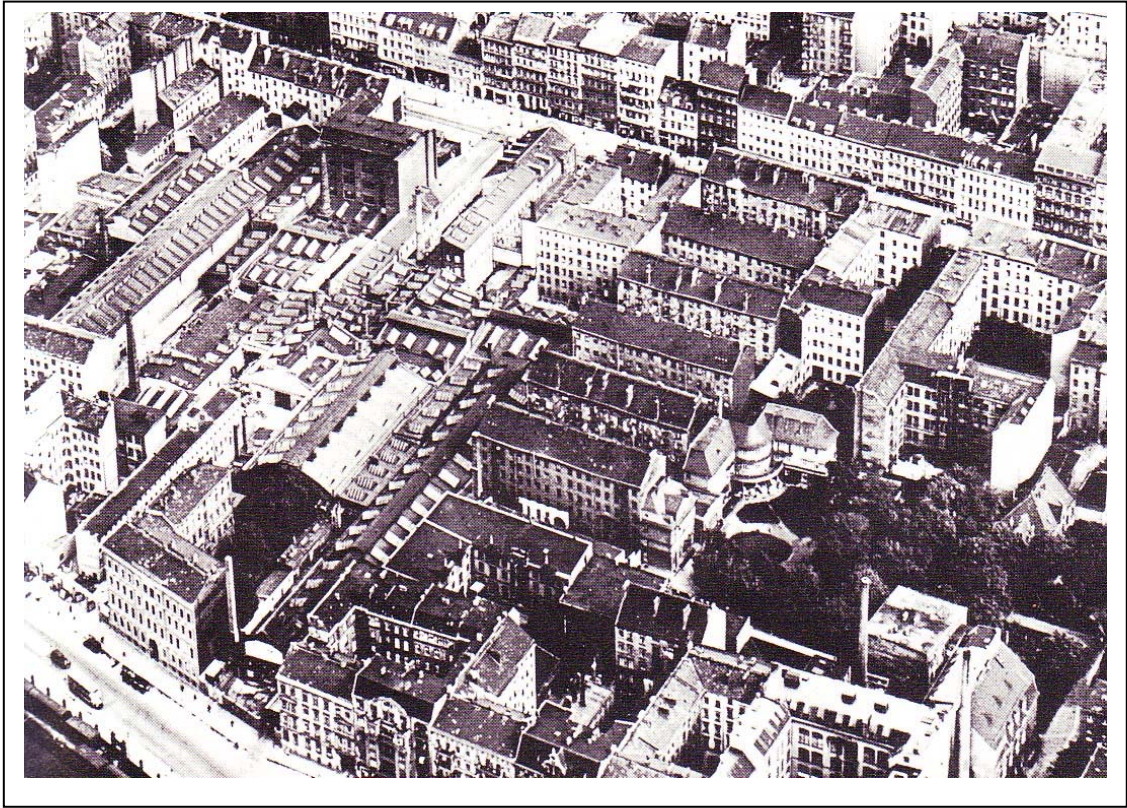


Figure 2.26. An aerial view of the Rental Barracks Meyer's Hof, Berlin, 1920
(Source: Geist & Kürvers 1984: p. 388)

Bruno Taut prepared the urban plan as well as the design for each of the houses to be built within the Falkenberg Settlement, of which only a small part was built. He was especially interested in building small houses. His houses should “satisfy the simplest needs clear and outright and not make use of any unnecessary architectural pleasantry to relate to feelings” (Taut quoted from Junghans 1970: p. 22). He was searching for practical and economically advantageous solutions, not for revolutionary ground plans; he was not ambitious to prove his artistic capability or to impress the community. Moreover, he purposefully avoided any nationalistic implications. Taut summarized his ideas about simplicity in 1918 as: “the simple, combined prototype... the simple, good house... two walls, two gables, and a plain roof. Is this prototype a restricting chain? No, it is a release” (Taut quoted from Hartmann 2001: p. 143). His perception of architectural form is stated as follows: “In order to fulfill the needs, and to let functional and constructional aspects determine the form without any

prejudices, the architect has to give up any individualistic tendencies and to completely obey/subordinate to the matter of the task” (Taut 1914: p. 356)

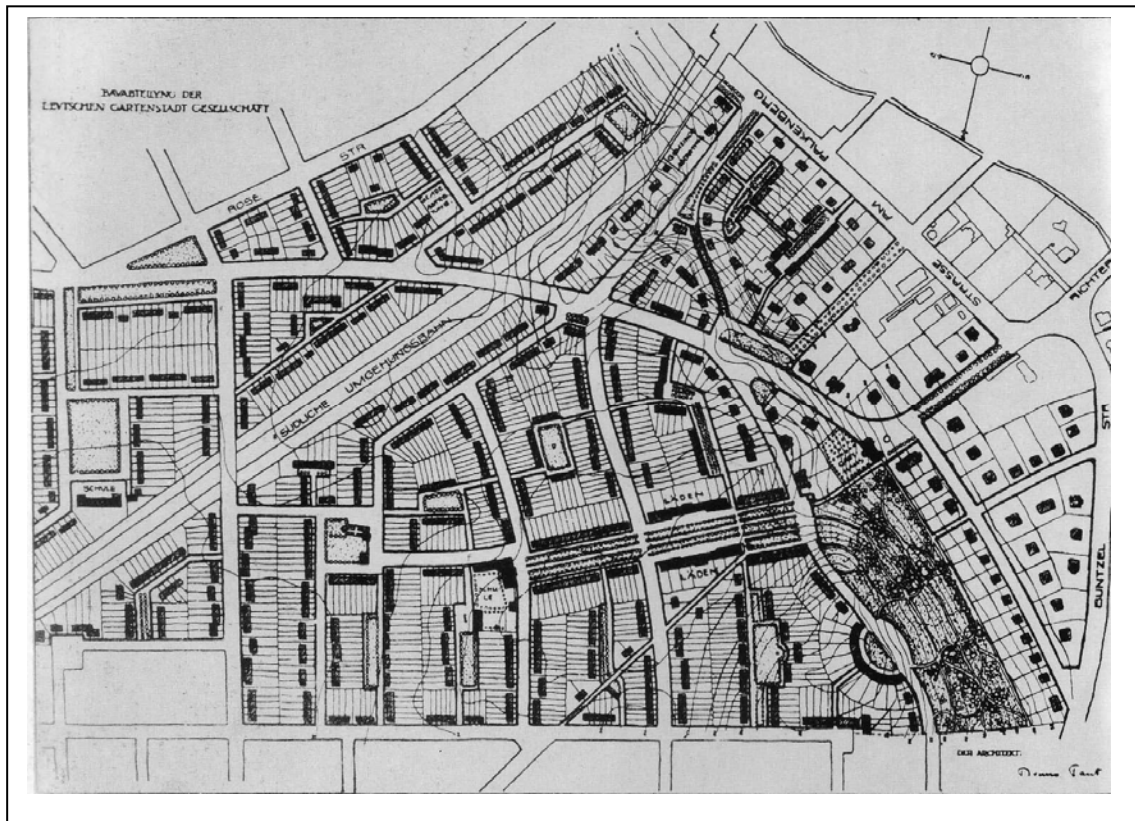


Figure 2.27. The site plan of the Falkenberg Settlement by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1913

(Source: Junghans 1970: p. 128)

The settlement Falkenberg was designed for a total of 1500 houses, each having a garden of 130-275 m²; 15% of the land was left as green space. It consisted of row houses, with a little garden in the front and bordered by the entrance and balconies. The houses were two stories, each with a different design. The ground floor had bigger windows with folding shutters and modest pergolas in front of the entrances (Hartmann 2001a).

This Falkenberg Settlement houses are unique, because they were the first official Berliner row housing scheme designed by Taut as part of the struggle against the Rental Barracks. Junghans (Junghans 1970) claims that the simplicity of the Falkenberg Settlement has been very effective in its principles and similar designs have reappeared repeatedly in the small-housing projects of Ernst May in Frankfurt after the war. Ernst May had acknowledged that the houses of Falkenberg terminated the housing

architecture of the prewar period. Adolf Behne refers to Falkenberg Settlement as being the first trial to make use of color for a garden city project. However the settlers perceived the houses as being too colorful and there was protest from the neighbors⁶⁴. (Hartmann 2001: p. 145)

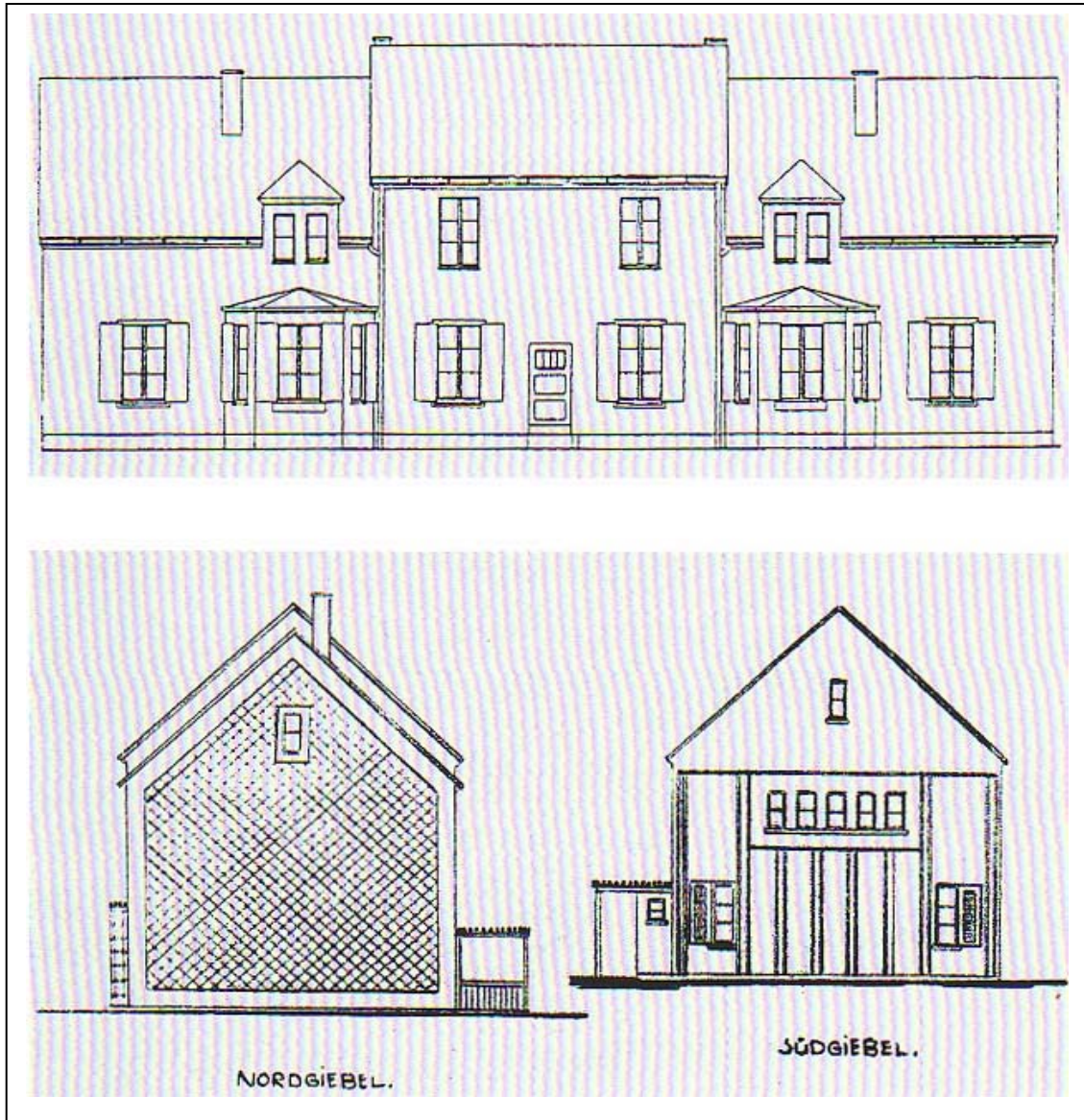


Figure 2.28. The facades of the row houses of the Falkenberg Settlement by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1913
(Source: Hartmann 2001: p. 143)

⁶⁴ The use of color was scarce before the First World War, but after 1917 Dutch brought color into play with the De-Stijl movement; this approach was adopted and used by many architects in the 20s.

Evidently, the housing projects of Bruno Taut attracted attention not only because of their design principles, but also because of the courageous choice of colors that he used in the facades⁶⁵. He used light red, olive green, blue and light gray-brown together with black.

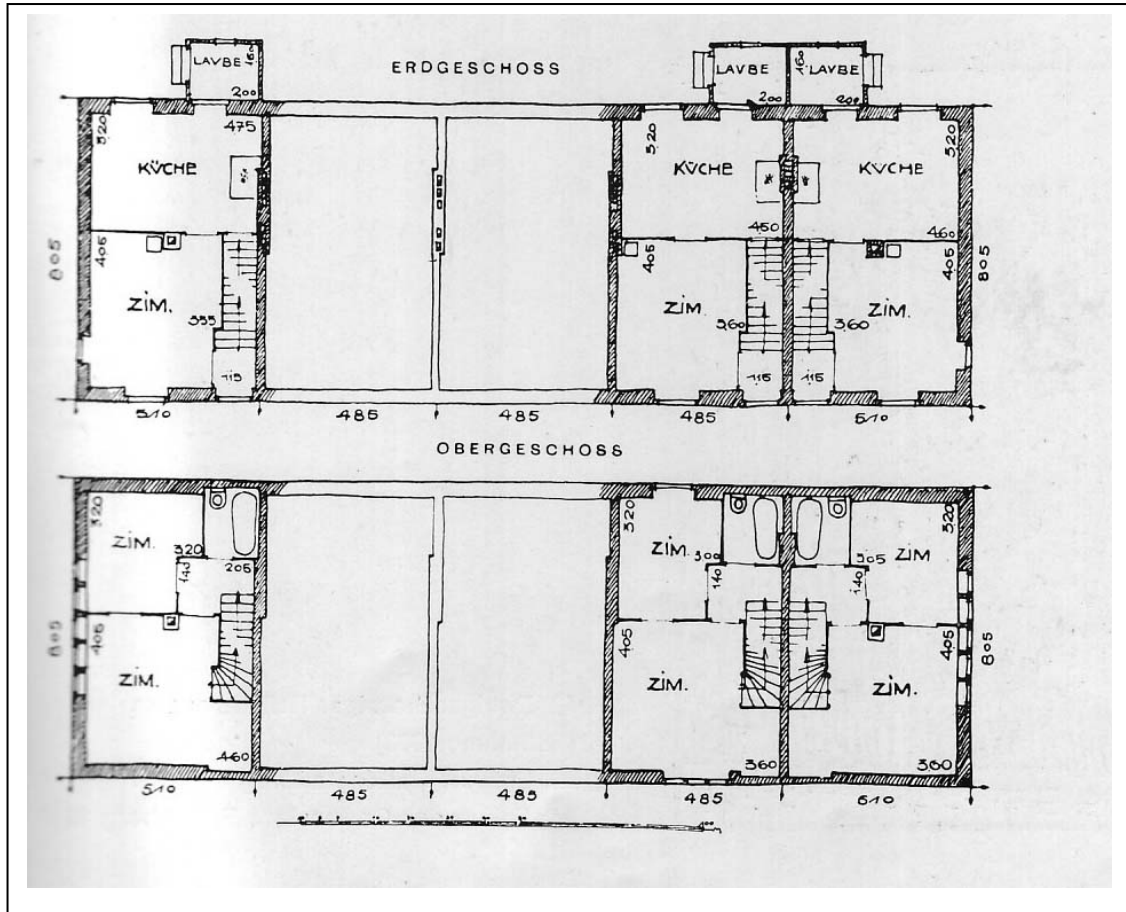


Figure 2.29. The plan of the row houses of the Falkenberg Settlement by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1913

(Source: Junghans 1970: p. 129)

Hartmann (Hartmann 2001a) refers to these colors as the remnants of Paul Scheerbart's playful ideas. For Taut, the use of color was an inexpensive way for novel design in small housing projects. In his diary (March 1903) Taut expresses his personal views on the use of colors as follows:

.....the idea occupies me, that I carry with me since two years: the unification of my talent with colors and my architectural ability. Colorful spatial compositions, colorful

⁶⁵ For its time, it is important to note that this treatment of color was very much against the principle put forward by John Ruskin in his book "Die sieben Leuchter der Baukunst" of 1900, that the right colors for building were the original colors of the building materials.

architecture – these are fields, in which I could personally have something to say. Especially since painting brings me together with architecture and also vice versa, so I should not need to fear the fragmentation of the two. (Taut quoted from Hartmann 2001: p. 144)

In 1919, Taut was claiming that the architects in Germany do not want to build “unhappy” houses anymore, and that architecture should correspond to human needs (Schilly 2005).

During the pre-war years and later, Taut did not use the canon of “original colors of materials”, and published the article “*Aufruf zum Farbigen Bauen*” (Summons to Colorful Building) where he emphasized that especially during hard times when resources which endow life with joy in are limited, color would be the solution (Schmidt-Thomsen 2005).

Between 1921 and 1923 Taut worked as the city architect of Magdeburg where he aimed to accomplish his own *Stadtkrone* (city crown) ideas. His Alpine Architecture sketches were in the exhibition hall of the Municipality of Magdeburg. However by 1921, as the reality of the postwar era was becoming increasingly obvious, and pragmatic social needs were very comprehensible, it was clear that the likelihood of building glass paradises was unrealistic. Therefore Bruno Taut started working on post-war low-cost housing schemes commissioned by the government. His Magdeburg stage is not mentioned to a great extent in literature and is considered to be an interruption in his career when he was struggling between utopian ideas and settlement projects. Nevertheless, between 1921 and 1923 Bruno Taut acquired much experience on low-cost housing schemes, which became his main occupation and specialty after his return to Berlin (Prinz 2001).

After 1923, in the post-war Berlin, Bruno Taut’s major accomplishment was building Housing settlements; he built more than 10 000 apartments within 10 years. Examples of these important housing projects in Berlin are *Onkel Tom’s Hütte* (Uncle Tom’s Cabin), *Hufeisen Siedlung* (Horseshoe Housing Development) and *Wohnstadt Carl Legien* (Carl Legien Settlement). He built his own house in the Dahlewitz district of south Berlin during the same period: *Wohnhaus Taut* (Taut House), referred to as “Piece of Cake”. These housing projects all share the qualities of having roots in holistic thinking. According to Taut, no element should exist for its own purpose, but should serve as a part of the whole. Therefore, he did not see repetition as a negative aspect, on the contrary as being the most important tool. He aimed for a direct relationship between architecture and function, the natural qualities of the material, and the elegance

of the construction. In most of the housing projects of Taut in Berlin, one can actually see the pieces belonging to the whole, the interplay of elements through repetition, rhythm and contrast, the unique composition of rows of clinker bricks, assembly of color and surface textures, and the forms of windows that he has used (Hartmann 2001a).

In all phases of the career of Bruno Taut, before and after the war, there seemed to be struggle between reality and utopia, as well as a controversy between real existence and idealistic drive. His aim was to build happy and healthy dwellings in contrast with the Rental Barracks which hinted at sorrow and poverty. He worked for a synthesis of humane, constructive and functional aspects.



Figure 2.30. Uncle Tom's Cabin by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1926-1931
(Source: Brenne, Tomisch, Borgert & Celasun 2005: p. 121)

Brenne & Jaschke (Brenne & Jaschke 2005) claim that with these housing projects Taut has been able to achieve not only building efficiency, economy and usefulness, but also architectural aspects which are indispensable such as a pleasant residential environment and open space, and also higher living quality for the people due to good ventilation and daylight. These qualities made the Taut residences different from the Rental Barracks. Furthermore, the buildings in the back were not

disadvantaged because they were treated equally with the street side buildings. The allocation of recreational areas for the community and reserving ample space for greenery were important decisions. Significant aspects considered in the interior design of the houses can be summarized as follows: the living areas and the balconies were aligned, the staircases were enclosed, the house was orientated towards the sun, and the attic was used as a buffer for acclimatization of the upper floor.



Figure 2.31. The model of the Horseshoe Housing Development by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1925-1930
(Source: Brenne, Tomisch, Borgert & Celasun 2005: p. 93)

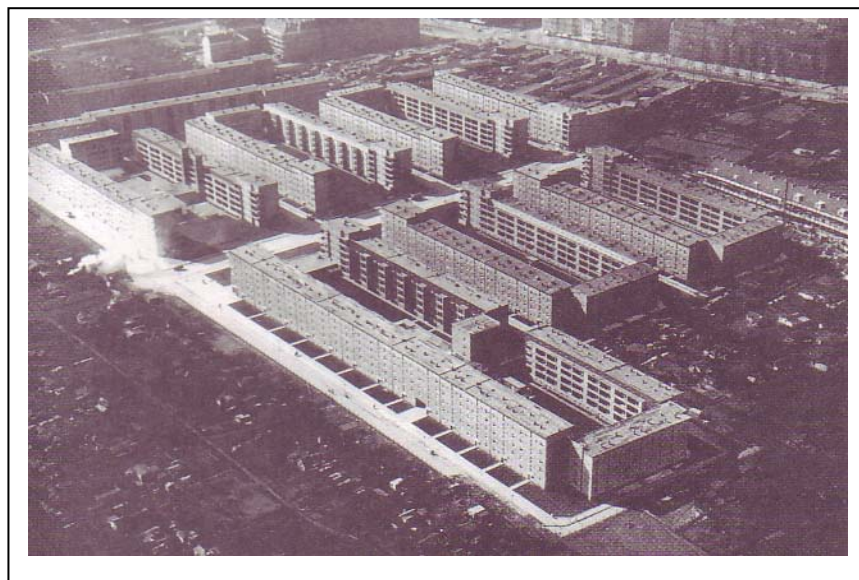


Figure 2.32. The aerial view of the Carl Legien Settlement by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1928-1930
(Source: Brenne, Tomisch, Borgert & Celasun 2005: p. 141)



Figure 2.33. The Taut House by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1926-1927
 (Source: Brenne, Tomisch, Borgert & Celasun 2005: p. 110)



Figure 2.34. The plans of the Taut House by Bruno Taut, Berlin, 1926-1927
 (Source: Brenne, Tomisch, Borgert & Celasun 2005: p. 111)

By 1931 when Bruno Taut was accepted as a member of the *Preussische Akademie der Künste* (Prussian Academy of Arts), he was also invited to do a competition for a hotel in Moscow. That is why he started going back and forth between Moscow and Berlin until 1932 when he finally moved to Moscow, which marks the beginning of his exile life. Since he felt connected to the Russian people, and wanted to help them with building up the architecture of socialism, he accepted to be paid in Russian currency rather than in German. However, his expectations were not fulfilled in Russia, since he had underestimated the economical and technical difficulties of a huge nation that wanted to become an industrial power. In spite of many Russian friends, Taut was isolated in a group of German specialists who were also in Moscow at the time. At the end of 1933 Bruno Taut returned to Berlin, but he was already being searched for in Germany as a culture Bolshevik by the National Socialists who were in power. His professorship and membership at the Prussian Academy of Arts were taken away and Taut was warned not to go to his home in Berlin. That is why he fled to Stuttgart and hid at Paul Bonatz' home until he escaped to Switzerland with a boat one night. Presumably, his whole archive was left back in Berlin, except a package of letters which were brought to the Bonatz house; unfortunately, this house burned during the war in 1934 together with the letters. While in Switzerland, Taut accepted an offer from Japan and moved again. In Japan, he was productive in writing, but he did not get any contracts to build (Junghans 1970).

2.1.1.2 Paul Bonatz in Stuttgart

The career of Paul Bonatz as an architect, like other German architects, was also strongly influenced by the First World War and also by the Second World War, since he happened to be in Germany also at that time. In the writings of major authors of architecture history such as Reyner Banham, Sigfried Gideon and Christian Norberg-Schulz, Paul Bonatz is not mentioned as one of the pioneering architects of the 1920s Germany. However, the beginning of the 1940s, German writers including Gustav Adolf Platz, Paul Mebes and Carlo Argan, include him in architecture literature and describe his architecture as “heroic Pathos, Victorian bombast, picturesque

monumentality” and his attitude as being “pre-modernist, protagonist of national socialist design, modern classic”. (Werner 1977)

Bonatz himself did not leave many theoretical texts behind, and seems to have been a man of pencil and drawing and not of word. Probably this explains why there is not much written work left from him except his autobiography “Leben und Bauen”.

Paul Bonatz’ resume, from the First World War onward, shows that his professional life was not very much affected by the post-war conditions; he was quite busy as an architect and, unlike many of his peers, there are no gaps in his career (Dübbers 1977). Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) reports that between 1919 and 1923, he had worked on many projects of which very few were built. Directly after the war he continued to work at the Stuttgart Technical University as a professor, built many housing projects after 1922, mostly in Stuttgart, and completed the Main Train Station that he had designed for Stuttgart before the beginning of the war. After the 1930s, he was working together with Albert Speer on state projects of the National Socialist government, and along with other projects, he worked on highway bridges.



Figure 2.35. The Bonatz House by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1922
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 112a)

Bonatz' housing projects of the 20s were different from those of Bruno Taut in Berlin, or of Ernst May in Frankfurt. The exterior of these houses were designed symmetrically and axially, reflecting a characteristic expression. However, the ground plans complied with the necessary functions and were not always axial. Contrary to the massive social housing projects of the period, Bonatz' housing projects were quite conventional and suit the "villa" description. The most famous of the houses he has built in the 20s are his own Bonatz House (which was burnt in 1944 during the Second World War), Villa Porsche and the Springorum House (Bongartz 1977).

When the *New Architecture* trend was moving towards vertical urban developments, Werner describes the villas of Bonatz as "horizontal urban development" projects (Werner 1977), which fit into the Muthesius' views of the harmonious unity of the houses and their gardens.

Paul Bonatz was critical of the *New Architecture* movement prevailing in Germany at the time, and the houses he designed had no similarity to those that were representative of the New Architecture movement. That is the reason why he did not build for the famous *Weissenhof Siedlung* (Weissnhof Settlement) project, although he was one of the architects in Germany working on a number of housing projects. The *Weissenhof Siedlung* (Weissnhof Settlement) in Stuttgart of 1927 is an important project on which a number of architects, including Bruno Taut⁶⁶, worked on. The Weissenhof project, organized by the German Werkbund with the dominance of the Berlin group and directed by Mies van der Rohe, represented a unity of goals and languages and denoted the maturity of the new architecture, yet to be confirmed. The buildings were envisioned to have an international unanimous style, and were forecasting the aesthetics of a new style. According to Banham (Banham 1967), the Weissenhof district represented a moment in the history of architecture where new ideas and languages were tested and compared. However, expecting to have unified goals and languages of a large number of architects with diverse styles and approaches was, in fact, not realistic⁶⁷.

⁶⁶ Some of the architects involved in the Weissenhof Settlement project are: Max and Bruno Taut, Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, Hans Scharoun, Le Corbusier and Peter Behrens.

⁶⁷ According to Gideion, this settlement marks the moment when contemporary architects from different countries had the opportunity to show for the first time, not by words, but by building together on the same site, that a new approach to the housing problem had been developed (Giedion 1949). Ernst May, who was busy in Frankfurt with completely different concerns, criticized the houses built by Le Corbusier for the Weissenhof, saying that they were too radical; he asked the question of who should inhabit those houses. From today's point of view, it can be said that aesthetic concerns have prevailed over the new ways of considering the housing problem and despite urbanistic concerns, the variety of solutions counter any illusion of unity in the

Bonatz was angry at Mies van der Rohe because he had not involved him in the Weissenhof project; subsequently he abandoned the German Werkbund and become an outspoken critic of both the Werkbund and the Weissenhof in the late 1920s although he did stay a member of the German Werkbund (Campbell 1978).



Figure 2.36. The Villa Porsche by Paul Bonatz, Stuttgart, 1923

(Source: Dübbers 1977: p. 60)

research on minimum typologies or on aggregated elements. “The Weissenhof, rather than representing the aggregation and the institutionalization of modern architects, was more like an obligatory episode in which each participant played his own hand, where many did not have clear ideas, and where positions were only gradually defined although sometimes they led to irreparable splits.” (Ciucci 1981, p. 71)

Although there were divergent ideas, what was developed was the expression of a compact civil society by economical and mental self-reliant individuals in urban planning issues. These plans were the consequence of liberal civilians, in opposition to the conservative civil spectrum which co-existed in the German context of the time, with intentions of municipal or cooperative – mutual centralization of a different form of life. However, what was not achieved was a planning scheme which would orient the mass movement in a politically didactic way. The garden cities or satellite cities are living cells under advantageous, hygiene and light conditions. Every adult had his own room, with a maximum of light and peace. Also the position of community buildings as clubs, homes for single people, community houses, kindergartens, and eating houses were included in the quarter not as additional ideas, but as political examples placed in the center of the settlements (Hirdina 1984).



Figure 2.37. The Springorum House by Paul Bonatz, Dortmund, 1928
(Source: Dübbers 1977: p. 67)

An atypical project of Bonatz from 1922 is the administration building for the Stummhaus Company in Düsseldorf. Bonatz describes that once in his life, he had to follow the call of expressionism for the “cry of the sky”, which was a “passionately exaggerated art of building” at the time (Bonatz 1950). Bonatz claims that in this building, the law of forms was revisited and followed all the way through; the vertical dimension was extended to its upper limits. He also states that there was just an office building behind this Gothic façade. Werner (Werner 1977) suggests that Bonatz might have seen a new chance to monumentalize buildings with big dimensions through simple stylistic tools, however since Bonatz did not have anything to do with the ideas of Scheerbart’s Glass Architecture, or with the new ideas about the use of clinker brick, the building appears as a stylistic replica of expressionist architecture.

From 1927 to 1933, a new phase begins in the architecture career of Bonatz, since he gets hired to work for the canal projects for the river Neckar, for which he designs and builds ten dam projects⁶⁸. Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) describes that the tempting problem with these dams was to give a clear expression of the necessities. The technical aspects had to be shown simply but with all necessary details included, redundancy should be avoided, function should be emphasised through form, the design had to be

⁶⁸ Bonatz continues to work on other projects during this time, continues building houses, and enters many competition projects.

understandable for the non-professional, everything had to be self explanatory and evident. The characteristic aspects of single parts were highlighted and emphasized. For example, the weight of the addition of the barrage pillars, the lightweight of the spaces carrying the machines, the ribbon windows was described in detail. In summary, every technical necessity on a dam and power station was supplied, and Bonatz aimed to give a new interpretation to clearly functional buildings with obvious forms through creative architectural designs.

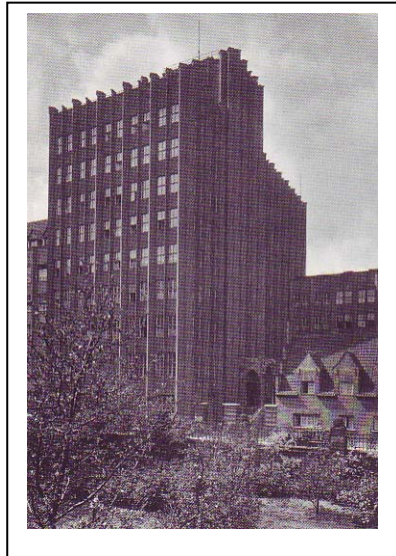


Figure 2.38. The administration building of the Stumm Company by Paul Bonatz, Düsseldorf, 1922-24

(Source: Dübbers 1977: p. 60)

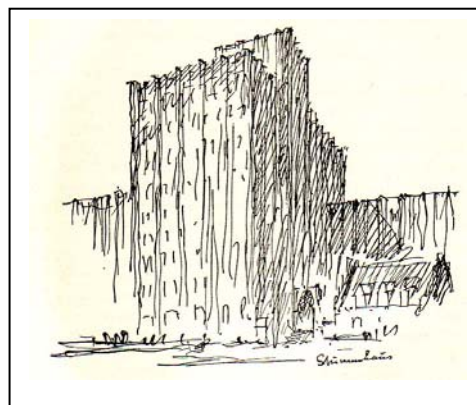


Figure 2.39. Sketch for the administration building of the Stummhaus Company by Paul Bonatz, Düsseldorf, 1922-24

(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 116)

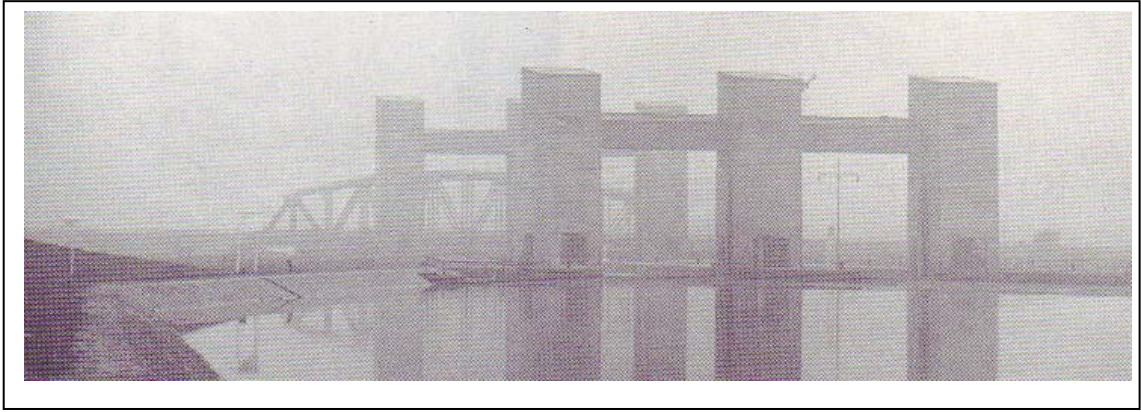


Figure 2.40. The Landenburger Dam for the Neckar River by Paul Bonatz, Mannheim, 1927-1933
(Source: Dübbers 1977: p. 66)

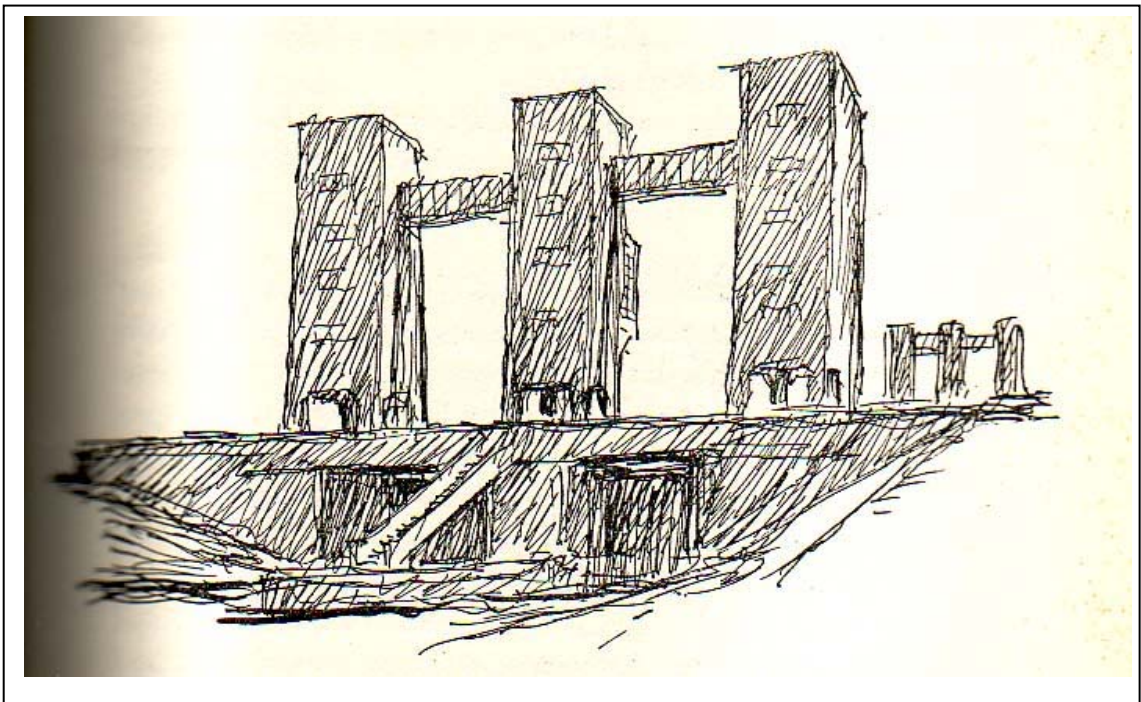


Figure 2.41. Sketch for the Landenburger Dam for the Neckar River by Paul Bonatz, Mannheim, 1927-1933
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 129)

As of 1933, Paul Bonatz was critical of the architecture of the time, but was not hopeless about the future of architecture; he thought that the developments in architecture have not finished, but are just beginning. He claimed that it was self-evident to simplify architecture to its basic needs, and then simplify it some more.

However, Bonatz also states that he regrets that German architecture has supported the puritans, who call themselves the architects of the poor people, and acknowledges that it is even worse to see the *New Architecture* become fashionable in Germany (Frank 1990).

Bonatz wished to see a general renovation of architecture through being confronted with technical ways of production and methodology, rather than copying the products as built forms. He claimed:

Nothing is so strange to me as, proclaiming the ways of production as a final goal. But it is a cleaning bath and the best education method. From the way of production we learn, that also in representative tasks we need to overcome the maximum of simplicity. Better hard, instead of pleasing and rather honestly reduced instead of borrowed from elsewhere. This way the way of production will be a component that directs the further development. It should not be more, especially not be copied, otherwise it will guide to a new formalism (Bonatz quoted from Frank 1990: p. 23).

The year 1933, was a big turning point in German history with the National Socialist government coming into power; the careers of many German architects changed for the worst. However, Bonatz' career was not altered much. The Stuttgart Technical University Faculty of architecture was not shut down, since the Stuttgarter School was following a traditional line, and Bonatz kept his job as a professor (Werner 1977). Besides his professorship, from 1933 until 1941, Bonatz worked for the building of the *Reichsautobahn* (The highway administration of the German Reich), during which he built highways and bridges. Bonatz (Bonatz 1950: p. 163) states that there were so many bridges to build: "*above the highway, under the highway, big and small, stone, compressed concrete, reinforced concrete, steel*". Considering the impressive number of bridges built, it is clear from the beginning that the issue was not about finding new solutions, but rather finding standard solutions.

Bonatz describes this period as being the worst times of his life, and in his autobiography, he reflects his sorrow and agony during the reign of the National Socialists. He explains how he was forced to work for the regime and how he tried to protect the Jewish people and help his colleagues facing difficulties (Bonatz 1950). Among others, two examples of his efforts in this direction are hiding Bruno Taut in his home and helping to arrange his escape to Switzerland, and arranging Robert Vorhölzer's appointment as the successor of Bruno Taut (Randl 1990). Although Bonatz had many connections in the German context in the late 1930's, he never got a truly big contract from the high authorities to get a chance to interfere, in a corrective

way, to the unclear Cultural Revolution in the architectural agenda of the National Socialists (Werner 1977).

The work of Paul Bonatz as an architect, in general differs stylistically from that of Bruno Taut, Hans Poelzig or Martin Elsaesser. In literature, doubts and conflictive accusations are expressed regarding the efficiency of Bonatz as an architect; however, his humane and didactical capabilities were not discussed until recently. The accusations range from criticism of his insufficient adaptation of historical elements, to unsatisfactory rejection of classicism. According to Werner (Werner 1977), picking up and developing additional historical standards may not be considered as something inherently negative, since this was exactly what seemed to be the weakness in the oeuvre of Bonatz. The distinctive will of a pluralist style became the most successful general attitude of his teaching. Bonatz was one of the most admired teachers at the Stuttgarter School, and offering formal and aesthetical patent recipes for his students was something he refused to comply with. In summary, despite the criticism of his approach and style, Bonatz was a socially conscientious architect and a well received teacher of architecture.

2.1.1.3 Martin Elsaesser and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in Frankfurt

With the appointment of Ernst May as the City Architect of Frankfurt in 1925, the building of worker's settlements commenced at an extraordinary scale. The Frankfurt policies of Ernst May managed to create around 15000 units with 31549 flats from 1926-1929 and covered more than 90% of the housing built in Frankfurt over the entire period. The housing units consisted of prefabricated elements, the built-in Frankfurter kitchen, central laundries, schools, kindergartens for the settlements. Frankfurter type ground plans and the Frankfurt norms for windows, doors, mountings and the like were produced (Schuster 1926-27).

The Frankfurt project of Ernst May, emphasized the rationalization of construction methods, the necessity for the development of type projects and norms, and set out an example of the mechanization for the housing problems of the post-war times. The driving force which underlie the design and construction of these housing projects

is *Formwille* (will to design) which is free from all kinds of eclecticism and misunderstood romanticism, paired with social sensibility (Nobisch 1926).

The architects of the period felt a social responsibility as they were confronted with workers and unemployed people suffering from poverty and homelessness. The feeling of solidarity overwhelmed the cultural avant-garde. There was an urgent need for inexpensive but functional housing and furniture. Elementary needs were over and beyond concerns for the rich ornamentation of the Victorian style. However, it was also noted that simple and functional designs can also have an aesthetic appeal (Hirdina 1984).

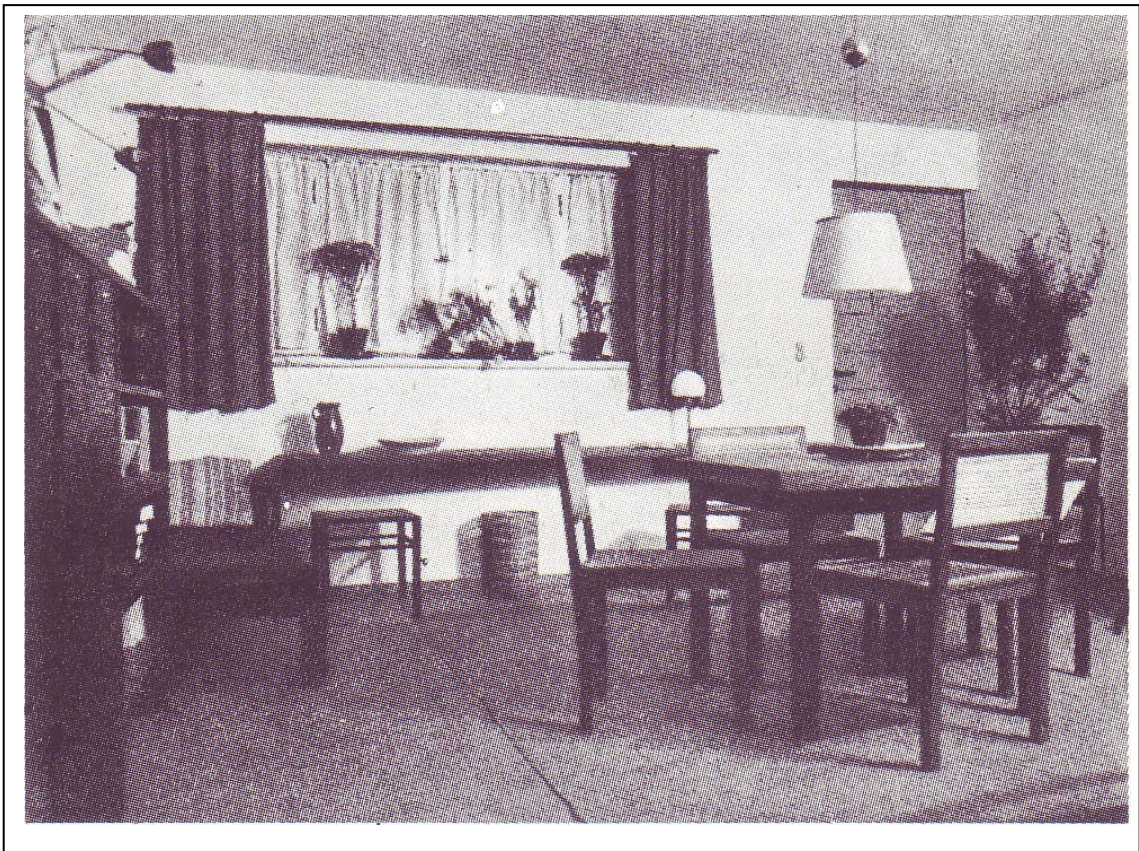


Figure 2.42. An example of a living room of the New Frankfurt Housing Scheme, Frankfurt, 1927

(Source: Nobisch 1926-1927: p. 189)

The impressive achievement of the housing projects was led by the determination of Ernst May to put emphasis on efficiency and economy in both design and construction. Such an objective approach, reinforced by the realities of building

costs, led inevitably to the formulation of *Existenzminimum*⁶⁹. The minimum standards of Ernst May relied on creative ideas including the built-in storage, fold-away beds and above all, on the laboratory-like kitchen, the *Frankfurter Küche* designed by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (May 1926-27).

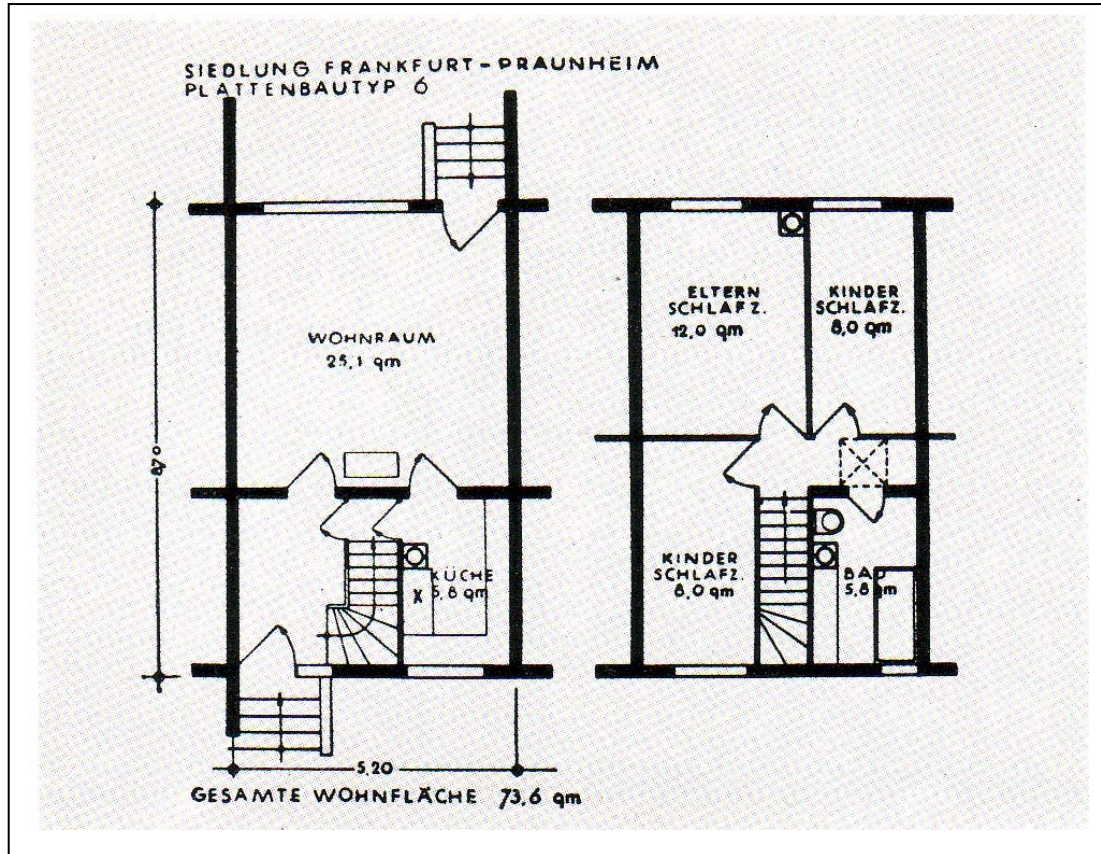


Figure 2.43. An example of the ground plan of a prefabricated apartment of the New Frankfurt Housing Scheme, Frankfurt, 1927
(Source: Nobisch 1926-1927: p. 190)

⁶⁹ However, the housing scheme and the concept of *Existenzminimum* had also been receiving criticism; for example James-Chakraborty (James-Chakraborty 2000) writes that the post-war architects and cultural critics, who had remained loyal to the left thinking, have conceived of the subject of housing in objective terms. For them, individuals were not much different from reproducible devices in a machine or the mass-produced products of any industry. This has been the attitude that played an important role in the development of the *Existenzminimum* for workers' housing. The architecture is described as being rational, based upon an understanding of its users and audience, composed of human beings with feelings. According to James-Chakraborty (James-Chakraborty 2000), in this aspect, the avant-garde of the 1920s actually can not be segregated from their fascist contemporaries by limiting the discussion of the application of a mass aesthetic to works, just because they were firmly within modernist principles.

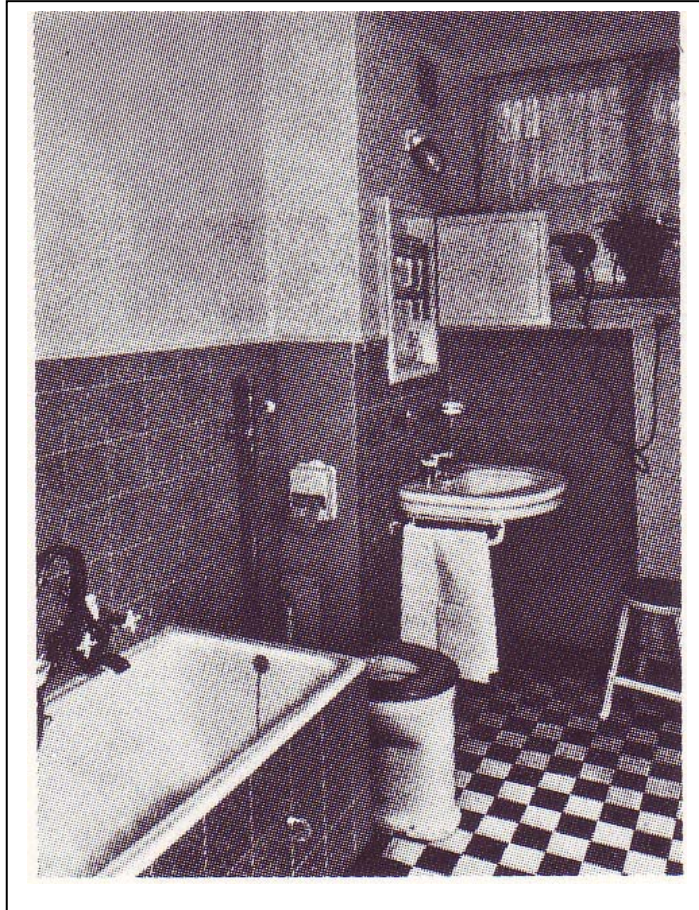


Figure 2.44. An example of a bathroom of the New Frankfurt Housing Scheme, Frankfurt, 1927

(Source: Nobisch 1926-1927: p. 191)

As the designer of the Frankfurter kitchen and a member the team of Ernst May, Schütte-Lihotzky (Schütte-Lihotzky 1926-27) describes her aims and motivation in her article “Rationalisierung im Haushalt” (Rationalization in the Household) in 1927. She explains that life was more demanding for the women of the period than for the women of the 19th century, and therefore the contemporary women should not work in the kitchen the way their grandmothers did. She depicts the work of the housewife as a relevant issue for all layers of society, including middle class women with no help for house work, and the working women. She claims that the principles which have improved the capacity of workers in factories and offices can be applied to single households through the collaboration of housewives, architects and industry. The kitchen can become more functional through the use of proper machines and appliances in addition to the correct arrangement of the flat. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky claims

that despite the efforts of the German Werkbund, countless texts and speeches aimed at detaching from the Kitsch of the last 50 years have unfortunately not been effective. The *alten Tand* (worthless nonsense) and *üble übliche* (bad conventional) decoration were still present in design, because women were not involved in the projects; the arguments of the Werkbund have not been able to reach the women who should be the target group as they actually organize the interior of the house and do grocery shopping. In fact, these women were working to have a *trauliches und gemütliches* (cozy and comfortable) home. However, this is not true anymore. Simplicity and functionality not only save labor, but are related to the use of proper material; the chosen form was correct and the dominant colors were beautiful⁷⁰.



Figure 2.45. The Frankfurter Kitchen by Margarte Schütte-Lihotzky, Frankfurt, 1927

(Source: Schütte-Lihotzky 1926-27: p. 120)

⁷⁰ In order to visualize this, she has prepared three options for a kitchen: without any helper, with one maid, and with two maids. These have all been constructed from wood. Alternatively, for single households, they have made one muster from metal, and one from washable artificial stones. All of these kitchens are small and completely separated from the living room (Schütte-Lihotzky 1926-27).

Wichert (Wichert 1928) proposes a bidirectional interaction between architectural production and the residents' needs. Accordingly, while social changes result in different needs and consequently changes in architectural production, the new architecture and the modifications in residential building design require an adaptive change from the people. In summary, emerging needs of the society shape architecture and architecture affects the daily living of residents. This was the main idea behind the New Frankfurt project. Accordingly, a "learning kitchen" was designed and built by Schütte-Lihotzky to teach the people how use the new Frankfurter kitchen successfully. For example, the visitors received instruction on how to cook for a family of four people in their new kitchens; the advantages of systematic work were demonstrated, and the operation of new electrical appliances was taught. (Schütte-Lihotzky 1929, pp 18-21).

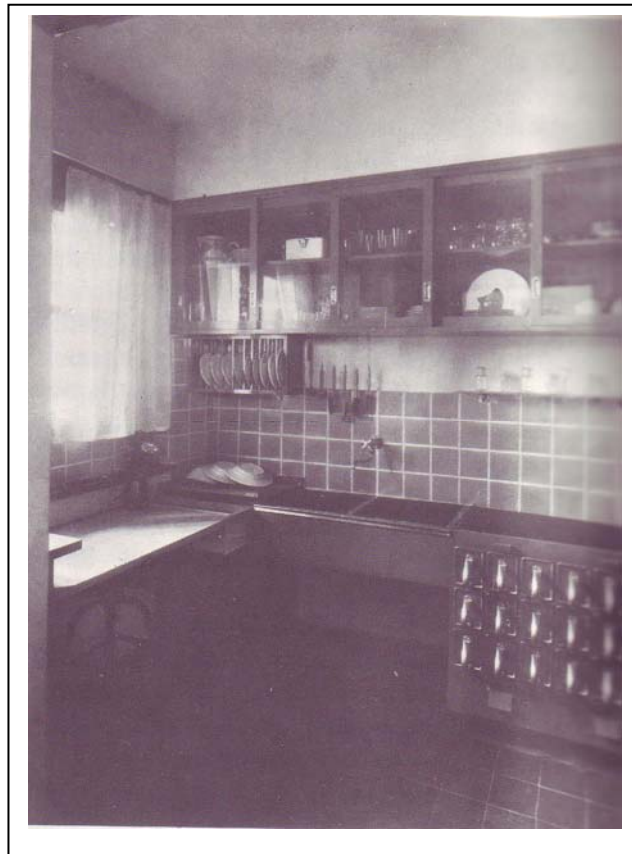


Figure 2.46. The Frankfurter Kitchen by Margarte Schütte-Lihotzky, Frankfurt, 1927
(Source: Schütte-Lihotzky 1926-27, p 121)



Figure 2.47. The Frankfurter Kitchen by Margarte Schütte-Lihotzky, Frankfurt, 1927

(Source: Schütte-Lihotzky 1929, p. 18)

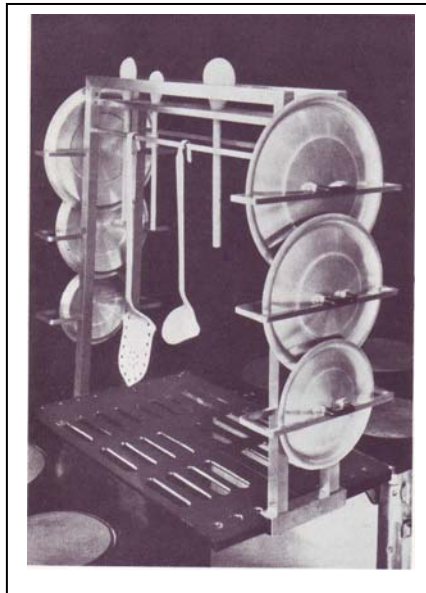


Figure 2.48. Design of details for the Frankfurter Kitchen by Margarte Schütte-Lihotzky, Frankfurt, 1927

(Source: Schütte-Lihotzky 1929, p. 20)

Martin Elsaesser was another architect involved in the New Frankfurt project. Because of his good reputation as a protagonist modernist professor, he was hired as the director of the building construction department by Ernst May. He was specifically responsible for the school buildings within the New Frankfurt project, since the school buildings that fulfill the new pedagogical concepts, were considered to be important elements for residential areas. With their strictly geometrical forms, these school buildings constitute examples of the New Architecture of the 20s in Germany (Meyer 1989)

Among many projects he worked on, the most well known buildings of the post-war era, are these school buildings that he built in Frankfurt, which consist also of the new reform of the school system in Frankfurt, which aimed for the modernization of teaching and learning methods, aiming a more liberal and sensible education, which also affected the outer and inner architecture of schools. The changes started with the choice of the parcel, and also it was wished that no more high storied monumental buildings, but rather one storey buildings (Maier 1985).

According to Elsaesser (Elsaesser 1933) himself, his aims in designing his school buildings fit into the new policies of Frankfurt on schools and education of the 20s: During the post-war period, school buildings were unsolved problems. The architects wished for small and not massive schools buildings, scaled for children, in the green and distant from the traffic. This would be a desirable approach to provide an environment for a child on his journey from childhood to maturity. However, the economical conditions of the postwar period and the dense population in the cities required massive school buildings in narrow parcels, close to congested traffic. Therefore, it became especially advantageous to build the schools in connection with the new settlements that were being constructed. Since the areas with low ground speculation value were suitable for building new settlement projects, the possibility of spreading the population through smaller settlements was advantageous. This new approach necessitated alternative solutions for school buildings. However, schools were also needed in densely populated city centers which would accommodate a large number of students. For such big school buildings, the design principles should not follow urban planning principles for monumental buildings, but rather these buildings should be envisioned as kingdoms for children. Light and flexible ways of construction should be used and children's scale should be adopted for windows and doors; this approach would bring coziness, cheer, a feeling of freedom and the type of atmosphere

essential for supporting the development of the children. Handling of the inner space of the school was considered as important as the outer. Elsaesser proposed not to place the teachers at a higher level than the students to promote a feeling of equality; according to Elsaesser, the teacher should not be perceived as a higher being, but rather as a guide and advisor. Among other important aspects of the design of school buildings was to have ample circulation space to allow mobility and to provide the classrooms with fresh ventilation, light and sun.

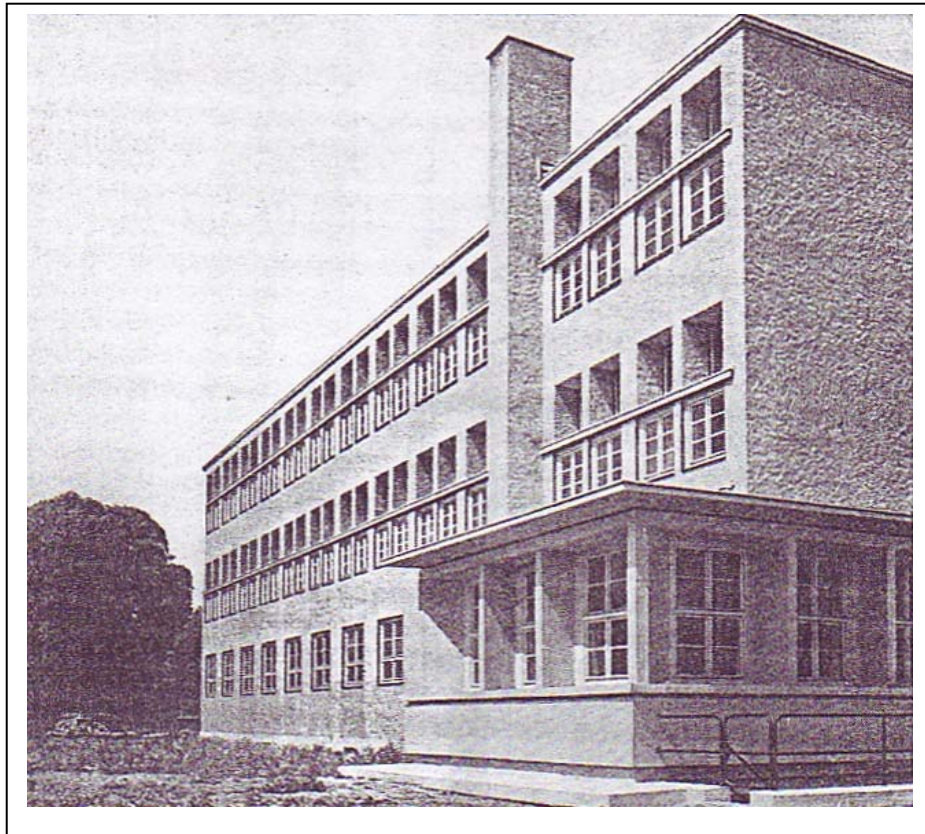


Figure 2.49. The Ludwig-Richter School by Martin Elsaesser, Frankfurt, 1928
(Source: Elsaesser 1933: p. 171)

The school buildings that Elsaesser built, were cubical, with straight edges, and well lighted interior spaces. But in spite of this apparent style of new architecture, Elsaesser always kept his connections to tradition and reflected his liking for ornament in his school buildings. For ornamentation, he used clinker brick, with typical fugues, usually arranged horizontally (Maier 1985).

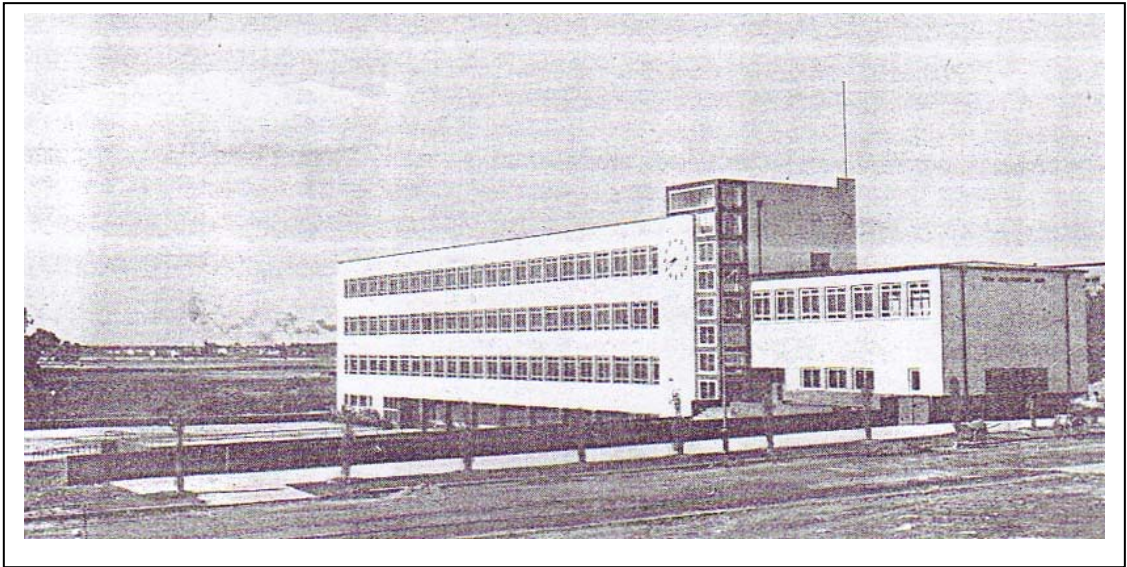


Figure 2.50. The Römerstadt School by Martin Elsaesser, Frankfurt, 1928
(Source: Elsaesser 1933: p. 177)

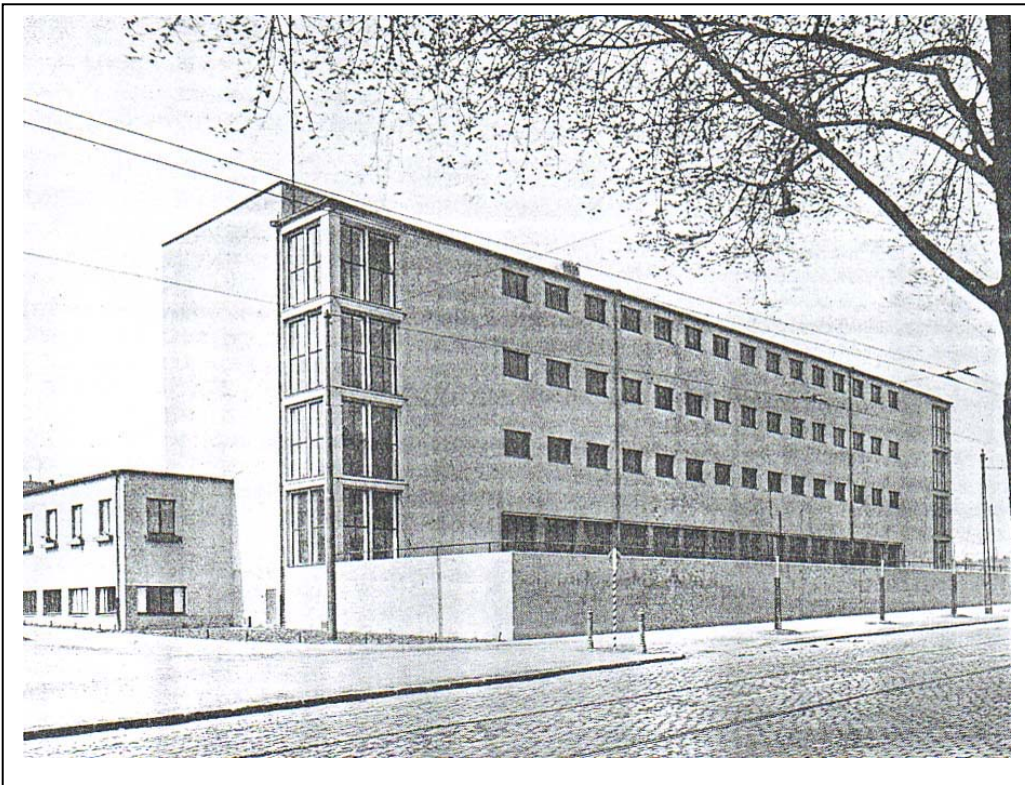


Figure 2.51. The Holzhausen School by Martin Elsaesser, Frankfurt, 1928
(Source: Elsaesser 1933: p. 183)

Martin Elsaesser, who was working as a professor since 1913, was involved in a variety of different projects in addition to the big housing scheme of Frankfurt. He built a number of housing projects, protestant churches, swimming pools, hospitals and other public buildings until 1932 most of which were in Frankfurt. In all these buildings, although Elsaesser restricted his relation to traditionalism and worked for the *new architecture*, his aim was not to make his buildings unique and different from the rest. In the architecture of Elsaesser, one can witness the use of proportionality, the tedious attention given to the requirements of the ground plan and consideration of spatial articulation. Especially after the war, as Elsaesser matured as an architect, the use of rhythm as a design tool would become more sophisticated, his forms would become clearer and limited as in the school buildings for the city Frankfurt (Wachsberger 1933).

2.1.1.4 Robert Vorhölzer in Munich

Robert Vorhölzer worked as the chief director of the German Post construction office in Munich and built many post- related buildings, as well as residents for the post. He was an active member of the Munich Bund⁷¹, which was an organization associated with the German Werkbund in the post war years. Vorhölzer has produced an enormous amount of building stock while he was working for the German Post, most of which are in the environs of Munich. Between 1920 and 1930, he had built a total of 875 000 m² as an architect, which is an impressive amount compared to his famous contemporaries⁷²

One of his most remarkable projects is the Post Office on the Frauenhofer Street, with flats on the upper stories; this was considered to be the Bavarian version of modern architecture. The ground floor was designed in steel skeletal construction and the upper floors, with conventional walls and no steel skeletal structure, appeared to be floating on top of it. On the other hand, the heavy stone cladding on the steel construction of the ground floor gave the building a more traditional, typical Bavarian appearance and as a

⁷¹ The Munich Bund was an organization that aimed to open Munich up culturally to the present day, since because of its strong ties to tradition, Munich was not considered to be a city of the Arts anymore. Since it was considered to be a threat to the National Socialist regime, it was closed in 1933 (Drepper 1990).

⁷² In these 10 years, Bruno Taut built a total of 850 000 m², Mies van der Rohe: 25 000 m², Walter Gropius: 180 000m²

result, the Post Office on the Frauenhofer Street is a mixture of modern creation, and local tradition (Bischoff 1990).



Figure 2.52. The Post Office on Frauenhofer Street by Robert Vorhölzer, Munich, 1929-1931

(Source: Bischoff 1990: p. 51)

Another important project of Vorhölzer was the Post Office in Goethe Plaza of 1931 and 1933. This building had a modern style and was designed according to the principles of new architecture. Vorhölzer was filed by the police after this project as a culture bolshevist, because of his choice of modern style. Vorhölzer aimed to achieve a minimalist construction through the use of reduced materials and functional aspects (Jobst 1990). The plasticity of the facade is accomplished through the use of horizontal and vertical elements in a geometrical arrangement.



Figure 2.53. The constructive body of the Post Office on Frauenhofer Street by Robert Vorhölzer, Munich, 1929-1931
(Source: Bischoff 1990: p. 51)

In 1930 the German Werkbund interpreted the work of Vorhölzer for the German Post as “hyper-modern” in the context of traditional Munich because of its contemporary articulation. Functionality was achieved through the expression of simple and clear architectural forms and the rhythmic aspect was accomplished through ribbon windows in his buildings. He is described as a lonely fighter for *New Architecture* in the Munich context where, unlike in Berlin or Frankfurt, no revolutionary architectural movement was in effect. Vorhölzer’s work in Munich is conceived to be a general rejection of historicism, a break in the Munich building tradition, and the preceding generation of architecture parallel to the German Werkbund and the Munich Bund (Frank 1990).

In Germany, Robert Vorhölzer worked as a professor in the technical University of Munich between 1930 and 1933 in addition to his contractual obligation for the German Post as an architect. In the beginning of his professorship, he adopted mainly a traditional approach; he gave the students projects such as designing a Town hall, a church, an old people’s home, etc. Main issues of the modern times such as mass housing schemes, prefabrication or industrial buildings were not discussed in his studio. The building lot was considered a local condition, and not as a urban space. The criteria

of judgment were set as clear ground plan organization, constructive logic, harmony with the surroundings and planning according to the material selected. He did not draw much in the studio, but rather aimed to communicate the fun of the field architecture. Vorhölzer had assembled a collection of materials for the students to be able to expose them to building materials. However the type of architecture that Vorhölzer preferred in the studio, as well as a practicing architect, was modern (Randl 1990).



Figure 2.54. The Post Office in Goetheplatz by Robert Vorhölzer, Munich, 1931-1933

(Source: Jobst 1990: p. 48)



Figure 2.55. The construction of the Post Office in Goetheplatz by Robert Vorhölzer, Munich, 1931-1933

(Source: Jobst 1990: p. 42)

Randl (Randl 1990) describes Vorhölzer as a pragmatist educator, who emphasized craftsmanship profoundly, and says that he was searching to develop a form that would serve the society. Vorhölzer was not fond of giving speeches, nor was he good in doing that, so he rather preferred to make excursion trips which always made the students happy. One important excursion of Vorhölzer's studio was to Stuttgart, where they did the excursion together with Paul Bonatz. This trip marks a point where the two architects have worked together in German context; their collaboration continued in the Turkish context.

Drepper (Drepper 1990) claims that, Vorhölzer's not being very famous in Germany was due to the fact that he was working for the Post. Because of the nature of his appointment, the buildings he designed and realized for the Post were always anonymous and his name did not stand out. Regarding his professorship, Randl (Randl 1990) states that almost all the students reported that there was a lack of sociopolitical approach. The societal discussions which were dominating the post-war architecture were disregarded in the studio of Vorhölzer. However in 1933, because of his building style, he was removed from all his duties since he was considered to be a Bolshevist by the government.



Figure 2.56. Robert Vorhölzer and Paul Bonatz together in an excursion in the begging of the 1930s
(Source: Frank 1990: p. 18)

2.2. The Turkish Context for the German Architects

Remarkable alterations were observed in the architectural scene in Germany after the National Socialists came into power in 1933. In the architecture front, the revolutionary way of thinking and the modernist transformation in Germany was cut off and replaced by the nationalistic and classical architectural trends through political means, by the protagonists of the *traditional modernists* such as those who have offered their moderate understanding of architecture as an alternative to the radical *New Architecture*. However, their architecture was quickly transformed into the official neoclassical architecture style of the National Socialist regime driven by architects such as Albert Speer and Paul Troost. The closing down of the Bauhaus and the dismissal of many of Germany's prominent architects including Bruno Taut, Hans Poelzig and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzy from their jobs by the national Socialist government is the major cause and result behind this sharp alteration. This point also marks the beginning of the exile adventures of modernist architects with Switzerland as the first refuge.

After the closing of the Bauhaus and the change in demands for architectural production that happened after the National Socialists came into power, the vivid cultural era of the German Nation went through drastic changes. While one group of artists and architects (some of which form the group of interest of this thesis) went to the East of Europe, another group, with similar reasons, ended up in the West. In the latter group, most of the architects initially fled to England, and then continued their migration towards the new world, the United States of America. From this point on, the architectural theory and building productions of these two groups of architects developed in impressively different directions.

In Turkey, following the establishment of novel policies and the state controlled economy, a new effort of a wide range of public constructions had begun especially in the new capital Ankara; this has been the area in which German architects who headed East have been assigned to many offices within the scope of the governmental policies. This kind of hiring did not only take place in architecture, but also in the fields of art, engineering, and even in qualified craftsmanship.

Even before the declaration of the Republic, already in September 23, 1923, the issue of foreign specialists existed in the program of the government; employing foreign

specialists and making use of their knowledge in Ministries for positions which require expertise was considered (Aslanoglu 2001).

In his speech on the third year gathering of the Great National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM), Mustafa Kemal Atatürk mentioned the employment of foreign specialists in some fields:

... regarding construction, building, establishment and maintenance in public works, we will have a great advantage if we can make use of foreign capital and of foreign experts as needed, specifically in areas which require investments surpassing our present financial power. This will provide our country with the advantage and opportunity for construction to support the well being and prosperity of our people in a short period. (Inan 1974: p. 32).

As a part of the efforts for the improvement of the new government, employment of foreign specialists has been adopted as a government policy, and after the 1930s within the scope of state controlled economy, the planned development accelerated with the help of the foreign specialists. The legitimate frame of this process has been determined with laws and regulations, one of the first initiatives of which was the Promotion of Industry Law which aimed to create encouraging conditions for industrialization (Batur 1998).

As a result of the long and moderate history of the Turkish-German Relations, the conditions of working and residing circumstances of the Germans have been designated as of 1927. In almost all of the cultural pacts and treaties of Turkey, there have been paragraphs allowing the exchange of academicians, technicians and teachers from abroad (Ökçün 1962).

2.2.1. Historical Roots of Turkish-German Relations and the Turkish-German Friendship House Competition

Although the Turkish-German relations have gained impetus, and the starting point of the relationships are considered to be the second half of the 19th century by many historians such as İlber Ortaylı, Cemil Koçak, Rıfat Önsoy and Mustafa Gencer, the commercial relationships between the Ottoman Empire and European countries date back to the 11th and 13th centuries due to economical developments and the expansion of the European-Asian trade. On the culture front, according to Kostof (Kostof 1995), European interest in the Eastern cultures had began in 1721. A book that was written by

the Austrian architect J.B. Fischer von Erlach and published in Vienna set out to present a worldview of architecture. Together with the seven wonders of antiquity, this book included, a section entitled “Of some Arab and Turkish Buildings”; the book was well received and was reprinted several times in a short period. This remarkable panorama was supplemented by Fischer von Erlach’s own church of St. Charles in Vienna with a facade that carried allusions of Hagia Sophia. Accordingly, Adatepe (Adatepe 2002) reports that in the middle of the 18th century, there existed a *Türkenmode* (Turkey Fashion), which was an attraction to the exotic atmosphere of the orient within the European societies, eating dates was fashionable, and some people would even cover their heads with a turban.

In addition to the general interest in Eastern Countries after the 18th century, during the second half of the 19th Century, although later than England and France, Germany was also becoming an industrialized nation. German-Turkish relations are especially evident following 1871, as marked by many historians, when the German Empire was founded after the victory in Versailles against France. After this date, the consensus and balance observed in the foreign affairs policies of the chancellor Otto von Bismarck were dominant in the German front.

On the other hand, The Ottoman Empire was losing its authority and power in her territory, and was also delayed in confrontation with the European progress in technology. The Ottoman state had to declare bankruptcy in 1875, after which Abdülhamit II. (1876-1909) ascended throne. In the early days of his reign he cancelled the first Ottoman constitution which was developed during the *Tanzimat* period (Administrative reform phase in Ottoman history: 1839-1876). After the heavy loss of the Ottoman Russian War of 1878, an urgent need for a reform in the structure and education of the military became clear (Dumont 1995). In order to prevent the danger of another war, both parties were invited to the Berlin Congress⁷³ where the policies about the Balkans were reconsidered.

The mild and cautious expansion policies of Bismarck, especially after the 1878 Berlin Congress, were not satisfactory enough for the new German Kaiser Wilhelm II.; therefore Bismarck resigned. After this Germany, with Wilhelm II as its Kaiser who wished to become a colonial emperor in rich and untouched land, adopted an aggressive

⁷³ The Berlin Congress gathered in 1878 with the initiative of Bismarck in order to consider the situation and regain the balance in the Balkans which was destroyed due to the Ottoman Russian War (Önsoy 1982).

nationalist ideology⁷⁴. However, the colonialism efforts of Germany ended up in disappointment and Germany started to consider penetrating into long-established empires with rich resources but not industrialized: Russia, the Ottoman Empire, China and Persia⁷⁵.

The German Kaiser Wilhelm II. made his first visit to İstanbul in 1889. Adatepe (Adatepe 2002) reports that the distrustful Abdülhamit II. empathized with Wilhelm II. and perceived him as a friend without territorial claims. He envisioned Kaiser Wilhelm II as an ally who wanted to upgrade the image of the weak German monarchy through his authority. However, because he feared Russia and did not want to offend France and England, Abdülhamit II. could not commit himself to signing a contract. Nevertheless, this trip started the exchange of armament expertise and the consultancy of German officers in the army of the Ottoman Empire (Gencer 2003).

The German-Ottoman treaty of Commerce was signed in 1890 giving extensive legal rights to German firms, allowing the Germans to establish German Banks and Schools. An example is the construction of the Baghdad Railway, which in 1856 was a subject of international rivalry; after this treaty the rights were handed to German firms in 1903. This was something that increased the accessibility and profitability of the Ottoman Market and resources by the European powers. However in the Turkish front, because of this agreement, Ottoman economy had to invest so much in the railway system that it could not manage to maintain an economy which was based on agriculture; as a result the Ottoman Empire was faced with a strong depression in economics and politics (Akcan 2005).

According to the reports, during the reign of Abdülhamit II. (1876-1909), the German influence on the Ottoman military increased and the cultural and economical relations with Germany strengthened. Most of the bureaucratic officers of the new military had been educated in the west, particularly in Germany. Therefore these elites of the time were familiar with the German culture, and were inclined to follow their background rather than the unknown (Önsoy 1982). However the extent of the impact Germany had on the Ottoman Empire in comparison to the British, French and Italian is

⁷⁴ The interesting aspect was that this was not done behind closed doors of the administration as in other European countries such as France and England, but in Germany, the political decisions of the Kaiser and the chancellors, were immediately communicated to the masses through the propaganda organization of the authoritarian regime (Ortaylı 2004)

⁷⁵ Ortaylı (Ortaylı 2004) claims, that the German policies towards these countries, was the first example in history of a controlling economical influence.

questionable. There were only 27 German schools compared to 560 French, 410 British and 67 Italian schools (Gencer 2003). In the architecture front in the 19th century, Europeans have played quite an important role; however among all the foreign architects, only three German architects⁷⁶ August Jasmund, Anton Ignaz Melling and Hubert Goebbels⁷⁷ are known. This is also a negligible number compared to the rest of the European architects who were present in the Ottoman Empire during the period mentioned.

Germany and the Ottoman Empire continued to be allies throughout the First World War. Military attachés were sent to İstanbul by Germany, and Ottoman officers were trained in Germany. Wilhelm II. made a second visit to İstanbul in 1898 when he declared that he was a friend of all the Muslims in the world. During this visit, he managed to get capitulation rights through guaranteed protection of the Protestant and Catholic populations within the Ottoman Empire. One of the undertakings to strengthen the relationships was building the *Das Haus der Freundschaft* (The Turkish German Friendship House) in İstanbul.

The German-Turkish Friendship House Competition of 1916 is important not only because almost all of the architects that have later ended up in Turkey as exile architects have taken place as invited competitors in this competition, but also because it is the first official relationship that ever took place in the form of an architectural competition between the Ottoman government of the time and the German Werkbund. This competition may have set the stage and initiated the antiorientalist discussions in architecture for the first time. There is no confirmed relationship between the architects' later arrival in Turkey and their participation in this competition. However, the first impressions of these architects on Turkish soil through their experience in this competition can be expected to have significant impact on their later decision to take refuge to Turkey.

In 1916, the idea of the *Grössere Mitteleuropa* (Greater Europe) which involved expanding central Europe eastwards towards the Balkans and Turkey and

⁷⁶ In the 19th century, there were 9 architects from France (Alexandre Vallaury, Fr. Kauffer, Sechan, Dieterle, Hammond, Debuyır, Charler Garnier, Bougeouis, Leon Parville), 11 architects from Italy (Raimondo D'Arconco, Gulio Mongeri, Annibale Rigotti, Eduardo De'nari, Barborini, J. Barbieri, Montani, Philippe Pietro Bello, Guglielmo Semprini, J. D'Armt) and 3 architects from England (William James Smith, George Edmund Smith, Charles Henry Holden) who have worked during the Ottoman Empire period (Nasir 1991).

⁷⁷ August Jasmund has stayed in Turkey from the end of the 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century, Anton Ignaz Melling between 1782 and 1799 and Hubert Goebbels between 1870 and 1874.

accommodated the concept of building a federation, was introduced to the German Werkbund by Ernst Jaeckh⁷⁸. The German wartime cultural propaganda concerned fighting for the German culture against Western civilization. Based on this attitude, Ernst Jaeckh proposed that the German Werkbund, in addition to having a special role in Central Europe, the victory of Germany would help to establish a new international order and a world culture. Campbell (Campbell 1978) claims that the vision of Jaeckh was a “Werkbund league of nations in which East and West would meet and fertilize each other”. The German Werkbund members seem to have accepted the advantages of keeping the safety of the Baghdad railway link with Turkey and thus the land route to the Orient, and they complied with the ideas of Jaeckh. This prospective strategy was instrumental in the decision to build a House of Friendship⁷⁹ in İstanbul as an expression of the spirit of Greater Europe (Campbell 1978).

Jaeckh introduced his ideas of building a “Friendship House” to the *Deutsch-Türkische Vereinigung* (German - Turkish Association)⁸⁰, where it was well received, and got the approval of the German chancellor and the Ministry of Exterior Affairs. Gencer (Gencer 2003) claims that the undisclosed intention for building the friendship house was the ignorance of the majority of lay public about German traditions and the prevailing conditions. The underlying reason for this ignorance was the domination of the French culture in the orient for over a century. This historical position did not favor the initiation of the desired collaboration between Germany and the Ottoman Empire, as the majority of the population was uninformed about Germany. The prompt promotion of Germany in Anatolia was essential to provide the desired liaison between the two countries. The tactic of the French was unattainably prolonged for the Germans; the relatively shorter approach to reach the goal was to introduce the critically important aspects of German culture and economy to the Turkish people. Since both sides, wanted to extend the relationship between the two countries further than mutual governmental affairs and to carry the cultural evolution further, the idea of a building, representing

⁷⁸ Ernst Jaeckh, (1875-1959) was a journalist, and the chief clerk of the German Werkbund. He is known for his nowadays disputed support of the Jöntürk (Young Turks) revolution of 1905 in the German media (Schwartz 1996).

⁷⁹ Campbell (Campbell 1978) explains that Jaeckh conceived this House of Friendship, to be a group of buildings housing functions ranging from a library to a concert hall.

⁸⁰ The German-Turkish Association was a private association established in Berlin in 1914, which was supported by German politics and economics, and was led by Ernst Jaeckh. In İstanbul was the parallel Türkisch-Deutsche Vereinigung (Turkish-German Association) (Adatepe 2002).

Germany in İstanbul, was perceived as a good starting point to bridge the gap between the two countries.

Heuss (Heuss 1918) wrote a book concerning the architectural competition for the House of Friendship, which was printed by German Werkbund and the German - Turkish Association. In this book, he describes that the aim of this building is to strengthen and deepen the military and political collaboration between the two countries as well as to carry the relation to a cultural-political level. The proposed building consisted of exhibition spaces, a library, reading rooms and the like in order to encourage social interaction and inspire conversation. Heuss also remarks that the Orient is under the domain of the French spirit, and that The House of Friendship should serve to counterbalance this situation through providing acquaintance with the German essence and to acquire the confidence of the Turkish side. Heuss also emphasizes that these kinds of cultural actions are not perceived well when they are imposed by the government, since when the interference of the governments in cultural issues appears suspicious.

These are probably the reasons why the project was lead by the private German-Turkish Association. The Turkish side was responsible for the site, and a 5000 m² site was donated in one of the best places in İstanbul; the finances were provided by the German-Turkish Union (Gencer 2003). The architectural competition was organized by the German Werkbund.

Heuss (Heuss 1918) discusses symbolic value of the building and draws attention to the fact that chances of building a representative building in a foreign country is a rare opportunity. A country seldom gets a chance to build an embassy building in which the issue is to represent the state either artistically or politically; however, for the House of Friendship, it is rather a representation of a nation, instead of a state. Therefore, in this case for the Germans the question has been: “Do we have a certain art of building that represents the German entity?” According to Heuss, who represents the German Werkbund, the answer is “No!” He depicts that the past twenty years have gone by with the battle against the *German Style*, which shaped the attitudes of prominent individuals. Furthermore, during the past years Germany had focused on industrial functional buildings rather than the art of representative building. Based on these observations, Heuss argues that it is not possible to send any German architect to the Golden Horn, and expect him to build something that would be the expression of the German spirit. Consequently, since the character of the being German did not exist, the

best way to maximize the contribution of the architects to the project was to select the best project through an architectural competition.



Figure 2.57. The aerial view of the Site for the German-Turkish House of Friendship, İstanbul
(Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 92)

Every architect who entered the competition had to consider first, and above all, that the building was going to be in the context of İstanbul. According to Heuss (Heuss 1918), the questions that every architect had to ask himself were: “What does the Orient have?” and “What are the climatic conditions of this place?”

The other problematic issue was the extent of oriental building art that had to be incorporated into the House of Friendship, if any. This issue seems to have raised a consciousness about the conception of the Orient. Heuss (Heuss 1918) discusses that to him, and to the German Werkbund, the goal seems to be an architectural design which take into account the awareness of the precedent oriental styles and provides the Turks with a big experiment demonstrating the possibilities for developing their own principles regarding form in a novel design with new purposes and functions. Considering the political and aesthetical questions for a building commission like the German-Turkish House of Friendship, Heuss continues to say that a detailed discussion of such preliminary concerns regarding the adoption of oriental styles in design within

the Turkish context may be inappropriate. The project itself is self explanatory. Heuss claims that any German architect, romantic or rational, would feel a romantic seduction to realize a House of German-Turkish friendship in İstanbul, a multicultural city loaded with history. The artistry of the architect in handling this issue would be reflected in the language of forms that he chooses, by color, by ornament, and by exterior articulation. Another aspect is the solutions that the architect would provide in shaping the plan and spatial proportions to manage the ordinary functions of the building (Heuss 1918).

The preliminary thoughts of the German Werkbund communicated by Theodor Heuss appear clearly in the competition brief of the project solidly as descriptions on the formality of the building:

It is obvious that the building will have to integrate into the cityscape which by the way is not homogeneous due to the intrusion of European building style and the existence of numerous colorless and partially tastelessly imitated buildings. All such local building ideas that emerge by climatic and other local needs can be used advantageously such as widely extending roof cornices, open access balconies in courtyards and street facades; however it is important that through these building elements which are recommended, a meaningless imitation of historical oriental architecture should not be understood, since the purpose and sense of the whole structure as a new Turkish-German creation born in the present will have to appear also in the exterior form of the building. (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 11)

Heuss claims that in the plan and spatial proportions, the memory of İstanbul and historical attachments were considered more in the background, although there were instances when they came to the foreground again. For example, in a theater space Turkish women needed a loggia in which they would not be seen by men; a separate entrance to the building had to be provided for women. Özkan (Özkan 1975) emphasizes that although it had been important for the committee to prove to the Turkish authorities that old architectural traditions can be successfully incorporated into new objectives, and could be well integrated with the Turkish ways of living, this was not truly achieved in the projects submitted. At the end, no other interpretation of the Turkish way of life could be seen in the projects other than the creation of separate entrances to and exits from the building for women and men.

The competition brief (1916) clearly states that approaches using earlier oriental artistic expressions and examples of rich ornamentation should be avoided. It is emphasized that the aspect of pertaining to the German spirit of the time should be reflected in design through a search for appropriate expression of serious dignified objectivity and purity which are qualities that the contemporary Turkish population will totally comprehend (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 11).

However, the competition brief continues contradicting itself in the following paragraph that due to its adequacy in certain spaces, artistic and high valued ornamentation must not be abandoned. Especially the big auditorium is portrayed to have the kind of ornamentation requiring detailed proposals. Since the building of the House of Friendship shall last through ages, excellence in implementation is among the primary requirements. This aspect will have to be persistently considered in the choice of the materials. A remark is also made that although comparatively expensive, sandstone and white marble are available in the region. Since brick, sand and wood were hard to get during the war, tiles and metal cladding can be considered for the roof (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 11).

The building program consisted of bigger and smaller halls for public events, rooms reserved for the members of both German-Turkish and Turkish-German Associations and for researchers who want to use the facilities of the house for intense academic studies, exhibition spaces, spaces that would be open to public all the time at the street façade and also in six flats (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918).

The German - Turkish association was clearly against contracting one elected architect for the mission, because of all the background ideas described above. However the Association did not wish to have an open competition for all architects either, because they wanted see the results of the competition as soon as possible. It was also important to ensure that all the architects who were going to enter the competition would go and see İstanbul⁸¹ and the building site in order to have a better conception of the context. The final decision was that of a limited competition, only for invited architects. Therefore the German Werkbund was asked by the German-Turkish Association to choose 12 architects to be invited to the competition⁸². After many meetings, the Werkbund members came up with the names of 12 architects from a total of 45 (Heuss 1918). The candidates who were invited to the architecture competition of the Turkish-German Friendship House were Peter Behrens, German Bestelmeyer, Paul

⁸¹ It is openly stated in the competition brief that the German-Turkish Association finds it absolutely necessary that all of the architects that have been invited to the competition should go and see the building site in İstanbul and view İstanbul as a context in order to have a personal conception of the vicinity and make the necessary inquiries for themselves (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918).

⁸² The limited invitations for the competition might have been a reason for protests among architects in the German context, however, since the German-Turkish Association was private and the competition was not financed with public money, these protests were irrelevant (Heuss 1918)

Bonatz, Hugo Eberhardt, Martin Elsaesser, August Endell, Theodor Fischer, Walter Gropius, Bruno Paul, Hans Poelzig, Richard Ricmerschmid and Bruno Taut. With the exception of Walter Gropius, who was serving as a soldier in the German Army and did not get permission to take a leave for the competition, the rest of the eleven architects participated in the competition. The commission, appointed to evaluate the project in November 1916, consisted of Dr. Bosch, Dr. von Boettinger, Prof. Dr. Jaeckh (from the German-Turkish Association), Dr. Schacht (a bank director) and Mr. Schüler (the German Embassy consultant) (Gencer 2003). Özkan (Özkan 1975) states that, in addition to these German members, the architects Kemalettin and Vedat, Ismail Cenani, Halil Ethem, Dr. Nazım and Prof. Dr. Franz Schmidt (from the Turkish-German Association) were elected for the evaluation committee.

It is also important to point out that the German Werkbund chose to select all the competitors among German architects. Without doubt, there were educated architects within the Ottoman Empire that would have been able to manage to plan and build a project of such scale. Although there are no statements on why this happened in any literature on the issue⁸³, one can assume that the cultural penetration policy of Germany, could naturally be achieved through German architects, since the project had intentions almost similar to a cultural building to represent the German nation. Whatever the intentions of the German side might have been in inviting only German architects, this attitude can be conceived as one of the many examples of the undertakings of importing European technical know-how to Turkey.

Another interesting aspect of the architects that were invited, although they were all members of the German Werkbund, was that they were representatives of a variety of architectural approaches as described in section 2.1. of this thesis. Further information on election criteria and why especially these twelve architects were invited, but not others, is missing in related literature.

A unique characteristic of this architectural competition was the fact that every Werkbund member who submitted a project also took part in the jury to evaluate the project (Campbell 1978; Özkan 1975). The advantage of this decision was that a group of architects in the jury had dealt with the project in depth unlike some other members who were specialists in the field but with less insight into the problem.

⁸³ Junghans (Junghans 1970) states that the reason that Bruno Taut - with 36 years age the youngest among the competitors invited by the German Werkbund – and that this was due to his success at the prewar period.

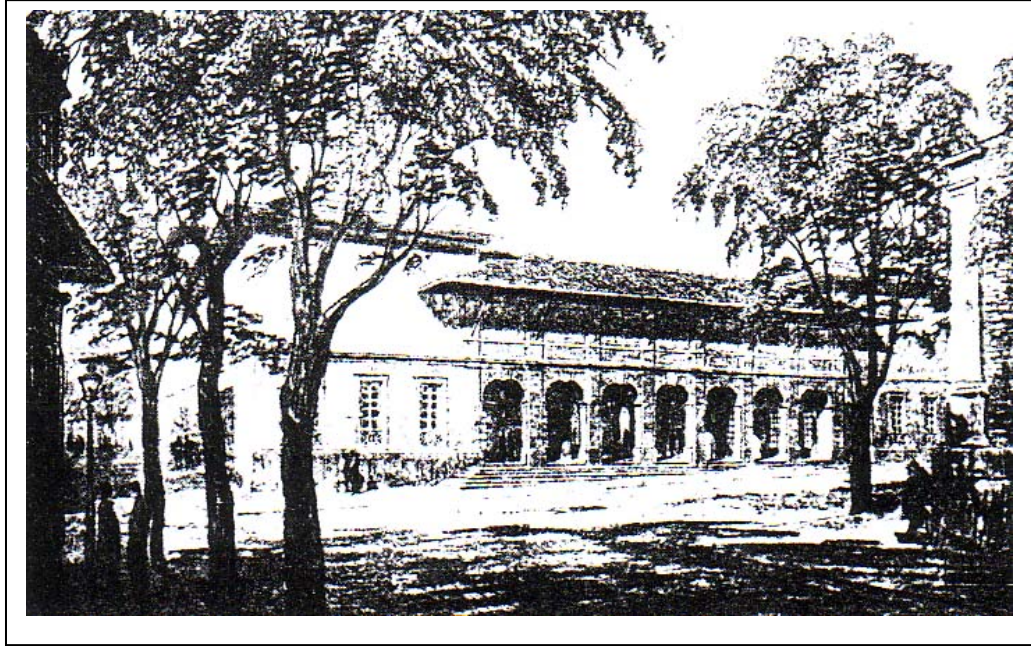


Figure 2.58. The perspective for the German-Turkish House of Friendship in İstanbul by German Bestellmeyer, 1916
(Source: Özkan 1975: p. 183)

According to Özkan (Özkan 1975), architects Vedat and Kemalettin had participated in the evaluation process, but in the German Werkbund book on the competition, this information is not included (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918). Architect Vedat commented that the projects had positive aspects in their planning, but they were all populist; according to Vedat, the architects have dared to design in such an expressionist manner only because the project was to be built in İstanbul (Özkan 1975). Architect Kemalettin, on the other hand, had argued that such internationally reputable architects should not be criticized by himself and his colleague Architect Vedat. These differing view points, according to Özkan, have led to discussions among the two Turkish architects (Özkan 1975).

In the end, the winner of the competition was the project of German Bestellmeyer⁸⁴, because of the great clarity in which the connections and access among the clusters of spaces have been structured. According to the jurors, with this structure Bestellmeyer had achieved a system which could be further developed with new thoughts and new adjustments of the building program. The limitation of the design

⁸⁴For detailed information on the projects, please refer to Chapter 4.

regarding expression through details was criticized (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918).

In April 1917 the cornerstone-laying for the House of Friendship took place, in the presence of prominent Turkish and German dignitaries. Speeches were held on the symbol of the victorious German-Turkish wartime alliance (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918). By October 1917, the site had been fully cleared, and construction was to begin in the following year. However all these preparations came to an abrupt stop by Germany's defeat in the First World War (Campbell 1978).

Almost all the German architects that have come to Turkey after 1930s and served as high rank government employees and/or as professors in the Universities in Turkey had taken part in this competition. It seems that this project was their first confrontation with the Turkish context itself, as well as with the ideas about Turkey and so called orient, from the perspective of the German-Turkish Association. The specific political and cultural goals of the Association were communicated to the architects through the competition brief. It is interesting to note significant differences in the approaches of architects such as Bruno Taut and Martin Elsaesser in handling the 1916 competition project versus their practice in Turkey. Apparently receiving input about Turkey through the German-Turkish Association and experiencing the Turkish context personally after 1930 influenced their architectural expression differently.

The German-Turkish relations continued in a similar direction until after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic on October 29, 1923 and the modernization acts that followed (i.e. the abolition of the caliphate, the separation of the state and religion: laicism, equal rights for women, the modernization of the legal system: civil law from Switzerland, penal law from Italy, business law from Germany, the modernization of the education system, language and alphabet). German-Turkish economic relations were firmly established and experts in economics, industry and culture were sent to Turkey from Germany resulting in the strong German influence on Turkish organizations including architecture.

2.2.2. Turkey as a Destination for German Architects (Situation of the Country in the 1930s)

Following the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923, there was a period for evaluating the current situation in the country to establish priorities in order to be able to set a master plan to reach the aims of the young republic in a realistic way. This preparatory period starting with 1927 lasted until 1929, and construction activities began in accordance with the planned development. The 1930s have witnessed an atmosphere formulated as moderate state control or *étatisme*, resulting from the economic policies developed since 1923 and have been properly formulated after the Great Depression of 1929. The first congress in the history of the young Turkish Republic is *İzmir İktisat Kongresi* (İzmir Economy Congress) which was held in İzmir with the participation of 1135 delegates in February 17, 1923. The priority given to this congress reflects the focused attention that Atatürk has given to economy. Atatürk's comments regarding this meeting reveal his attitude clearly: "Economics means all! Economics provide the means to live, be happy and to obtain whatever is needed for the existence of mankind. It means agriculture, trade, in fact everything." (Nasır 1991: p. 132). The economic activity in the Turkish Republic has been launched during the single party regime and continued until 1946, which marks the beginning of the multiple party regime.

It is important to note that two different periods have existed regarding economic policies: (1) 1923-1929: Liberal economy period, (2) 1930-1945: State controlled economy period. The liberal period is before the arrival of the German Architects, and has focused on the establishment of the private investors; therefore the government has supported private investment through financial, bureaucratic and legal means. However, industrialization has been a problematic aspect which could not be resolved since the *Jön Türks* (Young Turks) era of the Abdülmecid reign. Two banks were established to finance and administer the governmental industry: *İş Bankası* in 1924 and consequently *Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası* (Bank of Industry and Mining) in 1925⁸⁵. However, due to the economic and organizational difficulties and in spite of the *Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu* (Promotion of Industry Law) to encourage and support industrial development, the movement has not been successful. The ineffectiveness of

⁸⁵ However the bank has been unsuccessful in managing industrial investments until transferring them to the private sector, and therefore has been closed in 1932

the movement was mainly due to the nature of the entrepreneurs, the lack accumulated capital funds, the lack of know how and the lack of technical employees; therefore industrialization could not be realized as expected and the liberal policy could not flourish. This necessitated the switch to a new kind of economical policy at the beginning of the 1930s: State controlled economy (Ahmad 1995).

Despite the optimistic view, the Great depression had substantial impact on the economical atmosphere of Turkey. This also coincides with the period when the nationalistic approach to social economy was expressed with terms national economy and national capital. The German national economical policy had largely supported state intervention during the 19th century similar to the changing attitude of the Turkish Republic of the 1930s⁸⁶.

After 10 years of experience with handling economic problems and witnessing the hardship faced by the Western countries during and after the great depression, a new economic policy was adopted and properly named: *mutedil devletçilik* (moderate étatisme); an alternative title suggested is state capitalism (Lewis 1962).

İsmet İnönü, the Prime Minister of Turkey, declared the implementation of this policy in 1930, during the opening speech of the Sivas Railroad:

The theory of liberalism is a concept which is hard to be comprehended by our nation. Our genuine economy perspective is moderate state control. We have been channeled into this direction through the needs and tendencies of our people. Does it suit our nation to abandon étatisme and wait for the action of entrepreneurs to provide all the goods needed? (Ural 1974: p. 24).

This policy has continued under the direction of *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*⁸⁷ (Republican People's Party, CHP) until the end of World War II and covers the period when German architects have been working in Turkey.

After 1934, public investments increased in the new republic. Foreign infrastructure companies were nationalized and bought by municipalities; there were intensive investments in infrastructure such as the construction of railroads, industrial investments, large investments in public works activities, cultural relations with the western world, the construction activities of Ankara as the capital, and also investments for the constructions of public buildings in all big cities, starting with Ankara (Lewis 1962). It is worth mentioning that a substantial amount of the budget for public

⁸⁶ After the depression of 1929 the Western countries also had to try solutions in centralistic economic models.

⁸⁷ CHP is the first political party of the Turkish Republic, which was found on the 9th of September 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

expenditures was allocated to pay the wages and salaries of the German architects, both as architects and educators. However, in comparison with industrial investments, the sum still remains rather limited.

The tendencies and ideologies of the cultural atmosphere of the Turkish Republic are also worth mentioning. Kemalism, the state ideology, is one of the most important factors to shape the cultural atmosphere that has affected the employment of foreign specialists.

Kemalist reforms were based on a laicist view of the world, and have opened a new era of reason and science. With a history of the *Jön Türkler*⁸⁸ (the Young Turks), Mustafa Kemal belonged to the nationalist, positivist and western wing groups with a strong belief in the Turkish Nation and its progress. He envisioned that this ideal could be achieved and was parallel to the modern civilization of the West. Kemalism has aimed to form a *modern Turkish state* in political, economical and cultural fronts. On August 30, 1925, in a speech in Kastamonu, Mustafa Kemal said: “Gentlemen! The aim of all the reforms we have accomplished and are planning to realize is: To bring all the citizens of the Turkish Republic to the level of a totally contemporary and civilized society in all aspects and by all means.” (Atatürk quoted from Giritli 1988: p.289). He then continued his speech to explain the objectives of the reforms to come.

Modern civilization meant being part of the Western world and this was the path chosen for Turkey to survive: “Our people have decided that we will achieve the lifestyle and vehicles that modern civilization provides for the Western world in all fundamental and perceptible forms.” (Lewis 1962: p. 267)

Atatürk has put the laicist understanding into practice, aiming to turn the Turkish Society and the Turkish people into modern and contemporary individuals. The revolutions had to be implemented by the *state elite* abruptly and should be extended nationwide to cover all the people. The Westernized elite, working to bring their country to the same level as the developed modern world, were the only political and civic power to execute the revolutions. According to Falih Rıfkı Atay, the idea of employing foreign architects was initiated by this elite group. Atatürk’s revolutions aimed to create a Western-type population. If the first aim of Kemalism was

⁸⁸ Jön Turks (Young Turks) is the name given to a group of revolutionary and progressive Turks who prepared the foundations of the second constitutional monarchy under the influence of the acceptance of the republican regimes in Europe, in the 19th century. They played an important role in establishing the ideas of liberty and constitutional monarchy in the Ottoman Empire. One of the most important organizations of the Jön Turks is İttihat ve Terakki cemiyeti.

modernization, the second aim was development to reach the level of the modern, civilized, Western world. The dynamical properties of the period is reflected in Atatürk's words: "It is useless to try to counteract the force of civilization which blows like a storm: Societies which try to protect the invariable laws, ideas and behavior of the middle ages are doomed to die or to live in captivity."(Ural 1974)

Kemalist modernization, has not merely anticipated economical and political, but also cultural modernization; therefore it differs from the partial modernization that has been attempted during the Ottoman period and has a more unifying characteristic. Atatürk's reforms have aimed at dealing with the cultural dilemma of the Ottoman Regime. The fact that all western establishments have been imported through pure imitation has alienated the majority of the Turkish people from the state and the intellectuals representing it. This alienation resulted in identifying more and more with the religious identity and adapting a traditional way of life. Kemalism has aimed in reducing this separation through understanding and internalizing the basic principles of modernization instead of importing and purely imitating the institutions and establishments (Kongar 1985).

From this view point, Kemalism comprehended and implemented modernization through a national ideology. The societal power distributions have been shifted from the religious-traditional to modern qualities and the whole act of modernization through the revolutions was carried out in small but related parts which contributed to the structuring of the whole. Throughout this period, it is imperative to understand that similar approaches may have been imposed on German architects during the design and construction of their buildings.

The formation of a modern civilization could only be possible by becoming accustomed to rational thinking in the intellectual world. Like in all other fields, Kemalism has adopted realism and nationalism in the field of architecture. Therefore the design philosophy of modernism based on technology, function, material and geometry, and was along the same lines as the positivism of the republicans.

Analysis of the construction sector of the Turkish Republic of the time reflects the importance of the transformation of the young Republic into a contemporary and modern nation. Under the prevailing circumstances, the actual manifestation of the country gained importance and development of the construction sector became a priority. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, unlike during the Ottoman period, the whole country was seen as a unit and the construction efforts were spread all

across the country. As stated above, this is very different from the construction activities of the Ottoman Empire which mainly involved İstanbul as the capital alone (Sargin 2002).

The government, with the intention of spreading the public works services widely through the related Ministry, was paying great attention to getting organized. Directly after the foundation of the *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi* (Turkish Parliament, T.B.M.M.) on April 23, 1923, the *Nafia Vekilliği* (Ministry of Public Works) was established within the Parliament.

In the Republican period to follow, the duties and organization of this ministry was rearranged. Until 1934 the construction activities of each ministry was organized by their *fen heyeti* (internal construction offices). With the legislation number 2443 of 1934, all construction-related activities were gathered under one roof and centralized. The legislation number 3611 of 1939, formed the *Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reisliği* (Directorate of Building and Construction), within the Ministry of Public Works and handed all the research, projects, investigation, construction, repair and maintenance services of all public buildings to this office. Another department that has been highly effective almost as much as the Ministry of Public Works itself in the architecture services of the state, was the foundation of the *Mübadele, İmar ve İskan Vekaleti* (Exchange, Construction and Public Works Ministry), formed by the legislation number 368 of 1923. Other Ministries have also been highly influential with buildings they have constructed all over Turkey. Each ministry commissioned buildings relating to their function, and subsequently schools, hospitals, town halls, and administrations of justice buildings and prisons were built all over the country. Besides these, many other laws and regulations dealing with the construction activities, as well as the production of housing facilities, city planning and public improvements, including the municipality law of 1930, no. 1580, and the municipality building and road construction law of 1933, no. 2290 have been implemented (Nasır 1991).

Naturally besides the act of establishing such laws, the reorganization of the construction field also required the education of the technical staff within architecture and construction engineering, in order to reach the goal of construction in a progressive and modern country. Therefore the existing schools, institutes and foundations have also been rearranged and new ones were founded. The first one was the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi* whose name was later changed to *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi* (Academy of Fine Arts). Ernst Egli, the consultant architect for the Ministry of Education, was appointed

as the director of this school which he reorganized into an institution to provide a contemporary and modern education. Another institute which had provided architectural education was called *Mühendis Mektebi* (School of Engineering); it was renamed *Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi* (The Higher School of Engineering) and has been an autonomous education facility attached to the Ministry of Public Works in 1928⁸⁹. The Yıldız Technical School has also been founded in 1911, and a separate faculty of architecture has been established in 1944 (Akalp 1963).

Building materials to be used during the construction process present another interesting aspect of the period. As expected, tools and all kinds of equipment as well as building materials used for constructing needed to be upgraded and modified to meet the demands of the developments in industrialization. With the increase in the construction activities in the young Republic of Turkey, the necessity for building materials and equipment had increased. The Turkish Government, with the aim of modernizing, had also adopted a rational functionalist attitude towards architecture. This approach brought about with it the question of the production of construction materials through industrial means. Some enterprises have been developed for the production of such materials; however local production did not meet the demands and larger quantities had to be imported (Turkish Prime Ministry Archives document no. 080.18.01.02.65.42.20). The 9th article of the Promotion of Industry law of 1927 has been instrumental in increasing the production of some construction materials in addition to those already imported⁹⁰.

In summary, the architects who took refuge to Turkey were eminent in the German context but had to face serious disappointments by the establishment of the National Socialist regime in Germany. The German-Turkish Friendship project of 1916 provided an opportunity for some architects to get to know Turkey. These architects who later came to Turkey had a different perception of the country compared to their

⁸⁹ The autonomous status has been cancelled in 1935 and 1939, and the school was connected to the Ministry of Public works, until 1941 when the Ministry of Education took over. In 1944, with another regulation, the name of the school was changed to İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi (İstanbul Technical University) and it gained its autonomous and judicial status together with all other universities in Turkey in 1946. This university did not have a separate architecture faculty until 1929, however after 1929; the students specialized in engineering and architecture in senior classes. In 1944, finally a separate faculty of architecture was established.

⁹⁰ The real awakening in the field of construction materials has been during the Second World War, when Turkey has not been able to receive the materials that it used to import. The difficulties caused by this situation resulted in the establishment of factories and local construction material industries all over the country, as well as the stately support to the already existing enterprises. This coincides with the time after the departure of the German architects.

initial understanding. Turkey provided unique possibilities for German architects who were stigmatized in Germany because of their modernist approaches and racial backgrounds.

CHAPTER 3

3. GERMAN ARCHITECTS IN TURKEY

Many German specialists, including professors with diverse backgrounds, have taken refuge to Turkey after the regime changed in Germany in 1933. These foreign experts have been well received by the local community and by their colleagues, especially during the early years of their stay. This chapter aims to decipher the procedures relating to the processes underlying the relocation of the German architects and will deal with issues including the course of the immigration, how the immigrants have come or been brought to Turkey, their acceptance, how they have started their professional career, their job descriptions and appointments. The latter part of the chapter focuses on the architects who have worked in the faculties of architecture in the Universities as professors, and the roles that they have played especially as educators.

Compared to other countries that the German Intelligentsia took refuge to, such as Israel or the United States of America, the relatively newly founded Turkish Republic had a different aspect which deserves emphasis. Turkey was not considered as a permanent destination either by the immigrants themselves or by the Turkish State, but rather a transient stop for a limited period of time and for specifically defined purposes which met the mutual expectations of both parties. It is a destination where the risk of being displaced from the new job and from the country constantly existed and therefore complying with and responding directly to the wishes of the State (or the employer) was absolutely vital for all the immigrants from any social, ethnic or religious background as well as any rank of any career group (i.e. laborer, opera director, craftsmen or architect). For these people, Turkey has been a destination where it was compulsory to maintain good relationships with and to fulfill any professional expectations of their employers, be it the universities, the government or municipalities. However, the opportunities that Turkey, a newly developing nation, had to offer to these people should not be overlooked. The environment in Turkey, a newly founded and

developing nation, was distinctively unique and different from all of the other exile countries.

Job opportunities and possibilities offered to the architects were grandiose, since a new nation was to be constructed. The novelty aspect included the education of the younger generation through a new education system, as well as building the environment physically. After the war of independence, Turkey had to be rebuilt to meet the demands of the new nation. This meant big projects and contracts, and presented a distinctively different situation compared to the Germany of 1910 or to a stable country where there was no need for extensive construction. Subsequently German architects who took refuge to different countries did not have similar opportunities for architectural production. For example Bruno Taut, who initially went to Japan, did not have a chance to design a single building there. Those who were fortunate enough to stay in Germany were filed as culture Bolshevists, and were not offered any contracts. In summary, a large number of architects, either in Germany or in the foreign countries they fled to, did not have substantial chances to design and build after 1933. On the contrary, there were big projects and urgent need for new buildings in Turkey: public ministry buildings, institutes, schools, etc. Furthermore, just after the university reform of 1933, the curriculum was going to be modified and the German professors were given responsible academic positions in universities to modify the programs and reinstate a new education system.

Regarding the positions of the architects, the major differences resided in the condition of employment and the status of the immigrants within the Turkish context. Some immigrants had positions where they were directly working for the Turkish State as consultants and advisors, while some others have been reformers in the universities.

Overall, as a destination for German architects, Turkey was not comparable other countries who received emigration. Turkey was a temporary stop for the architects and compliance with the employer was a prerequisite; this can be considered as a restriction of freedom. On the other hand, Turkey provided prestigious and influential positions both in the building sector and the education system which the other countries did not provide; these were opportunities. Furthermore the architects who came to Turkey had diverse backgrounds and different reasons for stigmatization in Germany. Therefore, the analysis of the architectural performance of German architects within the Turkish context, how the architects were transformed and how they influenced the

architectural scene in Turkey, can be viewed as a multifactorial problem where each factor is likely to have an effect and complex interactions can be expected.

3.1. The Acceptance of German Immigrants in Turkey

After the First World War, and the War of independence against imperialism, although Turkey was facing financial difficulties, it was a proud nation trying to rebuild the country both physically and in the education front.

Coincidentally, the year 1933 marks an important turning point not only for the German Academia in Germany with the National Socialist Government coming into power, but also for the academicians in the Turkish Republic because of the establishment of the University reform.

In 1924, the Turkish Republic recognized İstanbul *Darülfünun*⁹¹ as a legal entity. In 1925, the scientific and administrative autonomy of the *Darülfünun* was established and the “*medrese*” terminology was changed to “*faculty*”. The major motivation was the principle of constituting an important institution of higher education which existed in the Western World. However, *Darülfünun* did not reflect the infrastructure of the community, and was only an accessory. During the first few years of the Turkish Republic, the first Minister of Education, Vasıf Bey, put substantial emphasis on *Darülfünun* and emphasized the need to develop this institution. At this period, there were two opposing views regarding the organizational structure: Intervention of the government versus autonomy. Initially governmental intrusion was rejected, but later on, based on the report prepared by the pedagogy professor Albert Malche in 1933, the University Reform adapted the latter perspective. On August 1, 1933 İstanbul University, established to function under the Ministry of Education, replaced *Darülfünun* (Pöğün 2005).

Following the University Reform of 1933 in Turkey, in order to constitute a dynamic staff in the universities with new, modern and contemporary ideologies, the Turkish State invited scientists in all fields, from countries in Western Europe.

⁹¹ *Darülfünun* was founded in 1845 as school of science, analogous to a university. The aim in its establishment was to counteract the underdevelopment observed in the Ottoman Empire, to reinstate a new institution detached from the didactic “*medrese*” approach, and to found a new education system based on science and technology (Akyüz 1999).

However, the numbers of German specialists who have arrived have been substantially higher than those from any other Western European Country. One of the reasons for a closer affiliation with Germany was the simple fact that from the mid 19th to the mid 20th centuries, German Universities were recognized world wide as the most developed, based on their rationality, and standardization policies, concepts of modern German thought and the new inventions made by the scientists; these qualities were depicted as ideal to cover the deficit of specialized technical staff in Turkish universities. Another reason was internal to Germany's situation following the change in political regime; coincidentally, the time when Turkey was in need for world-class academicians was overlapping with the time in history when university professors who were not from the Arian race or who were labeled as culture Bolsheviks were being displaced from their jobs as of April 1933 in Germany. In spite of the risks caused by the growth of German Fascist ideologies, these immigrants could be welcomed in Turkey, because of the traditionally strong German-Turkish relations that grew stronger especially after the second half of the 19th century as described in Chapter 2 Section 2.2.1..

In the personal notes of Atatürk on University reforms, one can see that he has commented on the importance of inviting foreign specialists to Turkey:

Darülfünun instructors do not exist any more! Now is the time to import University teachers... Now the Turkish Republic, has to consider and solve this imperative problem. If the Turkish Republic considers specialization in intellectual and scientific development in the civilized world important, and perceives it as a major goal that needs to be achieved as I do, then we should invite not only this reported professor (he means to Ankara, the administrative capital of the Turkish Republic), but also other eminent professors from Germany, Great Britain and the United States of America to come to Ankara, the administrative capital of the Turkish Republic. We should not refrain from any sacrifice and expenses to invite and assemble distinguished professors here. (Atatürk quoted from Kocatürk 1984)

The German Law of government employees dated April 7, 1933 implemented the removal of all Jewish people, close relatives of Jews and politically unwanted experts from all kinds of scientific institutions and associations. In September 22, 1935, the new law of the Reich Culture Chamber resulted in the dispelling of artists, with similar backgrounds to the above, from their positions in the arts and culture fields. A total number of 1500 to 2000 scientists faced a serious disadvantage because of this Employee Law and it gradually became impossible for them to find any opportunity to work in Germany; subsequently, they had to look for new work options abroad (Durth 2001).

The document number 1110 of the Prussian Academy of Arts dated 1933 (Appendix A) provides the list of architects, city planners and other artists who have

resigned, or were forced to resign from their membership in the *Preussische Akademie der Künste* (Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin).

The new National Socialist Regime in Germany put pressure mainly on Jews or intellectuals whose ideologies did not comply with those of the government and forced them either compulsorily or by personal preference to leave their offices in universities and/or positions in state or municipality offices. Subsequently, very eminent professors and/or distinguished professional people were forced to immigrate. After the National Socialists came to power in Germany, the first wave of immigrants to Turkey started in the summer of 1933. As mentioned above, the formal invitation of University professors from abroad following the establishment of the University legislation in 1933 coincided with the first arrivals from Germany; during the same period, immigration was also reinforced by the Swiss institution called *Notgemeinschaft Deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland* (Emergency Society for German Scholars in Exile), whose aim was finding new contracts for such professors who were forced to immigrate (Widmann 2000).

Albert Malche, who was assigned in 1932 to prepare a report which would be used to restructure the universities in Turkey, was the initiator of the immigration of the German-speaking specialists to Turkey. He contacted the organization Emergency Society for German Scholars in Exile in Switzerland by writing a letter⁹²; this society was found by the pathologist Prof. Philip Schwartz who had been on exile in Switzerland in 1933. Following this letter, Phillip Schwartz traveled to İstanbul and had a meeting together with Prof. Malche and Reşit Galip, the Turkish Minister of Education. In this meeting, the Emergency Society for German Scholars in Exile was officially recognized by the Turkish Ministry of Education, and a contract was signed to allow Emergency Society for German Scholars⁹³ for arranging the immigration of German Specialists. With this contract, the Emergency Society for German Scholars in Exile promised to the Turkish Government, that worldwide famous professors from all fields will be provided to serve in Turkey, and the initial agreement involved the appointment of 30 professors. This agreement treaty also clarified the conditions of work, salaries and payments in Turkey, and gave the foreign professors the privilege to

⁹² In this letter Prof. Malche wrote to the Emergency Society for German Scholars, that the condition of İstanbul University was very appropriate for German scholars to come to (Widmann 2000).

⁹³ Fischer-Defoy (Fischer-Defoy 2000) reports that the contract between the Ministry of Education and the Emergency Society for German Scholars was forwarded to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk immediately the next day after it was signed.

invite their colleagues from their home countries to Turkey to work on their proposed projects (Çaycı 1987).

The Turkish Minister of Education of the time, Reşit Galip, assured that everyone who accepts the appeal of the Turkish Government, regardless of their current situation (free, in prison or in a concentration camp) would be under the protection of the Turkish Government from that point on and would be considered as an employee of the Turkish State. The Turkish administration covered not only the costs of the move from Germany to Turkey, but also a steady contract for the following five years. Turkish Government allocated a total of 2 400 000⁹⁴ Turkish Liras in the budget between 1934 -1938 for the expenses and salaries of the immigrant academicians (Hoss and Büchau 2000).

Within few months, the organization provided a list of all scientists that were either in danger in Germany, arrested or had already immigrated to foreign countries. This list was used as a major reference for the appointments in Turkey. Before the end of 1933 the first scientists were already appointed to work in the İstanbul University, in the fields of medicine, natural sciences, law, economy and philosophy (Fischer-Defoy 2000). Architects were not included among the 30 professors mentioned, and their arrival dates do not coincide with the date of the agreement signed⁹⁵.

The Emergency Society for German Scholars in Exile prepared a report regarding the appointment of German refugee professors at İstanbul University, in which it is stated that:

The profit from these appointments should be considered extremely valuable because these appointments provided a work environment where many distinguished academicians who have been expelled from their jobs can be productive in a new context again. The gathering of a huge academic potential in a respectable institution apparently provides a strong foundation for German Academicians in the east, open to new developments. (Erichsen 1994: p. 29)

Philip Schwartz himself also worked in the department of medicine in İstanbul University. The July 8, 1935 issue of the German newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung* summarized the intentions of the German State to establish a cultural and economical hegemony over Turkey at the time as follows:

⁹⁴ However it must be noted that while the salary of a Baş Mimar (the head architect) in the İstanbul Özel İdaresi (Private Management of İstanbul) had a salary of 70 Turkish liras in 1933, the French architect Theo Levau working as an uzman (specialist) in the Yapı İşleri (Construction Office) was paid 1395 Turkish Liras in 1936 (Tanyeli 2003).

⁹⁵ The arrival dates of architects from Germany are: Hans Poelzig in 1935, Bruno Taut in 1936, Paul Bonatz in 1943, Zimmerman in 1935, Franz Hillinger in 1936, Margarete Schütte-Lihotsky and her husband Wilhelm Schütte in 1938 and Robert Vorhölzer in 1939.

A novel movement has been spontaneously generated to support the Southeastern German Cultural propaganda. Without the need for additional subventions, totally based on the desire of Turkey to confide in German Science and to entrust its academic future to German professors, makes the subject matter even more important. It can be predicted from the current situation that Turkish scientists, physicians, chemists, and businessmen who will be educated by German text books, German language and German method and who will take important roles as statesmen in the future, will be instrumental in developing German-Turkish commercial and cultural collaboration. (Erichsen 1994: p. 30)

Following the initial immigration waves, a new legislation was put into effect (number 2397, date April 10, 1934) which stated that the Ministry of Education has the right to “sign contracts with foreign specialists who are already working for or who will be appointed to İstanbul University, for required durations, provided the contract does not exceed ten years” (Nasır 1991, p. 151); this law has opened the way for appointing foreign specialists in Turkish universities. Their situation was further clarified by the *Üniversiteler Kanunu* (University Law) (no. 4936), the 29th paragraph of which defines the legal status of foreign staff:

Foreign professors, emeritus professors or specialists who will work in the University by a contract, will be appointed by the Ministry of Education following the decree of the University senate of the proposal presented by the faculty board of professors. The termination of the appointment due to either the completion of the contract duration or to another reason which brings an end to the job will follow the same procedure. (Ayas quoted from Nasır 1991: p. 61)

It is worth noting that some of the people who have been strongly influential in the Turkish Ministries during the process of hiring these German specialists had studied in Germany. For example, Muhlis Erkmen, the Minister of Agriculture, Refik Saydam, the Minister of Health who later to became prime minister, Kerim Erim, one of the founding members of İstanbul University, and Cevat Dursunoğlu⁹⁶ who worked between 1930 and 1934 as an inspector of the Turkish students abroad in Berlin, who was later asked to find an organizer to reform the music domain in the Turkish Republic and was later responsible for the graduate and undergraduate education in the Ministry of Education, are only some examples (Böer 2002).

After İstanbul University replaced *İstanbul Darülfünun* and another institute of higher education was established in Ankara (Institute of Agriculture), Turkish higher education was launched with a high pace with the inspiration of the University reform. Through the efforts of the Emergency Society for German Scholars in Exile and the Turkish Embassy of Berlin (and later the Turkish Embassy of Vienna), more than 200 exile scientists, of which 33-45 were architects, were invited to Turkey starting from

⁹⁶ Cevat Dursunoğlu, had worked with Hans Poelzig at the time when he was studying in Germany

1933 (Erichsen 1994). This kind of organized scientist transfer was a unique phenomenon in the history of German Immigration, and resulted in the development of İstanbul University into the largest German-speaking immigrant university after 1933 (Hoss and Büchau 2000).

Based on official data, Erichsen states that, with the exception of immigrants who were working as consultants and scientists in the universities, there were 2000⁹⁷ German-speaking staff in the thirties only in technical fields such as construction of railroads, bridges, power plants, the setting up of special machinery, and the establishment of certain industrial fields. Some examples from job appointments of these immigrants working in the construction field, handicrafts or even in marketing in the years 1937–1938 are appended (Appendix B).

German-speaking experts were chosen by the Turkish Government according to their abilities regarding their expected contribution for the construction works of the new government. However, these experts were not a homogeneous group regarding their backgrounds and the circumstances they had to face⁹⁸ (Erichsen 1994). As mentioned above, these specialists with varying political and educational backgrounds served not only in the Universities in Turkey, but also in the Ministries as counselors in city planning and health issues and in some research institutes. Considering the prevailing conditions, it was vital for these people to find a job since they had basically no chance to find alternative options to continue their life in their home country; Germany was completely out of question. Furthermore, refugees who had come to Turkey before 1933 had been trying to find available positions in Turkey for their friends who were in difficult situations after 1933⁹⁹.

In the beginning of this immigration phase, the Foreign Ministry of the *Dritten Reich* (Third Reich) and the German Embassy in Ankara have appreciated the German Experts in Turkey with the hope that they would win an ally against the Soviet Union

⁹⁷ According to Fischer-Defoy (Fischer-Defoy 2000), the number of German and Austrian immigrants in Turkey between 1933 and 1945 was around 1000, of which 200 were scientists.

⁹⁸ Some of them were assigned for the job by the German Government or German Universities within the scope of Germany's international policy, to actively work in Turkey; however the majority of the specialists that will be covered in this thesis belonged to the other group who were displaced from Germany after 1933 and out of Austria after 1938 under the racist policy. Hoss states that there were around 50 national socialist Germans in Ankara, of which nine were members of the National Socialist Party (Hoss 2000).

⁹⁹ For example Martin Wagner worked hard to get his friend Bruno Taut, who had been unhappy and unproductive in Japan at the time. In turn, Bruno Taut offered a job in Turkey to his friend Carl Krayl as depicted in a letter that he wrote in İzmir in February 1938 (PrAdK document BTS 01-337).

through good relations with the Turkish Government (Fischer-Defoy 2000). From the German perspective, the raw material and unprocessed goods in Turkey were highly beneficial for the German State. Based on an agreement regarding the exchange of goods between the two countries, Turkey supplied not only agricultural produce to Germany, but also raw materials, including chromium, that Germany needed for the production of weapons of war¹⁰⁰ (Koçak 1991). The conversation between the Turkish Ambassador in Germany, Kemalettin Sami Paşa, in July 31, 1933 with Hitler hints at the good relations between the two countries (Appendix C).

However, it did not take long for the Germans to become suspicious of the predominance of the Jewish experts in Turkey (Hoss 2000). The more the refugee scientists started raising their voices against the Nazi Regime, the more it was recognized world wide that the Nazi's have displaced their scientists and specialists. This awareness, naturally, did not help the propaganda for Germany abroad. Especially as the German refugees started to show up in meetings and congresses after 1933 as representatives of their host countries instead of Germany, this was perceived as solid proof of their actual situation. The philosopher Hans Reichenbach wrote from İstanbul to a colleague in Germany that his presence in a congress in Prague as a member of the Turkish team in 1934 was very satisfactory for himself, due to the fact that he was able to show their protests towards Hitler, and the huge applause he got was the sign of the support from the audience (Hillebrecht 2000).

In the report of the German Embassy in Turkey in 1935 it is stated that:

The legislation enforcing the appointment of German scientists in foreign countries by the foreign representatives has been well received by our Embassy. We are currently working to act in accordance with this procedure as far as possible. It is yet impossible to predict the reaction of the Turkish government to this approach because we have not been successful in intervening with the appointments for the Numune Hastanesi (Numune Hospital) and Hıfzısıha Sağlık Enstitütüsü (Hıfzısıha Health Institute) functioning under the Ministry of Health. The Turkish Minister of Health has acted in parallel to the Turkish Minister of Education and preferred to contact the refugee organization in Zurich, the Emergency Society for German Scholars in Exile, through Prof. Philip Schwartz. (Erichsen 1994).

Despite the efforts of the German Government to inspect the activities of the German refugees abroad and to try to damage them through interfering with their career, these efforts were ineffective and failed. The German Embassy sent a

¹⁰⁰ Especially in the forties, after the emergence of the 2nd W.W., the export of Turkish goods had shifted to the allied countries. Germany was actually planning to attack Turkey in 1941, if their strike on Russia had been successful. In 1944, the Turkish government discontinued all relations with Germany.

memorandum to all Germans in Turkey stating that they should all report to the German Embassy in Ankara with their passports and then return to Germany within 3 days without notifying the Turkish Government (Appendix D). This strategy of tracing all the Jews and other immigrants in Turkey was called the *Yahudi Problemi* (Jewish Problem) and was again unsuccessful. Prime Minister Refik Saydam stated in one of his press conferences in 1939 that:

Some of the Turkish Citizens have been offended by news and provocative statements from abroad regarding the Jewish Problem. These reports are meaningless. Turkish citizens are protected by the laws of the Turkish Republic. Although our government will take precautions to prevent a massive Jewish immigration to our country from abroad, we will nevertheless, not allow any pressures to be exerted upon Turkish citizens. We will only allow the entry of specialists working for our government and their relatives to Turkey, provided they do not acquire Turkish Nationality and are employed. (Schönfeld 2000)

However, despite this statement, a closer look reveals that the Turkish government has had a positive attitude towards the applications of the fugitives to switch to Turkish nationality in the following years. When the German Reich government had deported the Jews and all other unwanted ethnic groups from German citizenship, the Turkish Government had allowed these people to stay in Turkey with the title *Haymatloz* which derived from the German word *Heimatlos*¹⁰¹. There exists evidence regarding the acceptance of some of these people into Turkish citizenship¹⁰². Although the German government has tried to manipulate the situation in such a way that only the scientists recommended by the German Government who were devoted to the national socialist regime and who were from the Arian race would be hired in Faculties and Institutes in Turkey, the Turkish Government did not comply with this attitude and ended up preferring to employ the exile people regardless of their being recommended by the German government.

In the years to follow, the suspicious attitude of the German Government increased and Herbert Scurla, who was the representative of the German Ministry of Education, was sent to Turkey in 1939 to analyze and strengthen the role of the German Government regarding the appointments to certain jobs of the Germans in Turkey. However, it is apparent that the wishes of Mr. Scurla have been rejected by the Turkish Government. In short, the efforts of the German government to counteract the

¹⁰¹ Heimatlos in German means without a country or homeland

¹⁰² Some examples are: Fritz Arndt, Curt Cosswig, Erich Frank, Hans Winterstein. These refugees who have been working for the Turkish Government were also allowed to transfer some of their income to their family members who have been living abroad (Turkish Prime Ministry Archives document 18.243.298.1937)

appointments of refugees in Turkey have been unsuccessful. On the contrary, many of the five year contracts of the German experts were extended. The Turkish government took a neutral standing point towards the “Nazi” Germany until August 2, 1944 when all the German-Turkish diplomatic relations were suspended¹⁰³. (Hoss 2000)

Until this date, not only the architects, but also many other German scientists have worked in Turkey. They have contributed to education by writing books in German in various departments and faculties of many different Universities in İstanbul and Ankara. Among Germans who have contributed by writing books were geologists, biologists, physicians, jurists and the like. The jurists’ work involves law studies for the formation of the new Turkish Law system. Within the scope of studies towards developing a new legal system, sociologists and economists have also been working on a preliminary draft regarding the social and economical situation of the country. Additionally, researchers have been working on new methods to solve the health problems of the Turkish people¹⁰⁴ (Widmann 2000).

Besides the academicians in the Turkish Universities, many Germans were working in different Ministries in Turkey as consultants to shape all these proposals that have been suggested by those professors working at the universities. Within this context, ideas and projects about the design of the new cities by people like Ernst Reuter and Martin Wagner, as well as other architects are worth mentioning. In cultural fields, the stage designs of German architects for the state opera, directed by Carl Eberts who was working for the Turkish opera, are other examples. The works of the composer Paul Hindemith demonstrate the substantial impact of the German specialists in the music field during the early stages of the Turkish Republic.

Briefly, these were the dynamics of the situation the exile specialists, including architects, had to face following their flight to Turkey. The visualization of this atmosphere is essential to comprehend the pressures that the architects were under, the risks they were confronted with, and how they had to force their limits to maintain their positions in Turkey. This condition would also affect their relationship with their Turkish employers and colleagues. It must have been specifically hard to challenge and

¹⁰³ After 1944, the contracts of all Germans, including both Jews and Nazi loyal immigrants, were detained.

¹⁰⁴ For detailed information on the work of German scholars in Turkey between 1933 and 1944, look at: Widmann, H., 2000. Atatürk ve Üniversite Reformu: Almanca Konuşulan Ülkelerden 1933 Yılından Sonra Türkiye’ye Gelen Öğretim Üyeleri (trans. A. Kazancıgil & S. Bozkurt), (Kabalı Yayınevi, İstanbul)

refuse the demands of the people who have hired them even when there was a professional requirement to argue. It is imperative to understand how important their professional judgments in architecture must have been considering their prevailing situation and their relation to their homeland within the Turkish context.

3.1.1. German Architects in Turkey: Status and Fields of Work in Turkey

Overall, this section describes the general conditions of the bureaucratic framework in Turkey that the German expatriate architects have been exposed to. Examples are provided both from architects who have worked in Universities, mainly in İstanbul, and from those working in the construction of public buildings in Ankara. As expected, not all the exile people were prominent experts. Additionally, there were also immigrants of many other professional backgrounds including manufacturers, craftsmen, as well as the wives and children who followed their husbands and fathers in exile¹⁰⁵.

Although the number of architects that have been invited to Turkey does not appear to be impressive, their impact on Turkish architecture is. The dimensions, quality and characteristics of the jobs they have accomplished, and noteworthy professional opportunities provided for them by the Turkish Government have enabled them to exert historical influences on Turkish architecture and become recognized as key figures. These architects did not simply follow and practice the building technology and conception that they had acquired throughout their career, mainly in their homeland, but they had the opportunity to enrich their understanding through observation in a novel environment and directing and supervising projects. This unique experience enabled their own regeneration and was strengthened by their prominent roles in the education system (Batur 1983-1985a).

¹⁰⁵ In addition to the manpower, some materials and equipment that were necessary for ateliers, laboratories and institutes, health appliances and even some construction materials have been supplied from companies in Germany. An example is the legislation of the prime ministry dated May 25, 1936, allowing the import of construction materials for the foundations of the Sümerbank building from Sweden (Appendix E).

In Turkey, the 1920s mark the elimination of the Ottoman political structure and the establishment of the reforms of the young Republic; therefore there was a general disorder and a partially completed transformation. The 1930s, on the other hand, were the years of the crystallization of the Kemalist ideologies and the consolidation of the structure of the Turkish Republic. Subsequently, the 1930s comprised the constitutional and economo-political infrastructure required to shape the state economy (Batur 1984)

The transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, in other words the modernization project of Turkey, involved important changes in spatial organization. Tekeli (Tekeli 1995) claims that the modernization project of the Turkish Republic has been more fundamentalist than the Ottomans, since the synthetic approach of the *İttihat ve Terakki* period towards the West was replaced by a total Westernization movement which rejected this diffusionist Westernization attitude; this novel project is an entire modernity mission¹⁰⁶. Elements of spatial organization have an important place in this multifaceted modernity project.

Consequently, it is important to recognize that within the course of revolutionary transitions in Turkey after the 1930s, the expatriate architects have been practicing in Turkey in an atmosphere where almost all traditional standards were undergoing modification: from the sultanate (monarchy) to the republic; and the society was being transformed from one world view to another, from one social construct to a new one, from one cultural environment to a different one, within a contemporary context (Kuban 1998). In short, this was a period when the new Turkish Government had very specific and defined goals that had to be fulfilled. This resulted in a rather controversial setting for the foreign architects.

In the young Turkish republic, there was a single party regime during the time span between 1923 and 1945, and development policies were enforced by the government (Keyder 1987). In this context, although the German architects were given a great amount of freedom regarding their work at the university and their contracts for building projects, the expectations of the state from them were clearly defined and structured due to the offered jobs. This state control was at two levels: education and construction. In schools, everything had to be updated, and the system of architecture education had to be revised, restructured and westernized. Aslanoğlu (Aslanoğlu 1994) states that parallel to all the westernization and modernization efforts on the

¹⁰⁶ However one should not forget that at the same time there was a strong desire to be freed from the control of the West, as indicated by the popular phrase: “Westernisation despite the West”

sociopolitical front, the main reason of the legal invitation process of the foreign architects was due to the fact that the new state wished the architecture and its education to be transformed throughout the whole country.

In the construction front, there was urgent need to build governmental buildings, symbolizing the new Turkish Republic, detached from any Islamic touch or association with the Ottoman tradition. Furthermore, all of this had to be done rapidly, and within the economical limitations of a country which had just come out of a war, with a limited amount of building/construction materials, and know-how¹⁰⁷. In literature on architecture pertaining to the early Republican Period, there is a general assumption that for Turkey, the main reason behind inviting German architects was the lack of local architects and know-how on new construction technologies.¹⁰⁸

Although one can claim that employing foreign architects was a well defined political choice resulting from the well defined development activities of the state the existence of the expatriate architects in Turkey is rather more complex than one might think at first glimpse.

This complexity is reflected on the job descriptions of the architects in Turkey, and was a significant determining factor regarding their activities in Turkey in building design and construction. Each architect had separate contracts, with different job descriptions.

Tanyeli (Tanyeli 2003) categorizes the services of all foreign expatriate architects within four groups of job definitions. The first one comprises architecture as a constituent of building contracts; in this scheme, the architect does not confront a Turkish job provider or an authorized person representing the Turkish government. Instead the architect is working for a firm in his own country, foreign to Turkey, and does not even need to come to Turkey. The second group involves architects who had

¹⁰⁷ The understanding of the “European civilization and technique, but national culture and Turkish spirit” conception, which was the prominent view supported since the constitutional monarchy period, was defined by Mustafa Kemal in 1923 as follows: “As basis of our investigation and research, we should adopt our own country, history, traditions, individuality and needs. In showing this nation the direction to follow, we should make use of all the scientific discoveries and developments throughout the world. However, we should never forget that we have to acquire the original foundation from within our inner selves. We have to see the history, traditions and spirit of our nation from a strong and honest perspective.” (Ural 1974: p. 22).

¹⁰⁸ Tanyeli (Tanyeli 2003) argues that although this reasoning seems to be valid at first sight, one must not forget that the demand for architectural production has also not been too much at the Early republican Era; and it is probably due to the fact that the demand for buildings has not been too much, and foreign architects have gotten most of the available contracts, and this has been one of the major reasons for the Turkish architects to protest that they have not been getting any contracts until the end of the Second World War.

won an international competition¹⁰⁹. The third group consists of architects who have been officially invited by a governmental body to work on a specific project in Turkey, but are working on the project in their own offices, in their homeland. The fourth group includes most of the German architects covered in this thesis; the architects in this category were invited to a rather “open position” where the project and the required services were not clearly defined.

The categorization above is rather general, and does not truly reflect the positions of the German architects who have worked in Turkey. Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) has made another categorization of all German-speaking architects, including the Austrians, who have worked in Turkey during the early Republican years. In his categorization, he defines the first group of architects as the “Beux Art in İstanbul”, meaning the professors who have worked in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts and in the İstanbul Technical University (only from 44 on). The second group consists of technical advisors that worked for single ministries or city administrations as specialists. The third group is those architects who were co-workers in the big offices, such as that of the Education Ministry, and could not hold their posts or continue their career after their professor dies¹¹⁰. The fourth group consists of Austrian architects that came after the occupation of Austria by Germany, and were working for Clemens Holzmeister mostly in the Parliament Project.

There are a total of 14 German architects that are known to have been invited to Turkey between the years of 1920 and 1945; their invitation also hints at the strong cultural relations of the newly founded Turkish Government and Germany of the time. The German architects that have come to Turkey are: Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser, Hans Poelzig, Bruno Taut, Robert Vorhölzer, Franz Hillinger, Wilhelm Schütte,

¹⁰⁹ The examples that Tanyeli (Tanyeli 2003) provides for the second group are Martin Elsaesser and the Sümerbank Genel Müdürlüğü Binası (Sümerbank Headquarters) and Hans Poelzig and the İstanbul Conservatory, however these examples are open to discussion. The Conservatory has not been built. The case of Martin Elsaesser is also not a good example since Elsaesser did not submit a project for the Competition the Sümerbank Headquarters and the competition was actually won by Seyfi Arkan (Arkitekt 1935), and it is vague how Martin Elsaesser actually got the contract of the building.

¹¹⁰ Although Nicolai says that the architects in the third group were not allowed to hold their positions after their professors die, this does not reflect the truth. For example, the diary of Bruno Taut in İstanbul (Akademie der Künste, archive document 01-273) provides contrary information about Zimmerman. Zimmerman arrived in İstanbul in 1936 as the assistant of Hans Poelzig; although Poelzig had died before he could start working in İstanbul in 1936, has stayed at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts until 1938, throughout the period Bruno Taut was there.

Margrete Schütte-Lihotzky, Hans Grimm, Konrad Ruhl, Willi Runge, Mundt, Schiner, and Zimmerman.

If only the German architects who have come to Turkey after 1933 are considered, then there are three categories to group them. The groups formed are based on literature and archival research findings regarding the occupational activities of the architects, and offer an alternative. However, some aspects of this categorization overlap with Nicolai's.

The first group of German Architects comprises professors who have served as Deans of the Architecture Faculties in İstanbul. In chronological order of their arrival dates, these architects are Hans Poelzig, Bruno Taut, and Robert Vorhölzer at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, and Paul Bonatz at the İstanbul Technical University. Architects in this group were highly respected in the community and had professor statuses in the University with contracts for longer durations than the rest. The duration of the contracts were mostly three to five years, although there were some exceptions.

It is very important to note that until 1938, which only matches Bruno Taut's stay (1936-1938), the Dean's office of the Faculty of Architecture of İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, including the entire administration, was working together with the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education. This condition not only depicts the fact that education and application of contemporary architecture were developing hand-in-hand, but also provides evidence that the Deans of the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts were directing the construction office of the Ministry of Education. This cooperation deserves special emphasis because it illustrates the power that the immigrant architects had in the architecture scene in Turkey involving both building and instruction; this is a unique opportunity that the exile architects had in the Turkish context which was not offered to architects in other countries. This powerful and influential position is very important in defining their work, because it indicates that these architects have trained students in higher education in addition to supervising the design and construction of the entire primary, secondary, and vocational schools¹¹¹.

During the evaluation of the period, solid evidence, documents, literature citing the architects, books and articles written as well as sketches, plans and projects

¹¹¹ A closer look is provided in Section 3.2., in order to decipher the exact work agreements and the solid situations, to get a conception of their statuses working for the Turkish Government and universities to be able to understand the conditions in which they have been producing architecture.

produced by the architects themselves was available mostly for the architects in this first group. It is plausible that Hans Poelzig, Bruno Taut, Robert Vorhölzer and Paul Bonatz were in unique positions considering the architectural infrastructure in Turkey and their position as educators; their articles in recognized journals and their carefully prepared text books have been instrumental in their effectiveness.

The second group of architects includes instructors and tutors at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, some of which were also working at the Ministry of Education under the direction of Bruno Taut or local administrations (i.e. municipalities and construction offices). Architects working on the design of some commissioned projects, with or without Bruno Taut, are also included in this group. These architects are Franz Hilinger, Wilhelm Schütte, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, and Martin Elsaesser. This second category follows the first group, regarding prominence and publications. The architects in this group have not been as influential on the Turkish architectural practice or architectural education as much as the professors in the first group.

The third group consists of German architects working under the supervision of German Professors at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts or in the Construction Office. These architects are Hans Grimm¹¹², Zimmermann¹¹³, Schiner¹¹⁴, Konrad Rühl, Willi Runge¹¹⁵, and Mundt¹¹⁶.

The architects who do not fall into the first two categories regarding their reputation and publications are in the third group of architects, who were less renowned. It has been impossible to reach documents describing the personal background and

¹¹² Hans Grimm was one of the helpers of Bruno Taut, and is traced to have worked in the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education by Nasır (Nasır 1991). Any other information has not been accessible.

¹¹³ The German architect Zimmerman, who has originally been appointed as the assistant of Hans Poelzig in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul in the summer of 1935, has represented Poelzig in İstanbul (Nicolai 1998). After the death of Poelzig, Zimmerman continued to stay in İstanbul. He has directed the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education until the arrival of Bruno Taut (Spiedel 1998; Taut 1936-1938).

¹¹⁴ A German architect called Schiner is mentioned to have worked within the group that has worked with Ernst Egli in the Academy, and to have given building construction classes in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul (Nasır 1991); however, any other traces of this architect have not been found.

¹¹⁵ The only document relating to the employment of Willi Runge is the document number 144-301 of the Turkish Prime Ministry Archives of Turkey, dated 05.5.1942. In this document, it is stated that an extra payment of 200 TL would be made to Willi Runge for the extra hours he has worked in the Literature Faculty of Bruno Taut for the drawings of furniture and building details.

¹¹⁶ The only available information on the architect Mundt is an entry in the İstanbul diary of Bruno Taut dated 25th February 1937 (Taut 1936-1938). It is stated that starting 25th February 1937, Mundt was assigned officially as the helper of Bruno Taut; however the description of this “helper” status is missing. A second entry from the same diary indicates that Mundt had arrived on 5th April 1937.

products of architects who had worked in construction offices under Bruno Taut, Hans Poelzig and Paul Bonatz. Furthermore, information to track the performance of the architects hardly exists for the third group. However, in the memories of Sedat Hakkı Eldem (Eldem 1983), involving his studies at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, these architects are mentioned. When Eldem states that the students have learned about office methods, drawing techniques, and organization from the German helpers of the German Professors, he must be referring to the architects described in the third group of architects.

The heterogeneous fields of these architects provide a description of categorical differences relating to their exile period in Turkey. From the historical perspective, research indicates that only the German architects who worked as professors or tutors in the universities in Turkey have gotten contracts to build, and therefore they are the ones who have had long-term impact on intellectual and educational domains. That is why these architects are covered in depth in Section 3.2.

3.2. The Organization of Appointments at the Universities and Architectural Education

The 14 German architects that have worked in Turkey in the early phases of the Republican Era, have not been all been active as professors, tutors or theoreticians. Bruno Taut, Robert Vorhölzer, Wilhelm Schütte and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, and Paul Bonatz are discussed in this section because these architects have worked in the Schools of Architecture in the Universities in Turkey, or have written texts reflecting their ideas concerning architecture in Turkey. Although there is some missing information, it has been possible to decipher their ideas through these written texts to a certain extent. A list of the written texts they have produced in the years they have worked in Turkey is appended (Appendix F).

These architects have taught in the Academy, written articles and books. Furthermore some of their letters and diaries exist as well as passages from their

speeches¹¹⁷ which have been dictated at the time. This may be simply due to the fact, that they have been older and have had more experience compared to the other German architects who came to Turkey. In the Turkish context, they have had better positions, which is attributable to their previous professional eminence and experience.

These architects have reflected the richness of their experience regarding architectural and city planning concepts in their homelands within the Turkish context, and they have carried their understanding of Modernity along with their own personality. However, there was a dilemma arising from perceiving Turkey as a location to which Modernity was transferred, because despite the longing for Modernity Turkey was a country with very specific needs and demands of the Turkish state and Turkish administrators. German architects in Turkey had to fulfill the demands of the state while applying the concepts of Modernity. Therefore, the evaluation of the work and performance of the foreign architects in Turkey during the Early Republican Period involves a comprehensive understanding of this dilemma and the resulting synthesis. On the other hand, notwithstanding the special prevailing conditions, Turkey was a country recognizing the German architects as guests. Considering the view points of both Turkey and of Europe, and the environment that the architects were confronted with regarding the restrictions and freedom they were exposed to, this synthesis involves the perception and application of Modernity by these architects outside their own context. Naturally the reflection of the background of the foreign architects on their performance in Turkey can be anticipated, but the current thesis additionally depicts the significance of the transformations that these architects have gone through within this very unique context, under very specific conditions.

Within the theory and education domains, although apparently more freedom was offered from the Turkish state's side, especially in education, this freedom was, in a way, a condition imposed by the administration. In the University Reform of 1933, it was clearly stated that "1. A close interaction should be established between University and the Turkish Revolution, 2. The University should be encouraged to do research on issues relevant for the problems of the nation, which should further strengthen the ties with the people, 3. The political administration should undertake the assessment of the university". Especially the 3rd point openly announces State control over universities and contradicts autonomy (Onur&Sağlam 1996:193).

¹¹⁷ Bruno Taut's speech at the opening of the Taut exhibition in 1938, and Paul Bonatz's speech at the opening of the Yeni Alman Mimarisi (New German Architecture) exhibition in 1939.

In construction, restrictions mainly resulted from shortages in building materials, finances, know-how, and well trained supervisors at the construction site. Freedoms, on the other hand, can be generalized into two categories as follows: Liberty in the personal lives of the architects at unquestionably higher magnitudes compared to the German context, and freedom in design, resulting from the power they possessed due to their superior status regarded by the state that employed them as absolute specialists whose knowledge and experience was respected. The restrictions in education, if randomly experienced, mainly resulted from reconciliation of differences in ideas and understanding with Turkish colleagues. In the theory domain, there was almost total freedom without any restrictions.

One can generally accept that by and large, an architect can professionally express himself through two means, through the projects that he makes, and through spoken or written language. In more explicit terms, an architect reflects his views and ideology in the personal theoretical construction of the work, the interpretation of the context through the materials used, the climate, the topography and the like, the economical structure of the project, the architectural formal language used, as well as in the way he conveys his experience and ideas to future generations. The latter is mostly contingent on holding a position in an institution which provides formal architectural training, thereby giving a chance to be influential¹¹⁸. All of these conditions were present for the German architects who worked as professors in Turkey. Since the factors mentioned above were critical in shaping the professional careers of the architects in Turkey at the period, the categorization and analyses employed in the current thesis were based on a framework consisting of ideologies, personal theoretical construction, interpretation of the context, architectural forms used, and teaching approach.

When one takes a look at the architectural activities of the German architects in Turkey in the mentioned period, the field of education is one that has played quite an important role. The Turkish state expected the foreign architects to conduct research and reform the education system of architecture, and to present and apply a new curriculum which was more westernized compared to the Ottoman Empire. The known German architects that have lectured in the Architecture Faculty of the Academy of Fine Arts in

¹¹⁸These circumstances (ideology, program, economical construction, etc.) are not only important for the architect, but also have significant effect on the configuration of the state, country and geographical region: "...following the transition phase, architecture has been institutionalized during the republican period regarding its ideology, theoretical composition, program and economical structure, format, training and organizational structure ..."(Batur 1983-1985a).

İstanbul are Bruno Taut, Robert Vorhölzer, Wilhelm Schütte, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, and assistants Philip Ginther and Zimmerman; Paul Bonatz has taught in the İstanbul Technical University. Although Nasır (Nasır 1991) claims that Martin Elsaesser has instructed at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, his work at the Academy can not be solidly documented.

In order to understand the situation of these two architecture schools, it is necessary to take a closer look at the history of these universities. Until the 18th century, during the Ottoman Empire, an institution titled *Hassa Mimarları Ocağı* undertook the training of technical personnel who participated in the construction of state buildings. The education in this institution comprised of both theoretical instruction and practical applications, and involved apprenticeship. Students in training learned not only architecture, but also all construction skills. In the 18th century, parallel to the changes accompanying the Westernization movement throughout the empire, technical training received attention and the necessity to establish schools to provide formal training was identified. Subsequently, in 1773, the second engineering school, titled *Mühendishane-i Berr-i Humayun*¹¹⁹, was converted into a Military School of Engineering. In 1883, the first civil engineering school of the Ottoman Empire was founded: *Hendese-i Mülkiye*, which was renamed in 1909 as *Mühendislik Okulu* (School of Engineering) (Sey&Tapan 1983-1985, p. 1421). The foundation of the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi* (Royal School of Fine Arts) in 1883¹²⁰, with an education modeled on the architecture faculty of the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* marks the beginning of formal architecture education (Baydar Nalbantoğlu 1989).

In summary, architectural education was initially led by an institution dependent on the Ottoman Palace until the 18th century. Subsequently, until the foundation of the new Turkish Republic, it was originally controlled by the military and then, as part of the westernization movement, was functionally converted to civilian schools, focusing mainly on engineering education instead of architecture.

In the years to follow, after the foundation of the Turkish Republic and the efforts of institutionalizing, the public construction of Ankara brought about new needs. The modernization policies of the Turkish state necessitated well trained architects for

¹¹⁹ In 1734, the Askeri Humbarhane and Hendesehane have been established

¹²⁰ According to Ünsal(Ünsal 1973), when the Royal School of Fine Arts was founded, there were only seven faculty members, four of which were foreigners. Baydar Nalbantoğlu (Baydar Nalbantoğlu 1989) states that there were twenty students, and that most of them were also non-muslims.

designing the required buildings urgently, and since there were very few architects¹²¹ during the period (Özer 1970). Education itself, which had been neglected during a long-lasting war period, has resulted in the lack of educated professionals¹²² which could function to educate the new generations to come in the scope of the new ideology, and this point is where the German (and other European) architects have filled in the gap. Not only the lack of academic staff, but also the urge to revise, reinterpret, and reconsider the education system in the architecture faculties was apparent according to the new regime. Atatürk's own words express his attitude regarding foreign educators and experts very clearly: "Gentlemen, for the development of our country, we have to use foreign capital and experts maximally. This is essential from the viewpoint of ascertaining the bliss and prosperity¹²³ of our nation in a short period." (Alsaç quoted from Tümer 1998: p. 208).

This is the time, especially after the 1930s when fundamental changes started to take place on Turkish grounds. In the architecture schools, these new tendencies diverted attention to European architecture and the rationalist-functional trends of the time were adapted and became dominant in the Turkish context through certain manipulation by the state. In these years, while foreign architects were working on the design, building and construction of public buildings in Ankara the young generation of Turkish architects who had studied either in Turkey or abroad started to become active¹²⁴. With the dominance of the new trend, the national architecture approach of the previous era faded and was actually rejected not only in the building and practice field, but also in educational institutions (Yavuz&Özkan 1984).

Another important event regarding architectural practice in Turkey is the foundation of the *Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti* (Turkish Society of Architects) in 1927 in Ankara. This organization constituted mainly of architects with bureaucratic positions in Ankara and was involved with establishing legislations to organize architectural applications, tendering of contracts, protecting architects' rights in occupational, economic and legal fronts. The same year, a law which restricted the use of the term

¹²¹ As depicted in an interview with Zeki Sayar, in the 1930s, in Turkey there were a total of 60-70 architects in İstanbul, 30-40 in Ankara and only three architects in İzmir (Kumral 1994).

¹²² In the 1930s, in all of the faculties of İstanbul University there were only 44 Turkish professors, and by 1938, this number increased to 86 with the acceptance of 42 foreign professors (Aslanoğlu 2001).

¹²³ It should not be overlooked that this "bliss and prosperity" involves an ideological connotation in addition to improving physical conditions.

¹²⁴ Examples of this young generation of Turkish architects are Sedat Hakkı Eldem, Arif Hikmet Holtay, Seyfettin Arkan, Zeki Sayar, Abidin Mortaş and Şevki Balmumcu.

“architect” only to the graduates of approved institutes of higher education, became effective (Bozdoğan 2002).

Parallel to the changes in the architectural scene in Ankara, there were additional modifications at the universities towards the end of the 1920s. The name of *Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi* was modified as *Mühendis Mektebi* (School of Engineering) in 1928, and architecture became a field requiring 3 years of general education for specialization. This had been the first steps which later lead to the foundation of a separate faculty of architecture. The name of the Royal School of Fine Arts, which was officially the first architecture school in Turkey, was changed to *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi* (Academy of Fine Arts) where instruction was still in accordance with the principles of national architecture until 1930. (Sey&Tapan 1983-1985).

The most influential professors in the 1920s at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul were Vedat Tek (also referred to as Mimar Vedat)¹²⁵ and Gulio Mongeri¹²⁶, who taught in accordance with the French Beaux-Arts system. According to Arseven (Arseven 1931) and Söylemezoğlu (Söylemezoğlu 1973) this was a continuation of the historicist attitude of Alexander Vallaury¹²⁷.

The historicist architectural approach that Vedat Tek and Gulio Mongeri adopted in the education field, and the maintenance of the Ottoman tradition with its domes, pointed arches and ornaments (Aslanoğlu 2001), caused voices to raise among younger architects against this approach taken in the Royal School of Fine Arts. Ünsal (Ünsal 1973) states critically that in the studios until the early 20th century, only sketch exercises of Greek-Roman style buildings were being made, and new trends in architecture were ignored. As Gürhan Tümer (Tümer 1998) states in his book, during their university training, Zeki Sayar’s generation was designing *Türbe* (tomb) elements for Sultan Mehmet the Vth, in the Ottoman tradition, as their diploma projects. Celal Esat Arseven in 1931 also raises criticisms about the situation of the architecture faculty of the Royal School of Fine Arts from its foundation until the 1930s :

¹²⁵ Vedat Tek (1873-1942): Turkish architect; one of the well known representatives of the First national Style in Turkish Architecture who was highly influential with his works and professorship in the architectural agenda of Turkey during late 19th and early 20th centuries (Yavuz & Özkan 1984).

¹²⁶ Gulio Mongeri: Italian architect who worked in Turkey as a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts between 1900-1930 (Nasir 1991)

¹²⁷ Alexander Vallaury (1850-1921): Architect with French decent but Turkish citizenship. He studied in Paris at the Ecole Nationale des Beaux-Arts between 1869 and 1878. He is the founder of the architecture department of the Royal School of Fine Arts, and has worked there until 1883.

Although the architecture section in the Royal School has contributed to the training of architects for nearly forty or fifty years, the influence was limited because of the dominant effect of conservative approaches in training. Students spent years drawing Parthenon column capitals and a Greek temple, and were not expected to engage in any other activity. Their function was limited to drawing fancy building models, impossible to construct, to persuade potential customers. Therefore, there was no perceptible difference between architects who graduated from the Royal School and supervisors at the construction site; architectural training could not initiate a novel movement in architecture; on the contrary, İstanbul started to be filled with unattractive buildings. (Arseven 1931: p. 11).

Due to the raising complaints, together with criticizing the education, the need of reform in the architectural faculties was also articulated at the time. An example is again from Celal Esat Arseven who writes about the need to revise the Royal School of Fine Arts in his book “Yeni Mimari” dated 1931:

... Therefore we should turn our attention to the curriculum of this school and try to bring the level of graduates from this school to those of their counterparts trained in Europe. It is evident that architecture is receiving emphasis in our academy similar to other fine arts. However, not only in our country, but in European academies as well, there are complaints about mistakes in architectural training. The currently employed approaches hinder creativity and block the development of young students. Architects who have received the ancient classical instruction cannot cope with the contemporary needs. The classical curriculum should be limited to providing a historical perspective. Thus, it is crucial to know and understand the goals which lead architecture throughout the world, and take steps required by the novel needs of the era (Arseven 1931: p. 13).

As a result of the urges of transformation at the architecture faculties of the universities, first the Royal School of Fine Arts and then the *Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi* have been searching for new curricula for their education policies, which resulted in the direct transfer of western education models, programs and curricula through certain architects. European architects were brought to hold key positions in these two institutions. The Swiss architect Ernst Egli, and the German architects Hans Poelzig, Bruno Taut and Robert Vorhölzer in the Academy of Fine Arts, and Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister and Paul Bonatz in the İstanbul Technical University. The years between 1932 and 1939 have been the years with the highest number of foreign specialists in Turkish architecture faculties, and some of these specialists have actually served until 1950 as educators, and were stigmatized for being influential in the Turkish architecture education scene.

In 1930 the studios of Architect Vedat and Gulio Mongeri at the Academy were closed. Mongeri left his post in 1928¹²⁸, and Vedat in 1930 (Baydar Nalbantoğlu 1989).

¹²⁸ Ünsal (Ünsal 1973) explains that Mongeri himself had told that he had aimed to design a modern building for the Çelik Palas Hotel in Bursa, but that he did not manage to build it. Apparently the building involved a modern design and Mongeri thought that he himself cannot build a modern building. Subsequently, Mongeri explained that when he himself cannot build in

As mentioned above, they were criticized for not adapting the new ‘antiacademic’ and ‘antihistoricist’ approaches (Bozdoğan 1997). Ernst Egli, who was a proponent of functionalism, was appointed to direct architectural education in the Architecture Faculty of the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts. Since Bruno Taut was the successor of Ernst Egli, it is essential to take a brief look at the work of Egli at the outset, to reach a more comprehensive understanding of the work of Taut at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul.

Egli used an education model, which aimed to teach architecture students that architecture is dependent on science and technology. However, the building-environment relationship was also an important issue to be considered, and together with Sedad Hakkı Eldem¹²⁹, he started a series of seminars called the *Milli Mimarlık Semineri* (National Architecture Seminar), which would have great impact on the architecture scene in Turkey in the years to follow (Eldem 1983). As a result, during Egli’s appointment, there were two separate tendencies which evolved together in the academy. The education that Egli was responsible for was carried out according to contemporary functional principles. Egli, who was also hired as a consultant to the Ministry of Education, designed a program for certain reforms in architectural education in Turkey changing from of the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* model to the mid-European education model of the “Technische Hochschule”. Egli also conducted the first scientific research on Mimar Sinan (Batur 1983-1985a). Ernst Egli, as the consultant architect of the Ministry of Education, not only revised the curriculum of the Academy, but also extended education period to 5 years. With this extension, education became equivalent to a Master’s Degree programme and the name of the department was also modified accordingly: *Yüksek Mimarlık Bölümü* (Aslanoğlu 2001).

Other changes in the architecture faculty concerned modifications of the admissions, curricula and exams. High School Graduates were selected following an aptitude test, the number of students accepted was restricted¹³⁰, and new courses were

modern style, he also cannot teach the students how to build in modern style. Therefore he decided to resign from his job at the Academy as a professor.

¹²⁹ Sedad Hakkı Eldem (1908-1988) finished his architecture studies at the Academy in 1928, and then went to France, England and Germany for three years where he worked with architects such as Auguste Perret, and Hans Poelzig. He returned to Turkey in 1931 and worked at the office of Gulio Mongeri. In 1932 he opened his own office in İstanbul and also started working at the Academy of Fine Arts where he continued working until 1978 (Eldem 1983).

¹³⁰ Harika Alpar Söylemezoğlu, who was an architecture student in the 1930s in the Academy of Fine Arts, reports in an interview (WEB_3 2006) that at their time, this entrance exam was already in progress; 150 students had taken this exam and only 48 were accepted. However, of these 48,

included in the curriculum¹³¹. Education was divided into two consecutive phases: The first 2 years comprised of a preparatory phase where theoretical art and professional instruction was provided. This first phase was followed by a qualification exam. The next phase involved comprehensive and advanced instruction and included seminars. A legislation dated 1934 provided the framework for architecture education in Turkey and any further modifications in the following years were based on this framework. Another improvement was the establishment of an office for applied work. This office provided opportunities for students regarding practical instruction and training. For all architecture students in the second phase described above, receiving training in this office was compulsory. Another reform in education was the organization of a seminar series entitled “*Mimari Nazariyat*” (Architectural Theory); the conferences were open to students as well as to all interested architects (Nasır 1991).

The changes that Egli undertook were obviously quite revolutionary and did change the whole structure and curriculum of the Academy and the architecture education. However, there are divergent ideas among his students about the actual professorship and teaching methods of Egli in the project studio regarding one-to-one relations with the students in criticizing their design and conveying his knowledge. Hasol reports from the personal memories of Muhittin Güreli¹³² about the period when they were students. Arif Hikmet Holtay¹³³ and Sedad Hakkı Eldem were assisting Egli in the project studio¹³⁴. The students would discuss their projects first with Holtay and Eldem, and later Egli would come to recheck and control everything that they have done. Güreli perceived Egli as a good architect, but observed some shortcomings as an instructor. According to Güreli, Egli tried to share his knowledge totally and to transfer his competence to the students, however was not very successful in conveying his knowledge (Hasol 2004). Nasır (Nasır 1991) reports that one of Egli’s students at the

only 24 (4 female, 20 male) of them registered and began with their studies in the architecture faculty of the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts.

¹³¹ As new courses were being introduced, the existing ones were also being revised. For example the building construction course which used to be more theoretical, was revised to include practice and concentrated more on detail design (Atalay-Franck 2004).

¹³² Muhittin Güreli (1911- 2003) is a Turkish architect who started his studies in the Academy of Fine Arts in 1930 when he was 19 years old, and received instruction from Ernst Egli as his professor in the Academy.

¹³³ Arif Hikmet Holtay (1896-1968) graduated from the Architecture Faculty of the Stuttgart Technical University in 1927 and worked in the Architecture Faculty of the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts from 1930 to 1961 (WEB_2 2006).

¹³⁴ In the beginning of the 1930’s, Güreli also reports that Seyfi Arkan was a teacher of city planning (Hasol 2004).

time, Asım Mutlu, emphasized that functionality was important for Egli, and that he wanted student projects to be devoid of unnecessary ornaments in the building mass and/or facades; these elements should be designed to communicate the function of the building. Behçet Ünsal¹³⁵(Ünsal 1972) who was also a student at the Academy during Egli's professorship has very positive memories from his days at the Academy as the student of Egli. He states that Egli was a researcher with an excellent comprehension of contemporary architecture, and a proponent of functional architecture; he was a good designer and not a stylist. He placed emphasis on local architecture; therefore, he proposed that scientific research on traditional Turkish architecture was essential.

In 1936, Egli was disappointed because the programme he had submitted for the renovation of the Architecture Department was not accepted and the necessary funds were not allocated. He had problems with bureaucracy, and since such problems hindered his program for reforming education and carrying out his ideas freely, Ernst Egli quit both of his jobs in Turkey, at the Academy and the Ministry of Education (Atalay-Franck 2004). These joint positions were offered to Hans Poelzig¹³⁶, but when Poelzig died unexpectedly, Bruno Taut took the place of Hans Poelzig towards the end of 1936 (Brenne 2005).

3.2.1. Bruno Taut: Efforts for Reforming Education

Because of his world-wide prominence as one of the forerunners within the New Architecture movement in Germany, Bruno Taut has a special place compared to all other foreign exile architects that have worked in Turkey at the time.

After some trusted sources informed Bruno Taut that he was accused for being a culture Bolshevist and therefore would be arrested, Taut escaped to Stuttgart where Paul

¹³⁵ Behçet Ünsal (1912-2006) is a Turkish architect who graduated from the Faculty of Architecture of the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts in 1933 (Kazmaoğlu 1997).

¹³⁶ Although available information is limited, it is known that Hans Poelzig had sent Zimmerman to the Academy of Fine Arts as an assistant before he arrived. When Hans Poelzig died and could not take the job, a notice in the architectural periodical *Arkitekt* (Arkitekt 1936) announced that the architect Zimmerman, the assistant of Hans Poelzig, would represent him until another German architect would be posted for the job. Zimmerman stayed in the Academy to replace Poelzig's position until the arrival of Bruno Taut. Zimmerman's name appears frequently in Bruno Taut's diary mentioning that he was in İstanbul basically for teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts and was also involved in a certain project for the Cerrah Paşa Hospital. However the exact time that Zimmerman had left Turkey is not clear.

Bonatz was living, and subsequently he left Germany for Japan in 1933. He spent the years between 1933 and 1936 in Japan with more theoretical activity than construction; he did extensive research on Japanese culture. In 1936, following the sudden death of Hans Poelzig, he was appointed to the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, with the help of Martin Wagner.

After the death of Hans Poelzig, a German specialist was sought to replace him. As depicted in the documents of the *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devlet Başbakanlık Arşivleri* (Turkish Prime Ministry Archives) dated July 8, 1936, Arif Hikmet Holtay had been commissioned by the Turkish State to find German specialists to work for Turkey (Appendix G). This is also supported by a document dated July 14, 1936 which was sent to the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin from the German Embassy in İstanbul, informing them of the arrival of Professor Holtay and especially asking for their support in finding an architect to work in İstanbul (Appendix H). In a series of documents dated September 11, 1936 one can follow that there was a meeting in the Academy of Arts in Berlin, to find a professor who will be offered Hans Poelzig's a position in Turkey. Bruno Taut's name does not appear in those documents, but the names of Mies van der Rohe, Carl Bense and Martin Elsaesser are included (Appendix I). However, it seems that the efforts of the Academy in Berlin were inconclusive because in November 30, 1933 Prof. Hermann Jansen reported to the Academy of Arts in Berlin that Bruno Taut has been hired for the position in Turkey, without any previous notice; none of the names that were previously discussed at the academy were mentioned (Appendix J). The efforts of Wagner from within İstanbul seem to have been more effective in bringing Bruno Taut to Turkey as the director of the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts and the director of the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education. The documents from the Turkish State about the hiring of Bruno Taut have not been found¹³⁷.

Although the reforms at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts had already started with the appointment of Ernst Egli in 1930, in his diary, entry from 21st December 1936, Bruno Taut (Taut 1936-1938) writes that Burhan Toprak¹³⁸ and Cevat

¹³⁷ An example of a typical contract for the city planner Martin Wagner dated February 18, 1935 is provided in Appendix K. There are other similar examples; a contract for hiring an unnamed professor of architecture for the İstanbul Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi (Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul) is appended in Appendix L. Between 1936 and 1942, there are other examples; for example one such contract, without a name, indicates the extension of the contract of an architect hired as a professor of architecture for the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul.

¹³⁸ Burhan Toprak was the director of İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts between 1936 and 1948 (Küçükerman 1994)

Dursunoğlu¹³⁹ have been complaining that the Architecture Faculty has become worse since Ernst Egli, and that they wanted Taut to resolve this condition¹⁴⁰ (Example of a page from the İstanbul Diary of Bruno Taut from 1936-1938 are appended in Appendix M).

One can understand from this diary (Taut 1936-1938) that there were almost weekly meetings with the colleagues at the Academy which were influential in taking decisions not only about the programs, curricula and student works in the studio classes of the architecture faculty, but also details about the budgets for all types of consumables, lists of books that were to be ordered for the library of the university and the like. The colleagues who have participated in these meetings were Cevat Dursunoğlu, Burhan Toprak, Arif Hikmet Holtay, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Seyfi Arkan, and Zimmerman, and later Hans Grimm and Mundt. These notes suggest that Taut worked in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul not by himself, but together with a team of architects, of which some were German¹⁴¹.



Figure 3.1. Bruno Taut (in the middle) with guests in his flat in İstanbul
(Source: Akademie der Künste Baukunst Archiven Document BTA 20-255, F5)

¹³⁹ Cevat Dursunoğlu (1892-1970) who was a milletvekili worked in the Early Republican Era as Maârif Müfettişliği, İlk ve Orta Öğretim Genel Müdürlüğü, Avrupa (Almanya) Türk Talebe Müfettişliği, ayrıca Yüksek Öğretim ve Güzel Sanatlar Genel Müdürlüğü görevlerinde bulundu.

¹⁴⁰ In the diary, the following day, 22nd of December 1936, Taut (Taut 1936-1938) states that he has already worked on a proposal for official regulations.

¹⁴¹ In a letter that Bruno Taut had written to Isaburo Ueno in Japan dated 21st November 1933, he complains that there are no young architects around him in Japan, therefore he must do everything alone, and this fact causes him to have anxiety for the greater perspectives (Taut 1933). One can assume that in the Turkish context to have many architects and colleagues to collaborate with must have been a relief in this way for Bruno Taut.

Taut must have been working very intensely on the projects for his building contracts as well as for his seminars, and details of curricula. In the diary entry from 19th of December 1936, only a few days after his arrival in İstanbul, Taut reports from his first meeting with his colleagues at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, concerning his duties; Taut describes his duties as listed below:

My Responsibilities: Lecturing, and from next year on, leading all the group projects. Controlling all of the classes for architecture, and directing the architecture faculty, and additionally, the project department.

At the project department, Zimmerman will end what he had started with concerning the Literature Faculty, I shall work with him. My most important job is the Chemical and Pharmacological Institute; I shall calculate the costs.

The number of students must be reduced –

Capital is coming from a certain Academy fund. 3000 until June, and then 8000 over year. This is only for material and for some of the small salaries. The directorate of the Institution, static engineer, and secretary come from another existing fund.

All other extra special responsibilities, travels, telephone costs are unclear. Construction management, tendering etc. issues are the responsibility of the Ministry, we just supervise.

Toprak is my next authority. Therefore my direction is only for the internal work rules.

(Taut 1936-1938: pp. 2, 3)

At this point, one should also take into consideration that Bruno Taut was not as experienced in the architectural education field as his German peers in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts and in İstanbul Technical University, who have served as professors. In his curriculum, his only position as a university teacher appears to be from 1930 to 1932, when he moved to Moscow. During those two years, he has had a job as a paid instructor at the Charlottenburg Technical University in Berlin¹⁴² (Wendschuh 1983). However, his performance as an educator in Berlin has been very well received and productive. Waechter (Waechter 1980) reports that Taut has revised the curricula and developed construction research; he was continuously exploring new research methods and was a leader in promoting interdisciplinary studies. Segal (Segal 1972) describes the attitude of Taut as an educator and his relation with the students in Berlin. He says that despite “his gifts and shortcomings, Taut was more than a mere avant-gardist or a partisan.” Taut placed more emphasis on people than on dogma. He did not only discuss this principle in theory, but he was also able to translate his ideas into reality. This caring attitude was felt in the environment of his studio.

According to Taut, the problem was not related to the students but to particular topics. In general, he asserted not only an autonomous position for all teachers, student representatives etc, but also stated out legitimate criticism toward his colleagues: “...You

¹⁴²The Charlottenburg Technical University is now the Berlin Technical University.

have to discuss the results and the applied methods. If the results are not satisfactory, they should be discussed” (Taut quoted from Nicolai 1998: 135).

According to Aslanoğlu (Aslanoğlu 1976) the main concern of Taut in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, was to use the five year study period at the Faculty of Architecture more efficiently in order to educate the students to become architects. Within this scope, the students would be free from useless work and at the same time, their relation to building practice would be modified. For this purpose, Taut initiated a basic course similar to the pre-course at the Bauhaus which included, for example, the knowledge of handling material and free hand drawing¹⁴³.

In addition to the basic course, a summer course was introduced, starting in 1937. Taut considered the existing education too formal and inflexible in general, and he wanted to reach a greater variability in diploma works through recently established design seminars. He offered the 5th year studio if the students wanted to work on the topic of a *Siedlung* (Housing Settlement) project¹⁴⁴ (Taut 1936-1938: p. 18).

A studio project that was published in the Turkish Periodical *Arkitekt* (Arkitekt 1937), might be the *Siedlung* project that Taut has been referring to. This project, *İnhisarlar Bakanlığı Ankara Memur Apartmanları* (Residential Buildings for Government Employees in Ankara), provides evidence for the sensitivity of Taut regarding the needs and socio-economic problems in the Turkish context¹⁴⁵; Taut’s sensitivity regarding housing settlements and his war against the typical Rental Barracks in Berlin should also be remembered within this context. Housing projects was the specialty of Taut in his career in Berlin in the 1920s, after the First World War. The garden settlements of Taut in Berlin were an escape from the unhealthy industrialized

¹⁴³ In this period, it must not be forgotten that architecture as a profession and consequently its education was a hot debate in many European countries. Architecture education in the Mid-European universities, most of which had a polytechnic character, reflected an understanding which considered architecture as the combination of artistic-aesthetic and functional foundations. The Kemalist government also had the opinion that architects trained in the Mid-European/German tradition were the type of professionals who were the most suitable to solve the technical problems encountered. The rights to work as architects in Turkey after 1927 were only given to those who were trained and had graduated from higher institutes of education, which were structured according to the Technische Hochschulen model, which were universities as we understand today (Atalay-Franck 2004).

¹⁴⁴ However, Taut (Taut 1936–1938: p. 21) writes in his diary that the students have remained quiet and have not given him an answer, so he has decided to ask them the same question one week later. In the diary entry in the following week, Taut writes that the answer from the students has been positive and that they are willing to do a *Siedlung* project in his studio.

¹⁴⁵ According to Bozdoğan (Bozdoğan 1997) this project deserves special attention because it introduced housing as an important problem that needed an urgent solution. It was revolutionary since architects were traditionally perceived as artists designing public buildings and monuments, not houses.

environments in the German context. Although the conditions in İstanbul were not analogous to those in Berlin, these projects may still be considered as restructuring with new, local considerations.

One of the design projects that Bruno Taut gave to last year architecture students was a housing settlement for government employees, consisting of 400 housing units. The students were told to consider the climate of Ankara, and also limited financial resources. The studio work consisted of a site plan and site section in 1/1000 scale, plan schemes for the flats, and also analyses including the calculations for planning and realization costs (Arkitekt 1937). It is interesting to note that there were no requirements for any facades, or any sections for the houses in an architectural scale; in other words, no aesthetical definition was required. This alone, suggests a seriously different understanding in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts compared to both the Baux Arts approach before 1930, and also the approach of Ernst Egli until 1936.

Of the student works from the Residential Buildings for Government Employees in Ankara, only two settlement projects remain. The housing units should be of three different types, and built with topographical appeal. In the published plans of the students, the idea of the garden city is pursued in the form of a topographically oriented broken slab structure (which was quite similar to the earlier garden city projects of Bruno Taut). Also climatic adaptations like cantilevering roofs and sun shades had been foreseen in this studio (Arkitekt 1937).

Eldem (Eldem 1983) states that Taut's elegance and the gentleness of his compositions, which were against axuality and geometrical systems, could also be observed in his education. He would refuse to go under in any defined schemes and norms not only in his architecture, but also in his education methods. He preferred group works in the studio, and encouraged free, open, uninhibited critiques. He wanted the students to have freedom in their works, and this was exactly why he would run into many difficulties throughout the process. This was very different from the methodic and schematic system that Egli had been using, and according to Eldem, the humanistic and free style of Taut was, at the time, a bit too progressive, probably too modern for the rest of the staff at the Academy¹⁴⁶.

¹⁴⁶ Eldem (Eldem 1983) states that when Taut came to the Academy, he had brought with him the atmosphere and mood of Japan with him, and that the way in which Taut was working and teaching was kind of foreign and awkward for those in the Academy at the time.

The education policies of Bruno Taut and the rejection of aesthetic in the studio projects are reflected in a letter that he wrote to Tokugen Mihara. Taut writes that in his own education methods he has been fighting against the formal definition of modern architecture as “cubique”¹⁴⁷ in the Turkish context:

...Here I remain faithful in fighting against it – in architecture ironically named “gubik”=cubique (French). I try it in my constructions in my teaching. Soon shall appear a book in Turkish about architectural theory. Art remains forever and ever highest expression of human feelings and therefore the sharpest sword against all devils in man’s soul. Here my work is not at all easy, in spite of all beauty of nature. Nice ships, many colored, on the Bosphorus, playing dolphins, sometimes quite near at my window at the Academy... (Taut 1938f).

Taut asked for collegiality, assuring his outstanding position. “...since the Turkish government has decided to bring artists of international range in leading positions to the academy, automatically the whole understanding has to be modified in comparison to earlier times. An artistic personality would not survive if his personal influence could be felt on the students immediately.” (Taut quoted from Nicolai 1998, p. 135).

At the educational level, Taut proposed that propaganda for pedagogical ideals should be encouraged in schools similar to the *Deutscher Werkbund* experience before 1918 (Speidel 1997). However Eldem (Eldem 1983) states that Taut had the intention of also taking into consideration the national trend dominating at the Academy then. The architecture education involved using local and traditional building techniques, building materials and aesthetics without simply imitating the past and without being attached to a specifically defined style. A novel architectural aesthetic understanding was established in addition to modern building techniques which shaped modern architecture (Söylemezoğlu 1980).

Bruno Taut’s interest in the Turkish context can also be seen in his efforts to encourage his Turkish students to search for the origins of Turkish Architecture¹⁴⁸. In

¹⁴⁷ The style which Taut refers to as “gubik” is called New Architecture or “Cubic” in the 1930s (Bozdoğan 1998). This terminology was being used by young architects in Turkey who rejected traditional understanding and approaches and advanced through adopting the principles of new architecture: rationalism, functionality, concrete. Although this transformation is enthusiastically portray, Bozdoğan (Bozdoğan 2002) also asserts that the term “Kübik” was used for the architecture that was being practiced in Turkey alone thereby reflecting the dominance of the importance of formal attitudes in architecture. These white prismatic forms made the rhetoric of the reforms visible, completing the Kemalist revolution.

¹⁴⁸ However there were some architects such as Kırımlı who claimed that Bruno Taut’s applied work contradicted his ideas stated in his book *Mimarlık Bilgisi*. Kırımlı thinks that Taut was not even aware of the fact that he was at odds with his own house that he built in Ortaköy. On one hand, he was supporting the view that environmental conditions should be utilized and should

the diary entry of Taut (Taut 1936-1938) from 5th January 1937, he states that he went to see the Turkish ornament class in the academy, and had a good impression. Taut writes further that he thought the ornament class can be further developed. Along the same lines, he has organized trips to historical sites while he was in İstanbul¹⁴⁹ (Nasır 1991).

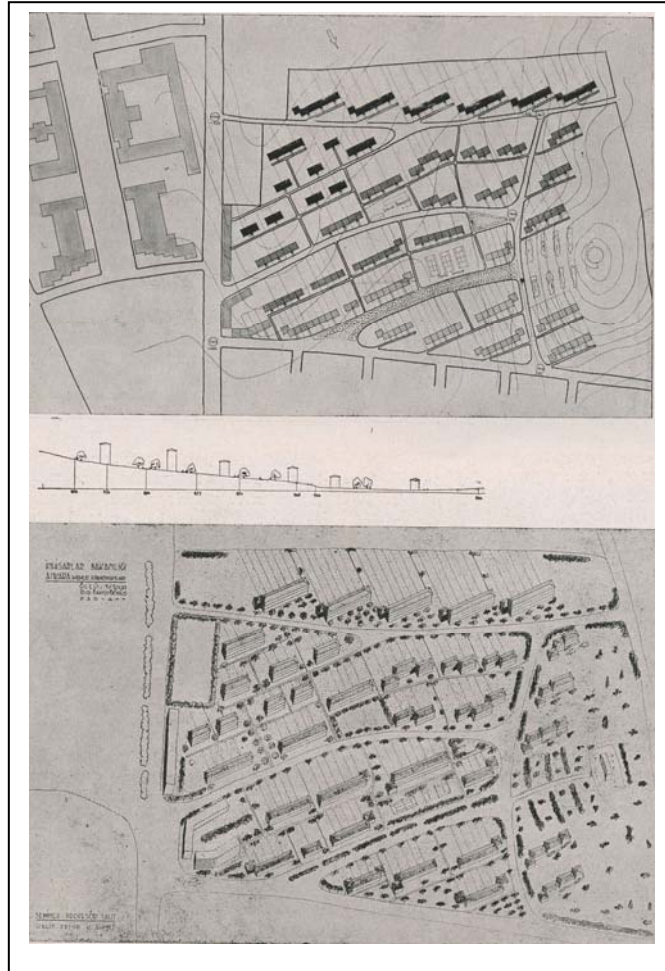


Figure 3.2. Site plan, site section and the axonometric drawing for the Residential Buildings for Government Employees in Ankara; the Project of Kemal Ahmet from the Bruno Taut Studio in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts

(Source: Arkitekt 1937: p. 212)

contribute to the aesthetic identity of the city, but on the other hand, he was constructing an exotic Far East temple as a villa in the center of İstanbul (Kırımlı 1974).

¹⁴⁹ In Bruno Taut's diary entry from 9th of April 1937 (Taut 1936-1938, p. 35), he states that they have visited the Süleymaniye Mosque and the tomb of Mimar Sinan. Also from the diary, one can follow that they have made a trip in January 1938 with the architecture students of the Academy to Edirne. Celal Esat Arseven had also joined them and they visited Ottoman Heritage.

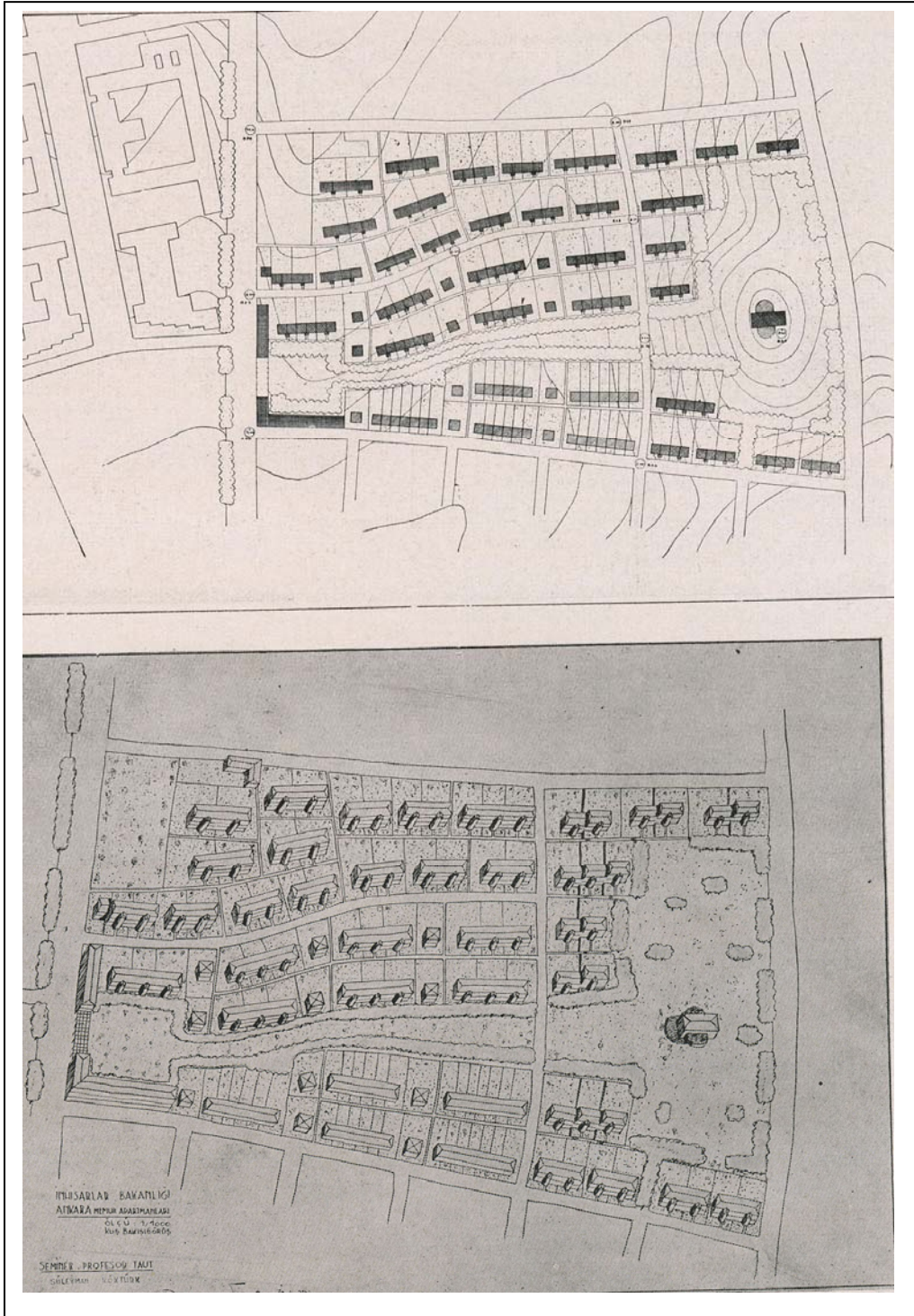


Figure 3.3. Site plan and the axonometric drawing for the Residential Buildings for Government Employees in Ankara of the Project; the project of Süleyman Köktürk from the Bruno Taut Studio in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts (Source: Arkitekt 1937: p. 213)

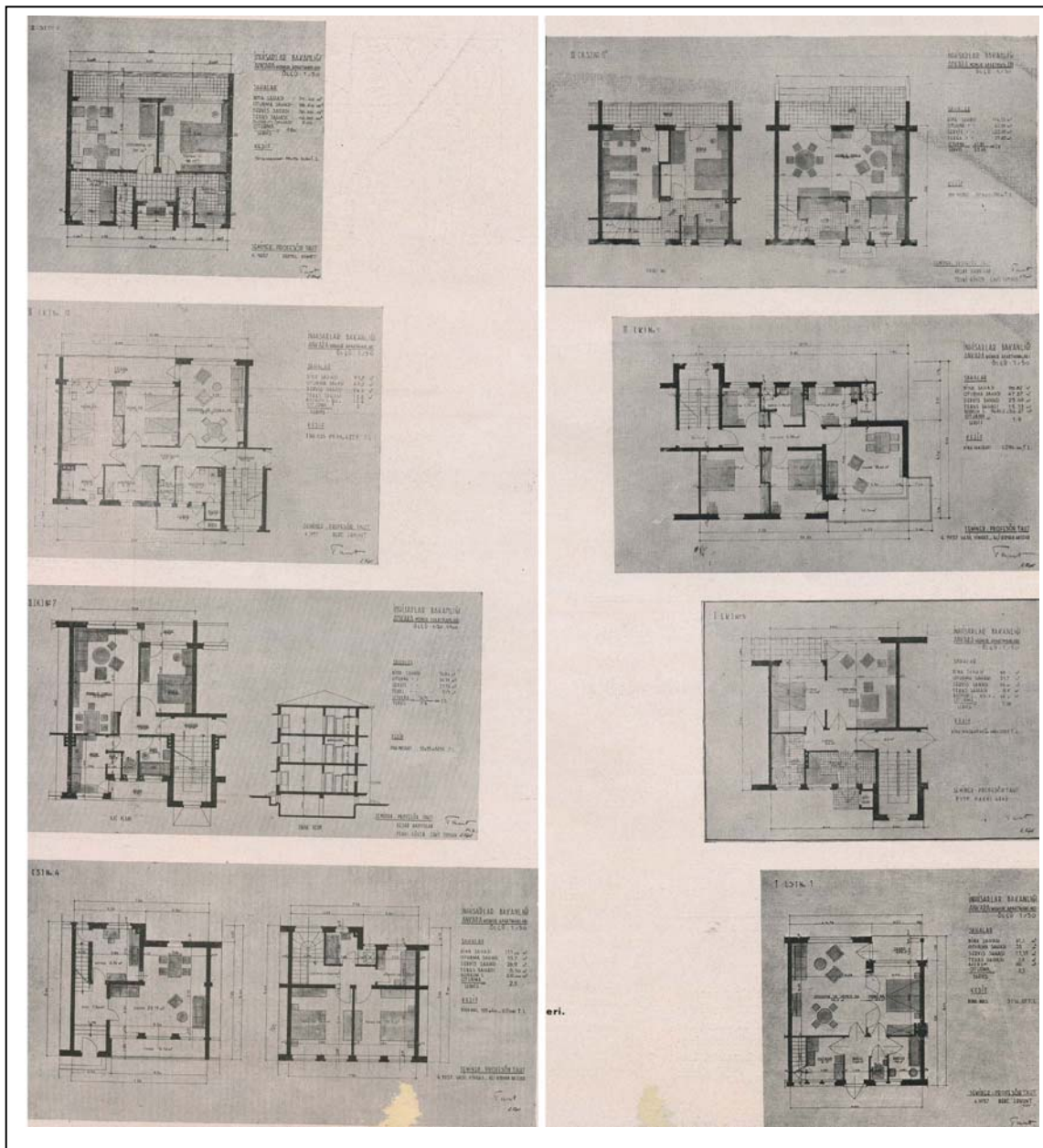


Figure 3.4. Ground Plan suggestions for housing units of the Residential Buildings for Government Employees in Ankara, from the Bruno Taut Studio in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts (Source: Arkitekt 1937: pp. 214,215)

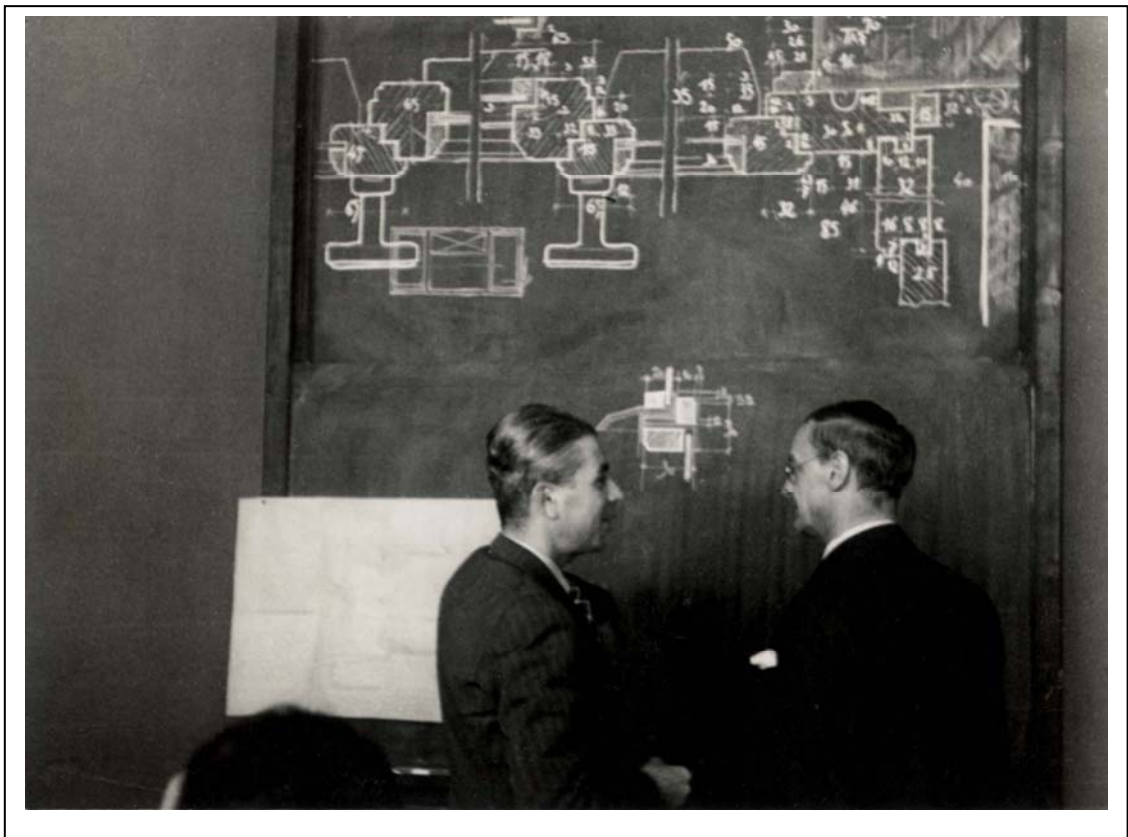


Figure 3.5. Bruno Taut with a student during a lecture in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul
(Source: Akademie der Künste Baukunst Archiven Document BTA 20-254, F2)

Through reforming the architecture department, Taut expected a change in architectural concepts and wanted to reach large populations. He had no interest to generate students that would be basically enslaved in Taut's own style and copied the master. This was Egli's teaching approach which Taut did not approve of. In contrast, he considered his teaching as a contribution to the generation of an independent, self-contained and autonomous Turkish architecture: "...unbiased but seriously, the youth shall test everything... the youth shall find their own roots so that from them the new Turkish master can emerge."¹⁵⁰ (Taut 1938g).

Taut described his reform theoretically in the *Architekturlehre* where he placed himself apart from the traditional expression of style used in the reform movement from 1910 and also from the modern architecture of 1930 on. This book can also be

¹⁵⁰ Taken from Bruno Taut's speech on 4th of June 1938, at the opening of the Taut Exhibition in İstanbul, Akademie der Künste Archives, document no. BTS-01-40

considered as a theoretical framework, useful for education purposes (Taut 1938). At the opening of his retrospective in June 1938, he concluded his understanding as follows:

...what we must look for is the synthesis between old tradition and modern civilization. This should exclude any single dimensionality. I personally followed this opinion so far and I still do. I did not like to maintain certain exterior forms and elaborate a personal style on which I would be labeled. The multidimensionality of old masters teaches me today as well as earlier times that such intention does not lead to quality.¹⁵¹ (Taut 1938g)

Bruno Taut had a dominant position at the Academy. In his diary, Taut wrote in 30th of April 1937 (Taut 1936-1938: p. 40), that Burhan Toprak has proposed the separation of the Building Office and the Academy due to a seemingly heavy workload. Taut, however writes that he rejected this proposal, due to the fact that the workload was not the problem, but his stress was caused by the limitations in his freedom in making arrangements and organising¹⁵².

He wanted to create his own style. In Taut's final report to the Ministry of Education in December 1938 about the architecture department, he states that the reasons for the prevailing problems are quite clear: The lack of mutual respect and the negligence of unfamiliar innovations. Modification in architecture education would influence the architects substantially. At the same time, debates challenging each other's views in the architecture department would result in enlightenment no matter what the outcome may be. The importance of peer review is emphasized. If the works of an architect are initially appreciated by colleagues, the chances for having impact on students and the community would be greater. If not, then the students should be protected from getting inefficient instruction. Lastly, the friction among faculty members at the Academy cannot be ignored and the Ministry should be aware of this occasional discordance in the Academy (Aslanoğlu 1980).

In April 1938, Taut wanted to stabilize his outstanding position with a new work contract of 10 years duration. This contract contained being paid uninterrupted salary in case of illness and a 1% "architect's fee" referring to the percentage to be paid based on the total expenses of the governmental buildings. It would have been the longest extended contract that ever would have been signed with a foreign specialist in

¹⁵¹ Taken from Bruno Taut's speech on 4th of June 1938, at the opening of the Taut Exhibition in İstanbul, Akademie der Künste Archives, document no. BTS-01-40

¹⁵² On 10 mayis 1937, Taut (Taut 1936-1938)reports that Toprak has repeated his wish of seperating the two positions again

Turkey¹⁵³. Like Poelzig, Taut got a five year contract in the beginning of September 1938 with the right to quit on his side. The extra contract that he asked for leadership of the Building Office was initially neglected, but at the end of October, they agreed on a new building for the Medical Faculty in Ankara (Nicolai 1998).

Bruno Taut died at the end of 1938. The last entry in his İstanbul diary (Taut 1936-1938: 144) is from 13th December 1938, where he wrote that he was trying to get authorization for the students to be allowed to work in the studios until 21.00 in the evening. After his sudden death, his successor at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul was another German Professor: Robert Vorhölzer. Robert Vorhölzer stayed about one and a half years. In 1939 the one year contract of Robert Vorhölzer was signed in a different condition since the Head of the Architecture Faculty of the Academy was no more connected to the direction of the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education.

Although Bruno Taut has served in Turkey only for two years, he made major changes and significant progress. His influence on contemporary design and construction methods are reflected in the works of his students¹⁵⁴. Bozdoğan (Bozdoğan 2002) describes the new pedagogical program brought by Taut as being an anti-orthodox modernism based on rationality against all kinds of formalism and stylism.

In spite of the resistances by Toprak, and the friction among the staff at the Academy, the academy has been reformed in the direction that Taut intended. The reports of his students and coworkers show how strongly they have been moved by the innovations under Taut¹⁵⁵; they thought that conscious architecture education only started with Prof. Taut. Drawing sketches was something the students of that generation used to do only under his supervision. Taut explained that projects should be designed collectively; this was an innovation that was also introduced by Taut to the Academy (Nicolai 1998).

It seems that in his attitude as a professor, Bruno Taut stressed with determination that it was necessary to reject a formalist approach and the stylistic canons in architecture, and did not take part in discussions regarding which architectural

¹⁵³ Normally the duration of contracts with foreign specialists was 1- 3 years.

¹⁵⁴ However after the death of Bruno Taut, in 1938, with the influence of Sedad Hakkı Eldem in the Academy and Emin Onat's in the Mühendis Mektebi, the rise and dominance of the second international architecture can be observed.

¹⁵⁵ Sözen refers to these innovations and techniques as being “different and interesting” methods of education (Sözen 1996). Gülsen (Gülsen 1984) reports positive influences on students, for example the students in İstanbul have learned from Taut, that architecture is a profession goes beyond just fulfilling technical requirements.

style to adopt: ‘modern’ or ‘historical’. However, he also stressed that culture and history, as part of the traditional culture, should be taken into consideration. Since he was a newcomer to the Turkish context and had very limited exposure, he reconsidered what the modern movement is, and what is the role of tradition in architecture.

3.2.2. Wilhelm Schütte and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in the Academy of Fine Arts

Wilhelm Schütte and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, who were married, are among the group of architects who were actively practicing in Turkey in the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education and tutoring at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul.

Wilhelm Schütte, born in Cologne in 1900, was Bruno Taut’s assistant. In 1938 he arrived in Turkey together with his wife, Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, to work for the *Tatbikat Bürosu* (Construction Office) between 1938 and 1939 (Schütte-Lihotzky 1985). After 1939, the stay of Wilhelm Schütte is unclear and could not be traced in documents or literature. Schütte wrote an article which was published in the periodical *Arkitekt*; in the introduction, Schütte states that Burhan Toprak had requested from him to prepare the report when he was working as an instructor at the *Tezyini Sanatlar Şubesi* (Section of Ornamentation Arts) at the Academy (Schütte 1940). This reference suggests that as of 1940, Schütte was working as a tutor at the Academy. According to Nicolai (Nicolai 1998), he has continued to work in the Academy of Fine Arts after 1939 and has stayed in İstanbul until 1946. Nasır (Nasır 1991) and Kuruyazıcı (Kuruyazıcı 2003) state that from 1939 to 1944 Schütte worked at the ateliers of the Academy of Fine Arts as a tutor. Between 1940 and 1944 Wilhelm Schütte he has written nine¹⁵⁶ articles for the Turkish periodical *Arkitekt*. Taken together, available information suggests that Wilhelm Schütte has stayed in Turkey after 1939.

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, the wife of Wilhelm Schütte at the time, had also been invited by Bruno Taut to Turkey in 1938 to work in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul. She has stayed in Turkey between 1938 and 1940, until Robert Vorhölzer took

¹⁵⁶ These articles are listed in Appendix F.

the position of Bruno Taut. In addition to working in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul, she also taught architecture in the Vocational School of Engineering. Yet another appointment was with the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education where she designed prototype projects for High Schools for Girls and Village Institutes (*Köy enstitüleri*). After her return to Vienna in 1940, she has worked in organizations against the National socialists, has been arrested, sentenced to death, but then the death penalty was not carried out and she was in prison until the end of the Second World War (Schütte-Lihotzky 1985). In 1942, when Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky was in prison as a political prisoner, she has written to Wilhelm Schütte, who was still working in Turkey, if the Ministry of Education could hire her again, and renew her contract; however, this request was refused by the Ministry of Education¹⁵⁷ (Chiu 1994).



Figure 3.6. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and Wilhelm Schütte in İstanbul, 1938
(Source: Schütte-Lihotzky 1985: p. 48)

¹⁵⁷ Since the request of his wife was rejected, Wilhelm Schütte secretly took some official letterheads of the Education Ministry of Turkey, and with the help of a cousin, who knew the Turkish official language well, falsified the letter. In the false letter written by Wilhelm Schütte, it was reported that the Ministry highly estimates the collaboration of Schütte-Lihotzky for the planning of Schools for Women and wants to sign a contract with her. After the translation and the notary certification, the letter was sent via the German Consulate – naturally with the official swastika stamp - to Vienna. Austrian state appointed a defending attorney who used this letter to influence the court order. With the help of this letter, the death sentence was converted to 15 years of prison (Chiu 1994).

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky writes in her book entitled *Erinnerungen aus dem Widerstand* (Memories from the Resistance), that during a visit to İstanbul in 1937, they met Bruno Taut, who invited both herself and her husband Wilhelm Schütte to İstanbul to not only teach at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul, but also to work at the Construction Office for School Buildings at the Ministry of Education with him, which was their field of expertise. After their return to Europe, the couple received another letter from Bruno Taut, telling that he has already made arrangements with the Turkish Government for both of them to work at the Academy of Fine Arts. However, it took another year for them to go to İstanbul in 1938. She mentions only-and not in any further detail- that her area of work at the Academy of Fine Arts was the *Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Schools) and the *Kız Liseleri* (High School for Girls)¹⁵⁸, and that they had had good contracts in Turkey (Schütte-Lihotzky 1985). In her autobiographical book Schütte-Lihotzky (Schütte-Lihotzky 1985) tells more about their political situation rather than the work they have done, therefore it is hard to trace the educational activities they have participated in at the Academy of Fine Arts¹⁵⁹.

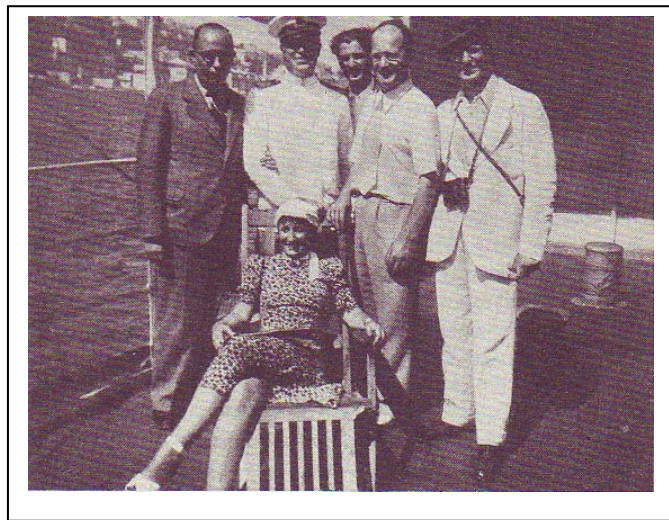


Figure 3.7. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and Wilhelm Schütte on a boat trip in İstanbul, 1939

(Source: Schütte-Lihotzky 1985, p. 48)

¹⁵⁸ All of the projects she has made have remained as being prototype projects and none of them have been realized.

¹⁵⁹ It is interesting to follow from the memories of Schütte-Lihotzky that in the İstanbul context, their group in İstanbul continued their contact with the German anti-fascists. However, these issues are discussed in the political domain, rather than professional. At the organizational level, Austrians and Germans were totally separated, which was most likely necessitated because of fear of conspiracy. In İstanbul, through one contact person, the couple also had connections to the illegal communist party in Turkey, which was forbidden since 1926.

Wilhelm Schütte is known to have worked in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, although detailed information about his work at the Academy is not available; he has been quite active in writing and publishing articles. Two of the articles he has published are about the reconstruction of areas that have been destroyed by earthquakes (Schütte 1940 and Schütte 1942a). In the first article, Schütte (Schütte 1940) suggests that after an earthquake hazard, the urgent needs of the people should be considered first; priority should be given to housing which should be obtained by using local construction materials, local know-how and workers. The article continues on how to build these houses with detailed suggestions on the typology, the materials and construction techniques to be used. In his second article dealing with earthquakes, Schütte communicates the studies conducted in Jena, Germany with model constructions to observe how different types of housing schemes such as single houses and row houses react to different levels of earthquakes (Schütte 1942a).

In another article that Schütte (Schütte 1944a & 1944b) has written in two parts, he comments on the culture of dwelling, in which he mentions that the Turkish State is also strongly supporting the construction of housing settlements such as the Sümerbank example. He discusses the changing conditions of the 20th century on residential buildings¹⁶⁰ and the meaning of feeling “at home”. Schütte emphasizes that it is important for the architects to consider the wishes of the people that will eventually live in these houses. The biggest difference that he mentions between present and the past is the clear separation of work, and work spaces, as well as hospitals and home environment (Schütte 1944a). In other words, he is aware of the changing conditions of modern life in comparison to traditional life, especially in the bigger cities. However, he claims that there are three major factors that characterize the modern dwellings: Being connected to nature with good light, air and sun, having a functional interior design with properly separated spaces, and using new furniture to increase the practicality and reduce the size of spaces.

He then continues to discuss the importance of the context in houses, in which he refers to the importance of having green space around, and he criticizes the housing

¹⁶⁰ The changes that Schütte (Schütte 1944a) discusses are, the separation of work and home which was not observed earlier. Lawyers, doctors, and other businesses had office spaces outside their homes and were gradually moving to the business districts of the cities and further away from the residential areas. This resulted in a change regarding the separation of home and work spaces. Ceremonial and festivity spaces have also moved to hotels and restaurants and the like. As a result, the home zone became more private, a remote space where people could rest and relax.

projects of the 19th century as being “deserts of stone”. He also mentions that due to climatic conditions, it is not possible to build any housing projects in the Mediterranean coast, similar to the houses built in Berlin or in Paris. He proposes that the best clues for building in accordance with the context can be obtained through studying the old building traditions of the location. He expresses his desire to see the traditional *sofa* of the Turkish houses regain its popularity and function, since the dark and narrow corridors that were being used in the apartment buildings of Ankara and İstanbul at the time were nothing comparable to the traditional *sofa*¹⁶¹. He continues praising the roof gardens, and suggests that they are even better than those on the ground; first because of the view opportunities that they provide, and second because they are smaller in size and easier to take care of. The article continues to discuss the separation of living and dining rooms as a useful practice in the Turkish context because of the relatively hot climate, which may result in spread of food odors from the dining to the living room, resulting in an unpleasant atmosphere. The next parts involve the bedrooms and kitchen, but the ideas of Schütte seem to be universal on these spaces, since he does not comment on any specific conditions for the Turkish case. The last section of the article deals with the exterior form, where he starts with criticizing the architects that simply use horizontal windows instead of vertical ones, and cover the façade with concrete plaster; and states that this is not enough to be “modern”. He suggests that the good and modern residential architecture should include the following:

...It is necessary to provide a neat expression for internal function and external form, to use old and new building materials, such as brick, concrete, glass, wood, iron, plaster and stone, in accordance with their characteristics in appropriate places within modern construction principles, and to use good proportions to place the residential building in nature and in its neighborhood (Schütte 1944a).

One can follow that the ideas of Schütte on the dwelling culture are a mixture of traditional and modern housing schemes. His way of thinking seems sometimes to reflect the housing ideas of Bruno Taut from the beginning of the 20th century with the Garden concepts and the rejection of the “deserts of stone” which must be referring to the Rental Barracks of Germany. The plans of the ideal flat, also the discussions on the functional interiors and the new furniture hint at his affinity with Ernst May and the New Frankfurt Project of the post First World War, and especially the practical, functional kitchen - which is reminiscent of the Frankfurter Kitchen - designs of his

¹⁶¹ Aslanoğlu claims that this remark about the sofa that Schütte makes is solid proof of his interest in the traditional Türk evi (Turkish House) and of his respect and sensitivity for local architecture (Aslanoğlu 1994)

wife Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky. However it is interesting to note that local considerations for the Turkish context also surface in this article, with the consideration and praise of the traditional *sofa* space. In a way, this article is very reflective of an architect in a new context, trying to adapt to the new context and its local building traditions and local materials, and at the same time try to find a synthesis between the modern, contemporary understanding and the traditional housing cultures. In a way, he seems to be taking more universal questions into consideration in a way that does not reject the local contextual issues. “Despite maximum simplicity in concepts, ultimate freedom in proportions and a careful design throughout the building...” (Schütte 1942: p. 132)

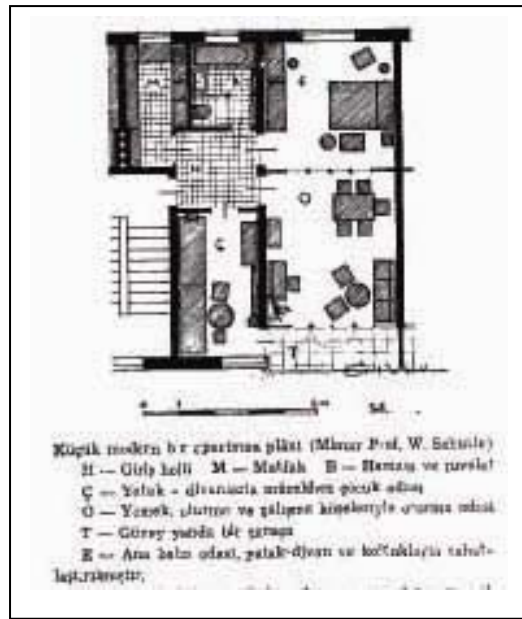


Figure 3.8. Plan for a small apartment flat, designed by Wilhelm Schütte
(Source: Schütte 1944a: p. 31)

Additionally, Schütte has published an article in the Periodical *Arkitekt* called “*Mimar Yetiştirimi*” (Training of Architects), which reflects with his ideas on how architectural education should be in Turkey. This article may be considered as solid proof that he was dealing with architectural education in one way or other. In his article, he suggests that the education of architecture has two major goals: 1) To surface and develop the visual communication abilities of the students, since this is the only way to get their ideas through for an architect, 2) To communicate the necessary knowledge for encouraging artistic creativity. He argues with determination that it is not art that can be taught, but knowledge (Schütte 1943). The second goal depicted by Schütte, is again

parallel with the ideas of the *Kunstwollen* wing of the German Werkbund at the beginning of the 20th century, and display a similar understanding in the role of artistic creativity to those of Bruno Taut.

Further articles written by Schütte in Turkey, are those on famous European architects¹⁶². Another article describes the urban developments that were recently happening in Cologne (Schütte 1940a). Taken together, these articles give the impression of being a series of impressions from Europe. In these articles, through the comments Schütte makes on other architects, one can get hints regarding his architectural attitude. In the article on Karl Friedrich Schinkel¹⁶³, Schütte (Schütte 1942) quotes a phrase from Schinkel, in which he says that architecture is the meeting point of matter and intention; in order for a building to fully fulfill its duties, it requires more than simply being functional¹⁶⁴. Schütte interprets this quote as “everything that meets intentions is not necessarily aesthetically beautiful” rather than as utilitarian functionalism, and gives the Sultan Ahmet mosque as an example. He describes that its courtyard is not just designed to gather a big crowd, but it serves for the human being spiritually. Briefly, he asserts that when a building is able to fulfill its duties functionally, practically and spiritually, it is beautiful (Schütte 1942). In his article on Theodor Fischer, Schütte (Schütte 1940b) praises Fischer for being the architect that has put an end to eclectic attitudes of the former generations of architects through rejecting to design in a style which imitates historical styles; his educational approach is also appreciated. In his article on Adolf Loos, Schütte (Schütte 1942b) praises the architect for his fight against ornament, but he emphasizes the fact that he has not become carried away in principles in order to blindly turn this principle into a cliché, since he also thought highly of tradition; tradition was precious, and an issue to be considered in every aspect.

Kırıklı (Kırıklı 1974) states that the ideas and applied work of Wilhelm Schütte, whose name has been almost forgotten, are the only examples which are in total agreement with the dialectic scheme. There are very few buildings remaining from

¹⁶² These articles are on Theodor Fischer (Schütte 1940b), Karl Friedrich Schinkel (Schütte 1942), and Adolf Loos (Schütte 1942b).

¹⁶³ Karl Friederich Schinkel (1781-1841): German architect who has designed mostly in a neo-classical Prussian style.

¹⁶⁴ To get a better insight on Schütte’s personal perception of Karl Friederich Schinkel, please refer to Schütte, W., 1942 “Karl Friederich Schinkel (1781-1841) Bugün Bizlere Ne İfade Eder?” *Arkitekt*, No. 5-6, pp. 131-135. In this article, Schütte generally praises the architect, and claims that his mastery leans on his talent as an artist and that he would be bulding completely in accordance with the demands of this new age if he were alive now.

W. Schütte in Turkey. There is one small apartment building in İstanbul, on Valikonağı Street, attributed to him, and in Kırımlı's view, the building is a masterpiece in space usage. Schütte's lecture on "*Sefalet Mahalleleri*" (Misery Neighborhoods) for architecture students was very interesting according to Kırımlı (Kırımlı thinks that this lecture took place in 1943, but he is not sure). In this lecture, Schütte had pointed to the problem of slums and predicted that this will be a big threat and someday will cause unsolvable troubles. During those days, even the word *Gecekondu* (houses built overnight) was not being used. Kırımlı suggests that the problem Turkey faced in the 1970s could have been prevented if the issue was handled as seriously as Schütte had predicted; he concludes his comments recommending young researchers to study this architect in further detail. Disappointingly, no trace of the apartment building mentioned in Kırımlı's article has been found.

Unfortunately, the period Wilhelm Schütte and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky lived and worked in İstanbul cannot be traced in further detail. Since they have been working at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul with direct support of Bruno Taut in the beginning, as assistants with limited power and responsibilities, it is difficult to talk about their careers in Turkey in terms of restrictions and freedoms. Especially Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky has stayed for a very limited time in Turkey. However in her description of her stay in Turkey, she tends to talk about a pleasant working atmosphere in the Construction Office. Her involvement seems to have been more politically oriented in the Turkish Context similar to the prior European and Russian contexts.

However, from the number of articles that Wilhelm Schütte has published during his stay in Turkey¹⁶⁵, he seems to have been fruitful in theoretical production. His articles cover a wide range of subjects including his ideas on architectural education, residences of modern times, reconstruction of houses on earthquake damaged areas, development of big cities, as well as reviews on Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Theodor Fischer and Adolf Loos. His articles do not reflect any feeling of being restricted in any way, on the contrary, hints at the free writing opportunities he has had in Turkey. It can be assumed, that Wilhelm Schütte has produced more articles, and has written more in the Turkish context compared to the German. To the best of our knowledge, no traces of

¹⁶⁵ Some of the articles Wilhelm Schütte has written in Turkey have been translated by Adnan Kolatan, however a translator does not appear in all articles. This is no solid proof that he has actually been writing in Turkish.

articles or books that Wilhelm Schütte has written before his arrival to Turkey have been located during the literature search for this thesis. This alone, suggests a difference between his previous activities in Germany in view of the freedom he presumably experienced in Turkey at the time.

3.2.3. Robert Vorhölzer: End of the Foreign Architects in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts

Robert Vorhölzer, who has worked in Turkey between June 1939 and January 1941, is the last German professor of architecture to have worked in the Architectural Faculty of the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts as the Head of the Department of Architecture. After Robert Vorhölzer, the era of foreign directors in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul many years in a row, has come to an end.

Robert Vorhölzer has had to leave Germany due to the fact that the Bavarian Culture Ministry had described the buildings that he built for the German Post as being *bolshevist*, and therefore as of 1935 he was not allowed to lecture any more at the Munich Technical University where he used to be a professor; however, he was allowed to continue building in Germany. His position in Turkey was different than the Germans before him. Furthermore, although he had replaced the position of Bruno Taut as the Head of the Architecture Department at the Academy, unlike Taut, he was not the director of the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education anymore after 1938. Another difference was that his contract was not for three or five years, but only for one year, which was his own choice, to provide an opportunity to negotiate over his position and salary at the end of the one year (Nicolai 1998).

Robert Vorhölzer was recommended by Paul Bonatz as a professor of architecture for the Head of the Architecture Faculty of the Academy. His situation was not exactly the exile situation as in that of Bruno Taut, or the Schütte family; he had the possibility to return to Germany if he wished (Randl 1990).

When Vorhölzer came to the Academy, after the death of Bruno Taut, according to Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) the students were disoriented, and many of the German assistants at the Academy seemed to have resigned from their jobs at the Academy and

started working in private construction offices. Furthermore, the Turkish state was in a state of wartime economy by 1939¹⁶⁶, which had caused further reductions in budgets.



Figure 3.9. Robert Vorhölzer, around 1930
(Source: Randl 1990: p. 100)

According to the curriculum designed by Bruno Taut, the architecture study would last 4 years followed by one master year, in order to strengthen the practical experience of the students (Jochinke 2001). There also seems to have been a focus on school and kindergarten projects, since Schütte-Lihotzky (Schütte-Lihotzky 1985) reports that following the instructions of Robert Vorhölzer, Wilhelm Schütte, as his assistant did a research study on programs for different types of Village Schools and kindergartens, to form the basis for a project that they would give the students in the Academy of Fine Arts.

Robert Vorhölzer, did not work in the applied construction office found by Bruno Taut within the Academy. He claimed that he wanted to devote all his efforts only and purely for the architectural school, and its reconstruction. Both Randl (Randl 1990) and Cremer (Cremer 1990) state that Vorhölzer tried to establish an education system and curriculum in accordance with the German university system logistics, in order to encourage student exchange between Turkish and German universities. However his reform efforts and strategy were in total opposition with the ideas Burhan Toprak who was the director of the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts. Toprak had a

¹⁶⁶ Although the Turkish State did not take part in the Second World War, the economic difficulties and restraints in Europe were also reflected in the Turkish Context.

French orientation, and therefore, was against German pedagogical and aesthetical concepts.

Another intention of Robert Vorhölzer was to strengthen the craftsmanship and construction aspects of the basic training years¹⁶⁷, because the situation in Turkey was unlike the situation in West Europe (in this aspect he was also comparable to his German forerunners, since the quality connotation was regarded with displeasure). It was remarkable, that the building companies were lacking the ability to conduct correct architectural projects (Nicolai 1998).

Although Vorhölzer never learned Turkish, Cremer (Cremer 1990) claims that he worked very closely with his students, and that the students liked him because of his direct and straightforward approach. Randl also claims that Vorhölzer was liked by the students, and vice versa; this mutual positive affect resulted in a pleasant atmosphere in the Academy. In the yearly report that Vorhölzer wrote to the German Embassy in İstanbul in 1940, Vorhölzer writes that he was impressed by the sensitivity and the enthusiasm of the Turkish architecture students (Randl 1990).

Besides these anecdotes, there is not much information on the professorship and tutoring methods of Vorhölzer except for the remarks made later by some of his students. One of them is Behçet Ünsal; Ünsal (Ünsal 1973) states that Vorhölzer has been a “good” tutor. Another one is Asım Mutlu; in an interview made with Asım Mutlu, he describes Vorhölzer as an instructor from whom he learned a lot, and says that Vorhölzer “...wanted the students to reflect something from themselves in their projects as much as possible.” (Mutlu quoted from Nasır 1991: p. 298). According to Sedat Hakkı Eldem, who was a colleague, Vorhölzer had a very extrovert personality. He received great respect and love from his students. Vorhölzer always created opportunities to interact with the students through dinners, long evenings, and short trips. Eldem defines his architecture -in less detail than the social activities -as being sound, simple and unpretentious (Eldem 1983). Unfortunately, a more precise description cannot be found in sources on the teaching methods of Vorhölzer.

There were accusations about Robert Vorhölzer in 1941 that he was working as a spy in Turkey, because he had asked for satellite photos of İstanbul and the Bosphorus supposedly for a city planning lecture. He was initially arrested, but then was freed with

¹⁶⁷The first two years were for basic training according to the curriculum organized by Ernst Egli.

the intervention of the German Ambassador Franz von Papen. This marked the end of his career in Turkey (Kuruyazici 2003).

Although it is not possible to decipher the professional career of Vorhölzer completely in the Turkish context, one can see that he has not worked further than to teach at the Academy of Fine Arts. There are no buildings that he has constructed in Turkey¹⁶⁸, neither are there any articles or books he has published. In fact one can say that he was relatively unimportant compared to the other German professors of architecture who have worked in Turkey. On the other hand, anecdotal evidence depicts positive impressions of him as an educator. Arif Hikmet Holtay wrote a letter in 1947 where he was praising the efforts of Vorhölzer to educate the youth, telling that he had devoted himself completely to architectural education and appreciating his cooperative attitude during his directorate of the architecture faculty¹⁶⁹ (Nicolai 1998).

Nonetheless, his position as a professor and the way he has left Turkey, suggests a serious restriction from the Turkish side. However, it should be noted that the political atmosphere, economic restraints and war time conditions of 1941 are not comparable to early and mid 1930s. The effort of Turkey not to be involved in any political, social and financial costs is apparent, but the global effects of the Second World War cannot be ignored. Furthermore, Vorhölzer with his German background was in conflict with Burhan Toprak who had an inclination towards French aesthetic values. Another factor was the dramatic change in the perception of foreign architects in Turkey¹⁷⁰; the change was in the negative direction towards late 1930s. However, these may not be the real reasons behind the dissatisfaction Vorhölzer as it is not clear in German¹⁷¹ or in Turkish literature if he actually was working as a National Socialist spy in the Turkish context or not.

¹⁶⁸ Cremer (Cremer 1990) mentions that there exists one fragment of an architectural plan for İstanbul, but that the building is not identifiable.

¹⁶⁹ Arif Hikmet Holtay also states further in this letter according to Nicolai (Nicolai 1998), that the attitude of Vorhölzer was unlike the power trip which Bruno Taut had while he was the head of the Architecture Faculty.

¹⁷⁰ For further detail concerning the way the foreign specialists have been received in a protesting tone in Turkey, please refer to Tümer's book "Cuhuriyet Dönemi'nde Yabancı Mimarlar Sorunu" (Tümer 1998).

¹⁷¹ Cremer (Cremer 1990) and Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) also state that although Vorhölzer was released from the charges, the actual reality remains unclear.

3.2.4. Paul Bonatz: In the İstanbul Technical University

Paul Bonatz is different from all the other German architects that came to Turkey as exile from Germany in the 1930s. First of all Bonatz came to Turkey much later, in 1943, and he was not in exile. The first visit of Bonatz to Turkey was in 1916, to see the building plot for the competition of the Turkish-German Friendship house. He has been in İstanbul for the second time in 1927¹⁷², and his third trip to Turkey was in 1942 as a member of the jury¹⁷³ for the “*Anıtkabir*” competition. Also in 1942, he took part in the introduction of the “*Yeni Alman Mimarisi*” (New German Architecture) exhibition in Ankara. In September 1943, he was accepted by the Turkish Government to work in Turkey as documented by the article 080.18.01.02/103/74/9 of the Turkish Prime Ministry Archives (Appendix N). Between 1943 and 1954 he worked for the Ministry of Education as an advisor, and additionally, after 1946, as a professor at the İstanbul Technical University.

While the Architecture faculty of the Academy of Fine Arts had already parted from its last German dean, in 1940 a notice in the architecture periodical *Arkitekt* states: “The civil engineering section of *Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi* has been converted to the architecture section” (*Arkitekt* 1940). After the 1940s, *Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi* which was also following a French neo-classical program since its opening in 1844 went through a development phase. Under the direction of Emin Onat¹⁷⁴ after 1938, systematic and official reforms were initiated, and he worked on the institutionalization of the German-Austrian modernist school in the *Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi*. With the initiatives of Onat, Austrian Clemens Holzmeister was hired in 1940 and Paul Bonatz in 1946; education has gained vitality. The *Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi*, was transformed into *İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi* (İstanbul Technical University) in 1944, and had a separate faculty of architecture by 1946 located in the historical *Taşkışla* Building (Bozdoğan 2002).

¹⁷² This was a touristic trip and Oran (Oran 1957) reports that Bonatz was very impressed with the Süleymaniye, Sultanahmet and Edirnekapı mosques, and the Hagia Sofia; Bonatz had also expressed his admiration for Mimar Sinan.

¹⁷³ The other jury members were: Muammer Çavuşoğlu, Arif Hikmet Holtay, Muhlis Sertel, Iwar Tengboom, Karoly Weichinger (Batur 1998b)

¹⁷⁴ Emin Onat (1908-1961): Turkish architect who studied architecture in the Zurich Polytechnic University and graduated in 1934. He worked as the dean of the Architectural Faculty of the İstanbul Technical University (Kantarcioglu Aykıl 1998).

Paul Bonatz stayed in this position until 1954 and took the project studio over; he has been described as being the most influential professor of the time (Oran 1957). This modification, created the atmosphere for scientific research in İstanbul Technical University and new topics were included in the curriculum which had not existed in the classical architecture education. In this phase, the lead in the architecture faculties in İstanbul has shifted from the Academy of Fine Arts to the İstanbul Technical University. During the times of Paul Bonatz, from 1946 to 1954, the second national architecture style has dominated the universities, as well as practice in the country (Sey&Tapan 1983-1985). Alsaç (Alsaç 1984) also notes that the Turkish architects attended the first congress of U.I.A. in Switzerland in 1948, and Paul Bonatz was among the Turkish delegation together with Emin Onat, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Kemali and Harika Söylemezoğlu and Apostol Pistakas. This group of architects in the delegation also marks the dominance of the İstanbul Technical University.

As a professor, Paul Bonatz encouraged his students not to imitate European styles in their buildings. In fact, Bonatz himself claimed that he also made a special effort to follow this principle of not building in the European Style. According to Bonatz himself, this view is reflected in his buildings and not limited only to his educational practice (Bonatz 1950). This comment actually marks a point where architectural education, theory and practice have strongly converged in the case of Bonatz.

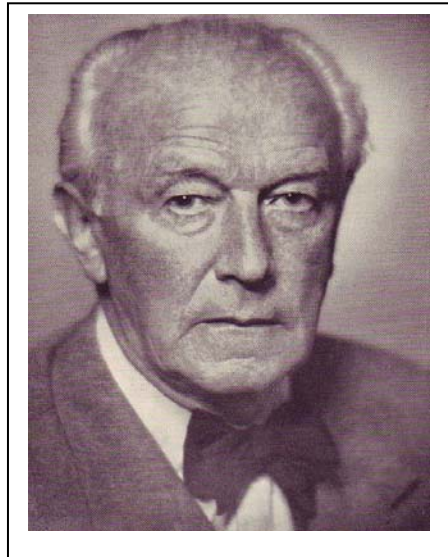


Figure 3.10. Paul Bonatz
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 1)

In accordance with the example of the Stuttgart Technical University, where Bonatz had a career as a professor of architecture, he wanted to implement an education that is oriented towards being able to develop projects under particular circumstances through mastering proper selection of construction materials. “What are essential are a patient and a fundamental education, let’s say a Schmitthenner¹⁷⁵ education with Turkish elements, detail, and more detail...”. (Nicolai 1998)

Werner (Werner 1977) comments that as a University professor, Bonatz tried to use his rich didactical experience from Stuttgart under the new circumstances in İstanbul. However, he avoided importing rigid European architecture examples, but instead he preferred to perceive himself as a peer of the young Turkish architects.

Bonatz describes himself and his education principles in his book “*Leben und Bauen*” (Living and Building) which is a mixture of autobiography and a diary. He states that his mission was to open the eyes of the students for the lively values of their own culture, and to encourage them, to stand on their own grounds, in a continuous struggle against the influence of fashion. He states that the young architects should definitely look at the fashion and see, but that they should also be very critical about it, in order to grasp the difference between genuine development and fashion, since real progress is enduring while fashion is short-lived (Bonatz 1950). Also in his speech at the opening of the “New German Architecture” Exhibition, Bonatz (Bonatz 1942a) emphasizes that one should abstain from using any style that belongs to a certain period in time, and that especially in the education of young architects the connection to tradition should be achieved through searching into the sources of the designs, and not through looking at the ornaments on the surface. His exact words were: “Perception of one’s own culture cognitively means gaining strength from a nationalistic perspective. And, this comprehension leads to tradition. Paying careful attention to tradition means searching for the proper origins” (Bonatz 1942a: p. 71)

In the view of Paul Bonatz, the only way to solidly accomplish genuine development was to prevent the students from imitating. He says that first of all they should strike out everything that is decoration, and then see that what is left behind. Are the remaining elements originally Turkish? In their proportions, their tone, their contours, their roof... And then, they should question and investigate to figure out why it was made in the way that it was made. Was it fashion? Was it simple arbitrariness? Or

¹⁷⁵ Paul Schmitthenner is a German architect, who was the colleague of Paul Bonatz, from the time when they both were professors at the Stuttgart Technical University.

did it contain a profound rationale? In his own words, this is the way Bonatz has defined his educational style. He also says that when a student would start to work with decorative elements, then Bonatz would start asking the student, why and how these elements were necessary (Bonatz 1950).

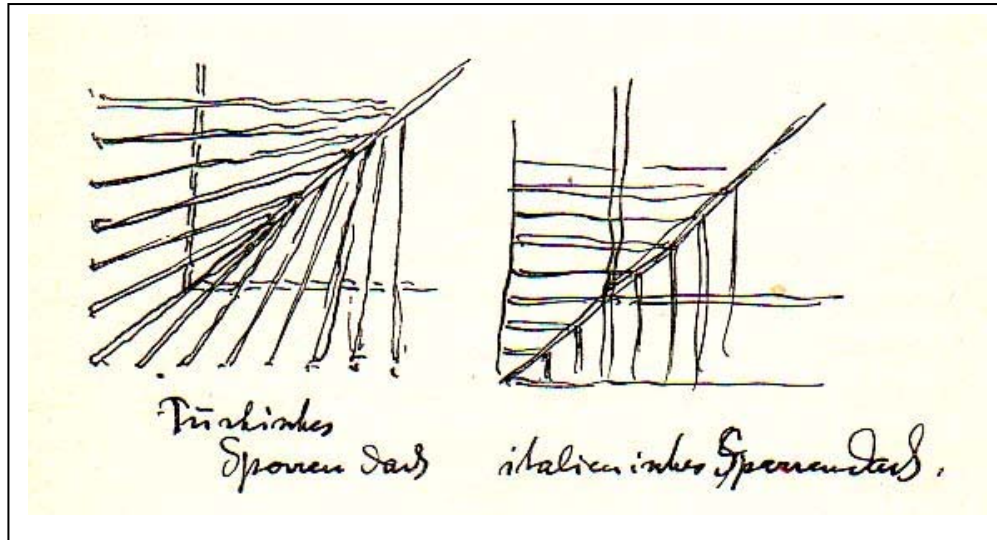


Figure 3.11. Sketch indicating the difference between a Turkish and an Italian wooden roof detail, by Paul Bonatz
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 268)

However, there must have been other aspects in the long years that Bonatz has been in the architecture faculty of the İstanbul Technical University. Tekeli (Tekeli 1981) describes the attitude of Bonatz in the project studio in the final year of their training; the students had learned from Paul Bonatz, whose personality had impressed them substantially, to search for ratios in plans and facades in two dimensional drawings. In their projects, they were working on grouping windows and on the proportion of vertical and horizontal blind spaces between them. In a way, architecture meant the fine grouping of the windows and the balanced distribution of their ratios. In an office building, they would put windows of different dimensions in different levels, although the functional office spaces were identical. During those years, as he remembers, they were using an argument that they had most likely learned from Emin Onat previously, to contradict Bonatz: Should the outside of a building reflect its inside contents and function? As reported by Tekeli, Bonatz was successful in silencing them with his expertise; he made an analogy between the outside of a building and the skin. Bonatz responded saying: “As much as our skin covers the different organs, bones or muscles of

our body without paying attention to what is inside, the facade of a building should also cover a building like a skin without worrying much about what is inside” (Tekeli 1981: p.41).

İlhami Vural, who worked on his diploma project in the studio conducted by Paul Bonatz in İstanbul Technical University¹⁷⁶, states that Bonatz is the professor from whom he learned what architecture is¹⁷⁷. He says that according to Bonatz, every project had its own geometry and in every geometrical object, there is a focal point within that geometry. Bonatz wanted the students to comprehend the building as a whole by looking at that certain focal point of the building. This focal point of the geometry was supposed to be determined within the building plot, by consideration of the surrounding of the plot, the plot’s position within the whole city. All the criteria which could impact design should be considered and then the design should be assembled as a whole (Vural 1994).

Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) reports that he has been extremely happy and satisfied to work with Emin Onat and Sedad Hakkı Eldem. Both architects were in complete harmony professionally, with parallel ideas; this must have been very beneficial for education since their aims and opinions were identical. This congruence allowed the continuity in education and helped to establish a harmonious atmosphere at the Technical University among the professors.

Some of the student projects of the Bonatz studio reflect a tendency towards a more massive and classical oriented architecture which is reminiscent of the kind of architecture similar to for example the Stuttgart Central Train Station designed by Paul Bonatz. This effect is apparent especially for the projects for official buildings like the Stuttgart Municipality Building designed by the students Hayati Tabanlıoğlu and Zahir Saatçioğlu, and the *Sergievi* (Exhibition Building) for Ankara designed by students Rauf Beyru and S.Sarıgül. The monumentality of these projects might be reflective of the ideas of Bonatz that he has communicated at the opening of the “New German Architecture Exhibition” in 1942. In his speech at the opening of the exhibition, Bonatz (Bonatz 1942b) states that monumental architecture can only blossom in an atmosphere where civil architecture has matured, and handicrafts and arts are well accomplished. In this speech Bonatz claims that monumental buildings reflect a politically powerful

¹⁷⁶ Vural states that at the time, every student had his own desk-unit in the architecture faculty of the İstanbul Technical University, and all classes had a characteristic of being studios in which all students would work non-stop.

¹⁷⁷ İlhami Vural worked in the earlier years of his architecture education under the supervision of Emin Onat and Clemens Holzmeister.

period, because these buildings belong to the state, the party and the city. Only strong administrations can accomplish the construction of these buildings.

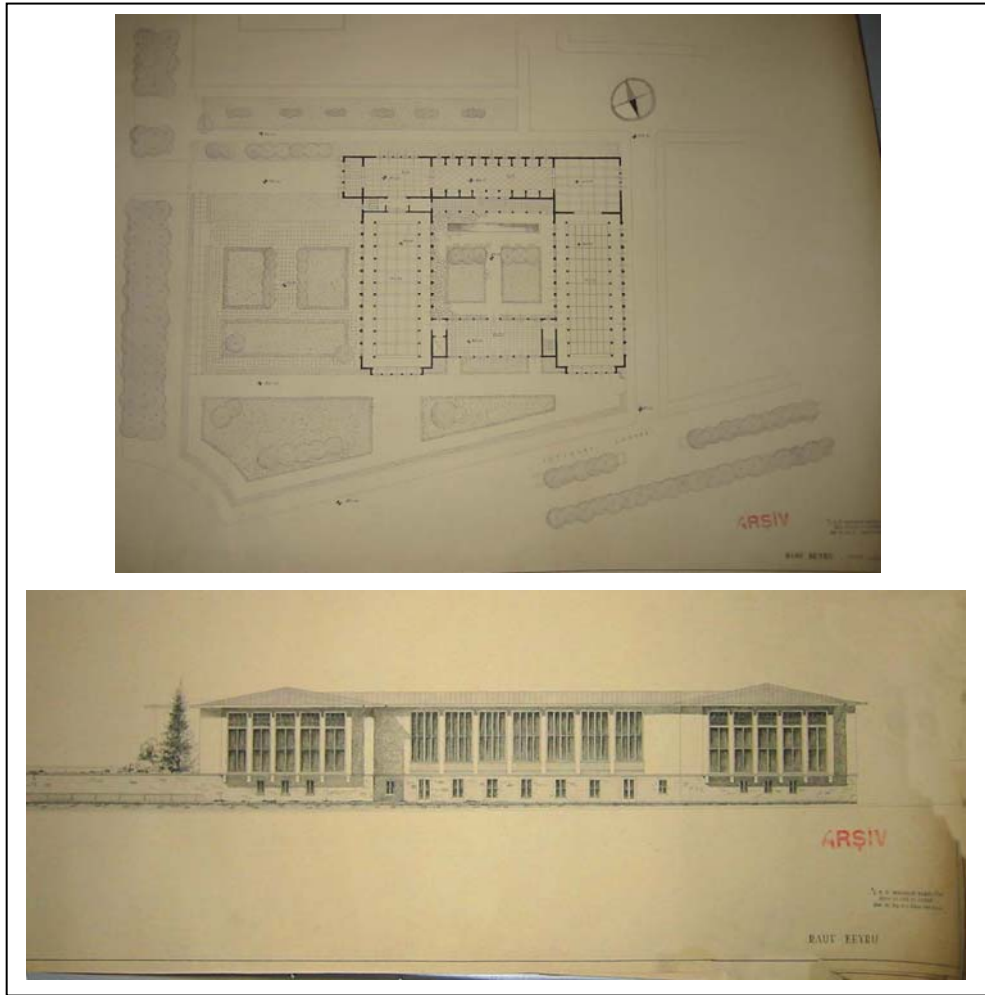


Figure 3.12. Student project by Rauf Beyru (1946-47 Summer Semester, Ankara’da Sergi Evi – Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University
(Source: İstanbul Technical University Architecture Faculty Archives)

However, projects for Ankara settlements, such as those of İlhami Vural and İlhan Artuner, reveal traces of the second national architectural style. There are also references to the paradigms of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and the *Türk Evi* (Turkish House), since *Cumba* elements, the open corridors on the upper stories with wooden beams and decorated balustrades, wooden roof structures were used in housing settlements and stone was used in the design of the site plan.

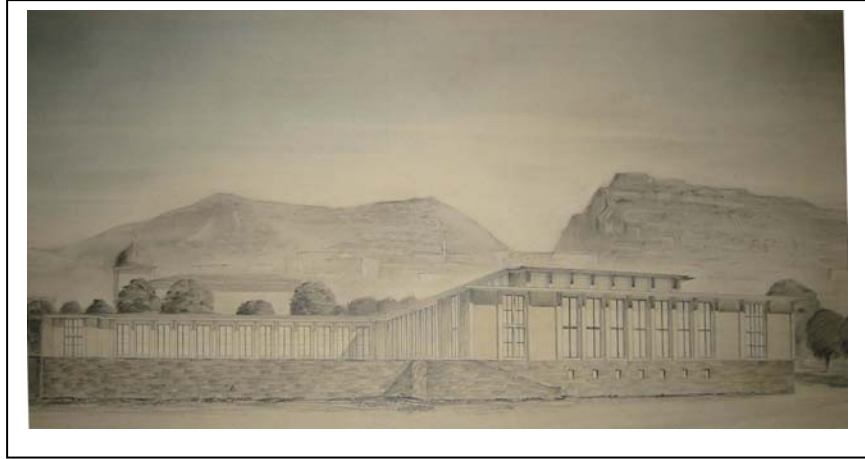


Figure 3.13. Student project by S. Sarıgöl (1946-47 Summer Semester, Ankara’da Sergi Evi – Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University
(Source: İstanbul Technical University Architecture Faculty Archives)

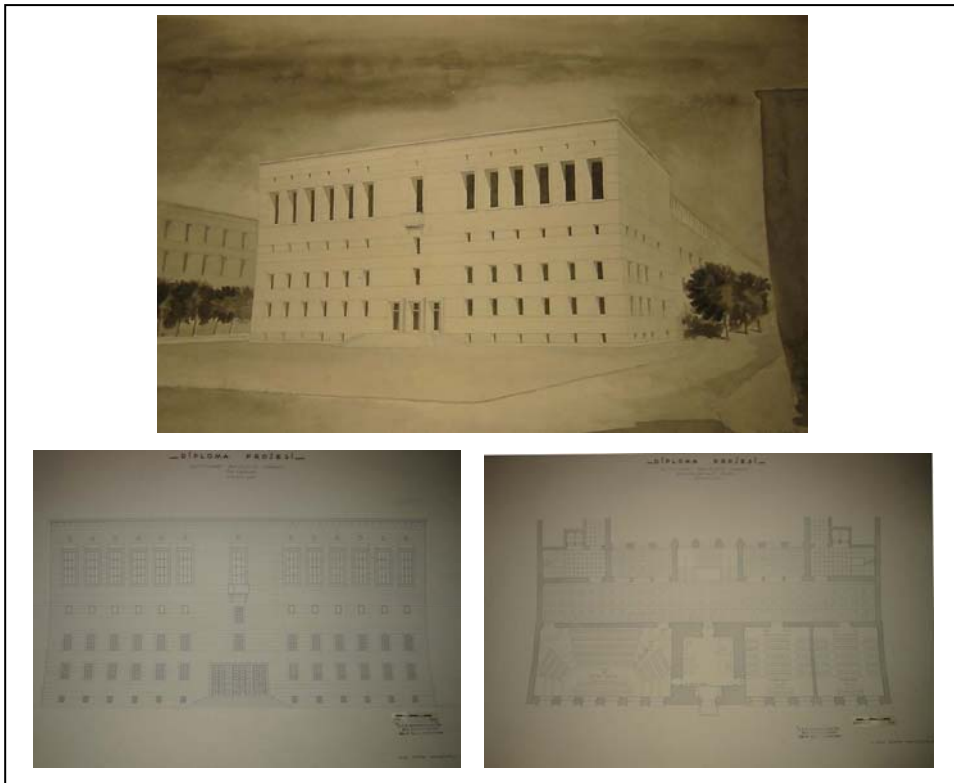


Figure 3.14. Student project by Zahir Saatçioğlu (1949-50 Summer Semester, Stuttgart Belediye Sarayı – Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University
(Source: İstanbul Technical University Architecture Faculty Archives)

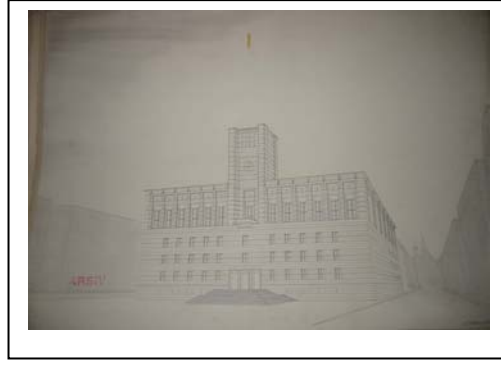


Figure 3.15. Student project by Hayati Tabanlıoğlu (1949-50 Summer Semester, Stuttgart Belediye Sarayı – Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University
(Source: İstanbul Technical University Architecture Faculty Archives)

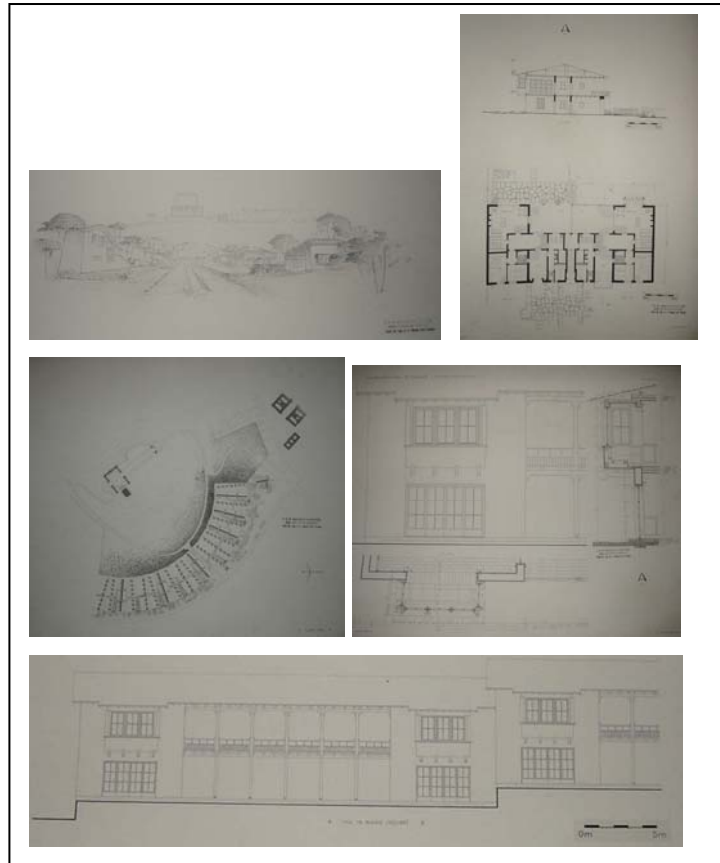


Figure 3.16. Student project by İlhami Vural (January 1950, Anıtkabir Parkı Etrafında bir Zitlunk Projesi) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University
(Source: İstanbul Technical University Architecture Faculty Archives)

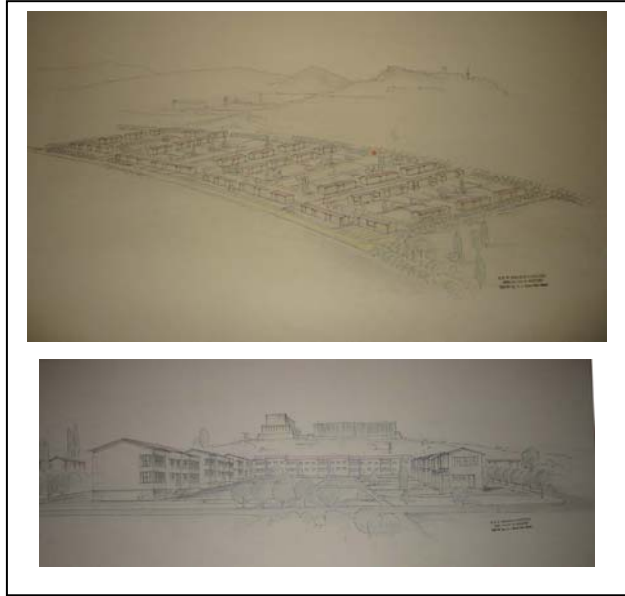


Figure 3.17. Student project by İlhan Artuner (1948-49 Summer Semester, A Neighborhood in Ankara- Diploma Project) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University

(Source: İstanbul Technical University Architecture Faculty Archives)

Bonatz also gave the project of a hanging bridge for the students in the İstanbul Technical University in 1951 to be designed at the narrowest part of the Bosphorus between Ortaköy and Üsküdar. The bridge would be 1050 meters wide and 60 meters high from the water, with 2 reinforced concrete carriers on the two sides, each with a height of 190 meters¹⁷⁸. This project is described by Kuruyazıcı (Kuruyazıcı 2003) and Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) to be one of the most modern projects in the Bonatz studio.

One other project which suggests a different, rather modern approach in the Bonatz studio is the design of a high-rise Hotel, Office and Garage project in İstanbul Tepebaşı by Haluk Alatan.

Bonatz has been one of the most influential professors at his time in İstanbul. According to Widmann (Widmann 2000) he was one of the most respected foreign architects and because of his love for Turkey, he was also regarded as one of the most sympathetic figures¹⁷⁹. Until 1954, he stayed in Turkey; however Nicolai (Nicolai 1998)

¹⁷⁸ The first Bosphorus Bridge, built about 20 years later, has almost the same measurements; however the biggest difference lies in the fact that the carriers for the actual bridge are steel, whereas in the Bonatz design, they are reported to be reinforced concrete.

¹⁷⁹ This respect and sympathy might have been one of the reasons when on August 2, 1944 all Turkish-German diplomatic relations were suspended and German Embassy advised all Germans

claims that especially after 1950, there was too much American influence during the Adnan Menderes era, which was difficult for Bonatz. He was too tired to fight against this influence, and therefore he preferred to let himself be conceived as old fashioned. Bonatz thought that it was time for younger teachers to take over his professorship position. In 1954, Paul Bonatz returned to Stuttgart and continued practicing as a free lance architect until he died in 1956.



Figure 3.18. The drawing of the design of a bridge for the Bosphorus by Paul Bonatz, İstanbul, 1951
(Source: Dübbers 1977: p. 84)

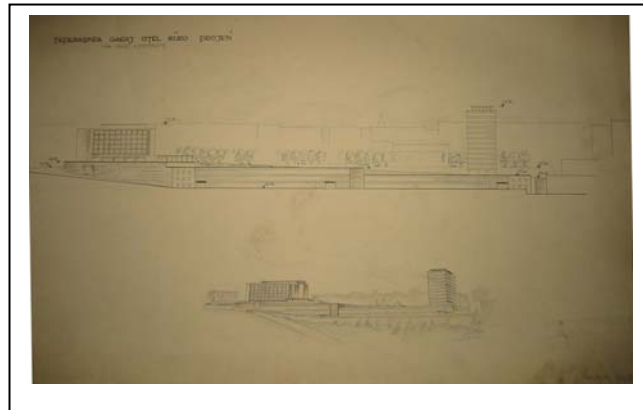


Figure 3.19. Student project by Haluk Alatan (year/semester unknown, Tepebaşı'nda Garaj Otel Büro Projesi) in the Paul Bonatz Studio in İstanbul Technical University
(Source: İstanbul Technical University Architecture Faculty Archives)

residing in Turkey to return to Germany, Paul Bonatz was one of the few Germans allowed to stay and continue working for the Turkish Government (Bonatz 1950).

In summary, after the mid 1940s, with contributions of Bonatz at the İstanbul Technical University, architectural education changed significantly from the rational functional tradition of the 30s in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul, towards a rather classical style. The search for a new national architectural style can also be observed when the student projects for the housing settlement that Taut gave to his students, and the student projects of Bonatz are compared. It is further open to discussion if Bonatz achieved all his goals regarding education, or if he really did manage to communicate his ideals and principles to a new generation of architects. However, in the studio of Bonatz, a variety of divergent architectural attitudes can be observed in hotel and settlement projects.

CHAPTER 4

4. DESIGNING AND BUILDING FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC: ARCHITECTURAL PROJECTS OF THE GERMAN ARCHITECTS IN THE TURKISH CONTEXT

Not all the German Expatriate architects that have come to Turkey in the Republican Era have been covered in depth in Chapter 3, since not all have worked in the education field and have communicated their ideas through written language. Some of the German architects have expressed themselves mainly through architectural projects. As would be expected, not all architects have excelled in all aspects of production and/or expression. Subsequently, their work and resulting products are usually not balanced regarding different media that can be used for communication. Furthermore, it is impossible to categorize the German architects that have been in Turkey, with regard to their architectural preferences and performance as proponents of a specific typology in architecture. German architects in the Turkish context cannot be restricted and limited to a single facet of expression either. Therefore this chapter deals with realized and unrealized architectural production (buildings, projects, designs) of a selected group of architects in the Turkish context; all of the previously known works, as well as those encountered and uncovered during the research phase of this present thesis is included.

The competition for the German-Turkish Friendship House in 1916¹⁸⁰ has been the first exposure to Turkey for some of the German architects, who have later chosen Turkey as their refuge. Following this experience, German architects have started working on architectural projects in the Turkish context in the second half of the 1930s.

¹⁸⁰ Among the German architects working in Turkey, the ones who have submitted a project for the German-Turkish Friendship House are Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser, Hans Poelzig and Bruno Taut.

Many historians agree that this was a period when the “*yeni mimari*” (new architecture)¹⁸¹ period in Turkey, was coming close to an end.

After the formation of the nation-state politically, the next step was to establish public awareness and societal understanding of the new regime. Following the proclamation of Ankara as the new capital on 13 November 1923, and the need to transform modernize the city (Tekeli 1995), marks the beginning of employing the strategy of using space to reinstate public awareness. Ankara should not only be a symbol, but should also be a capital city which would encompass all the functions of the contemporary world and reflect the life style in accordance with this perspective. According to Tankut (Tankut 1988), this view not only concerned urbanization, but also involved political decisions regarding the use of space¹⁸². However, Tekeli (Tekeli 2005) depicts that an institutional structure could only be established by the 1930s which would satisfy the expectations of the regime regarding the reorganization of the urban spaces.

The period which Tekeli refers to, regarding the administrative structure, i.e. the beginning of the 1930s, is considered to be the time of the new architecture movement in conventional historiography. This period marks a time when the new architecture movement was already in a crisis in Europe. On the other hand, in the Turkish context, architecture was considered as a major component of the building of the nation-state, thereby it was at its most popular phase. Bozdoğan (Bozdogan 1994) claims that there is an overlap regarding the timing of the dissemination of the modern movement outside Europe and the perception of architecture as a critical indoctrination element in Turkey; the modernist understanding was in a way reduced to a unified formalist position. Ergut (Ergut 1998) claims that this new architecture, which appeared as ideal throughout the 1930s, was conceptualized as being ‘modern’, ‘civilized’, ‘contemporary’ and ‘international’, which were terms representing development.

Arseven (Arseven 1931) in his book “*Yeni Mimari*” (New Architecture) proudly acknowledges the emergence of new architecture in Turkey in 1931. The exact words he uses are “New architecture has arrived in our country. Some of the new buildings in Ankara are

¹⁸¹ Also referred to as “*kübik mimari*” (cubic architecture).

¹⁸² It is important to remember that conventionally architecture was perceived to be a totally state-driven activity; in the 1930s, this view was modified and rejected. For example, according to Tanyeli (Tanyeli 2003), related publications of the period conceive architecture as a reality which accepts the driving force of Turkish modern movement as the state. He is critical of this approach because it gives the impression that a master plan has been decided on to restructure the society, culture and economy.

reflections of this architecture. In fact, among the architectural understanding of all the nations, Turkish architecture has a special place regarding its harmony with this style because of its rational approach. Therefore this new architecture will not be perceived as alien to us.” (Arseven 1931: pp. 8-9).

Alsaç (Alsaç 1973) states that during the 1930s, the new architecture, which he calls “*Fonksiyonculuk*” (Functionality), was described in texts and radio programs. The major attributes mentioned in such media, included the functionality of the buildings (i.e. form followed function), the honest use of building materials, and the rejection of excessive ornamentation, overall, architecture was described as a clear art of using space.

Already towards the second half of the 1930s, the criticisms of the “new” and “cubic” architecture began to surface and the lack of any national touch started to be articulated in the periodical “*Arkitekt*”. “*Arkitekt*” published in 1938, an article called “*Türk Evi*” (the Turkish House) was by a foreigner Albert Gabriel¹⁸³, which was a study of traditional Turkish Houses describing the characteristics and also the differences of houses in Mardin, Diyarbakır, İstanbul and Tokat (Gabriel 1938).

The modernist tendencies started giving way to more local and national tendencies in architecture. This tendency which was later named the Second National Architectural style had emerged and strengthened with the effect of the Second World War; however, these were not the only reasons beyond the Second National Movement. The underlying factors were more complex and interacting.

The modernist understanding, although dominant and determined, was not the only voice of the period between 1927 and 1950. It was natural that a radical acceptance of and devotion to modern architecture, as has been in the early republican period, has contained within it and even reproduced its antithesis. This antithesis has had a dual structure as argued by Sedat Hakkı Eldem in his famous text “*Yerli Mimariye Doğru*” (Towards a National Architecture): 1. Modern architecture has caused disharmony and discordance with its form and the principles of its formation. “Dark buildings without roofs, ruler formed streets with acacias” has changed the face of the Anatolian cities too much considering the traditional historical context. 2. It was claimed that modern architecture had been depending on imported construction materials and technology excessively, and that the “gradual leaking of the terrace roofed buildings without eaves indicated that they were not aging

¹⁸³ Albert Gabriel (1883-1972) is a French Art historian. According to an announcement in the periodical *Arkitekt*, he was hired as an art historian in the İstanbul Technical University Faculty of Architecture in 1940 (*Arkitekt* 1940).

properly” (Eldem 1940). Alsaç (Alsaç 1984: p. 95) states that in 1934, legislation was passed about the organization and responsibilities of the Ministry of Public Works, which paved the way for upturn of regionalism: “The Ministry will see to it that a Turkish architectural style is developed in order to maintain a certain uniformity (in the environment).” Sözen states that in the 1940s, it was openly articulated by the state that: “in order to assure the rise of a national style, ideas and concepts must be determined” (Sözen 1996, p. 75).

It is also important that the whole world and especially Europe was going through this shift of nationalism. Bozdoğan (Bozdoğan 2002) says that the cubic architecture was criticized due to the rise in nationalistic views. Passionate nationalists condemned the formal elements of modernity and disapproved it as being alienated, individualistic and cosmopolitan. Ergut (Ergut 1998) also claims that the tone of appraisal for the new architecture was replaced by a search for a different type of architecture which would be more suitable for the country. Gradually there was more emphasis placed on the need for promotion of national identity.

Only two years after the death of Atatürk, in 1940, the reappearance and rearticulation of regionalism and nationalism in architecture have reached its full impetus (Alsaç 1984). Especially the publication of the article “*Yerli Mimariye Doğru*” (Towards a National Architecture) by Sedad Hakkı Eldem in 1940, and the Anıtkabir Competition of 1942 following extensive debates during the late 1930s, caused a major shift in architectural approaches in the Turkish context towards a more nationalistic direction.

At the time German architects were building in Turkey in accordance with the state program, the solid urgent necessities and priorities related to the construction of Ankara, as well as to administrative buildings in various cities representing state authority, buildings for schools and health-related facilities, buildings for public services, residential buildings for state employees, villages and residential complexes for immigrants, housing for workers, etc. (Ural 1974). Consequently, when the German architects were in Turkey, the architectural demands were exclusively limited to public buildings, especially in Ankara.

In briefly describing the 1930s and 1940s, the economical situation of the country should not be overlooked; architects were facing difficulties due to the insufficient building industry at the time. Although after Ankara was declared as capital of Turkey, factories constructed to provide construction materials such as brick, roof tiles, timber, etc. (Batur 1983-1985b), there was only one cement factory (*Aslan and Eskişehir Müttehit Çimento Fabrikası TAŞ*) with a low production capacity. Wood was

imported from Romania, tiles from France, steel and iron from Germany or other countries; there was no production of iron and steel until 1937 (Tapan 1983-1985). Technical staff for research and development to form the infrastructure for the building industry for was also lacking, or was not satisfactory during the foundation years of the Turkish Republic¹⁸⁴. Especially after the breaking of the Second World War, steel and cement were very scarce (Eldem 1983), since the import of building materials such as steel, glass and cement which were essential for modern construction, came to an abrupt end. Building regulations were revised in response to these shortages, and architects were forced to turn to regional building materials and methods of construction (Alsaç 1984).

In summary, these were the general conditions prevailing to Turkey when the German architects were practicing. From a historical perspective, these were the years when transformations in ideologies and practice were observed throughout the world, but in some cases, in different directions. Controversies were inevitable. Political pressures and economical constraints were felt strongly. Yet, architecture had a unique position and despite the changes regarding the perception of its function it had the power of shaping public space and opinion through artistic expression.

4.1. Martin Elsaesser and the Reflections of Frankfurt

Martin Elsaesser is among the German architects who have designed in the Turkish context in the 1930s. Some of his designed projects have been constructed. His initial relationship with Turkey started, like many of the others, with his entry to the German-Turkish Friendship House competition project for İstanbul in 1916.

Martin Elsaesser was working as the director of the Frankfurt City Construction Office, until his dismissal from this position in 1932 by Hermann Göring¹⁸⁵; he had to leave Germany. Although in some documents it is stated that after Elsaesser was fired in

¹⁸⁴ In the personal memories of Muhittin Güreli, it is also reported that after he finished his studies which he had started in 1930 in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul, he moved to Ankara to work there, he reports that as Ankara was being constructed as the new capital, all of the craftsmen, workers and laborers, were foreigners: Hungarian, Bulgarian... from many different nationalities (Hasol 2004).

¹⁸⁵ Hermann Göring (1893-1946) was the propaganda minister of the National Socialist Government of Germany.

1932 he moved to Turkey in 1933 and resided in Turkey between 1933 and 1947 to work as an instructor at the Faculty of Fine Arts in İstanbul until 1947 in addition to construction activities (Nasır 1991), this information is questionable and could not be confirmed in any other source. Bruno Taut wrote in his diary on 10th May 1937 (Taut 1936-1938: p. 42) that Martin Elsaesser had visited him in İstanbul; but no evidence on the residence of Elsaesser could be obtained.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, there was a meeting at the Prussian Academy of Arts on September 21, 1936 to find a German professor for the Turkish Government to take the position of Poelzig as the director of the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul. A close look at document number 947, the report from that meeting, shows that one of the suggested names was Martin Elsaesser. This indicates that Elsaesser has neither been residing in Turkey during that period, nor working at the Academy as a professor of architecture. It is also mentioned in this document that Elsaesser was working in Stuttgart since 1913 as a professor (Appendix O), i.e. still holding the same position in 1936. It is also known that in 1934 he took part in a competition for the *Haus Der Arbeit* (House of Work) in Berlin, convened by the National Socialist government. However, despite his efforts, his hopes of building in Nazi Germany did not come true; he could not get any public contracts as an exponent of modernism (Nerdinger 1993).

Maier (Maier 1985) claims that as of 1933, although Elsaesser had the opportunity to move to Turkey as an exile architect, he preferred not to and instead moved to Munich. Although he did not have any chances to get a contract in Germany, he stayed in Germany and worked on his projects for Turkey from his home country.

Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) claims that the curriculum vita of Elsaesser was distorted intentionally. He apparently reconstructed himself in his curriculum vita as having gone through a chain of events leading from being a successful modernist to becoming somebody who is abandoned. Nicolai states that following the downfall in 1932, Elsaesser tried to work on the architectural creation for the fascist Italy of Mussolini. His main motivation was to get a position as an instructor in one of the newly founded architectural schools of Mussolini, if not as the director¹⁸⁶. However, these proposals were not acted upon favorably.

¹⁸⁶ According to Maier (Maier 1985), these proposals submitted to Mussolini; consisted of suggestions of a studio- a kind of laboratory of modernism.



Figure 4.1. Martin Elsaesser
(Source: Maier 1985: p. 124)

The work of Martin Elsaesser in Turkey seems to be under different conditions compared to other immigrants like Bruno Taut. According to Nicolai (Nicolai 1998), in the mentioned CV, Elsaesser gives the impression to have been an immigrant which is doubtful, because Elsaesser has been actually hired in Turkey during 1934 or 1935 as an architect for the Sümerbank building. Therefore he had worked for this institution which was strictly dependent on the government¹⁸⁷.

Meyer (Meyer 1989) states that Elsaesser presented his work to the German *Reichskulturkammer* (Cultural chamber of German state) as if it progressed uninterruptedly; this was most likely for strategic reasons because he moved to Berlin in 1938 and succeeded in getting hired by the general building inspector of the state capital Berlin, Albert Speer. Elsaesser worked in a position under Speer until 1945. However Lubitz (WEB_4 2001) states that after Elsaesser has moved to Berlin, he spent his time in an inner emigration, making field study trips and utopia designs.

In summary, existing evidence suggest that Elsaesser's CV is problematic and the work in Ankara and Berlin are not mentioned clearly. Unfortunately, detailed Turkish sources are also missing, except for a large number of documents of the Prime

¹⁸⁷ Sümerbank was a state owned bank and connected department store; all the goods sold were produced in Turkey by the state. The aim was to provide the needs of a unified nation required for material comfort at reasonable costs (Bozdoğan 2002)

Ministry archives dealing with the imports of construction materials, and also for the allowance for many foreign construction workers who worked for the construction of the Sümerbank headquarters; any documents or contracts relating to Elsaesser's hiring by the Turkish State are not available either.

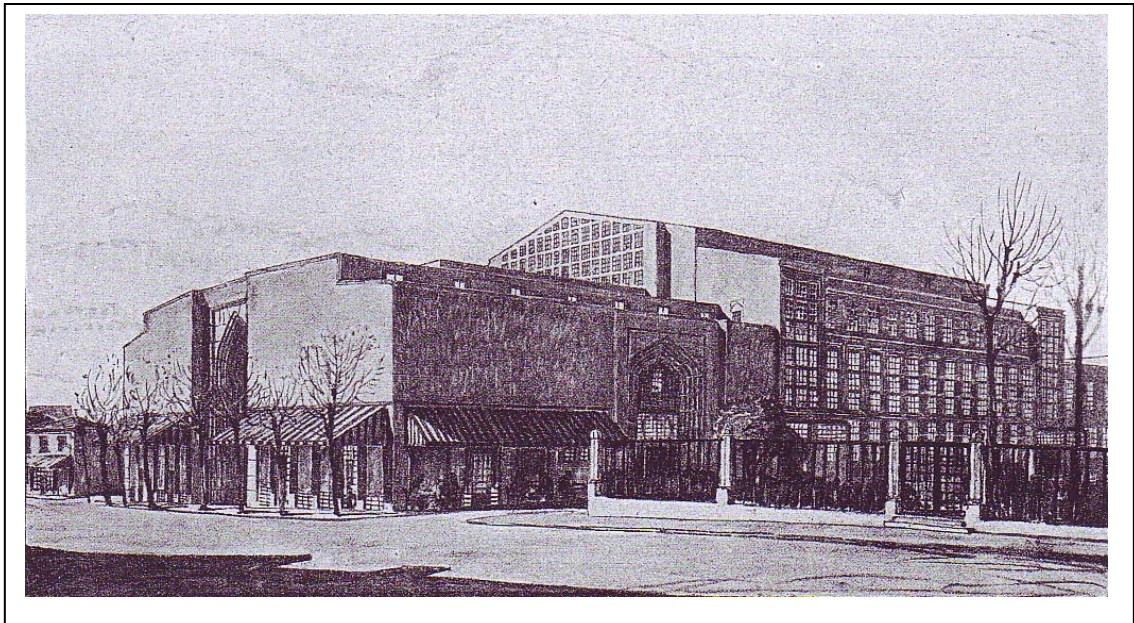


Figure 4.2. The perspective of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Martin Elsaesser, İstanbul, 1916
(Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 40)

Elsaesser was probably interested in Turkey because, like Poelzig, Taut and Bonatz, Elsaesser had also taken part in the competition for the German-Turkish Friendship House in İstanbul organized by the German Werkbund in 1916. The plans in Elsaesser's proposal are quite different from the other competition entries¹⁸⁸. Skylights are provided for getting light into the interior spaces. The project of Elsaesser is among the plainest ones submitted regarding ornamentation although he had used retracted portals in the exterior facades, pointed arches in semi-closed spaces surrounding the courtyard and windows. In the report of the Jury, (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918) it is stated that although the existence of the courtyard

¹⁸⁸ The main difference lies in the plan scheme where Elsaesser placed the conference room in the middle of the space, and lined the smaller spaces around it. In almost all other projects, the courtyard is placed in the middle of the space and surrounded by smaller spaces.

was considered positive, and although being influenced by Oriental building traditions could be expected, the shortcoming of Elsaesser's project was choosing a Persian style of ornamentation; according to the jury report, this issue was open to discussion.

The most well-known project that Elsaesser had realized in Turkey is the *Sümerbank* (A state bank for light industry) Headquarters in Ankara. However, the conditions of his commission for the Sümerbank Headquarters in Turkey, a state establishment recently founded in June 1933, are vague. Most likely, Elsaesser was hired directly by the president of Sümerbank, independent of the international competition for the building described below.

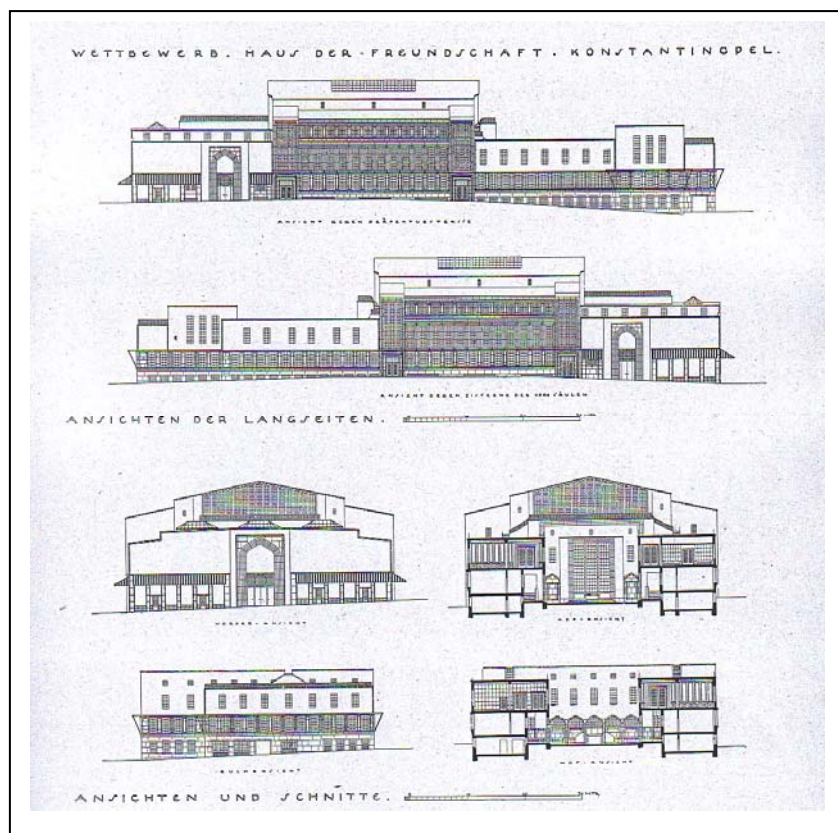


Figure 4.3. The facades and sections of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Martin Elsaesser, İstanbul, 1916 (Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 43)

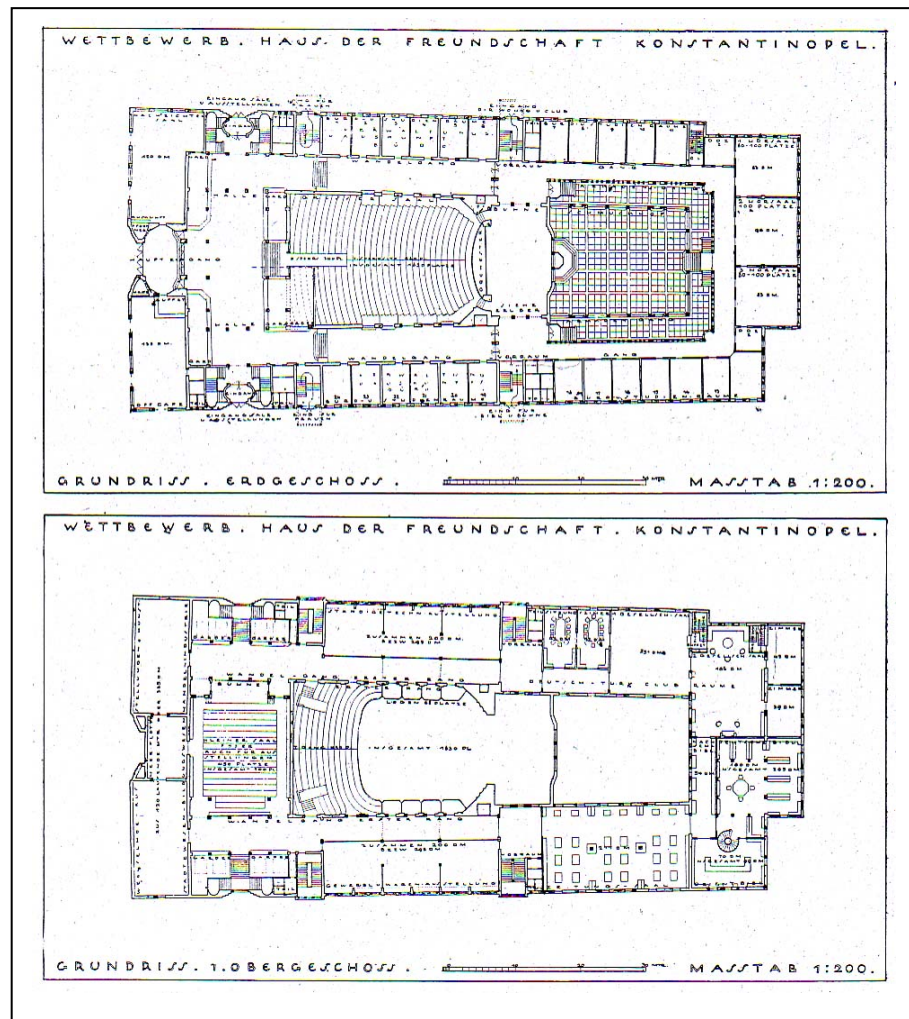


Figure 4.4. The ground floor plan of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Martin Elsaesser, İstanbul, 1916
(Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 44)

There was a project competition for the Sümerbank Headquarters in 1935, but Elsaesser had not submitted any proposal for this competition and was not among the awardees¹⁸⁹ (Arkitekt 1935a). In this competition, the project of the Turkish architect Seyfi Arkan was awarded the first prize. However, neither Arkan's project nor any other proposals have been realized¹⁹⁰ (Arkitekt 1935). Instead, a new project was

189 The first 4 prizes were awarded to Seyfi Arkan, Prof. Breahaus, a project with the entry code Ş.B. 777 (the name of the architect is not known) and Şevki Hüsni, in respective order (Arkitekt 1935a)

190 The architects who had participated in this competition were Seyfettin Arkan (with two projects of which one received the first prize), Prof. Brauhaus, Mimar Sedad Hakkı (Eldem), Mimar Şevki (Balmumcu), Mimar Behçet and Bedrettin (Behçet also with another project), Mimar

commissioned to the German architect Martin Elsaesser in 1936. This project was carried out within the two following years and completed in 1938.

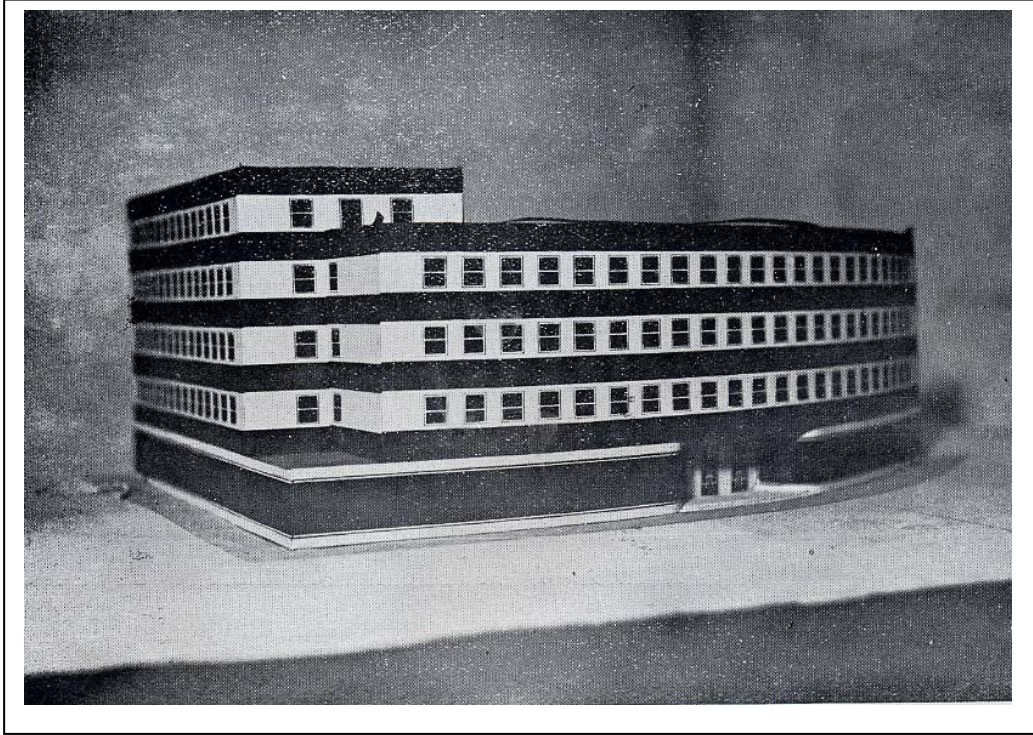


Figure 4.5. The model for the competition entry of the Sümerbank Headquarters by Seyfi Arkan, Ankara, 1935
(Source: Arkitekt 1935a: p. 68)

The design of the Sümerbank Headquarters by Martin Elsaesser has a two story high widespread section in the front and a narrower and a taller (5 stories) mass in the back. These two masses are distinctively different from each other. The lower block in the front is designed symmetrically around an elliptic entrance hall which accommodates the Sümerbank sales outlet and the bank. The front façade of the ground storey of this block does not have any windows but there is a circular eave in the center which marks the main entrance. The lower storey of the front block is in contrast with the upper story which is totally surrounded by windows, making this level more vivid. The taller section in the back is higher and consists of three vertical blocks with five

A. Sabri (Oran), Mimar muallim Arif Hikmet, Mimar Hüsni Tümer, Mimar Burhan Arif, Mimar Abidin (Mortaş), Mimar Schweikert, Mimar Laprade (whose project had been discarded and not evaluated), Prof. Clemens Holzmeister (whose project was also discarded). All projects can be seen in the periodical Arkitekt 1935, issue 3, pg. 68-84

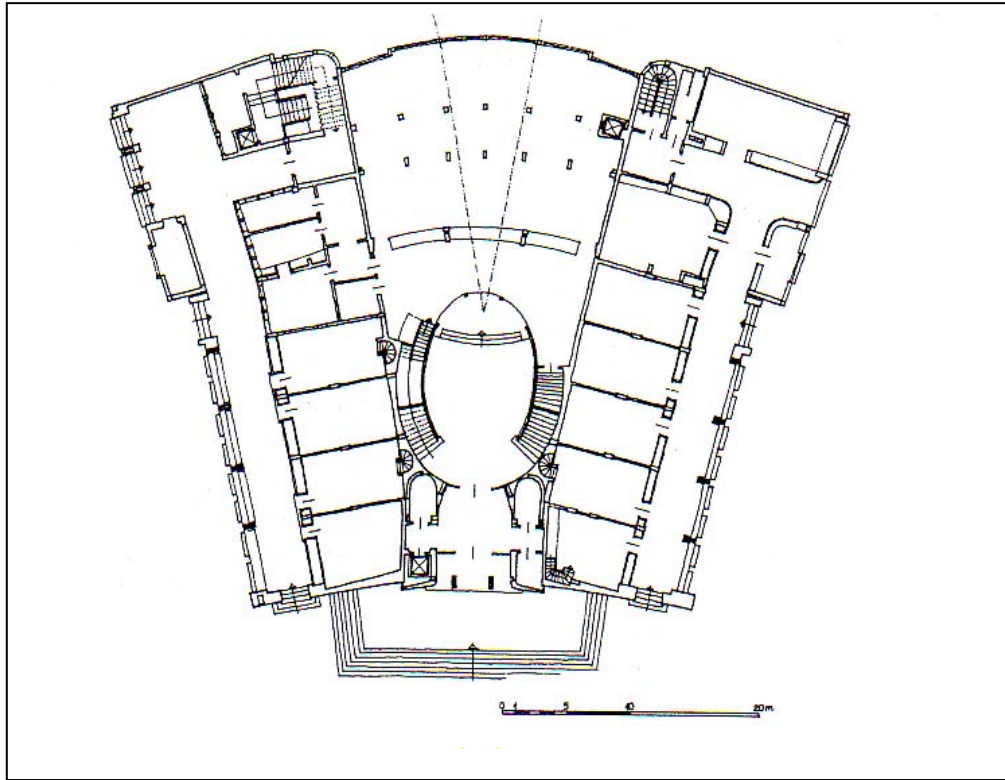


Figure 4.7. The plans of the Sümerbank Headquarters by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938
(Source: Aslanoğlu 2001: p. 262)



Figure 4.8. The Sümerbank Headquarters by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938
(Photograph by Katja Eydel)



Figure 4.9. The interior space of the Sümerbank Headquarters by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938
(Photograph by Katja Eydel)



Figure 4.10. The Sümerbank Headquarters by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938
(Photograph by Katja Eydel)

The Sümerbank building is strikingly different from the adjacent Is Bankası building which was designed by Gulio Mongeri only 10 years ago, in 1926. The differences are observed both in the modern architectural elements and the building materials used in Sümerbank. Bozdoğan (Bozdogan 2002) claims that Sümerbank is not a typical building for Ankara at the time, and suggests that this modern style and the use of the latest reinforced concrete building technology might have been a requirement imposed by Sümerbank's administration¹⁹¹. According to Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) Sümerbank is a better example of a representative building plan compared to those Elsaesser designed during his Frankfurt years.

The building materials used for the Sümerbank project is another important aspect. Although some of the German exile architects paid special attention to using local materials, Elsaesser seems to have preferred materials imported from Europe. Although Elsaesser used the red Ankara stone for the interior spaces and partially for the facade, he also has employed imported building materials. For example, in the ruling of the Turkish Republic Council of Ministers dated 22.5.1936, there is an item stating that 374 packs of "Ikopal" will be imported from Sweden exempt from customs fees, to be used in the Sümerbank building by Elsaesser. There are also many documents in the Turkish Prime Ministry Archives that are contracts of foreign craftsmen¹⁹². This example indicates that although there were limitations regarding available building materials, and possibly also craftsmen¹⁹³, special care was given to provide the requirements of the architects. Another aspect that Aslanoğlu (Aslanoğlu 2001) draws attention to is the fact that Elsaesser did not work with Turkish architects in the Sümerbank building. At the time, foreign architects had to hire a Turkish architect for the projects they were working on within Turkey. Elsaesser's attitude of refraining from this practice rose in strong criticisms in Turkey.

¹⁹¹Sümerbank was an important concept regarding the reflection of an institutional image. In this regard, posters were employed abundantly relating to Sümerbank as a representative building of the young republic. Therefore, the Sümerbank Headquarters building in the Ulus Square of Ankara, one of the most prominent public spaces, had significant symbolic connotations (Bozdogan 2002).

¹⁹² Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) reports that the static calculations for reinforced concrete skeleton of the Sümerbank project were done by Kurt Bernhard, who was a German engineer from Berlin, in exile in Turkey.

¹⁹³ Among many other documents that exemplify this situation, one of the documents is document number 243-332 of the Prime Ministry Archives of Turkey dated 10.8.1938 signed by president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in which it states that "It has been accepted that four foreigners will work in the construction of the Sümerbank Headquarters to deal with the upholstery (Dobi Layo from Hungary, Pinger Ignatz from Yugoslavia, Kiss Istvan from Hungary and Armant Mautner from Budapest).

In addition to constructing the Sümerbank building, Elsaesser won the first prize for the international competition for the master plan of the *Ankara Şehir Mezarlığı* (Ankara City Cemetery)¹⁹⁴ for which 12 projects (Five Turkish and seven foreign) were submitted. The competition was announced in 1935 (Arkitekt 1935b) and project was realized partially until 1938, and the layout of the cemetery has remained loyal to the plans of Elsaesser (Nicolai 1998).

In the competition, the program complied with the existing cemetery regulations, and the proposals had to be in accordance with the topographic situation of the building plot¹⁹⁵. The project required an administrative building, three residential buildings for the guardians of the cemetery and buildings needed for religious ceremonies. Additionally some land had to be allocated for monuments with architectural ornamentations of high state officials, and also for special family cemeteries. The specifications also required the grouping of parcels for each cemetery around small squares, which were separated from the neighboring groups through the usage of plants, such as bushes. Other specifications included allocation of an appropriate place for the crematorium, and planning a water depot on part of the land close to the Hatib brook, on the building plot. The program encouraged the design of one or more extra squares. Designing public toilets in appropriate places were also obligatory, and the design of a decorative pool was left to the choice of the architect, without an obligation. It is stated in the related article in the periodical, that the jury has reached its final decision through all the criteria described above, and that the project of Martin Elsaesser has been chosen accordingly (Arkitekt 1935b).

Ankara City Cemetery was the first planned non religious public state cemetery in Turkey. Elsaesser preferred to use timeless elements for the cemetery, and preferred a more traditional design compared to the Sümerbank project. Following the principles of design of cemeteries that already had been developed in Germany, Elsaesser employed the “wood and park cemetery” concept, with profuse vegetation. His choice, in this regard, complied with the European context, rather than the dry Anatolian landscape. His rejection of a hierarchy within the cemetery was a new notion, and this rejection was supposed to reflect the relatively democratic character of Turkey and expresses the

¹⁹⁴ The commissioning of a foreign architect for this project, and similarly for the Sümerbank project, instead of local Turkish architects, raised voices of protest from the “Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti” (Society of Turkish Architects) (Arkitekt 1937a).

¹⁹⁵ The Arkitekt article states that the cemetery regulations and the 1/1000 site plan could be bought from the Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü for one Turkish Lira.(Arkitekt 1935a)

peoples' unity. The characteristics of the project are its high enclosing walls which form terraces, made out of red Ankara stone; from the aerial perspective and the plan, some inner organization of circular squares and a pergola in the form of a horseshoe can be recognized. Until 1938, most of the project, with the exception of the crematorium and the fountains, are reported to have been constructed.

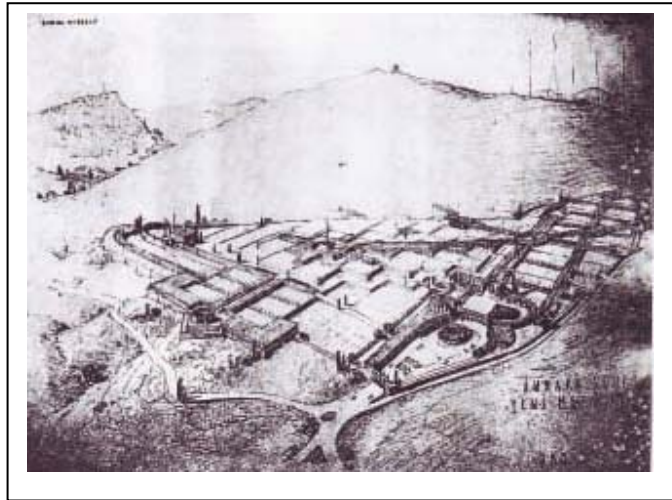


Figure 4.11. The aerial perspective of the competition entry for the Ankara City Cemetery by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1935
(Source: Arkitekt 1935b: p. 321)

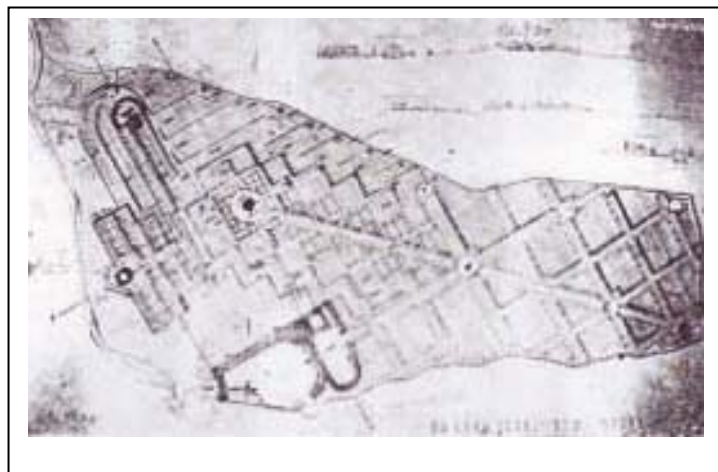


Figure 4.12. The plan of the competition entry for the Ankara City Cemetery by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1935
(Source: Arkitekt 1935b: p. 322)

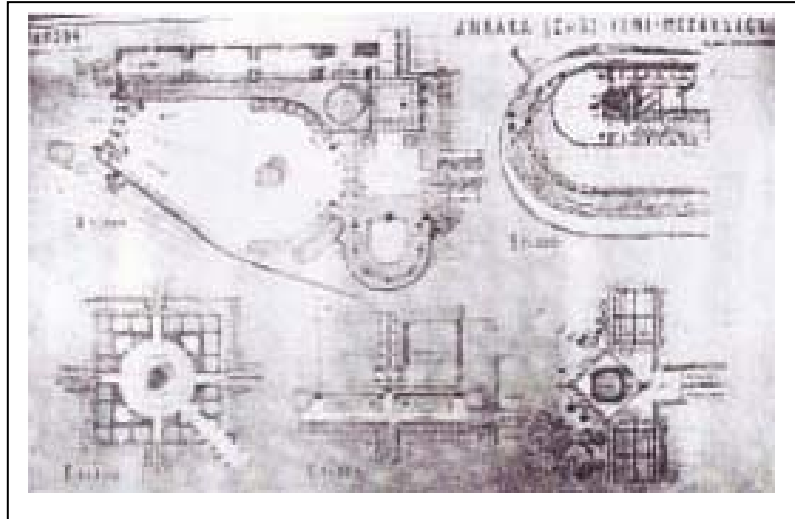


Figure 4.13. The details of the competition entry for the Ankara City Cemetery by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1935
(Source: Arkitekt 1935b: p. 322)



Figure 4.14. The Ankara City Cemetery in 2005, Ankara
(Source: Eydel 2006: p. 86)

During the construction process, there were discussions with Turkish architects since collaboration and cooperation of foreign architects with Turkish colleagues throughout the building process was encouraged. Friction during these discussions may be one of the factors which contributed to Elsaesser's decision to leave Turkey or not work in Turkey any longer (Nicolai 1998).

Parallel to designing the cemetery, Elsaesser wrote a memorandum on layout and design of contemporary cemeteries in Turkey. In this communication, he also explains his own attitude towards building in Turkey:

In Turkey it is truly proper to build in the modern style. Because this style is the expression of a contemporary "sachlichkeit" (objectivity) and its form and design elements develop from the task, the construction the given (meaning in the Turkish context) materials, and the climatical and topographical conditions. However, every style contains eternal and temporal elements. But since a cemetery should contain the eternal elements as much as possible, a more traditional design is preferred (implying, in comparison to Sümerbank). It was the goal to maintain the extension in architectural development, in a short time. (Nicolai 1998: pp. 124,125)

One other project that Elsaesser has made for Turkey, which has not been realized, is the University Hospital for Ankara University of 1937-1938. The plan is organized in an H-form, which is reminiscent of the hospital buildings that Elsaesser built in 1930s in Frankfurt. Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) claims that Elsaesser was aware of the representative demands, and therefore Elsaesser came up with a synthesis of the Ministry of Defense built by Clemens Holzmeister, and his own buildings from before 1919. The solution he has chosen to use for the corners where one side is massive, and the other with rows of vertical windows, is similar to his design for the Turkish-German Friendship House.

Another competition that Elsaesser has participated in is the *Belediyeler Bankası* (Municipality Bank) competition of 1934 in Ankara, in which he did not receive any award (Arkitekt 1934). The project of Elsaesser is an L-shaped block, one of the sides higher than the other one, a simple geometrical mass, free from any ornaments, which fits very well into the "küçük" description in the Turkish Context; however is more bulky and less refined compared to his school projects for Frankfurt at the end of the 1920s.

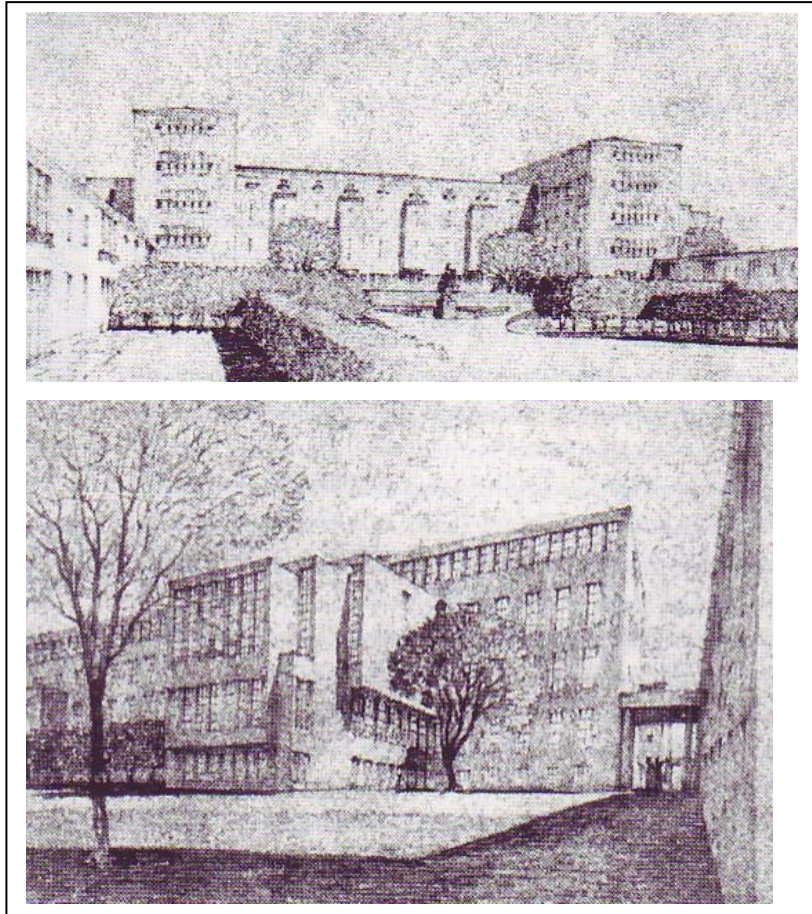


Figure 4.15. The perspectives of the back and side facades of the University Hospital for the Ankara University by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937-1938
(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 123)

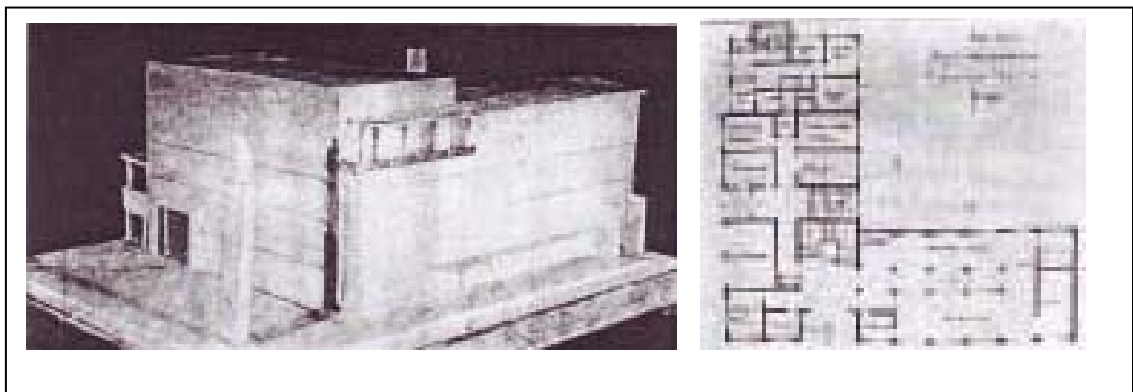


Figure 4.16. The model and plan of the competition entry for the Ankara Municipality Bank by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1934
(Source: Arkitekt 1934: p. 293)

One other competition entry in which Martin Elsaesser has not received a prize is the competition for the Parliament Building in Ankara in 1937, which according to Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) is the least convincing among all his projects for Turkey, due to its conventionality and resemblance to the architecture that was being realized in the nationalist socialist German Context.

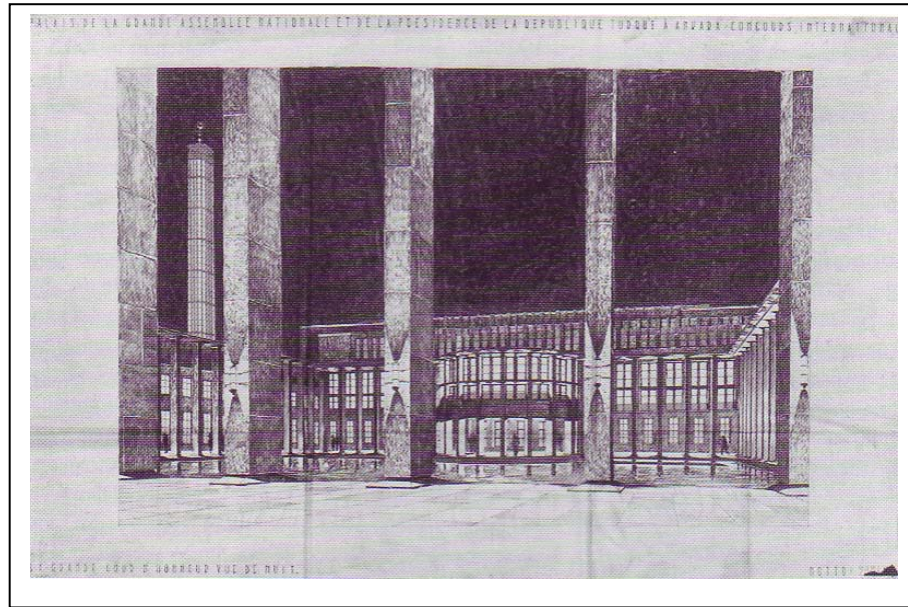


Figure 4.17. The courtyard perspective of the competition entry for the Parliament Building by Martin Elsaesser, Ankara, 1937
(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 168)

However, in the Municipality Bank, and the other projects that Elsaesser has designed for the Turkish context, the application of the rules of modernity, seem to be a continuation of the attitude of Elsaesser from the Frankfurter times with their strict geometrical forms, their defined edges, and also the use of rhythm in the facades – to which the Sümerbank is an example with its windows with single, double and triple window elements. The use of architectural elements such as sunshades seems to be surfacing due to the climatic considerations for the Turkish Context, since such elements do not appear in his buildings in Frankfurt. The use of the local Ankara stone for the Sümerbank Headquarters is also distinctive¹⁹⁶. The oriental Persian ornaments, similar to those he used for the German-Turkish Friendship House of 1916, do not reappear in the 1930s for the projects in Turkey.

¹⁹⁶ It should be taken into account that most of the construction materials were imported from Europe for this project; the use of Ankara stone was an exception.

As mentioned above, since Elsaesser's CV is rather vague and since written texts on the ideas of Elsaesser himself do not seem to exist about his work for the Turkish context, it is difficult to reach a comprehensive understanding regarding the exact nature of his own perception relating to the influence of the Turkish context on his architecture. Overall, despite his prominence and performance in Turkey as an architect, Elsaesser never showed a genuine effort to be integrated with the Turkish culture. For Elsaesser, Turkey was not a place he whole heartedly wanted to be, but was rather a transient sanctuary to be tolerated.

4.2. Hans Poelzig and Architectural Competitions for the Turkish Context

Hans Poelzig, is one of those architects whose first project for the Turkish Context was the German-Turkish Friendship House of 1916. He has designed two more projects for Turkey, both in 1935; however neither of the two projects that he had designed has been realized. These projects are the competition entry for the İstanbul Theater and Conservatory Building for which he won the first prize 1935, and two alternatives for a *Diplomatenhaus*, which was a guesthouse for the Turkish government in Ankara, in 1935.

In spite of his success and prominence in Germany at the beginning of the 20th century, not only due to the buildings that he designed, but also due to his experience as a professor at the Charlottenburg Technical University, Hans Poelzig whose architectural preferences were not in accordance with the regime in Germany, has not been able to escape from the attention of the Nazi government. He was asked to prove the purity of his ancestry as shown by the letter from the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts in which he had to fill a form about all their family members in order to prove that they come from the Arian race is appended (Appendix P). Since the father of Poelzig was British; he could not prove his ancestry's roots, subsequently, he had to quit all his jobs and leave Germany in 1935.

As mentioned above, the first encounter of Hans Poelzig with Turkey is 1916, when he entered the competition for the German-Turkish Friendship House in İstanbul. Among all the invited competitors for the German-Turkish Friendship House, Hans

Poelzig was the only one who did not come to Turkey to see the site in İstanbul (Pehnt 1973).

The project which covers the whole plot on the ground floor is designed to have terraces with the view of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, and at every other level the building is moving backwards, retracting, and therefore getting smaller.

In the jury report, the building is described as being reminiscent of the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, and therefore criticized. The jury reckons that Mesopotamia has nothing to do with İstanbul in the 20th century, but also comments that since the image of Poelzig's building is creating a "generally oriental atmosphere", they find it positive. The jury also remarks that this is one of the most original and courageous building proposals among the projects submitted for the competition, because it gives a completely new and individual tone in its classy strength. It is noted that the building would have been considered with skepticism if such a grandiose expression did not display the determination and was overconfident and pompous. Since the basic theme of the competition was to reflect the German view of friendship and of asking for hospitality in a foreign country, the proposal did not comply with the intentions of the competition with its extravagant position. However the jury also admits that by not awarding the prize, this very rational and clear project, with simple ground plan solutions, has been wasted (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918).

This project has an expressive character, which is parallel to all the works of Poelzig in the German context at the time, and interferes with the remarkable silhouette of İstanbul, seriously changing it. Özkan (Özkan 1975) suggests that, Poelzig had the courage to make such an exaggerated proposal probably because he had not seen the historical site in İstanbul.

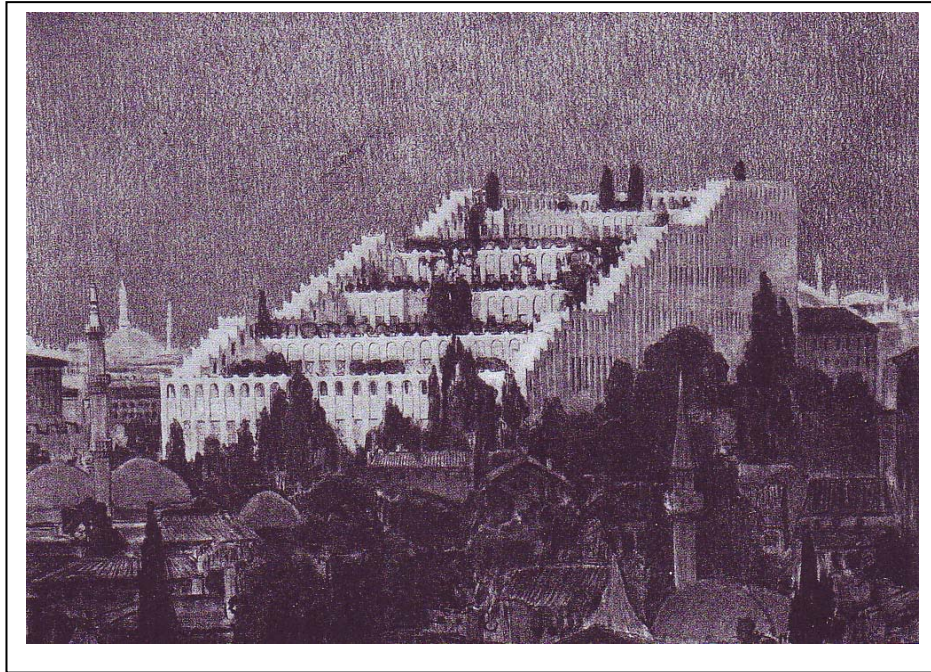


Figure 4.18. The perspective of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Hans Poelzig, 1916, İstanbul
(Source: Heuss 1948: p. 137)

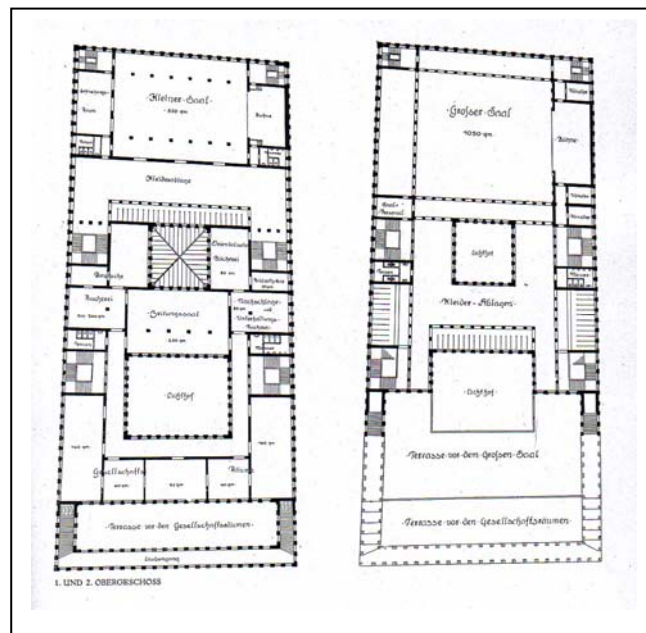


Figure 4.19. The plans of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Hans Poelzig, 1916, İstanbul
(Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 73)

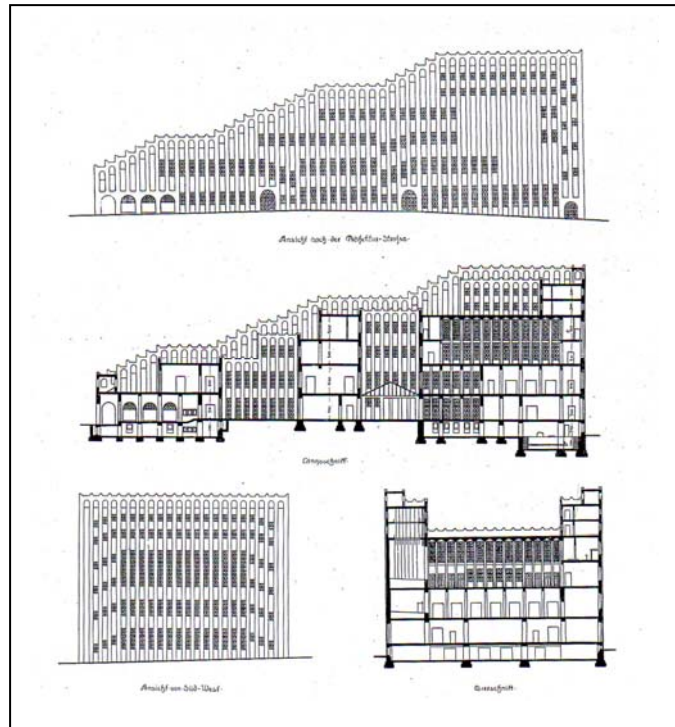


Figure 4.20. The sections and facades of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Hans Poelzig, 1916, İstanbul (Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 71)

The next encounter of Hans Poelzig with Turkey was in 1935 when he entered the competition for the İstanbul Theater and Conservatory Building, in which he won the first prize (Arkitekt 1935c).

This project seems to be more rational and functional in comparison to his exaggerated expressionist style observed in the 1916 German-Turkish Friendship House project. The symbolic round form of the roof which expresses the great auditorium space underneath was designed to be distinguished from a distance. Posener (Posener 1992) claims that this project is not very interesting compared to his prior cinema and theater projects of the 1920s, and suggest that Poelzig probably was not profusely involved in it.

The first visit of Hans Poelzig to Turkey was in September 1935, after winning the first award of this competition. The aim of the visit was to negotiate the terms of the construction and realization of the building in Ankara. It was also in 1935, when there were rumors that Ernst Egli was going to resign from his position as the director of the

İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts. In his trip, first to İstanbul and then to Ankara, in 1935, Poelzig reached an agreement with the state and signed the contract for the construction of the İstanbul Theater and Conservatory. His second journey to İstanbul was in December 1935, during which he has was offered to sign a five year contract by the Ministry of Education of Turkey to become a professor in the Academy of Fine Arts and to take the position of Egli, who had resigned. Poelzig was assigned to lead the construction affairs of the Ministry of Education and to lecture at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts (Nicolai 1998). There also exists proof that Hans Poelzig was invited to control the architectural works of the Theater and Conservatory Building that were going on¹⁹⁷. Although with much hesitation, Poelzig signed the contract to work in Turkey as a professor in the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, and went back to Germany to pack for Turkey, he died in Berlin and could not to come and start his new position in İstanbul¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁷ In the document number 242-181 of the Prime Ministry Archives of Turkey dated 01.4.1936 signed by president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk it is stated that it has been agreed that Professor Architect Hans Poelzig (spelled as Pölzig) will be brought from Berlin for 14 days (2 march 1936- 15 march 1936) to control the architectural work that is being done for the “Riyaseti Cümhur Filarmonik Orkestrasi Sahne ve Operası” (The Philharmonic Orchestra Stage and Opera of the President of the Republic)

¹⁹⁸ In İstanbul, Moda Köşkü (Villa), Martin Wagner writes on the 20th July 1936 about the death of Hans Poelzig with detail in a letter that he wrote to Bruno Taut who was in Japan: “What had Poelzig said about death? One opens a door and finds himself in another space. In very quiet hours I spoke with him quite often about this other space. As a creator he was not afraid of it. He just opened it (Wagner means the door of the other space) after his 3rd brain stroke in Berlin, because the Dritte Reich would not offer him any joy of creation anymore and he knew exactly that this joy could be offered to him only in his own Heimat (country). So he never started his new position here in İstanbul. His long hesitation to sign the contract at all, already gave a hint, that his soul knew more than a conscious brain. The constriction of the spirit and life in Berlin became unbearable to him. He wanted to escape. A few seconds before his 3rd brain stroke, he got up on the 12th of June (1936) seemingly free and relaxed from a deep sleep, went happily through the flat and then told his wife “Now I know what I want, I will go to Turkey alone, since you do not want to come with me.”. Then he went to his bed, and collapsed. His consciousness did not recover in the hospital. On Sunday, 14th June after 15.00 in the afternoon his life ended. He was buried in a little cemetery in Wansee. Shortly very few colleagues (Haering, Scharoun, Lörcher, etc.) went this last way with him.” (Wagner 1936)

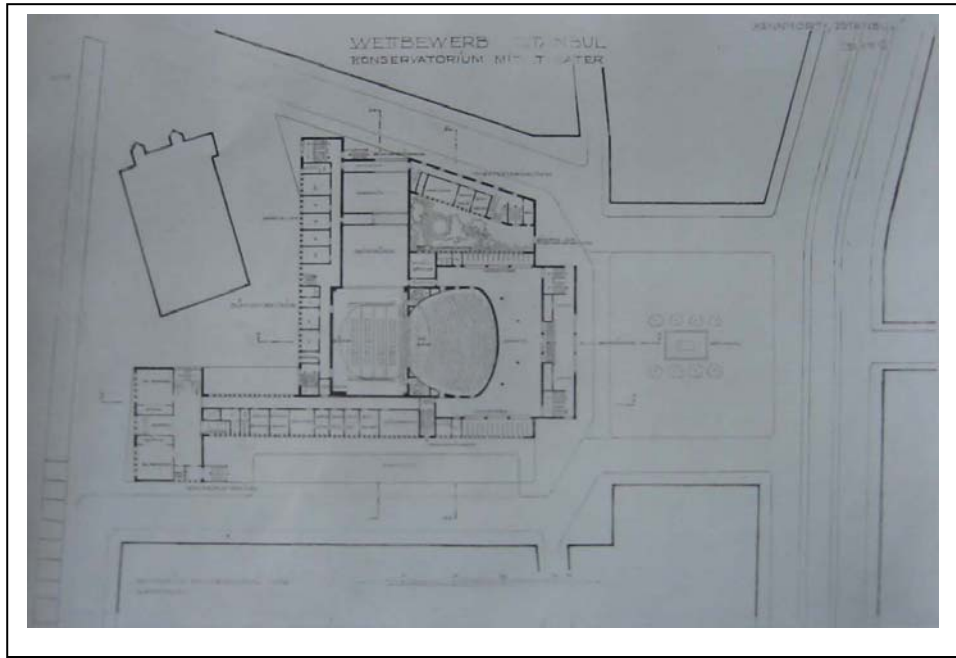


Figure 4.21. The Ground Floor Plan of the Competition Entry for the Theater and Conservatory Building by Hans Poelzig, İstanbul, 1935
(Source: Posener 1992: p. 260)

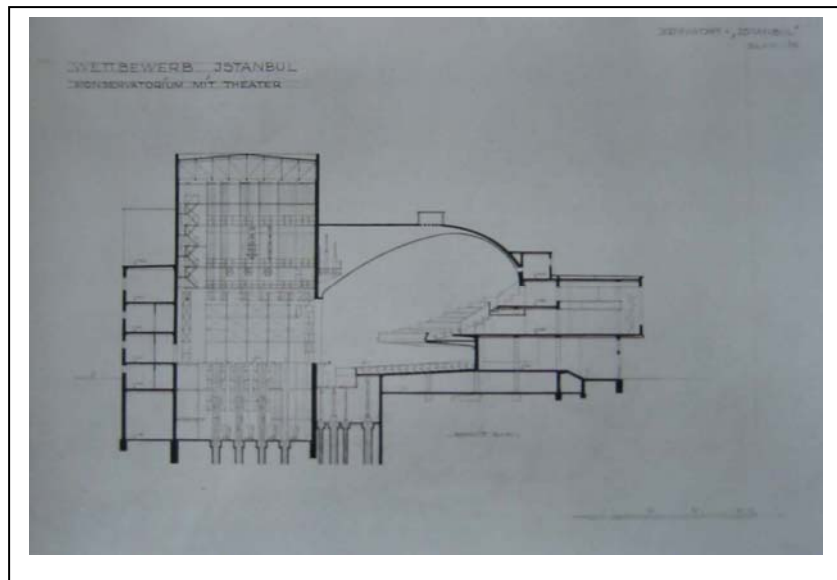


Figure 4.22. The Section of the Competition Entry for the Theater and Conservatory Building by Hans Poelzig, İstanbul, 1935
(Source: Arkitekt 1973: p. 35)

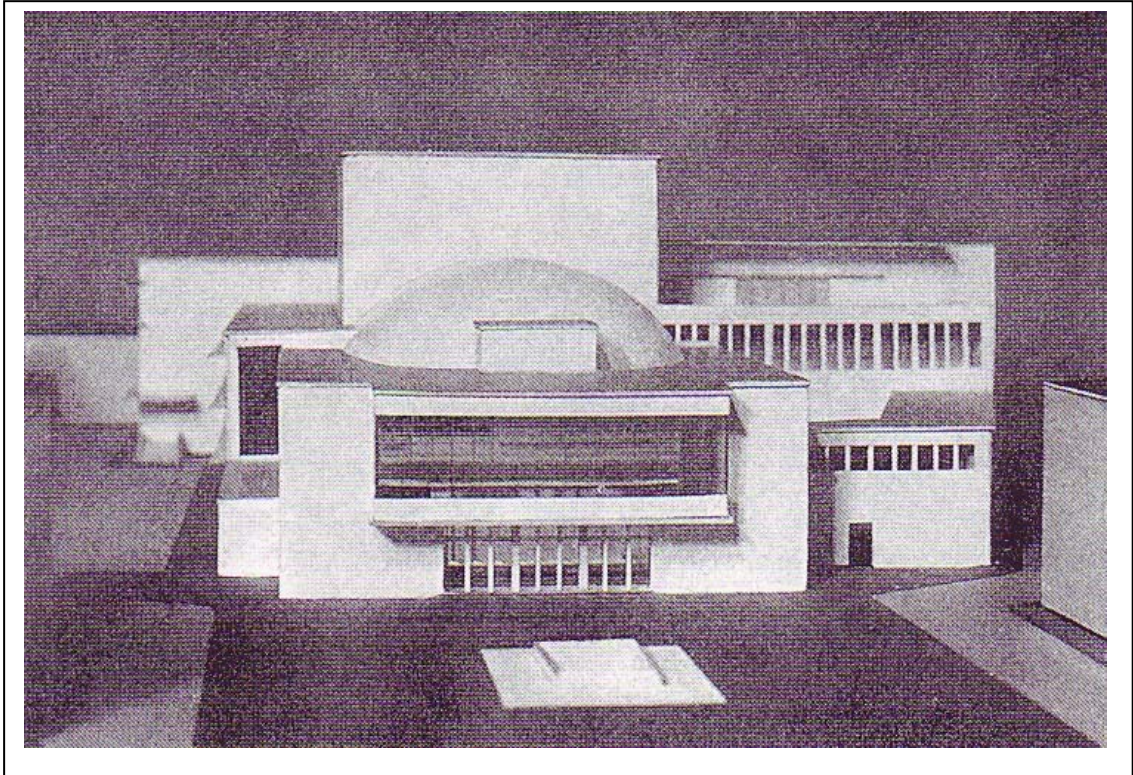


Figure 4.23. The Model of the Competition Entry for the Theater and Conservatory Building by Hans Poelzig, İstanbul, 1935
(Source: Posener 1992: p. 259)

Another project that he designed within this period when he had contacts with the Turkish State, was the “*Diplomatenhaus*”, a guesthouse or hotel for the Turkish government in Ankara; this project has not been realized either (Heuss 1948). There are two projects for this building. According to Posener (Posener 1992), the building site had changed during the planning phase, and therefore two different projects were designed. The schemes for the two proposals are quite similar. In the second proposal, one can see that Poelzig has used the idea of retracting terraces as the building raises, which is similar to his initial idea of the German-Turkish Friendship House Competition Entry of 1916. However, the walls of the Hotel for the Diplomats, does not have a solid expression like the German-Turkish Friendship House; on the contrary, light receives more emphasis.

Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) claims that the second proposal, with its set-back terraces, is the contribution of Poelzig to the expression of mid-European modernity in the Orient. However, this contribution does not emerge from direct confrontation with

the local conditions of the Turkish context, but rather from the dispute regarding the thematically similar buildings of Adolf Loos and Peter Behrens.

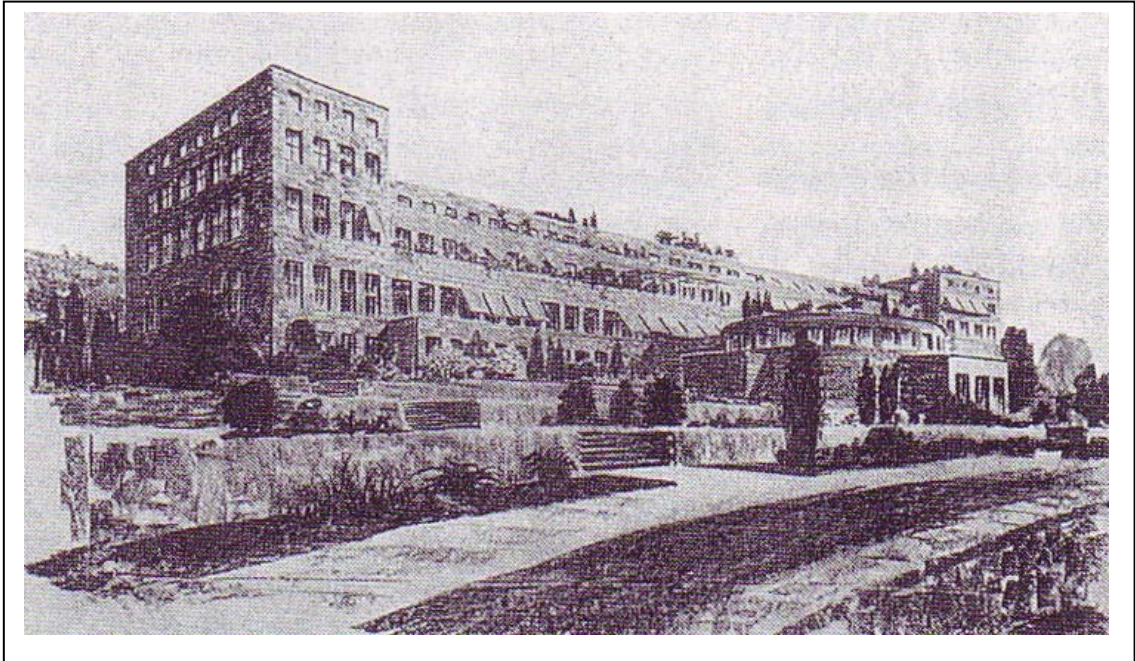


Figure 4.24. The Perspective of the first proposal for the Hotel for Diplomats by Hans Poelzig, Ankara, 1935
(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 131)

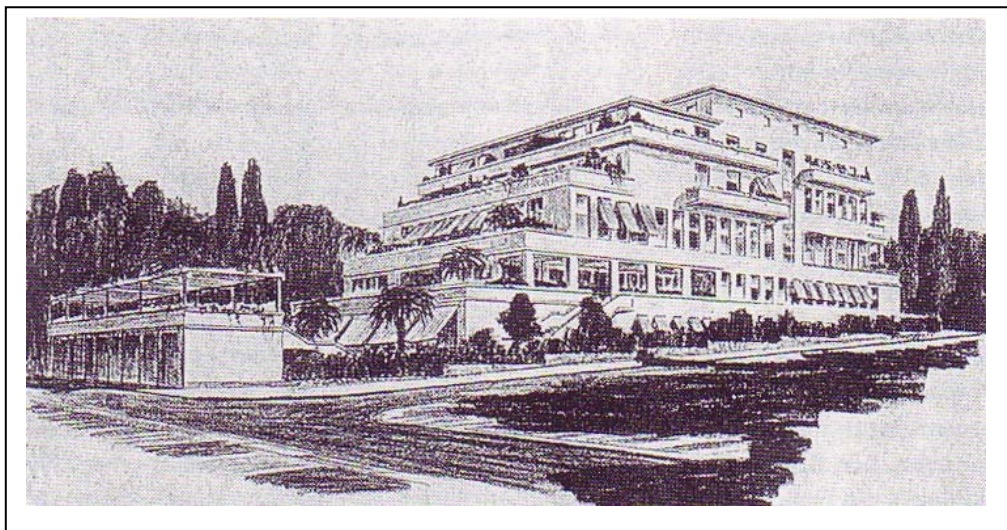


Figure 4.25. The Perspective of the second proposal for the Hotel for Diplomats by Hans Poelzig, Ankara, 1935
(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 131)

It is unfortunate that Hans Poelzig could not work in Turkey both as a practicing architect and as a professor. None of his projects could be realized. Even though Hans Poelzig had signed a contract to work in Turkey in the Academy of Fine Arts, he died unexpectedly in Germany in June 1936 before he could start working in İstanbul (Arkitekt 1936). Poelzig's projects and ideas could have impacted Turkish architecture significantly; however they are only drawings on paper. Although, based on these drawings, assumptions can be made regarding the influence of the Turkish context on Poelzig as an architect; these approaches will be very speculative

4.3. Bruno Taut and the Search for Synthesis

In addition his job at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts, Bruno Taut worked on numerous projects in Turkey, of which some were built. His position is unique among other German architects in Turkey, not only due to his fame in Germany, but also because of his theoretical contributions regarding establishing a synthesis embracing the modern and the traditional. The buildings that he has constructed in the Turkish context are: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi (Literature Faculty of Ankara University) in Ankara (1936-1938), the Atatürk Lisesi (Atatürk Highschool) in Ankara (1937-1938 with Asım Kömürcüoğlu), Cebeci Ortaokulu (Cebeci Junior School) in Ankara (1938 with Franz Hillinger), Trabzon Erkek Lisesi (Trabzon Highschool for Boys) (1938, constructed by Franz Hillinger), Cumhuriyet Kız Meslek Lisesi (Republican School for Vocational Education of Girls) in İzmir (1938), Kültür Pavyonu (Culture Pavillion) in İzmir (1939), his own house in Emin Vafi korusu in Ortaköy, İstanbul (1937-1938), and the Katafalk (Catafalque) for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Ankara (1938). He is also known to have worked on projects for a Chemistry Institute in İstanbul in 1937, Ankara Atatürk Politeknîği (Ankara Technical University) in Ankara in 1937, the building for the Ministry of Education in Ankara in 1937, a Junior School in Kurtuluş, Ankara in 1938, a house for Prof. Nissen in İstanbul in 1938 and the State Opera in Ankara in 1938; however none of these projects were realized¹⁹⁹. He also entered two competitions, one for the German-Turkish Friendship House in 1916, and

¹⁹⁹ Bruno Taut also mentions the design for a Synagoge building a few times in his diary, but no drawings referring to this building have been found (Taut 1936-1938)

the other for the Parliament Building in 1937; these competition entries are listed in the periodical *Arkitekt* (Arkitekt 1937b). Taut served as a jury member in the İstanbul Limanı Yolcu Salonu Proje Müsabakası (Passenger Waiting Hall for Port of İstanbul Design Competition).

Although according to the solid job description of Bruno Taut he was working as an employee of the Turkish Government at the Ministry of Education, and although Nasır (Nasır 1991) states that the underlying rationale of the Government of the Turkish Republic for inviting him was the development of contemporary Turkish architecture, Bruno Taut does not seem to have been restricted by obligation to the state to build in a predefined manner in the Turkish context. However, although the weight of the state must have been strongly felt in the atmosphere in which Taut was working in the Ministry of Education, Speidel (Speidel 1994) writes that Bruno Taut felt free in teaching and designing in Turkey, because he stated that Atatürk did not intervene in professional issues. Presumably Bruno Taut has never personally encountered Atatürk, since there is no trace of such an incident in his diary (Taut 1936-1938).

However, the conditions awaiting him, and the general conception of architecture in the Turkish context were not easy for Bruno Taut and this is reflected in the letters that he has written to his friends. One example is the letter he wrote to a friend called Mibare on April 28th, 1937:

“...my world here is almost too nice, too nice for my difficult tasks. Never I know weather they will be completed one day, but anyway one has to have self-confidence” (Taut 1937a). The letter is appended in Appendix Q.

Before studying the projects in detail, it is important to understand the approach of Bruno Taut in the Turkish context and his search for a synthesis. He has written about his ideas in periodicals, and also in a book that he started to write while he was in Japan and completed in Turkey. His bibliography belonging to the period he was in Turkey is given in Appendix F.

The theoretical book “Mimarlık Bilgisi” (Architekturlehre) that Bruno Taut has published in Turkey contains the following subtitles as the elements constituting architecture: Proportion, Technique, Construction, Function, Quality and the relations of architecture with the other arts and people. Among all others, proportion comes forward as the key for quality and the major determinant element of good or bad architecture. Proportion is the essence, and architecture is an art of proportion. Taut

(Taut 1938) claims that on top of the five senses that human beings have, there exists two more senses for proportion and for space²⁰⁰.



Figure 4.26. Bruno Taut with his wife on his balcony in İstanbul
(Source: Akademie der Künste Baukunst Archiven Document BTA 20-255, F4)

In his book, Taut expresses a reactionary attitude against the machine houses, and the skyscrapers growing in America, and questions the fact that the original modern architecture is producing buildings that look the same all around the world. If the country or the location where they are built is not mentioned under these photos, nobody could know whether they stand in Turkey, in Germany, France, England, America, Japan or Russia. Taut criticizes the fact that the new architectural trend is wiping away local differences and is deemed to be transient. According to Taut, architecture has to consider and respect local traditions and climate-an aspect often ignored. Taut emphasizes climate specifically as the key factor in the search for a universal modernism in architecture; he perceives climate as a natural result of the relationship of the human being with nature. Taut claims that the art or architecture that results from the human-nature relationship is a reflection of nature (Taut 1938). The

²⁰⁰ Erika Taut writes in a letter after Bruno Taut's death, that it was a new Bruno Taut in Turkey: "...Bruno was facing such incredible big tasks, which he thought of solving as an entirely new Bruno Taut. Much from inspiration from Japan, the value of detailing, the absolute aesthetical connected with practical and constructive; this all he says in his "Architektur theorie" for my feeling, expressed in a bitter way" (Taut 1939)

health problems Taut was suffering from because of the climate in İstanbul may have played a role in his ideas on the importance of climate, which comes up in his designs for the Turkish context as one of the major determinants of the architecture.

Taut also comments on the nationality-architecture relationship, with his famous remark: “every good architecture is national, but every national architecture is bad”. For the Turkish context, he suggests that superficial modernity should be avoided, because this may lead to an emotional romanticism, in other words to a misunderstood nationalism; this attitude would surface as an ugly imitation termed “kitsch”²⁰¹ (Taut 1938). In 1938, a few months before his death, Taut had talked about his conclusions on this issue in his speech at the opening of his retrospective exhibition in İstanbul.

We should search for a synthesis between the traditions of the old and contemporary civilization. However this understanding should never be unilateral. Personally, I have went so far in this understanding and I am so progressive in this respect that I do not see any value in adhering to certain typologies. Some assert that they can recognize my personal style at first sight by looking at the form. For me, this is not important at all. Old masters were multidimensional. I always took them as models and I always thought that a single sided approach will not give fruitful results. (Taut1938g)

Actually, in his book, and in other theoretical texts and speeches, Taut appears as a contemporary figure within the Turkish context, because he handles architectural practice conceptually. He has made an effort to apply his theories in his construction and designs as well, and worked to physically realize the synthesis that he has been thinking about regarding combining traditional and modern.

Bruno Taut is one of the architects whose first encounter with Turkey was the visit to see the site for the German-Turkish Friendship House in İstanbul in 1916. Cengizkan (Cengizkan 2002) reports from a letter that Taut has written to a Turkish official, in which he states that he has been influenced with the Turkish context substantially and has been overwhelmed with this different culture and building tradition, the unity of colors, cultures, sounds and religions.

The German-Turkish Friendship House is the first project that Brun Taut has designed for Turkey. The competition project is quite interesting concerning the combination of his expressionist style with ornamentation inspired by some elements of the Ottoman architecture; the latter probably reflects the influence of his visit to İstanbul. Some of these elements used for ornamentation include flying buttresses and little towers reminiscent of minarets around the dome which covers the main conference

²⁰¹ Junghans (Junghans 1970) states that Bruno Taut figured that working with local input, material and craftsmen, was a good idea, not only aesthetically, but practically since the construction time would get not just shorter, but also better.

hall. The dome can be interpreted as an element inspired by the mosque typologies, but it is also reflective of his ideas for the Alpine architecture, and his *Stadtkrone*. The plan consists of two major areas, the main conference hall and the smaller spaces gathered around a courtyard in the back of the building.

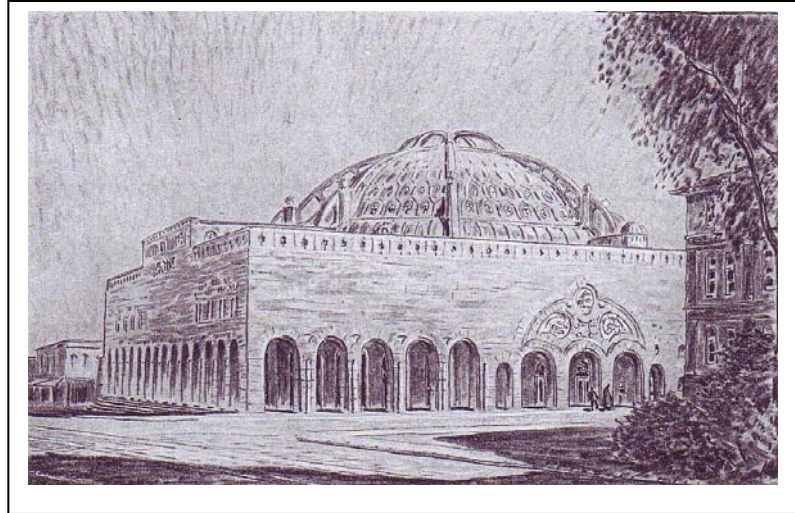


Figure 4.27. The perspective of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Bruno Taut, 1916, İstanbul
(Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 84)

The jury reports that Taut's proposal was the only project submitted that had a dome. The jury questions, "Is it right and possible to place a 'German' building in Turkey that is such 'Turkish'?" The jury report is generally critical about the employment of too many Turkish elements as well as the connection to Islamic influences. It was concluded that the project did not stem from West European traditions (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 41).

Özkan describes this project as an effort to combine the theoretical expression of the period that Bruno Taut was living in and the reflections of the old city of İstanbul (Özkan 1975). According to Akcan (Akcan 2001) in this proposal, Taut had used a very different approach from the buildings he had designed during the same period in Germany such as the Glass Pavillion or the Alpine architecture sketches, where he was searching for a modern and contemporary architectural language.

Later, when Taut was hired as the Director of the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education in 1936 and as the Chief supervisor for School Buildings in Turkey, many of his projects, mainly the school buildings, reflect this same attitude

which was observed in the earlier German-Turkish Friendship House proposal. This office was an important state department to serve for public improvement, and aimed to demonstrate the principles of modern architecture through education buildings all over the country. Tanju (Tanju 1998) claims that the construction office had the responsibility of designing the schools for the Ministry of Education in accordance with the education reforms and using architecture as a tool to reflect the contemporary ideals of modernization and Westernization.

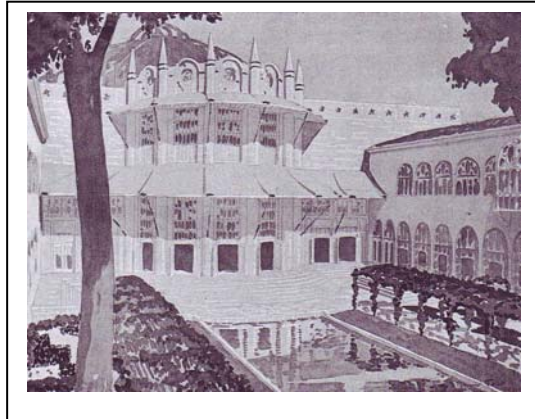


Figure 4.28. The perspective from the courtyard of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Bruno Taut, 1916. (Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 85)

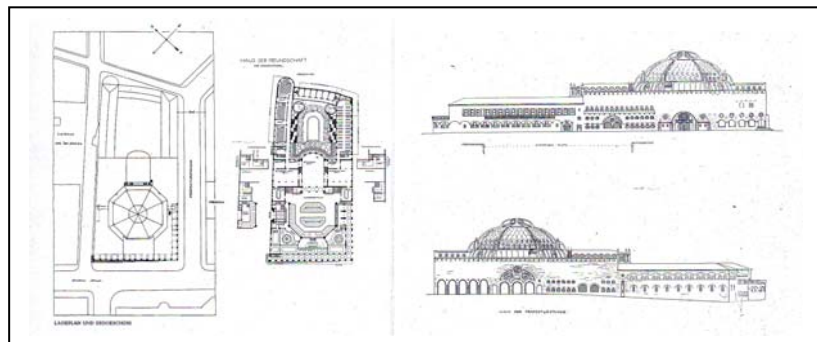


Figure 4.29. The facades and ground plan of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House project by Bruno Taut, 1916, İstanbul (Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 85)

Since every city or suburb was in an effort to design and construct their “*Gazi*²⁰²” okulu, the symbolic aspect of these buildings, was actually ahead of real functionality;

²⁰² The Ghazi, a title sometimes used to refer to Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa or Atatürk.

they were forming an element of the chain of representative buildings of the new regime. Although it is difficult to state that the administrators have directly imposed this ideology or a certain building style, it is however worth mentioning that the Ottoman revivalist style representing the old style has been mainly rejected due to the fact that it has been considered to be anachronistic. As in the construction of Ankara, this search has rather been a certain expression that would communicate the contemporary civilization which the new republic aimed to achieve. The tendency towards modern architecture has been considered as one of the complementary elements of the shift from the Islamist/oriental rooted culture to the Western cultural system. During the Turkish revolution, when the republican staff wished to break their ties from the previous social order, the new architecture has been interpreted as a symbol representing the political radicalism of the new state (Batur 1983-1985a).

According to Söylemezoğlu (Söylemezoğlu 1980), in school buildings for the Ministry of Education, Taut searched for a new aesthetic in architecture which would not be a mere repetition of the past and which was not representative of any predefined style. Therefore Taut integrated local and traditional building practice and materials with modern building technology in school buildings.

Bruno Taut has worked in close connection with Cevat Dursunoğlu who was the director of this office. Bruno Taut's wife Erika Taut, describes the good relations between Bruno Taut and Cevat Dursunoğlu in a letter that she wrote to Isaburo and Lizi Ueno after Bruno Taut's death on February 1st 1939:

“...by the way what Bruno made here was only and alone made possible by the Ministry's Director of whom Bruno said himself: “a second Cevat Bey I will not find, not in Turkey, nor somewhere on the whole world”. Full trust in art and humanity, total artistic freedom. Cevat Bey has been saying once to somebody: “ what Taut says about architecture for me is a word from the Bible” (Taut 1939)

The most famous building that resulted from Taut's work at the Ministry of Education is The Literature Faculty of Ankara University. Bruno Taut was initially asked to work together with Zimmerman, who had arrived to İstanbul as the assistant of Hans Poelzig. This is stated in Bruno Taut's diary: “At the project department, Zimmerman will end what he had started with concerning the Literature Faculty, I shall work with him” (Taut 1936-1938: pp. 2, 3)

Speidel (Speidel 1994) states that after studying the projects Taut concluded that the project can not be revised as it is, so he started from scratch and designed the building himself.

Bruno Taut seems to have thought that he has taken on a difficult task by agreeing to design the building, but he is also happy because he has been given complete artistic freedom for his work. He describes in a letter to his friend Isaburo Ueno:

I have horribly too much work... Now the big building for the University in Ankara starts. Being a Language, History and Geography Institute, it will serve as a center for the new Turkish culture. Because it will serve as a new center for new Turkish culture, very nice stone material for its architecture has been approved and what I enjoy especially is that they gave me complete, entire artistic freedom. I work with my co-workers on the details of this matter in a way similar to you, transcribing notes of a symphony with different instruments etc. The building will not be "Küçük" (cubique), which here is the term for modernism. I even am integrating different Turkish motives for this building. (Taut 1937b)

However, at the beginning phase of the building, one can understand that Bruno Taut had worries about the realization of the project. In another letter he writes: "...life is not easy: Getting a good detail planning and construction details are quite difficult tasks, and then later the site management seems to be a big obstacle."(Taut 1937)

The building was constructed in the end, and is perceived today as an important landmark of the period extending along the boulevard in the north-south axis. The ground floor is higher than the other three. The lower one-story building attached to the front façade is the conference hall, and where the two units meet is the entrance hall which has been accented with wide and high eaves. The structure has a concrete skeleton, but on the facades local Ankara stone cladding was used (Söylemezoğlu 1980).

The entrance of the building is located centrally and protrudes outward; it has an elevated a concave façade where a saying by Atatürk "*Hayatta en hakiki mürşit ilimdir*" (The most genuine guide in life is science) is seen. Windows are the same size and equidistant in the front, but this pattern is not observed on the sides of the building. Concave cornices, the curved termination of the roof carried by a column in the entrance, and the half-column in the north-west corner are interesting features of the building (Aslanoğlu 2005). The symmetrical body seems to have been resolved with asymmetrical window elements. Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) claims that for the total ground plan, as well as in the facades of the Literature Faculty, Taut has searched for the principle of 'asymmetrical symmetry', which was an issue mentioned in his book "*Mimarlık Bilgisi*".

The two horizontal blocks accommodate bigger spaces, such as conference halls on the sides. The ground floor has a different character including an entrance with rounded corners and marble flooring. Flamboyant stairs in the interior lead to the upper

floors. The classrooms and administrative offices are lined along corridors. Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) states that the big foyer with the main stairs at the ground floor thematizes Turkish motifs. He gives the example of the windows with low benches allowing direct eye contact to the green areas outside, which are similar to the mosque buildings.

Another aspect of the building that is related to Turkish characteristics is the stone claddings in the front, on the sides and back facades, which are all different from each other. Each of these walls are covered with different types of stones and partly tiles and used in combination with plaster. This detail on the façade is commented by many to be influenced by early Ottoman masonry models. Aslanoğlu (Aslanoğlu 1976) states that Taut's love to Mimar Sinan might be the reason behind the use of Turkish motifs²⁰³.

The building also attracts attention with its minute details²⁰⁴. Taut had designed not only the building *per se*, but also the details of the iron elements, lamps and railings. The details of the building represent the synthesis of central European tradition with Turkish and also Japanese elements. In a letter that Taut wrote to his friend Isaburo Ueno from İstanbul, on the 27th of September 1937, he ends the letter with asking from Isaburo to send him the blueprints from all details of furniture that he had made for a "Kogeschidosho" when he was in Japan, and also for all drawings with his own signature²⁰⁵ (Taut 1937). This might be one of the sources for the details for the Literature Faculty.

The building has been received in a variety of ways, sometimes positive sometimes negative. Taut writes in his diary in June 1938 (Taut 1936-1938), that Zeki Sayar has written in the periodical *Arkitekt* against foreign architects, and especially himself, attacking the Literature Faculty. Gorbon (Gorbon 1973: p. 47) who had worked in Taut's office during the construction of the Literature Faculty says that in the design process of the building "He wanted to be inspired by Turkish architecture and he perceived the roots of Turkish architecture to be connected to a specific 'golden section' research". Eldem (Eldem 1983) states that Bruno Taut has made good use of the National Architecture Seminars at the

²⁰³ Ünsal (Ünsal 1973) reports that since Taut was deeply impressed by the works of Mimar Sinan, he wanted to gather the fans of Sinan architecture under one roof. Taut had proposed the establishment of a Sinan center called "Sinan'ı Sevenler Terasası", and that a building for this center be built in a piece of land facing the Süleymaniye Mosque. However no trace of drawings for such an idea has been found.

²⁰⁴ Speidel (Speidel 1994) reports that there exist 300 drawings only for the details of the Literature Faculty.

²⁰⁵ And he also asks for drawings of plans and sections of a Japanese indoor toilet plumbing system with measurements on them, because he thinks that the toilets in Turkey much worse.

University on civil architecture, and has been successful in giving the the Literature Faculty building a Turkish quality.



Figure 4.30. The entrance of the Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938
(Photograph by Katja Eydel)

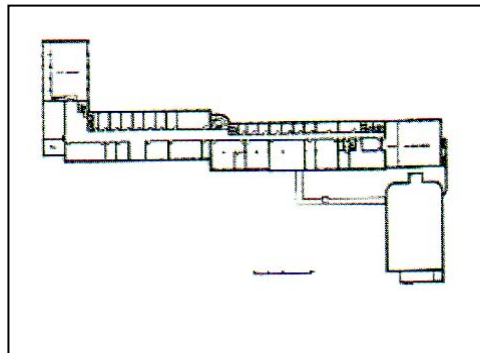


Figure 4.31 The plan of the Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938
(Source: Aslanoğlu 2005: p. 81)



Figure 4.32. The perspective drawing of the Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938
(Source: Akademie der Künste 1980: p. 262)

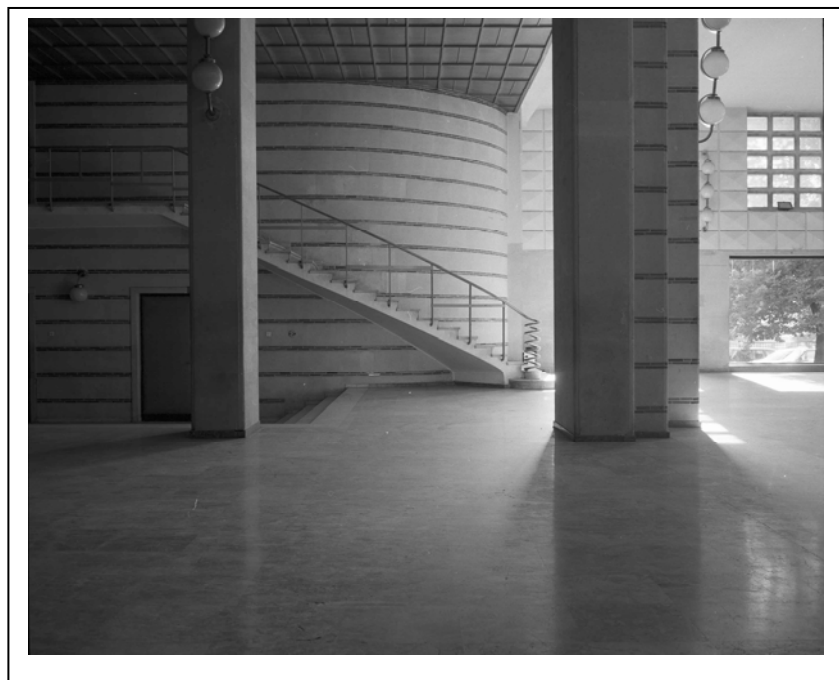


Figure 4.33: The interior of the Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938
(Photograph by Katja Eydel)



Figure 4.34. The Literature Faculty by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1936-1938
(Photograph by Katja Eydel)

Bruno Taut, had also worked on other school projects built within the framework described above, in the construction office of the Ministry of Education, in Ankara, İzmir and Trabzon. One of these schools is the Cebeci Junior High School in Ankara, which he designed with Franz Hillinger²⁰⁶ in 1938. This school has been a model for school buildings in Turkey with its rational-functional standpoint. The design of the building is U shaped, allowing ample open space in the front for students. The building consists of blocks with varying heights. The block containing the main entrance is connected to the street with a lean-to roof. A gymnasium and a library, with wide openings supported by pillars, are in the same block. The rear façade with the corridor was distinctively different. It had iron railings in the bottom and vertical windows with

²⁰⁶ Franz Hillinger used to be a good friend, and also the assistant of Bruno Taut in the Charlottenburg Technical University in Berlin. With Taut's move from Japan to Turkey and new job at the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul, Hillinger has also immigrated to İstanbul with the recommendation of Taut in 1936. He has worked on the construction of the Cebeci Junior High School Trabzon School for Boys, and the Ankara Atatürk Highschool (Kieren 1982). Later he became the technical director of the Ankara Yapı ve Usta Okulu (Nasır 1991). Hillinger has also worked on the projects of Clemens Holzmeister after he has moved to America in 1950 (Widmann 2000). In two documents of the Turkish Prime Ministry Archives, it is stated that he has been working for the Ministry of Education since 1937, and that in 1948 and in 1950, his working contract has been renewed twice, each for one year (Documents dated 30.12.1948, and 1.2.1950)

small horizontal windows in between. Providing natural light to the classrooms, using wide and low steps, spacious corridors, and good illumination for the library were all appropriate solutions for a school building (Aslanoğlu 2005).

Another entrance was placed in another block, with a flat roof, on the opposite side. The corners of both blocks were curved near the entrance steps. Bruno Taut avoided right angles both in this school building and in the Literature Faculty of Ankara University. He used the same approach in the design for the Chemistry Institute as much as possible. The classrooms were lined on corridors as in all of his other school projects. The facades were similar in many school buildings and the classrooms had triplicate windows with shades. Junghans (Junghans 1970) suggests that these windows with the sunshades on the upper storeys follow the old Japanese examples.

Enis Kortan claims that Bruno Taut has built in a way that was more reminiscent of second national architecture, and some aspects of his architectural forms are more similar to the approach of Holzmeister²⁰⁷, rather than having a contemporary modern architecture language (Kortan 2004), whereas Aslanoğlu (Aslanoğlu 1976) claims that these school buildings reflect an attitude which were more rational in comparison to the times he was building more individualistic designs before the First World War in Germany.

Another school project is the Trabzon High School for Boys in 1938 whose application was completed by Franz Hillinger. The building is positioned on the lower part of a long mountain ridge positioned between the mountain and the Black Sea, and was designed together with a dormitory²⁰⁸. This school building, like some others, also had a long stretched corridor, with classrooms only on one side.

²⁰⁷ Kortan describes the architecture of Holzmeister as being: “In the building of the Directorate of General Staff (Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı) the classical architectural definitions such as symmetrical-static approaches, centralised solutions, using axes, monumentality were employed. Through overlapping rational geometric figures and projections, unique and interesting mass compositions were obtained. The appearance of the building reflected the power, significance, discipline and esteem of the Turkish armed forces, imposing a pressure on the lay person. Briefly, in addition to its practical functions, the building also served a psychological function.” (Kortan 2004: p. 45)

²⁰⁸ In the following years two stories were added to the building to accommodate physics and chemistry laboratories and a music room (Aslanoğlu 1983)



Figure 4.35. The Cebeci Junior High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1938
(Source: Akademie der Künste 1980: p. 262)

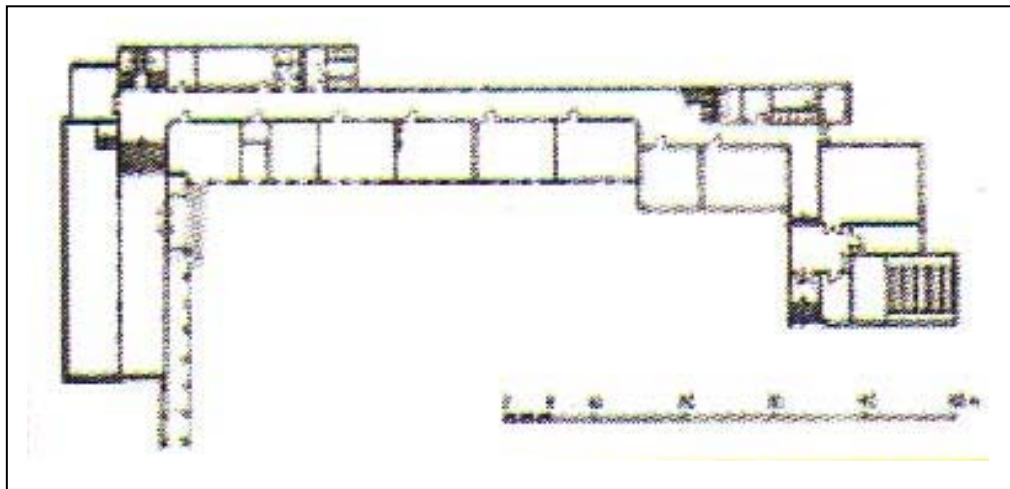


Figure 4.36. The plan of the Cebeci Junior High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1938
(Source: Aslanoğlu 2005: p. 87)



Figure 4.37. The Cebeci Junior High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1938
(Source: Aslanoğlu 2005: p. 87)

According to Junghans (Junghans 1970) the building was structured as a lively ensemble. In the ground floor the rooms of the boarding school, with an inner courtyard containing a sports hall, were adjoined in a way that they formed an inviting entrance court in front of the main entrance. By the gradation of the building volume from low to high, Taut has incorporated the characteristics of the landscape.

The two facades of the building reflected the functions behind. The organization of the windows provided a rhythmic appearance and the windows of the lower floor with fixed sunshades plastically connected the two groups between the two roofs (Speidel 1994).

Junghans (Junghans 1970) suggests that especially the horizontally supported eave of the roof is directly reminiscent of the old Turkish houses. Aslanoğlu (Aslanoğlu 1983) also supports this view stating that the shape of the supported roof is an element pertaining to Turkish architecture. However, this eave can also be related to climatical control. Taut placed emphasis in designing buildings coherently with the climate. Subsequently covered shady open corridors and wide eaves around the roof were used

in order to protect the inner rooms from sunlight and also to enable opening windows in times of rain and warm humid air.



Figure 4.38. The Trabzon High School for Boys by Bruno Taut, Trabzon, 1938
(Source: Jochinke 2001: p. 265)



Figure 4.39. The rear façade of the Trabzon High School for Boys by Bruno Taut, Trabzon, 1938
(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 146)

The Republican Vocational School for Girls in İzmir (1938) is another school building designed by Taut. However, only a part of the building has been built according to his design.

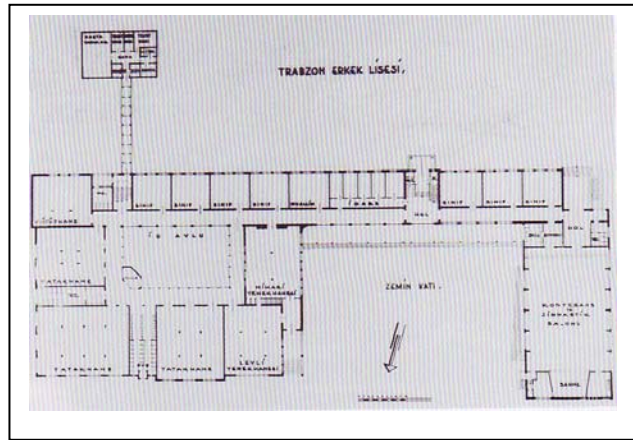


Figure 4.40. The ground plan of the Trabzon High School for Boys by Bruno Taut, Trabzon, 1938
(Source: Jochinke 2001: p. 264)

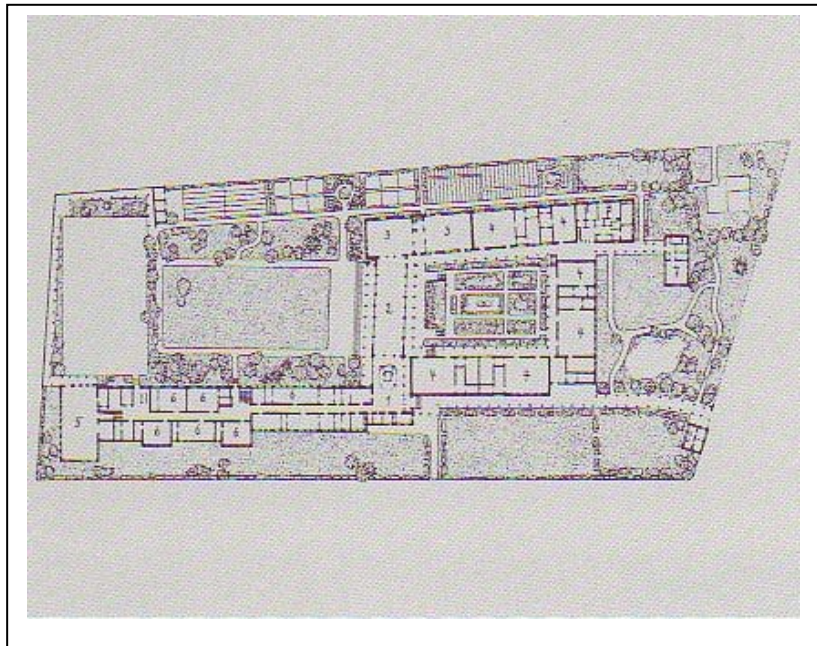


Figure 4.41. The ground plan of The Republican Vocational School for Girls by Bruno Taut, İzmir, 1938
(Source: Akademie der Künste 1980: p. 262)

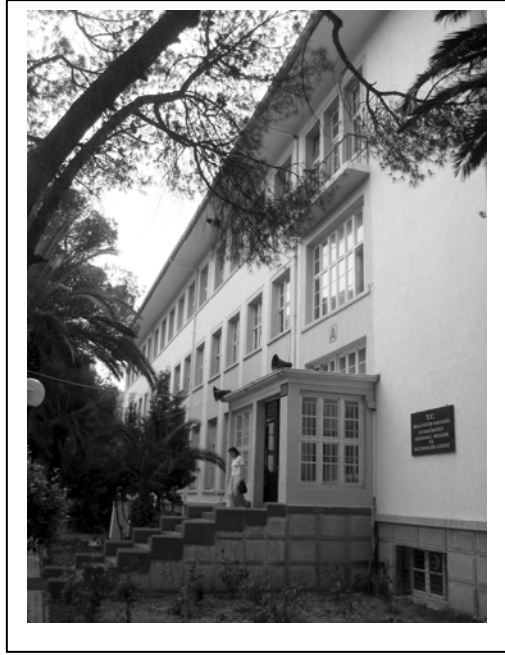


Figure 4.42. The Republican Vocational School for Girls by Bruno Taut, İzmir, 1938
(Photograph by Deniz Güner)

The building was designed to consist of a few blocks located around a large open space, but only half of the longest block has been built. The building is three stories high. The hall in the entrance connects to the classrooms and to the library. The classrooms lined along the corridor are of various sizes. On the façade, windows are placed equidistantly and the ones on the lower floor are higher than the ones on the upper floors. The roof with wide eaves on the third floor protect against the sun. As in other school buildings of Taut, reinforced concrete was used and the basement was lined with hewn stone (Aslanoğlu 1983).

In summary, as Güner (Güner 2005b) states, The Republican Vocational School for Girls in İzmir, with its rational functionalist approach, constitutes another typical example to Taut's school buildings designed in the construction office of the Ministry of Education.

Bruno Taut is known to have designed one more project for İzmir: the Culture Pavillion, built for the International Fair of İzmir in 1939. This building was originally designed as the "*İnkılap Pavyonu*" (Reform Pavilion) under the guidance of Taut in the construction office of the Ministry of Education. It is made up of three cascading masses of which the middle one is the highest. The building is symmetrical in its units

and façade, has wide glass openings, and has a simple prismatic articulation. According to Güner (Güner 2005a), the structure shows similarities to the exhibition pavilions he had designed earlier, in the beginning of the century. The building is in fact reminiscent of the Monument of Steel with its cascading facades built earlier in the century also for a fair.



Figure 4.43. The Culture Pavillion by Bruno Taut, İzmir, 1939
(Source: Güner 2005a: p. 133)

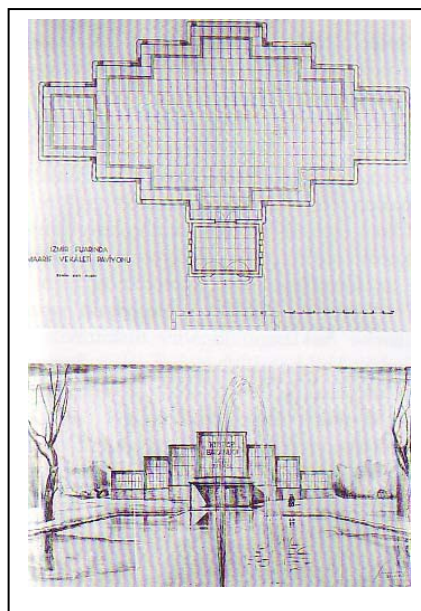


Figure 4.44. The plan and perspective drawing of the Culture Pavillion by Bruno Taut, İzmir, 1939
(Source: Maasberg & Prinz 2001: p. 393)

He has also designed the Atatürk Lisesi (Highschool) in Ankara, which was later constructed by Franz Hilliger between 1937 and 1938. The building consists of separate blocks, nevertheless functionally forming a unified entity. The sports hall and the auditorium are connected to the main building. Another three storied building accommodates parallel positioned classrooms; this unit connects to the old infirmary through a semi-covered gallery²⁰⁹ (Aslanoğlu 1983).

The building groups are positioned to provide three courtyards which can be used for sports activities. As in other school buildings designed by Taut, the buildings lead to the school garden through covered passages. The facades are organized according to function and are plain.

Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) states that although the Atatürk Lisesi has been accomplished quite rationally with simple plaster facades because of the completely different representative character, the details of this building are quite similar to the literature faculty. In this interpretation, Nicolai is probably referring to the rustic stone coating used on the walls of the basement above the ground level and the rounded corners of the auditorium.

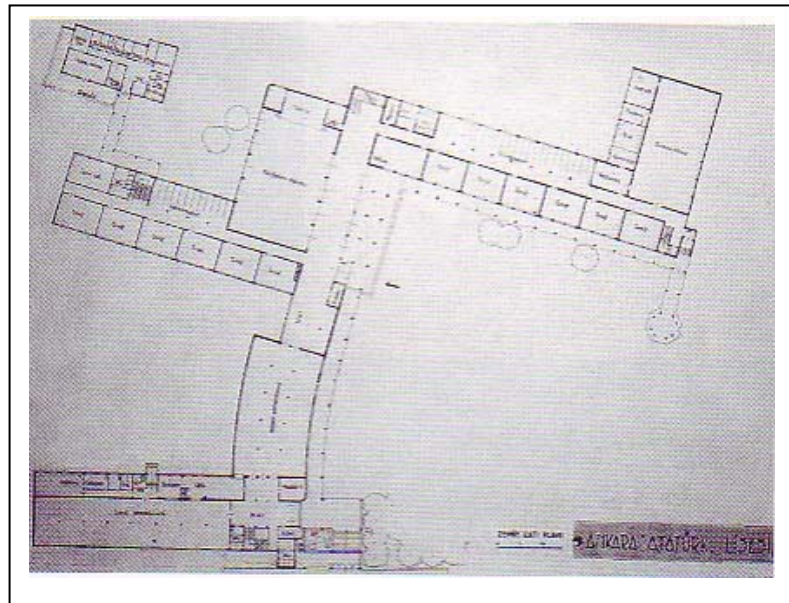


Figure 4.45. The plan of the Atatürk High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1937-1938

(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 144)

²⁰⁹ This section was originally designed as the infirmary but is being used as the residence of the principle of the school today.



Figure 4.46. The Atatürk High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1937-1938
(Source: Photograph by Katja Eydel)



Figure 4.47. The entrance of the Atatürk High School by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1937-1938
(Source: Photograph by Katja Eydel)

The House that Bruno Taut has made for himself in Ortaköy, İstanbul in 1937-1938, is also one of his popular projects. The building is placed on a steep hill, with one

two story unit in the front and another one story unit in the back. In the front, is a wide cantilevering concrete slab which stands on two 15m pylons (Aslanoğlu 1983). Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) claims that the way it was placed in the landscape suggests that this building is the metaphor of a ship with its detachment from the ground, the openness to the sky and to the landscape. In the lower floor is a living room and the upper floor has a panoramic view. There are two rows of windows and the lower windows are large to provide a scenic view. The upper floor is octagonal and made of glass with a pyramid shaped roof.

Junghans (Junghans 1970) suggests that this house, next to the Bosphorus, is very different from the house he had built for himself in Dahlewitz (which is referred to as ‘piece of cake’); it is like a pigeon’s house, high above the tops of the trees.

The building has been described as resembling a Chinese “pagoda” both by Aslanoğlu (Aslanoğlu 1983) and Eldem (Eldem 1983). According to Özer (Özer 1975) this house is an experiment trying to merge the humanitarian conceptual nature of the “East” with modernity. He concludes that Taut has been successful in accomplishing this perspective.

This building, like Taut’s other buildings in Turkey, is also designed with the awareness of climatic conditions. The whole building is surrounded with eaves. In his diary (Taut 1936-1938) one can follow that Taut has been suffering from the heat, and that he has been having continuous health problems; therefore, especially in designing his own house, he had personal reasons to respect climate as one of the determining factors of design.

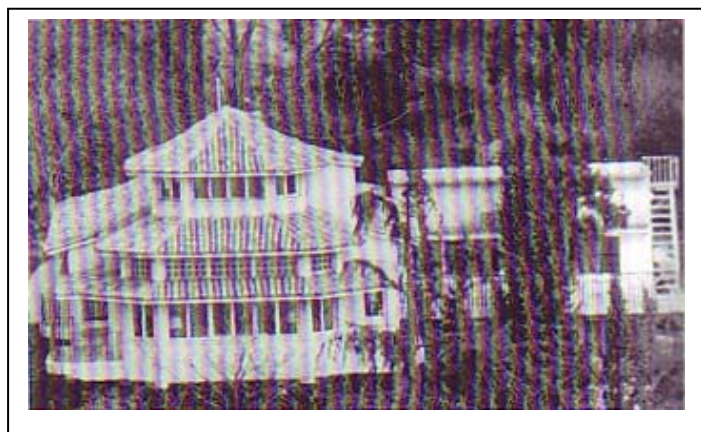


Figure 4.48. The Taut House by Bruno Taut, İstanbul, 1937-1938
(Source: Maasberg & Prinz 2001: p. 395)



Figure 4.49. The interior of the Taut House by Bruno Taut, İstanbul, 1937-1938
(Source: Nicolai 2001: p. 196)

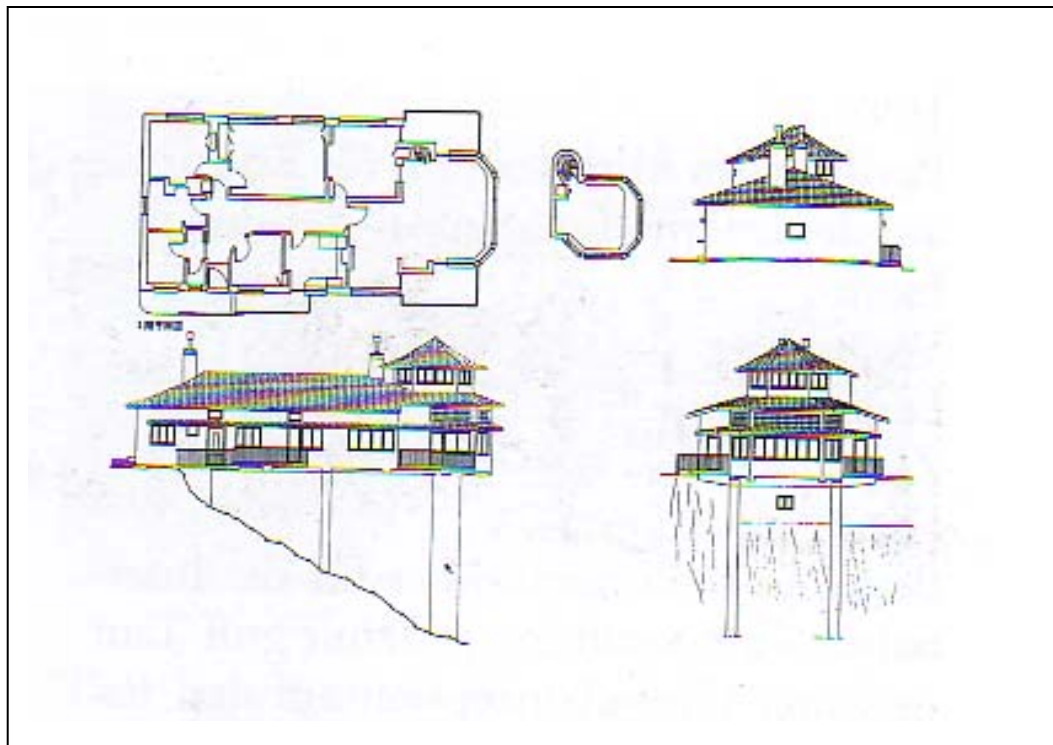


Figure 4.50. The drawings of the Taut House by Bruno Taut, İstanbul, 1937-1938
(Source: Maasberg & Prinz 2001: p. 395)

The final project of Taut in Turkey, shortly before his death, is the Catafalque he designed for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk 1938 in Ankara. The Catafalque is a unique piece of architecture that was designed by Taut for Atatürk after his death. The concept drawing dated 15 November 1938, which is placed in the Anitkabir Archive, is the only known drawing of the Catafalque. Batur states that from the visual sources such as films and photographs of the time, one can observe that it has been built exactly according to this concept drawing. However due to the fact that there are no traces left of the materials used, structure and details are unidentified (Batur 1998a). The Catafalque is an ephemeral structure, very emotionally built with symbolic elements for Atatürk, such as the big Turkish flag.

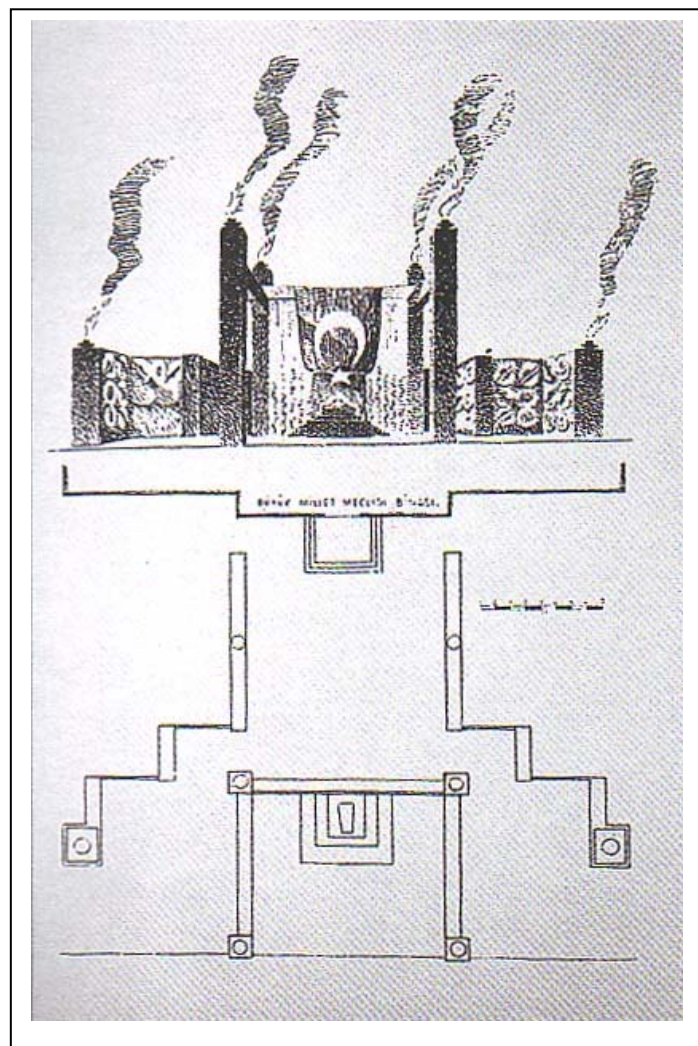


Figure 4.51: The concept drawing of the Catafalque by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1938
(Source: Batur 1998a: p. 18)

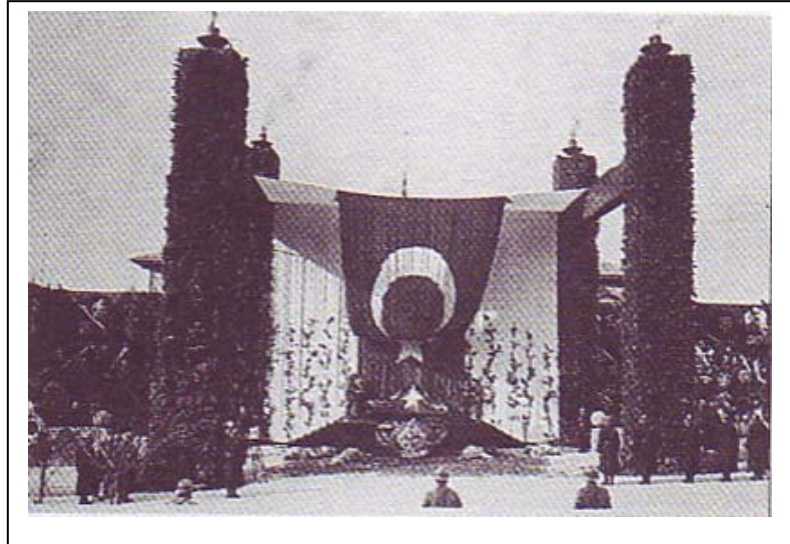


Figure 4.52. The Catafalque by Bruno Taut, Ankara, 1938

(Source: Batur 1998a: p. 20)

Jochinke (Joschinke 2001) claims that although the main elements of his school buildings appear in all the school buildings that Taut designed in Turkey, there was always an effort to provide a synthesis between the local traditions and the modern civilisation. He has used building systems that are typical for regional typologies. These are elements where climatic conditions were mainly considered, and hint at the fact that Taut was aware, as Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) points out, that it was impossible to transplant Mid-European architecture as a stylistic phenomena in a society that had a completely different orientation.

This approach constitutes the main motivation behind all these school buildings: the combination of the modern plan and the representative entrance enriched with the traditional motives and use of the stone structure. In the Trabzon Highschool and the Atatürk Highschool in Ankara, modern plans together with the typical roof structures, the use of wide eaves connecting the buildings, hint at Turkish civil architecture. The use of sunshades to control the climatic conditions in the Trabzon High School and the Cebeci Junior High School are similar examples of the same attitude. The buildings are all a mixture of modern groundplans, coupled with traditional elements which were sometimes functional but sometimes purely decorative; nonetheless all used natural sunlight maximally. Probably the concern for maximal use of natural sunlight resulted in design solutions with an amphitheatrical system, and the rooms were always lined on only one side of the corridors. Also in all school buildings, the sensitivity to the landscape is

visible; Taut carefully planned different school buildings in accordance with the topography.

Besides the buildings that were completed, there are also projects designed by Taut which have not been realized. One of these is the Chemistry Institute for the İstanbul University which comes forward in his diary very frequently. Junghans (Junghans 1970) suggests that Taut had used the wide-angled corner of this project in order to give the building an interesting plasticity towards the street as well as towards the inner court; this approach was typical for his artistic attitude. In the plan, the use of a non-retangular staircase is seen, which might have had the purpose of enriching the spatial experience of the simple system of corridors.

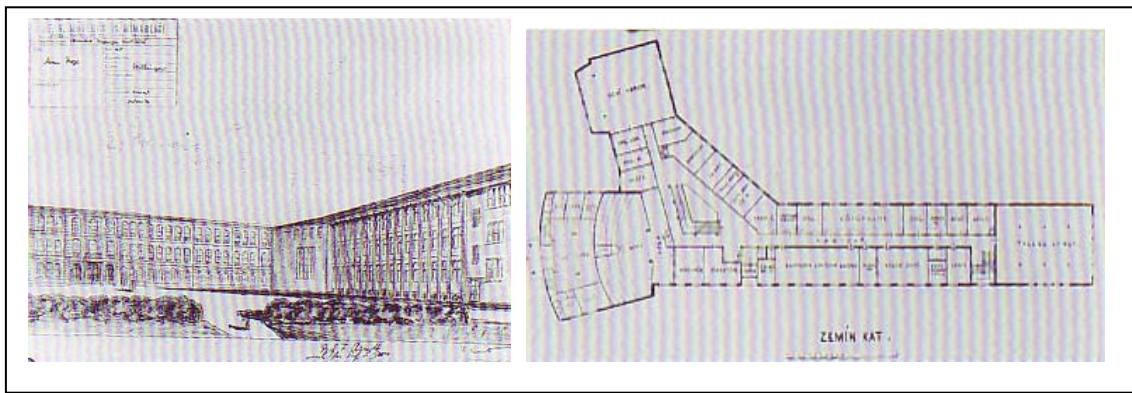


Figure 4.53. The ground plan and perspective drawing of the Chemical Institute by Bruno Taut, 1937, İstanbul

(Source: Maasberg & Prinz 2001: p. 390)

Another unrealized project is the Technical University and the *Technikum* of 1937, in Ankara. The building complex consisted of a variety of institutes with a dominating main building and a big *technikum* (Junghans 1970). It seems that in order to assemble the variety of buildings, Taut has used symmetry and asymmetry as well as a main axis for major design elements in this group of buildings.

Bruno Taut has also entered the competition for the Parliament Building in 1937; however he was disqualified because he was delayed in submitting his proposal (Aslanoğlu 1980). Taut describes his intention as designing a building which would become the “crown” of Anakara together with its contents and surroundings. He aimed at designing a symbolic “Acropolis” (Taut 1938e). It seems that he had used his “Stadtkrone” ideas from the previous years, but due to its monumental impression;

Bozdoğan (Bozdoğan 1994) evaluates this entry by Taut as giving in to the national attitude of the period with its monumentality and facades clad with stone.

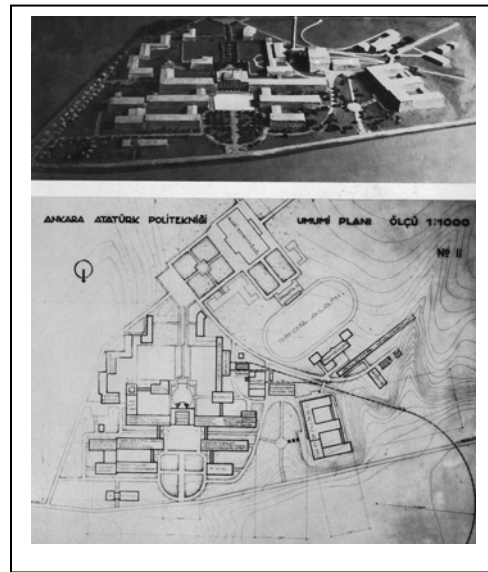


Figure 4.54. The site plan and model of the Technical University by Bruno Taut, 1937, Ankara
(Source: Junghans 1970: p. 229)

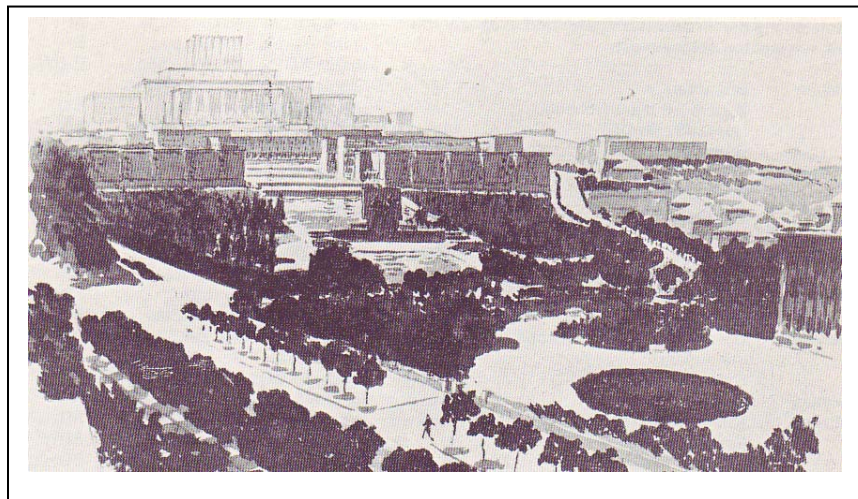


Figure 4.55. The perspective drawing for the competition entry for the Turkish Parliament by Bruno Taut, 1937, Ankara
(Source: Akademie der Künste 1980: p. 263)

There are also entries in Taut's diary reporting that he has been working on the plans of an Opera Project in Ankara in the beginning of 1938 (Taut 1936-1938). There also exists a letter written to his friend Carl Krayl asking him to come and work with

him in Ankara on the project and to build it (The letter of Bruno Taut to Carl Krayl is appended in Appendix R). However Krayl did not come to Turkey and the project was not realized.

Bruno Taut has also designed one other house project besides his own for Prof. Nissen to be built in Ortaköy, İstanbul in 1938. Like his earlier Berlin projects, the connection of the garden and the building received emphasis, and the building was orientated towards the Bosphorus to endow the building with the scenic view. However, Taut has also used wide roofs over the terraces to avoid exposure to the sun (Maasberg & Prinz 2001).

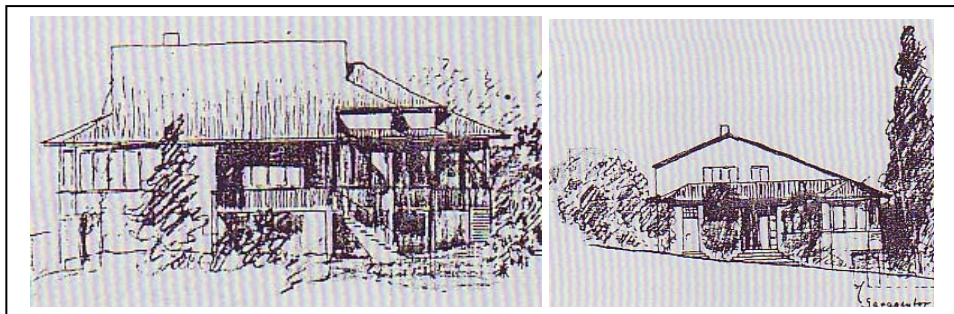


Figure 4.56. The facades of the Nissen House by Bruno Taut, 1938, İstanbul
(Source: Maasberg & Prinz 2001: p. 392)

There is another drawing by Taut for a Kurtuluş Junior High School in Ankara from 1938, where the classes are oriented towards the south, and a ground plan was in the form of an “S” to create courtyards (Maasberg & Prinz 2001).

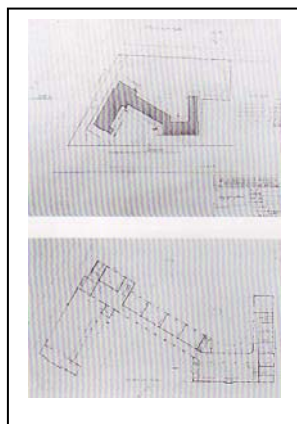


Figure 4.57. The plans of the Kurtuluş Junior High School by Bruno Taut, 1938, Ankara
(Source: Maasberg & Prinz 2001: p. 392)

Finally, Bruno Taut, who had to face the difficulties of the post war period in Germany in 1921, after his rather utopian period and had to start building low cost housing schemes instead of his Stadtrone dreams, had to face a similar situation in the Turkish context with the pragmatic social and urgent architectural needs of the country. According to Akcan (Akcan 2005), in the end Taut had modified his architectural approach in the light of his research relating to the problems of “Non- Western” modernization.

The success of Taut as an architect and teacher is open to further discussion; however, it is important to appreciate that he has always been questioning and thinking the challenge of adapting Mid-European architecture in new contexts with different topographies, cultural backgrounds and climate. He was always searching for an acceptable revised version of modern understanding which would embrace local conceptions. He was questioning and trying to understand the relationships between the modern and the traditional. In a way, his experience in Turkey had served to evolve and change his perception of the orient. At the same time, he was observing the spread of the European modernist influences, pertaining to the beginning of the century, to new contexts throughout the world.

4.4. Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky and Social Engagement in Architecture

The work of Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, who has been in Turkey between 1938 and 1939, at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts can not be reconstructed in detail; however, as she was working at the same time for the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education, the projects that she had worked on can be traced. The known projects that she has worked on are, the *Cumhuriyet Bayram Taklari* (Triumph Arches for Celebrating the Anniversary of the Foundation of the Turkish Republic) in İstanbul in 1938, prototype School buildings for Anatolian villages in 1938 and 1939, an extension project for the Ankara High School for Girls designed by Ernst Egli in 1938, a project of a house for Dr. Kemal Özsan in 1939.

The *Cumhuriyet Bayram Taklari* (Triumph Arches) for the 15th Anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Republic were designed to be in Karaköy, İstanbul. This

project was commissioned to Margaret Schütte-Lihotzky and her husband as a decoration for a festive event. Sources state that (Karain 1996; Nicolai 1998; Kuruyazıcı 2003) the project was actually realised, however no photos of the structure exist.

Schütte-Lihotzky and Schütte preliminarily designed the structure as a wooden construction. They placed frames, resembling windows, over the arches and used color on niches and supporting elements. The aim was to ensure the visibility of the structure from far away (Karain 1996). Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) suggests that this construction was somewhat influenced by the Catafalque that was built for Atatürk by Bruno Taut one year ago.

In the drawing by Schütte-Lihotzky, the structure is clearly orthogonal and is dominantly red. Important symbolic elements of the early Republic Era such as the number 15 in Roman Numerals (XV), the Turkish Flag, and initials of the Turkish Republic (TC) are visible in the drawings.

Another design realized by Schütte-Lihotzky is the prototype Schools for Anatolian villages dated 1938-1939. Following the war of independence, due to the increase in the birth rates in the 1930s, the Ministry of Education had raised the 3 years of education in the primary schools, to 5 years (Ural 1974). This resulted in a necessity for more school buildings, therefore the Ministry of Education contracted the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts to design typology suggestions for primary schools to be built in Anatolian villages. Karain (Karain 1996) states that the location and size of these schools were to be decided by the *Muhtar* (The head man of the village) and the teacher of the village. Another requirement was to have these schools easily constructed by the villagers under the supervision of a foreman.

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky has designed seven types of projects²¹⁰ to serve different numbers of students. In all of the seven projects, all classrooms were designed to face the south. Furthermore, there were alternative solutions for different climate conditions. Furniture and interior space suggestions were designed as well. Karain

²¹⁰ The first type is the smallest unit for 30 students with 95 m² total area and heated with a stove. It consists of one classroom, one wardrobe, one room for the teacher, one accommodation room for the teacher, a room for the muhtar and an entrance. All separating walls are made of wood, so that they can be removed easily, and extended into the second type, which does not contain a space for the teachers, but can accommodate a class of 50-60 students. The third type, which is 137m², is similar to the second type, but also contains one the room for the teacher. The fourth and fifth types are with two classrooms for 100-120 students, and additional to the functions above, have a small museum and a storage space for the equipment of the school. The sixth type is a bigger version of the fourth and fifth types with 280 m². The seventh type is the largest of them all which is 370 m² for 150-180 students (Karain 1996).

(Karain 1996) states that the longest open space was planned not to exceed 5:50 m, considering the possible shortage of building materials.

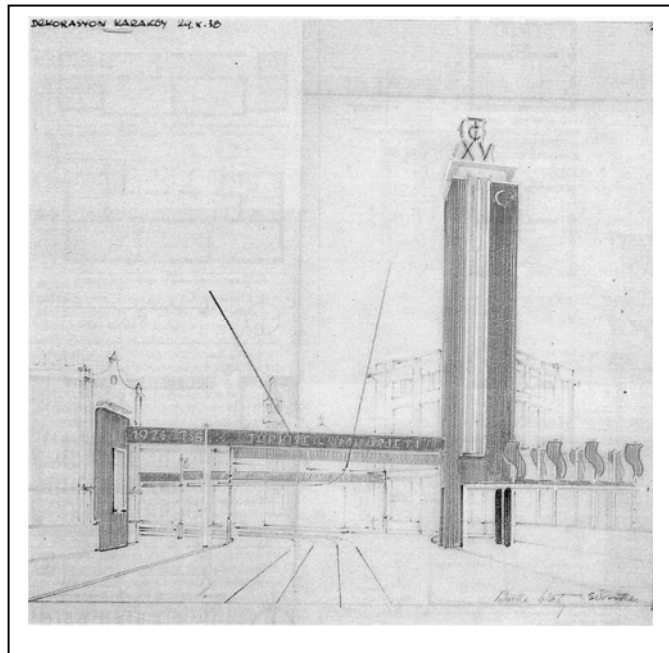


Figure4.58. Perspective drawing of the Triumph Arches by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, İstanbul, 1938
(Source: Karain 1996: p. 9)

Undoubtedly, the conditions under which these school projects were designed in Turkey were very different compared to conditions in Frankfurt. For these Village Schools, Schütte-Lihotzky had proposed a design which could be physically expanded by the villagers themselves when needed²¹¹. She had tried to make a modest design relevant to the Anatolian context and subsequently she had encouraged the use of local materials (Aslanoğlu 1994). She proposed traditional local building materials of Anatolia such as sun-dried brick (*kerpiç*), brick, wood, and local stone since the climatic, topographic and economical conditions, required the flexible art of building with such materials, and since these schools had to be in harmony with the general structure of villages. Schütte-Lihotzky was also aware that the schools also had an important function as cultural centers and therefore had to expose the villagers to modernity. However, she resolved this issue with color rather than the form of the

²¹¹ Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) states that the Ministry of Education specifically emphasized a requirement for the design of these schools: They should be made of simple materials, their construction should be inexpensive, and should be easily expanded if necessary.

building, the roof and the façade. She claimed that in this context, the color of the building was more important than the form (Karain 1996; Nicolai 1998).



Figure 4.59. A sketch of the aerial view of the Anatolian Village Schools by Magarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938-1939
(Source: Cremer 1990: p. 108)

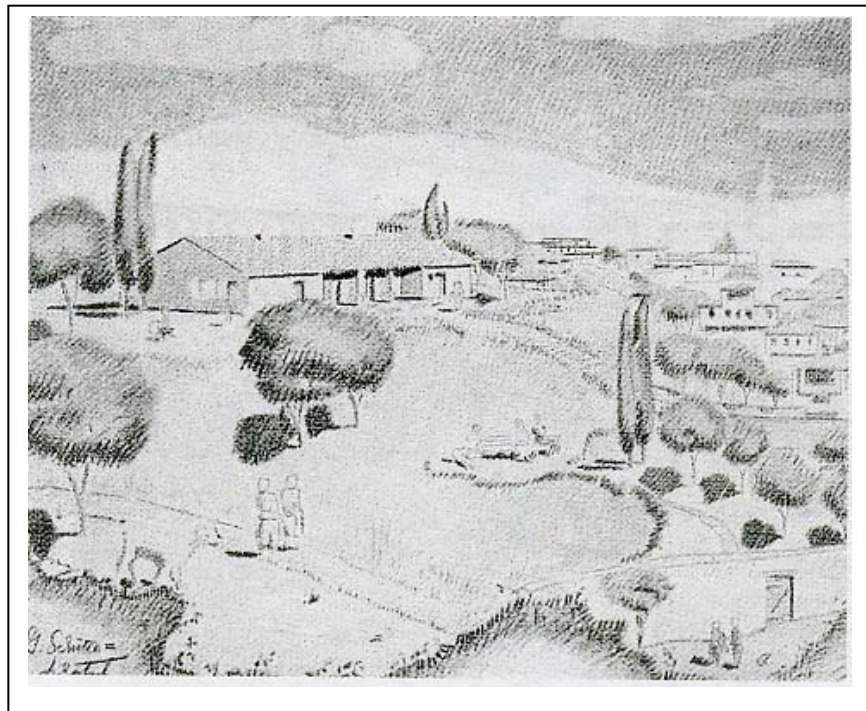


Figure 4.60. A perspective of the Anatolian Village Schools by Magarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938-1939
(Source: Karain 1996: p. 11)

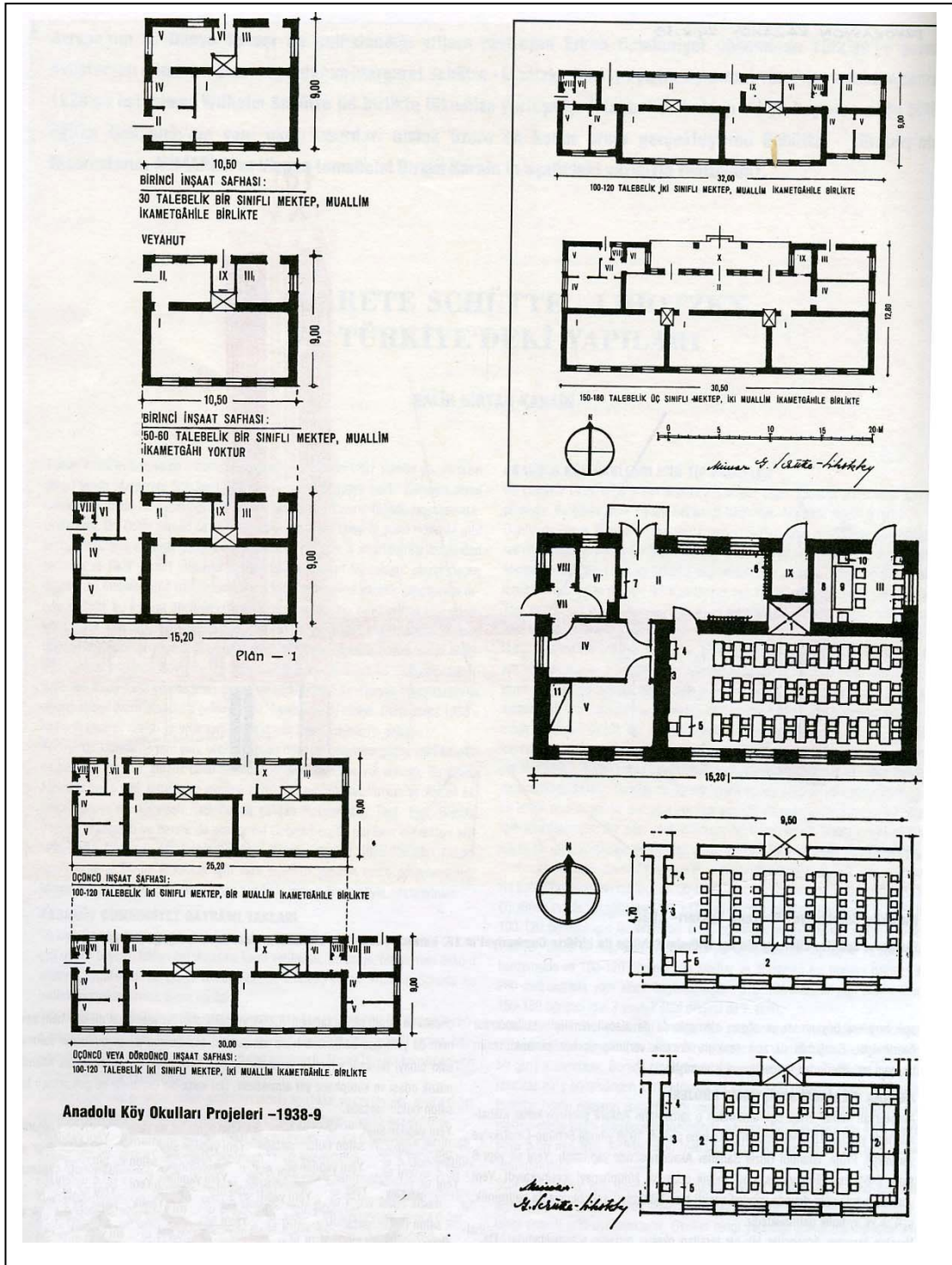


Figure 4.61. Proposals for the prototype plans and their extensions for Anatolian Village Schools by Magarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1938-1939 (Source: Karain 1996: p. 10)

Another project which Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky has made for Turkey, but could not be realized, was the extension of the Ankara High School for Girls which was originally designed by Ernst Egli between 1931 and 1933.



Figure 4.62. The Ankara High School for Girls by Ernst Egli, Ankara, 1931-1933
(Source: Eydel 2006: p. 35)

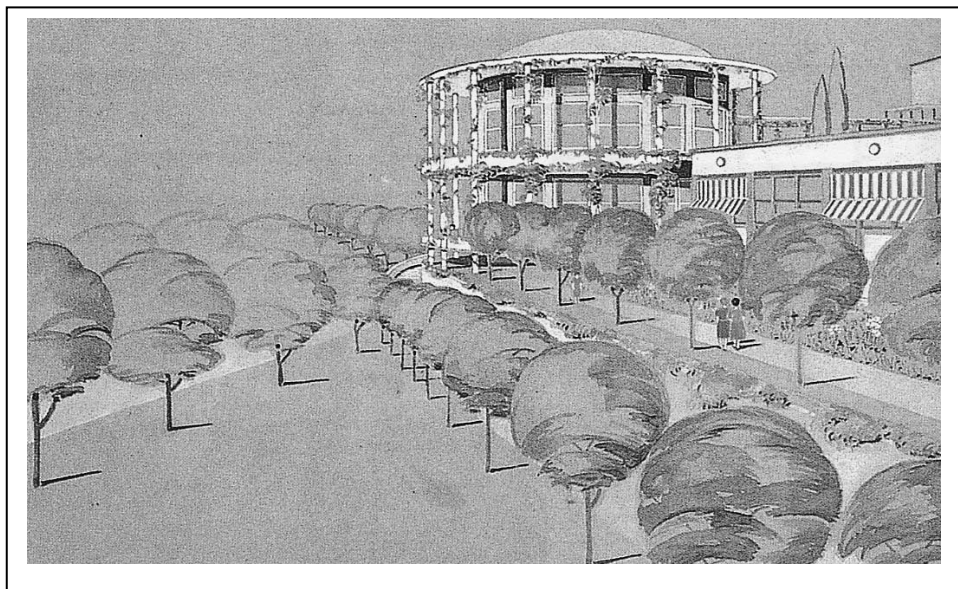


Figure 4.63. Perspective of the extension of the Ankara High School for Girls by Schütte-Lihotzky, Ankara, 1938
(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 94)

In this project, the extension consists of six classrooms, two rooms to be used by students for recreation and resting, a music room and a library. Schütte-Lihotzky had designed a new entrance which would be employed by both the old and the new sections of the building. There was a glass corridor adjoining the two sections of the building which also served to accommodate students during class breaks. Schütte-Lihotzky used the slope of the land very efficiently not to block the view of the old section by the new wing; terraces and classes were designed in accordance with the topography, and shaded spaces were made available to the students during both classes and breaks. The bulky appearance of the building was alleviated through the use of patios, terraces and pergolas (Karain 1996).

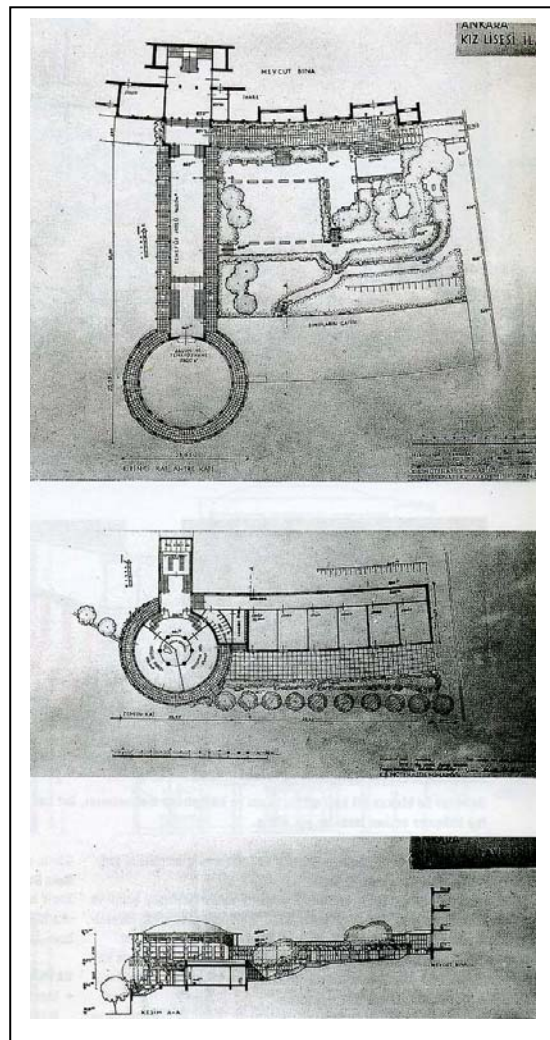


Figure 4.64. Plans and section of the extension of the Ankara High School for Girls by Schütte-Lihotzky, Ankara, 1938
(Source: Karain 1996: p. 11)

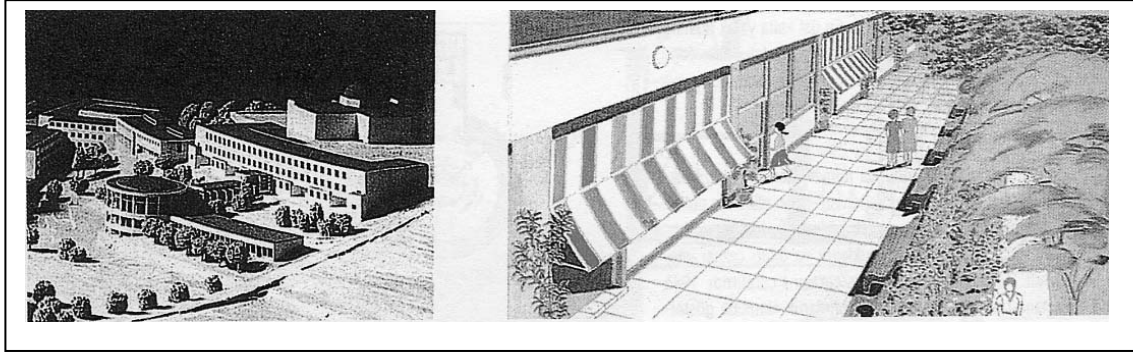


Figure 4.65. Model and perspective of the glass corridor of the extension wing for the Ankara High School for Girls by Schütte-Lihotzky, Ankara, 1938 (Source: Karain 1996: p. 12)

Bozdoğan states that modern architecture during the early Republican era has been directly connected with the image of the women of the new Kemalist Republic, where an effort to assign a “*sexual identity of the modern*” was apparent. Therefore, the intention was to design and construct all the buildings related to the education of women, in a markedly modern style. Since the appearance and visibility of women was one of the major symbols of the Kemalist revolution, it was desirable to have the education buildings for women designed in a style that was representative of the *new architecture* (Bozdoğan 2002: p. 101). According to Bozdoğan (Bozdoğan 2002), this was the motivation of Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky in planning the extension wing for the Ankara High school for Girls designed by Ernst Egli. The building had a circular form, designed to be constructed with reinforced concrete columns; the new wing was connected to the main school building of Egli with a glass corridor. The whole idea behind this new architecture was to provide a new social atmosphere for the new generation of Kemalist women, reflecting the new status of women in the young republic.

Unlike the prototype school projects, the extension wing of the Ankara High School for Girls was not handled with the local awareness of building tradition and materials; it is rather reflective of the “Frankfurt” understanding of Schütte-Lihotzky. Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) claims that this is the only project for the Turkish context where Schütte-Lihotzky has utilized her Frankfurt experience and designed in the way that she might have done for Frankfurt. Considering the social sensitivity of Schütte –Lihotzky, the requirements for the village schools and the symbolic dimensions of the extension

wing for the Ankara High School for Girls (i.e. representing the new generation of Kemalist women) the discrepancy has sound explanations.

Another project that Schütte-Lihotzky designed which was not realized is the house for Dr. Kemal Özsan in İstanbul. This residential building was designed in 1939 and all the floors were planned to view the Bosphorus from the southwest. The lower floor consisted of a separate residence and had a detached entry from the west. The main building was designed as a house with three rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom. On the eastern side was a terrace with a pergola, and the roof was hidden by eaves lining the façade. The design of the building provided excellent use of light (Karain 1996). In the photograph showing the front side of the building, there is a projection resembling a “*cumba*” (bay window), with symmetrical windows on each side.

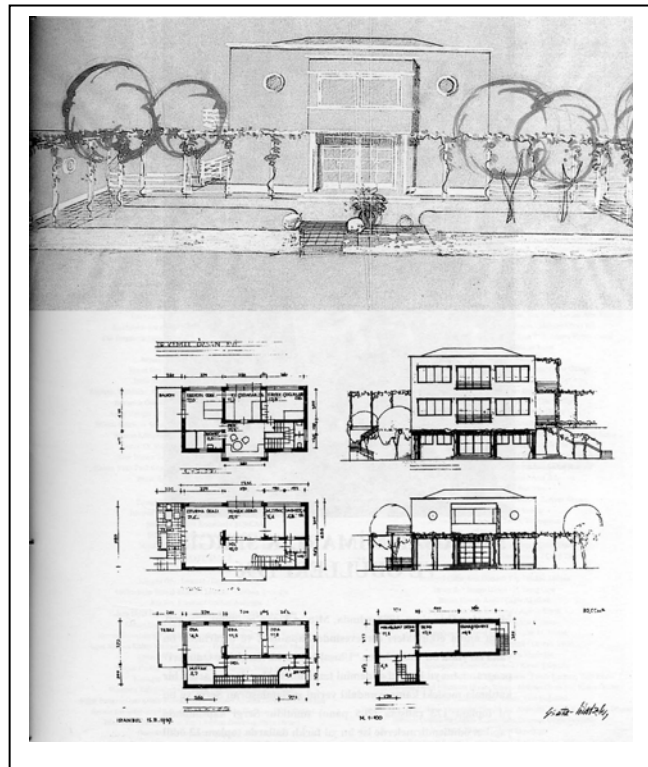


Figure 4.66. Plans and facades of the house for Dr. Kemal Özsan by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, İstanbul, 1939
(Source: Karain 1996: p. 13)

Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) provides a drawing for another house dated 1940 by Magarete Schütte-Lihotzky designed in wood and with a *cumba* element, which hints at her affiliation with the research conducted at the İstanbul Academy of Fine Arts on Turkish civil architecture. This drawing depicts certain characteristics of the traditional

wooden Turkish houses. Whether if this a sketch of an existing house drawn by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky or a new design is unclear.



Figure 4.67. Perspective drawing of a house by Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, 1940
(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 156)

When one considers all the work that Schütte-Lihotzky has done in Turkey, it is apparent that she has paid special attention to topographical and climatic conditions, as well as to using traditional building conventions and materials; the only exception is the extension project for the Ankara High School for Girls. However, as discussed above, in this building, she aimed to reflect the new generation of Kemalist women, thereby she used modern architectural elements on purpose. In the two house projects mentioned above, one can also observe that she has borrowed the *cumba* element of Turkish civil architecture. The fact that color seems to have played an important role for Schütte-Lihotzky in her projects for Turkey, is reminiscent of Bruno Taut in the 1920s, and his school projects. If the architectural preferences of Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky were directly influenced by Bruno Taut is not clear, but appears to be likely since Taut was the Head of the Construction Office of the Ministry of Education at the very initial phases of Schütte-Lihotzky's stay in Turkey.

It is not easy to figure out her precise ideas relating to architecture, since she has not written any texts during her stay in Turkey. She briefly mentions her experience in Turkey only in her autobiographical book (Schütte-Lihotzky 1985) where she tells more about their political situation rather than the work they have done. Subsequently, there is limited direct information about the architectural work of Schütte-Lihotzky from Turkey. She had a very strong ideological perspective and was politically very active.

Her idealist and devoted personality might be the underlying reason for her very clear standing, which did not seem to be affected in any of the places she has worked in. She was always socially engaged, her aims were always clear, and she was thoroughly committed to her thoughts and ideas. This attitude seems to mark a strong and consistent professional standing for any context she had practiced architecture, German, Russian, Turkish, Chinese or Cuban.

4.5. Paul Bonatz and the Search for a National Style

Before starting to analyse the works of Paul Bonatz, it is important to have a clear understanding of the political, social and economical environment of the period. To comprehend the context in which Paul Bonatz was working as a professional in Turkey, one must understand that after the 1930s, the economical problems induced by the Second World War and the precipitated socio-psychological pressure, in addition to a natural national solidarity reaction that was motivated through an instinct of self-defense and being able to be self-sufficient had strong impact on individuals as well as state policies. Accordingly all the building materials that were once imported were not available due to changing circumstances, and architectural practice had to comply with resources available locally. It is important to note that the beginning of Bonatz's experience in Turkey coincides with the end of the Second World War. Around the Second World War, the influence of the authoritarian regimes in Europe which favored anti-modern, monumental and neoclassical tendencies in architecture had surfaced. The Italian fascist architecture exhibition that was opened in Ankara in 1934 had created considerable reverberations among Turkish architects (Batur 1983-1985a).

It is also interesting that two events that are perceived as turning points in the Turkish architectural scene as the beginning the second national architecture period are both related to Paul Bonatz: the Anıtkabir Competition, and the New German Architecture Exhibition which strengthened the impact of the German architecture scene in Turkey substantially.

In 1942 Paul Bonatz was invited to Turkey to serve as a jury member for the Anıtkabir Competition. Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) writes that the program for the competition was well prepared, and their duty as jury members was to choose three

projects to submit to the Turkish State; the final decision will be made by the state and one of the projects will be chosen to be awarded the first prize. Bonatz reports that the jury members intensely discussed if the projects that represent a “*Türbe*” form would be appropriate; however, in the end they decided that Anıtkabir should not contain any religious elements. Three projects by three architects of different nationalities were finally submitted to the State: Turkish Emin Onat, Italian Arnaldo Foschini, and German Johannes Krüger²¹².

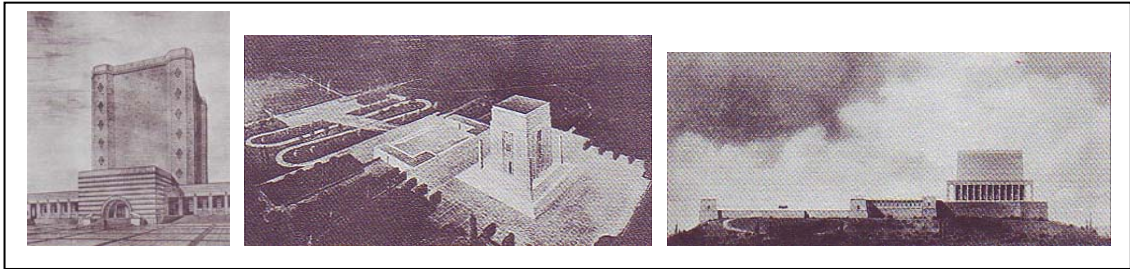


Figure 4.68. The three winning projects of the Anıtkabir Competition from left to right: Johannes Krüger, Arnaldo Foschini and Emin Onat Ankara, 1942

(Source: Batur 1998b: pp. 75, 76, 81)

The German government sent Paul Bonatz to Turkey to organize The New German Architecture Exhibition of 1943. This exhibit was a part of the German cultural propaganda and was convened at neutral countries that were not a part of the Second World War. The exhibition was first sent to Spain, and then in Turkey first to Ankara, and then to İstanbul (Bonatz 1950).

The exhibition had significant impact on Turkish architects as well as on the official state architecture of the 1940s (Bozdoğan 2002). However, not all the opinions were positive. Abidin Mortaş (Mortaş 1943) who wrote an article about the New German Architecture Exhibition in 1943, praises the quality of the photographs and the perfection of the craftsmanship of the architectural models, but at the same time raises suspicions on the claims of the National Social Government of having created a new

²¹² The project of Emin Onat was realized. The document number 1103 of the Prime Ministry Archives of Turkey dated 5.11.1943, states that “the German professor Paul Bonatz and Sedat Hakkı Eldem are assigned to control the Anıtkabir project done by Emin Onat in the name of the Ministry of Education”, suggesting the affiliation of Bonatz with the Anıtkabir project continued after the jury membership.

and solid architectural style within the past 10 years. He is strongly critical of the new German approach as he states:

It is apparent that a new and contemporary architectural style cannot be created in 10 years. To select massive stone as the main building material to represent eternity and then to move backwards in building technology in order to accommodate the necessities of using this building material is an approach which can be considered only in monuments. The new German architecture which is derived partially from ancient Greek tradition and partially from the last five decades of Scandinavian architecture represents a reinforced authoritarian attitude. This new architecture has neither attained a maturity to constitute and example yet, nor does it possess the proportions in harmony with the classical arts. These examples have not gone beyond the experimentation of modern architectural style recently adopted by architects worldwide which gives priority to technology, materials used and functionality. (Mortaş 1943: p. 68)

Mortaş (Mortaş 1943) continues examining the buildings one by one and concludes that the German architecture, lacks the richness and depth of art, and concludes that this is due to the fact that the new German architecture is not constructed on unique, characteristic, mature and national foundations²¹³.

Two speeches that Bonatz gave in Turkey in connection with the opening of the New German Architecture Exhibition were published²¹⁴. These two speeches, which were applauding a contemporary interpretation of classical and traditional roots, were strongly against his personal experiences reflecting his attitude against the *Kunstwollen* of the German Werkbund discussions at the beginning of the 20th century. There are also hints in these speeches on how his attitude would be when he would build for the Turkish context:

A new style cannot be constituted simply by trying to discover new forms. A new style can only stem from social concerns and reforms. Politics restructures the individuals and the societies; it imposes new functions and suggests different ways of expression. As in politics, the individual is submissive and complies with the majority. Diverse and complicated building structures can be used as a model to shape and direct public opinion. At this point the national local traditions of the society are important. The extent which architecture can use tradition has been a controversial issue and is still being debated in many countries alike. Following the modernity approach of the past 15-20 years which has ignored different climatic conditions, differences between nations and nationalities, and has perceived architecture as a scheme which can be comprehended easily, now the return to national roots is observed everywhere. The strength derived from the soil of each locality is blossoming everywhere and at the same time, the pain of rootlessness is being felt strongly. (Bonatz 1942b: p. 119)

²¹³ It is interesting that Mortaş concludes his commentary, saying that if the problems of the New German Architecture are to be avoided in Turkey, Turkish architects should be the ones to build: "Therefore we sincerely hope that Turkish architects will receive appropriate attention in the establishment of new architecture in our country, whose classical architecture has the most honorable and confirmed value in world art and culture." (Mortaş 1943: p. 70)

²¹⁴ One of these speeches was in Ankara at the opening of the exhibition (Bonatz 1942a), and the other one was in İstanbul, at the Academy of Fine Arts (Bonatz 1942b).

Before the Anıtkabir jury membership, and the New German Architecture Exhibition, like some of the other German Architects, Paul Bonatz also entered the German-Turkish Friendship House competition of 1916, and came to İstanbul to see the site. His project is quite a modest despite some neoclassical elements it contained. It has a very simple mass organization with surfaces that are not ornamented. The main conference hall is planned to be on the back side of the building, and it also has courtyard around which the smaller spaces are lined; however, this courtyard and the smaller spaces are on the front part of the building. Just from the way the plans are designed, it is almost like the mirror image of the project of Bruno Taut.

The jury report finds the project of Bonatz to have an exceptional architectonic concentration on the plans and the way they were assembled. However, they also comment that the plans suggest an antique poise, due to the strong symmetry in its design, but in its form and facades the jury finds the project to be very characteristic (Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918).

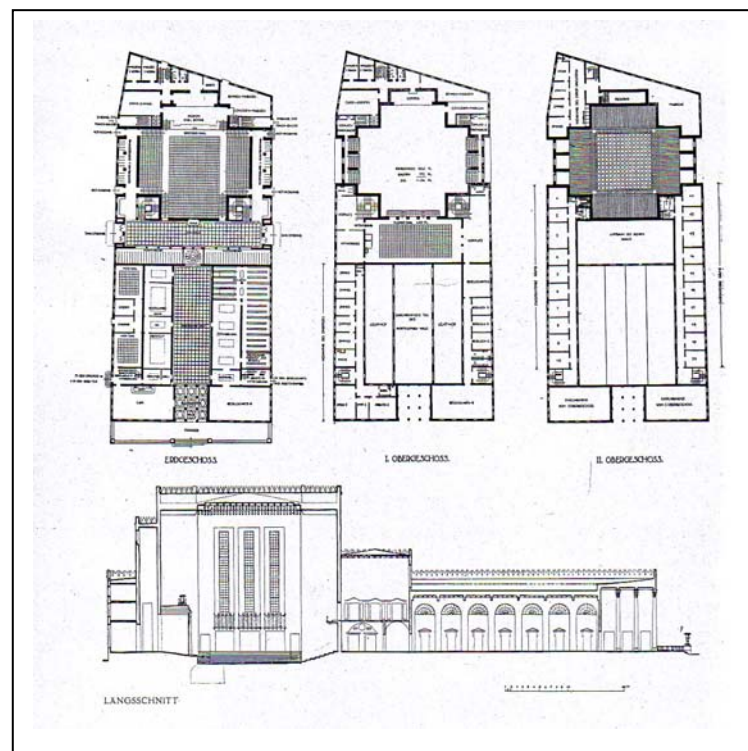


Figure 4.69. The plans and section of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Paul Bonatz, İstanbul, 1916 (Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 28)

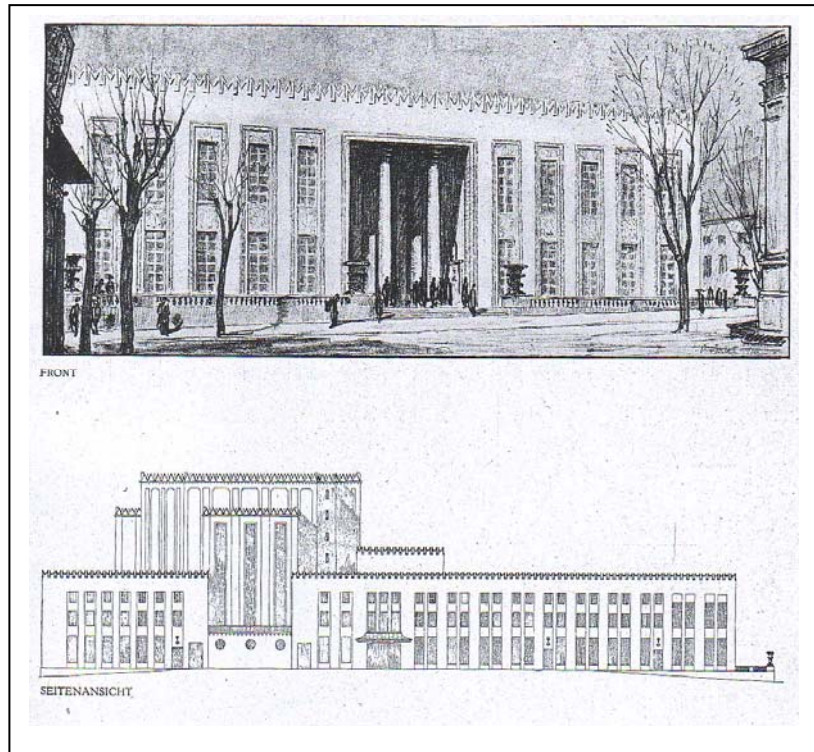


Figure 4.70. The facades of the competition entry for the German-Turkish Friendship House by Paul Bonatz, İstanbul, 1916
 (Source: Deutscher Werkbund & Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung 1918: p. 27)

After this project, the next projects Bonatz worked on in Turkey seems to be those at the Ministry of Education. In describing his job for the Turkish Ministry of Education as an adviser in the construction office for the technical schools, Bonatz says that they were responsible of the design and realization of the Technical Schools²¹⁵. He states that the program was many-sided, since the school was integrated with dormitories, a cafeteria and playgrounds, and all of these units should be designed as an organic unity²¹⁶. The program and the schools were not luxurious; it was all about education to create a high class workmanship, and the awakening of interest of the ambition of the age-groups. The understanding of Bonatz about this education was one

²¹⁵ Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) writes that these were times with wonderful motivation. It was an office with about 20 young people, all full of ambition and idealism. After a life rich of tasks, he could be in the second row, just to advise, help, inconspicuously educate, and let the others be independent and autonomous; and for once have the pleasure to promote things without personal ambition.

²¹⁶ Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) reports that all tools in the office, such as straightedges, papers, cameras were naturally from Germany. But most importantly there were the German textbooks, for example about windows, doors furniture, building construction and the overall book of Neufert. Bonatz states that these books in their profoundness and exactness could not be topped.

in which the result of the work does not get lost, and that it always stays visible and touchable (Bonatz 1950). His view on these schools also reflects his ideas about tradition and how tradition should be applied to the school projects. Bonatz says: “In these schools, old examples were to be studied but not imitated. Tradition shall be fertilization not slavery. New things shall be new, but they shall be born from the nation’s feeling/sense of form, as simply stylized as modern that they reflect today.” (Bonatz 1950: p. 222).

During this time, two projects of Bonatz, the Technical School for Girls and for Boys in Ankara, was realized (Erktin 1997). These also show resemblances to the Turkish House. Aslanoğlu (Aslanoglu 1994) also supports this view, that the use top windows with iron lattice balustrades, projections at the facades and the use of wide eaves²¹⁷, suggests that Bonatz has appropriated the Turkish House theme connected to the Second National Architecture.



Figure 4.71. The Technical School for Boys by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1944
(Source: Aslanoğlu 1994: p. 44)

It is also important that at the time hostility against foreign architects was rising in Turkey, and the works of Bonatz at the Ministry of Education were commented on by Sayar (Sayar 1946: p. 201) as: “...a prominent foreign architect working for the Ministry of Education for technical schools is dissolving millions of liras...” The hostility towards Bonatz,

²¹⁷ Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) mentions that according to the wish of one of the counselors of the Ministry of Education, the characteristic building stones of the nation should have been united in a fountain. The aim of this fountain was to show the different types of marble as samples, but this fountain has not been constructed.

increased even more during the planning of his next project which was a housing complex contracted by the construction administration of *Emlak Yapı Şirketi* (Realestate Building Company) called *Saraçoğlu Memur Evleri Mahallesi* (Saraçoğlu Settlement for State Employees) and was built between 1944 and 1946 in the *Bakanlıklar* (Ministries) region of Ankara. This project was initiated in accordance with the 1944 legislation of Government Employees' Residences Law, launched to prevent the housing shortage in Ankara.

In describing how he got the contract to work on this project, Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) writes that he recommended that the project should be commissioned to Kemali Söylemezoğlu, but Söylemezoğlu rejected this offer because he had too much work in İstanbul. Bonatz then suggested many other names, but the director of the Realestate Building Company complained that they were losing too much time, and subsequently Bonatz was told to start designing a proposal in the spring of 1944. Already in October 1944 all the projects were approved and the settlement was completed in 1946.

The building complex is considered to provide an important example for the second national architecture movement in Ankara. 453 Flats in these apartment buildings were designed with different types of plans (6 different types) and elevations, each one having 3-5 rooms. Residential blocks were 2-4 stories above the basement. The facades on the side with windows of the rooms protruded out and some had balconies. The external design of houses reflected the hybridization of the *Türk Evi* (Turkish house) paradigm proposed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem as a solution to the long-lasting search for a national style in architecture. Wide eaves, protrusions resembling the "cumba", modulated windows, and special ironworks on railings are all taken from the traditional Turkish house (Altaban 1998).

Bonatz is also described to have tried to bring the *Siedlung* understanding of 1920s Germany to this residential complex, with much space left for green areas, playgrounds for children, and elementary and junior High school, and a social building in addition to the residential blocks. During the years when settlement plans for the neighborhood were planned, the project received substantial criticism for being designed in a more formalistic than functionalist manner, however it was generally accepted that the harmony with the land was successful.



Figure 4.72. The Saraçoğlu Settlement by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1944 -1946
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 240a)



Figure 4.73. The Saraçoğlu Settlement by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1944 -1946
(Photograph by Katja Eydel)



Figure 4.74. The Saraçoğlu Settlement by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1944 -1946
(Photograph by Deniz Güner)

Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) claims that in the Saraçoğlu Settlement, Bonatz comes to a synthesis that can be seen as the completion of the more than 10 years of ongoing discussions about his own architecture regionally adapted to Turkey, where Turkish motives and solid craftsmanship are combined and also climatic and topographical criteria are followed. He also accepts this as an exemplary building of the Second National Architecture movement:

This was not an isolated debate over modern architecture, but the expression of a fundamental paradox within the Kemalist reform movement: the turn toward western patterns, the exclusive emphasis on the “new”, led to a loss of tradition that simultaneously conjured up the identity crisis within Turkish Society. The “nationalization of the modernism” incipient already in the late thirties, went so far as to render authoritarian patterns absolute, thus in the approximation to National Socialist architecture within the Second National Style, mediated by the position of Paul Bonatz. (Nicolai 2006: p. 85)

Another project that Bonatz did for Turkey, which also caused controversy, was the conversion of the *Sergievi* (Exhibition House) project of Şevki Balmumcu in Ankara, into the *Devlet Opera ve Bale Binası* (State Opera and Ballet Building), between 1946 and 1948. The version of Paul Bonatz consists of more ‘nationalist’ details, and is more official and heavy compared to the design of Balmumcu.



Figure 4.75. The Exhibition House by Şevki Balmumcu, Ankara, 1933-1934
(Source: Aslanoğlu 2001: p. 207)

Bonatz (Bonatz 1950: p. 253) reports about the opera that it was a usual international fashion style building, and when he was asked by the Minister of Culture to make a suggestion to transform the building, his reply was “Your excellence, you ask me to marry quite an ugly woman”. And in a few weeks when they met again and the minister asked Bonatz how things were getting along with the ugly wife, Bonatz answered “You

would not believe me, but meanwhile, I have learned to love her, and she will no longer stay ugly”. Their aim was to build a theater; however the theater was not going to be designed such that it could be anywhere in the world, but it would reflect the atmosphere of the country. It should be a building that could only exist in the Turkish context and should indicate that it belonged to that unique soil. Bonatz continues that furthermore, an opera building should express joy and charm; it should echo festivity, even cheerfulness and melody if this can be achieved²¹⁸.

In the conversion project, the exterior walls of the buildings were kept, and the interior walls were torn down and rebuilt (Kuruyazıcı 2003). However, Bonatz also thought that besides the interior changes that were necessary because of the function, the mass and the façade on the exterior should also be modified. The vertical ribbon windows were filled, and the position of the tower was changed; elements such as a new inclined roof and colonnades with stylized Ottoman capitals, and ceiling decorations of the foyer were added in order to give the building a more local appearance. According to Ergut (Ergut 1998: p. 139), the end result of giving priority to a specifically defined relation to history was a building which was “monumental, neo-classical and revivalist”.



Figure 4.76. The foyer of the State Opera by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1946-1948
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 272a)

²¹⁸ Bonatz is also aware of the fact that his understanding is rejected by architects with modern approaches, he states: “For the strong believers in the *Sahlichen* these are objectionable words. Such things would not exist anymore ...” (Bonatz 1950: 255)



Figure 4.77. The State Opera by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1946-1948
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 256a)

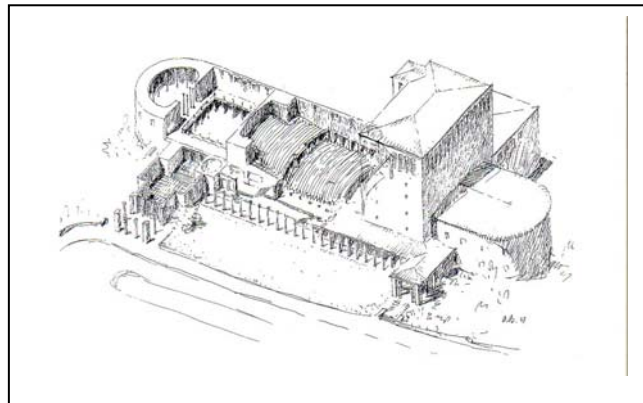


Figure 4.78. The sketch for the State Opera by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1947
(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 189)



Figure 4.79. The State Opera by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1946-1948
(Photograph by Katja Eydel)

Bonatz was proud of himself, because he had used only Turkish craftsmen and Turkish technicians²¹⁹ for the construction of the building; the only exception was the construction of the stage (Oran 1957). However, despite his efforts, Bonatz had caused further revolts against foreign architects in Turkey, and triggered discussions on how foreigners can discuss what a national style should be. Furthermore, he also received ethical criticisms for disrespecting the artist that has originally built the Exhibition House (Sayar 1946a). In Bozdoğan's (Bozdoğan 2002) view, the attitude of Bonatz in the Opera Project is a betrayal of the utopian modernist ideals of Balmumcu; and consequently the genuine aesthetic and the constructivist composition of the original project has been destroyed in an irreversible manner.

Another conversion project by Bonatz has been the rearrangement of the *Taşkışla* building and its transformation into the Faculty of Architecture for the İstanbul Technical University together with Emin Onat in 1948. In this project, Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) states that the wooden ceilings were replaced by reinforced concrete ceilings with visible beams that were imitating a wooden structure. The corner volumes of the original building were exposed and separated from the interior corridors by big triumphal arches. The staircases were designed with the same separating arches principle. The structure of the top story (roof) was lighter compared to the rest of the building. When evaluating this building, Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) rates it as being more successful than the conversion of the Opera in Ankara; according to Nicolai, the *Taşkışla* building in its new form is representing the idea of a timeless architecture adapted to local conditions.

There are also rumors that in 1946 Bonatz had given a proposal for a project of the *İstanbul Halkevi ve Belediye Binası* (İstanbul Municipality Building) (Arkitekt 1946). Tanyeli (Tanyeli 2003) claims that due to the protest among Turkish architects in the 1940s, Paul Bonatz had cooperated with Kemali Söylemezoğlu for this project; however it had raised so much criticism among the Turkish architectural community that in the end, a competition was organized (Nasır 1991; Kuruyazıcı 2003).

Other projects that are listed by Nasır (Nasır 1991) to have been built by Paul Bonatz are the National Library in Ankara, the Sirel House, the Falih Rıfkı House, an apartment building in the Emin Vafi woods in İstanbul, and the initial projects for the Grand Ephesus Hotel in İzmir. The Süren House in İstanbul built and designed in 1954-

²¹⁹ Bonatz (Bonatz 1950) also writes that he worked together with five Turkish architects for the project: Ertğrul Arf, Sabih Kayan, Fatih Metigil, Sabih Öke and Haluk.

1955 is listed by Dübbers (Dübbers 1977), which also seems to contain elements inspired by the Turkish House archetype.

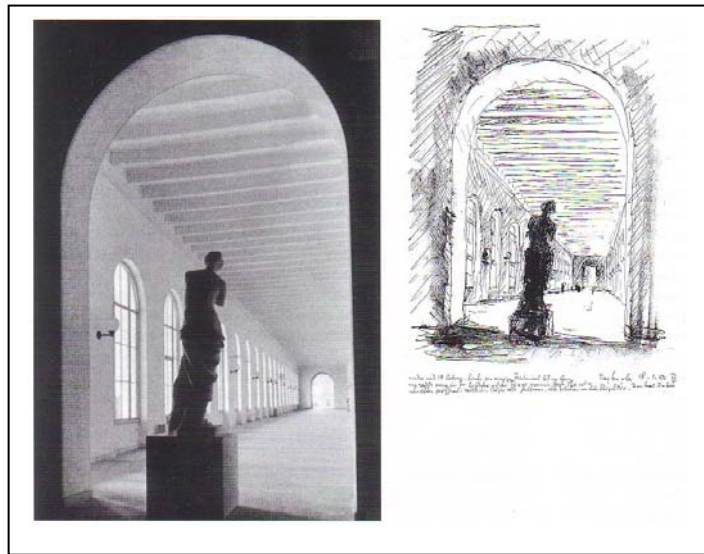


Figure 4.80. The sketch and the photo of the interior of the Taşkılla Building by Paul Bonatz, Ankara, 1947-1948
(Source: Nicolai 1998: p. 189)

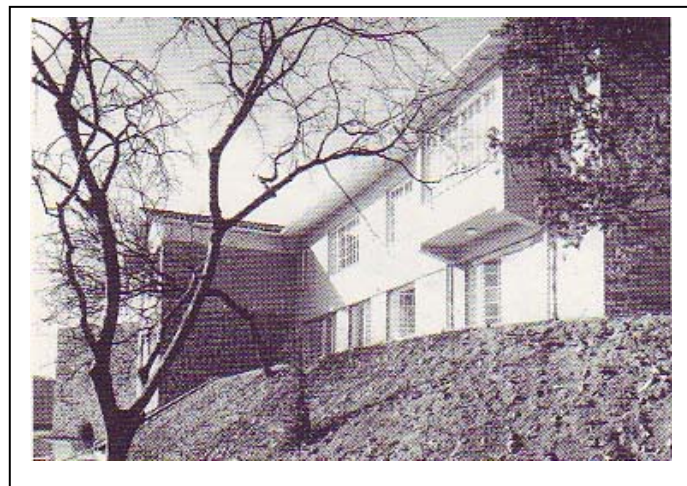


Figure 4.81. The Süren House by Paul Bonatz, İstanbul, 1954-1955
(Source: Dübbers 1977: p. 87)

The projects of the Grand Ephesus Hotel, were contracted to Paul Bonatz in 1957, however were completed by Fatih Uran in 1963. Güner (Güner 2005) states that this is one of the most prestigious buildings which support the “modern urban city” image of İzmir.

Besides the projects and educational activities, Bonatz is reported to have taken part in the preparation of the international competition for the urban plans of İzmir in the 1950s (Ertekin 1997). He also was a senior member in competition juries for the monument for Çanakkale, *İstanbul Radyoevi* (the building for the İstanbul Radio) and the *İstanbul Adalet Sarayı* (Palace of Justice for İstanbul) (Sayar 1998); his influence can be traced in reports. Alsaç (Alsaç 1984) claims that Bonatz supported his students in these competitions, and that their affiliation with Bonatz was reflected in their historicist approaches in design. The fact that the *İstanbul Radyoevi* is a palace of stone reflects the judgment and influence of Bonatz (Ünsal 1973).



Figure 4.82. The Grand Ephesus Hotel designed by Paul Bonatz, İzmir, 1950
(Source: Güner 2005: p. 158)

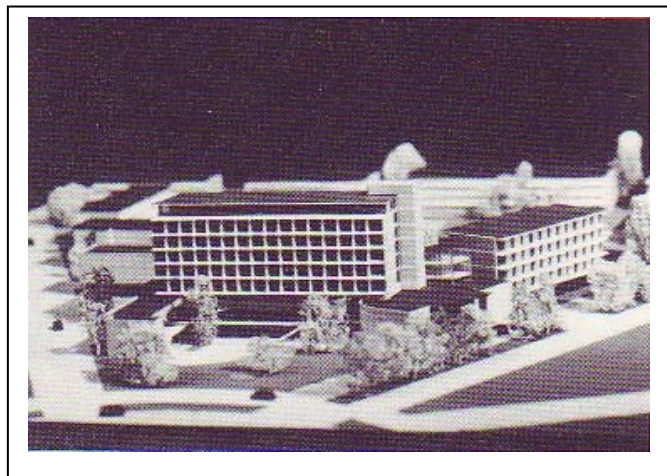


Figure 4.83. The model of the Grand Ephesus Hotel designed by Paul Bonatz, İzmir, 1950
(Source: Dübbers 1977: p. 87)

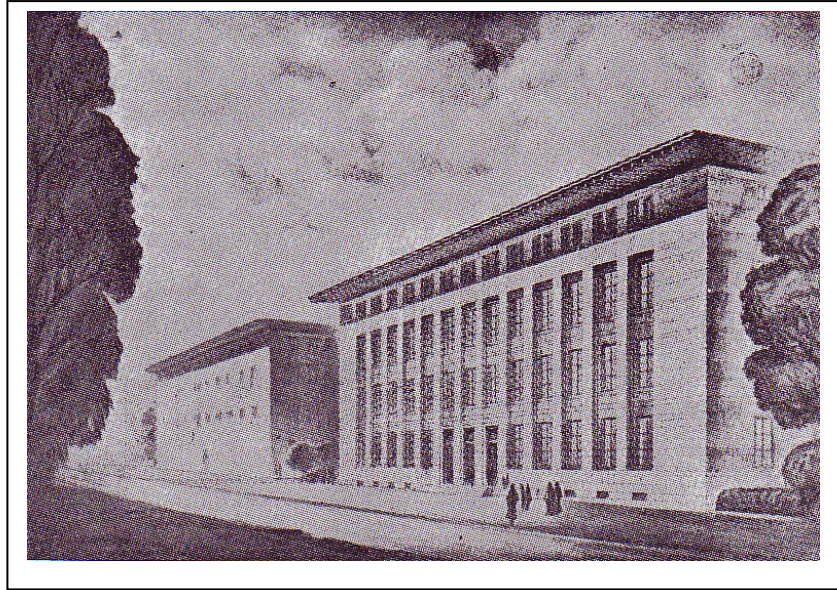


Figure 4.84. The winning project of the İstanbul Radyoevi by İsmail Utkular, Doğan Erginbaş and Ömer Güney, İstanbul, 1945
(Source: Gorbon 1973: p. 51)

The Çanakkale Monument competition of 1944, where Bonatz was a jury member, Bonatz praises the winning project that is from a student of his, and finds the proposal impressive and hopes that it will be realized, and includes a sketch that he made from the winning project.

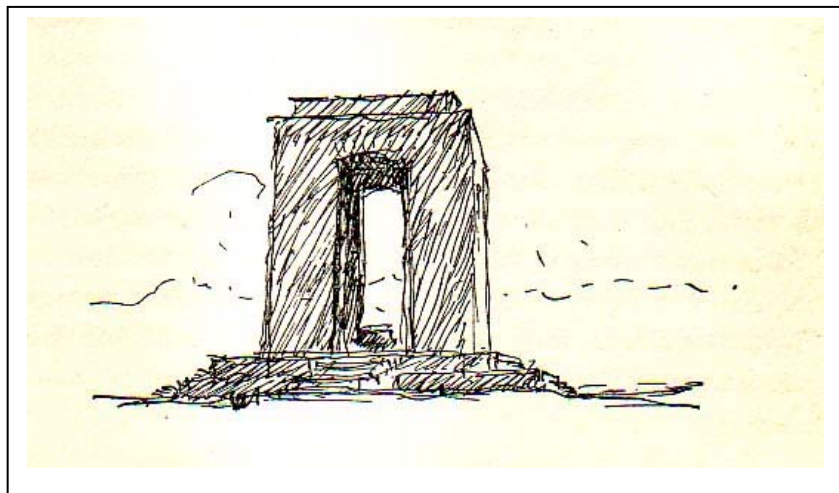


Figure 4.85. The sketch of the winning project of the Çanakkale Monument by Paul Bonatz
(Source: Bonatz 1950: p. 229)

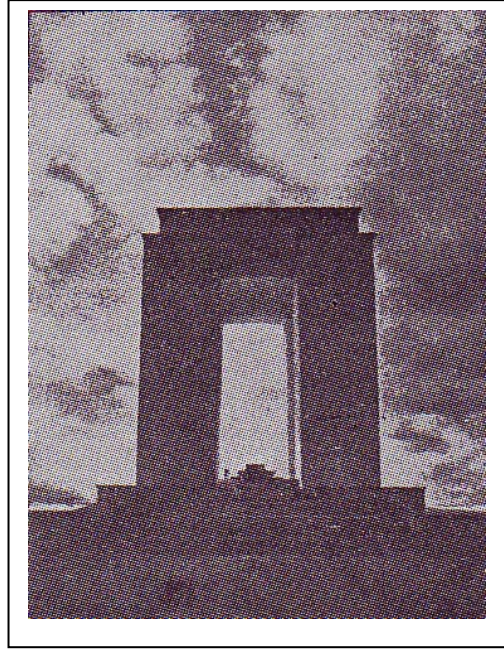


Figure 4.86. The winning project of the Çanakkale Monument by Feridun Kip, Çanakkale, 1945

(Source: Gorbon 1973: p. 50)

However, a different attitude can be seen in the competition for the İstanbul Palace of Justice in 1948. In this competition, as well as Paul Bonatz, the famous modernist W.M. Dudok from Holland was also in the jury (Sayar 1998). Alsaç (Alsaç 1984) claims that this project was in the post-war period when the economy got better and building materials could be imported again, causing the revivalist approaches of the 1940s, to give way to a new internationalism with rational functionalist designs, producing prismatic forms. Alsaç describes the İstanbul Palace of Justice as a functional prism. Batur (Batur 1998) also supports this view, that the building marks a turn in the nationalist approaches in architecture with its simple functional design; however, Sayar (Sayar 1998) suggests that the repetition of the motives of Eldem, deny a radical break.

After looking at the building stock designed by or with influences of Paul Bonatz, the existence of architectural concepts of nationalism can not be denied. Werner (Werner 1977) states that when Bonatz was contracted by the young Turkish state, he perceived this new field of design that he had to work on, as an opportunity to be able to formulate his view of architecture from the 1920s once again. This approach was articulated only in a rudimental way, completely from scratch, free of all political hindrances. This is how in Turkey, the oeuvre of an elderly architect emerged, which

transformed local and formal aesthetic traditions into articulative, classicistic monumental forms.

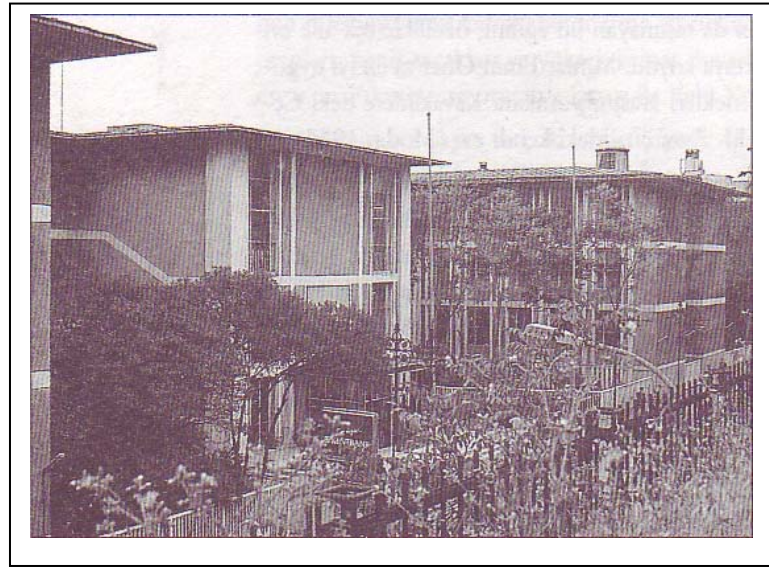


Figure 4.87. The İstanbul Palace of Justice by Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat, İstanbul, 1948

(Source: Batur 1998: p. 234)

Alsaç (Alsaç 1984) suggests that due to the fact that historical elements are borrowed, the approach of Paul Bonatz as one of the representatives of the second national architecture is ‘revivalist’. Since any revivalist attitudes can lead to controversies, the attitude of Bonatz can also be evaluated as such. Another opinion is from Bülent Tanju as he states that Bonatz tried to invent

... a genuine German architecture growing out of the soil like its natural products, he also tried in his own way to represent the ‘face of the Turkish House’. The *Heimat*, on which the practices are unified and sink their roots, is the concept given by Bonatz to the speechless orphans of architecture to enable to speak in the name of the father. Since then, starting formally with Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Heimat* is the limit of architectural discourse in Turkey” (Tanju 2006: p. 178)

In spite of the controversies caused by such attitudes of foreign architects, and harsh criticisms on the interpretations and applications of Turkish elements in his architecture, Eldem (Eldem 1983) claims that as a result of the second national architecture movement, Paul Bonatz together with Bruno Taut²²⁰ are the two foreign

²²⁰ However it is important to distinguish the attitudes of Bruno Taut and Paul Bonatz. Nicolai (Nicolai 1998) claims that in spite of all the quality of detailing, the architecture of Bonatz remained as an approach where he just added elements, in which Turkish motives of architecture were used instead of classicist elements. This alone is one of the main differences with the

architects that differentiated themselves from the rest with their love for the local Turkish architecture and contributed with buildings that were modern, but still remarkable within the Turkish context.

As for Paul Bonatz, he criticized foreign influences in finding a national expression in architecture, and praised some Turkish architects for their projects having “Turkish blood”, writing that young architects should stay away from international shallow cubic architecture, and that any culture not connected with its soil and nationality is bound to stay hollow and transitory (Bonatz 1944). He expresses his ideas about this synthesis and how it should be done as follows:

....tradition should not be restrictive but productive. There should be new elements, but these should have roots in the form understanding of the country; however these forms should be simplified, stylized, and modernized in such a way that it should recreate the present.” (Bonatz 1950: p. 83).

Although the late buildings in the career of Bonatz in Turkey contain revivalist elements and can not be considered revolutionary in today’s understanding, they are no longer truly representing the designs before the Second World War portrayed in the New German Architecture exhibition. One can always discuss if the contributions of Bonatz on the architecture scene in Turkey were positive or not, but its existence and also the traces of his influence remains to be a fact. The architectural experiments of how to build connected to the blood and soil of a nation and how Paul Bonatz dealt with this issue in the late 1940s and the beginning of 1950s remains a topic open to further discussion.

conception of Bruno Taut, who interpreted his synthesis on a more abstract level, and developed Turkish motives like the layers of stones or the interior arrangement who developed this out of the structure of buildings.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The study evaluates the entire careers and professional activities of certain German architects who have worked in Turkey during the period between 1927 and 1950, hence depicting different stages of their careers in two different contexts. Thereby the thesis provides an insight to the whole picture and a comprehensive panoramic view putting the smaller pieces of the puzzle together.

Among the architects in this group, especially Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky were at the earlier stages of their career in Germany, when they were developing their standing and maturing as architects in a vivid atmosphere where the changing dynamics of the role of the architect and architecture was being intensely discussed, whereas in the Turkish context they became a part of the efforts to modernize and restructure a country.

Through research on the German architects in Turkey in the Republican Era, the thesis does not pretend to reconstruct a complete history, which is nonetheless impossible, but to underline some facts and suggest some relationships that should not be taken for granted; in other words, the thesis aims to re-activate the debate on the German architects in Turkey. In order to uncover the original intentions of the specified architects and assess the way in which they were originally received, the first-hand writings of the architects themselves, and that of their contemporaries were evaluated as much as possibly available.

The first half of the 20th century marks an important phase in history with significant reflections on culture and artistic expression. In Europe the beginning of the 20th century observed industrialization, urbanization, change in life styles and political views which all underlie the flourishing of the modern movement. Industrialization was perceived as one of the major driving forces of architecture and Germany went through a difficult phase, since the ideal relationship between the artist and industry was not easy to define. The establishment of the German *Werkbund* was instrumental in

transforming some of the older conceptions and overcoming the separation between art and mass culture. However, conflict was inevitable. Bruno Taut and Paul Bonatz, in the specific case of this thesis, are two of the figures representing the two sides of the conflict. As the movement had started to gain ground in Germany, the First World War began and brought the optimistic reform atmosphere to an abrupt termination. Hard times prevailed, immediate necessities surfaced and the blooming atmosphere seemed like an outdated fashion of the past. The general panorama in Europe, in the years following the First World War observed the rise in nationalistic movements and totalitarian regimes. However, after the war, the immediate need for housing presented an opportunity for architects to design and construct huge residential projects. In general, a rational and functional view had to be adopted to serve human beings with requirements and feelings. The “Existens minimum”, “The New Frankfurt”, “Neues Bauen” and the evolution of the “Garden City” concepts for residential architecture reflect this period. However, with the National Socialist regime coming into power in 1933, the modernist position was replaced by nationalistic and classicist approaches, and the architects who did not adapt to this different attitude, were eventually expelled from Germany. Therefore, this period marks the beginning of exile adventures of some German architects to countries where totalitarian and fascist pressures were not imposed upon architects.

At this point Turkey was one of the countries that received such professionals. Turkey was going through a transformation during the early Republic years. The long lasting Ottoman tradition was rejected, and the direction of the young Republic was towards the West and modernization. Changes of national economy, emergence of new economical systems, formation of the new government, municipalities, new social institutions, changes in class structure, were all under way; and a modern architectural language was chosen as the expression of the foundation of the new state. The University reform of 1933 necessitated the appointment of distinguished professors in architecture - as well as in other fields of higher education - as part of the government policy to aid in efforts for improvement in the Universities, as well as in planned development and industrialization, to publicize the symbols of modern and Western living. The fields of work in Turkey for German architects were restructuring the architecture faculties at the universities, and mainly the construction of public buildings such as governmental buildings, schools and houses. In other words, the aim on the Turkish side seems to have been to make use of the architectural knowledge and

experience of the German architects on an operative basis. These architects were responsible for finding emergency solutions for the problems in hand, with solid descriptions of their status. The situation in the Turkish context seems to be rather the adoption and revision of experience and knowledge to an existing situation; however it is still interesting to see that under these circumstances these architects have dealt with local considerations and also contributed to the discussions on a national architecture.

Extensive research carried out has showed that the German architects that have worked in Turkey have not all been in exile condition in Turkey; they have not been a homogenous group of architects belonging to a certain school or representing a certain type of architecture or ideology neither in Germany at the beginning of the Century nor in Turkey after the 1930s. A closer look into the tendencies of each architect, the series of events which resulted in each architect's situation and working contracts in Turkey, suggests that the existence of the German architects in the Turkish context bears more complexity than comprehended at the first glimpse. During this process, since the architects did not know Turkish, there is an apparent communication problem between the architects and their colleagues, students and employers. This language barrier adds an extra level of complexity to the situation causing most of the communication to be indirect.

Although this group of architects has been labeled with terms such as "haymatloz" or "foreign" in both Germany and Turkey as a homogeneous group, such terms refer more to their political situation rather than their architectural approaches. The common ground that connects the German architects is that they have all gone through a displacement from their own homeland to another, and have had to construct a new existence in the new destination. The relocation of these architects was not simply the exportation of all of his/her ideas and occupational resources to the new environs; the process included the reinterpretation of prototypes brought, the enquiries of the relevance of a set of formal language for another specific geography, the dynamics of the host country and the discussion and reinterpretation of concepts unique to the host country. Such aspects were discussed by the German architects in terms of physical, cultural and political frames. Therefore the thesis has taken into consideration the processes involved in the displacement of each German architect, the courses they went through because of being in a new country, their adaptation, refusal and/or acceptance regarding the dynamics of the Turkish context, and the distinctive colors that these architects carried with their personalities.

The German architects, although at varying levels, appraised the local climate and styles of living and some of them made an effort for designing and educating accordingly. However, the cultural exchanges and the expression of architecture within the new context and the transformations resulting from the novel settings were different for each architect. The forms designed to handle the social requisites of Weimer were altered to gain new meanings under the conditions present in Turkey.

In discussing architecture, dualities such as national and international, or global and local were raised; the local, the national, the traditional and the imported aspects were topics that were often referred to. The project designs of each architect varied; while some exaggerated the respect and adoption of local traditions and building materials, some seem to have had ignored local considerations, and for some, local considerations were limited only to climatic and topographical conditions.

The unique view points of each of the specified German architects working in Turkey have received special attention in the thesis. Since these architects are analyzed separately, clear differences among them regarding architectural perception and personality, their standing and ideology before their arrival and during their stay in Turkey are discussed.

Bruno Taut was a devoted supporter of the new architecture at the beginning of the Century in the German context, whose policy statements had significant impact on architectural profession. Bruno Taut, who emerged as an artist with utopian ideas, in search for a free expression and supportive of individualism in design, had constructed buildings such as the Glass Pavillion or the Monument of Steel before the First World War. Following the war, probably due to the death of Paul Scheerbart, and the prevailing economic difficulties brought about by the war, his experimental attitude was altered, and he took a more pragmatic path, as he dealt more with housing projects to attend to an urgent need. In the housing projects he dealt with the association of the architecture and function, while considering the materials used and the elegance of the construction, with the aim to create a pleasing surrounding through the use of vegetation, good ventilation and daylight. In the housing projects, the interplay of elements through repetition, rhythm and contrast, the assembly of color and surface textures, and the resulting unique compositions can be observed reflecting an effort to reach a synthesis of humane and functional aspects in his architecture. Probably as a result of his idealistic drive, he sought to discover better resolutions in the industrial context of Germany to for example the problems of the Rental Barracks, as he also did

later in the Turkish context where Bruno Taut has had a special role. His uniqueness was not only due to his powerful position at the Academy of Fine Arts and at the Ministry of Education, but also due to his opposition of the import of certain formal canons of modernism, and his respect for local architectural traditions. In his works, an effort to find a synthesis of these considerations emerges, which is unique for Turkey. Taut is also distinctive and appears as a contemporary figure within the architecture milieu in Turkey, since he has handled architectural practice conceptually.

The education policies of Bruno Taut and the rejection of a formal aesthetic, as part of his own education methods was a struggle against the formal definition of modern architecture as “cubique”. It seems that in his attitude as a professor, Bruno Taut stressed with determination the necessity to reject a formalist approach and the stylistic canons in architecture. One of the reasons behind the reactionary attitude of Taut to an international building style that emerged in Europe, might have been the existing stock built in the second half of the 1920s in Turkey; and also the student projects that were being designed with such similar attitudes in the architecture faculty of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. Taut openly expressed his critical attitude against this situation, and he accused the teachings of professors such as Ernst Egli of training students by encouraging projects that stylistically follow their own formal choices. Taut on the contrary has paid special emphasis to refrain from doing exactly that, and from educating students that follow his stylistic preferences.

Taut was also against the adoption of certain formal languages not just in the field of education, but also in the profession itself. He did not take part in discussions regarding which architectural style to adopt: “modern” or “historical”. Taut has expressed in every occasion a reactionary attitude against an architecture that ignores local differences and looks the same worldwide. Architecture to him had to consider and respect local traditions and climate. Taut believed that sooner or later, the imitations of buildings built for another country would gradually become useless and abandoned, since the nature and especially the climate would take its revenge, and prove such buildings inoperative. In his Istanbul diary, one can trace the hints behind his severe critique against an international style in architecture dealing alone with technical advancement, and not with local references such as climate and topography or tradition. The weather conditions were truly different in Turkey than the continental climate of Berlin. The humid climate of İstanbul aggravated the health problems of Taut, and heat might have been one of the factors of his extremely sensitive attitude in this regard.

Another concern related to the comfort and appropriateness of building in accordance with local building traditions and materials. Taut stressed that compliance with local building traditions was necessary in order to work efficiently with craftsmen and technicians familiar with certain ways of building and materials.

His efforts in the search for an alternative interpretation to modern architecture, and his focus on native interactions in his late years, might have resulted from special conditions he had faced including the climate and the building stock or conditions of the construction field in Turkey. Besides these factors, Taut also stressed that culture and history, as part of the traditional culture, should be taken into consideration. In his instruction and in his architecture, Bruno Taut seems to have made an effort to discover the cultural, climatic and topographical differences of his new context where he discussed the divergence between Westernization and nationalization, thus trying to avoid a misunderstood nationalism with his famous remark: “every good architecture is national, but every national architecture is bad”.

In the field of education, a field, where past experiences could be used in a more abstract way, the attitudes that Bruno Taut encouraged in his design studios, seem to have been parallel to his writings: adaptations for the Turkish context, especially climatically. For example, his students’ projects include cantilevering roofs and sun shades. In his own architecture, providing natural light, the use of sunshades, horizontally supported eaves reminiscent of the old Turkish houses, in some projects the use of materials such as the local Ankara stone were his adaptation to the existing environment. As such, Taut has made an effort to apply his theories in his construction and designs as well, and worked to physically realize the synthesis that he has been thinking about regarding combining traditional and modern. He always searched for an acceptable revised version of an architectural understanding which would embrace local conceptions.

Paul Bonatz, another prominent architect in the German context at the beginning of the 20th century, whose architectural attitude was more conservative, presumed that architecture should represent the nationality of the architect as well as the period he lived in. Bonatz’ housing projects of the 20s, with their axial and symmetrical designs, were different from the typical massive social housing projects of the period. Paul Bonatz expressed openly that he was critical of the New Architecture movement prevailing in Germany at the time, although there exist examples in which he did use stylistic tools of the movement. As of 1933, with the new National Socialist

government, the career of Bonatz was not drastically influenced. His professorship at the Stuttgart Technical University Faculty of architecture where he was one of the most admired teachers and was following a traditional line, continued. In Stuttgart, he supported a pluralist style in his teaching and rejected offering formal and aesthetical patent recipes for his students. There have been criticisms on adaptation of historical elements which were interpreted as being insufficient in the German context. Unlike some other architects, he was not in exile in Turkey, and such criticisms have continued in the Turkish context after his arrival in 1943 regarding his adaptation of the elements of Turkish architecture.

In his occupation as a professor in the Istanbul Technical University, Paul Bonatz encouraged his students not to imitate European styles in their buildings. He avoided importing rigid European architecture. Bonatz conceived his mission as making them realize the values of their own culture, and to encourage them to be continuously critical of fashion by avoiding the use of any style that belongs to any certain period in time. On the contrary, in his view, connection to tradition should be achieved through searching into the sources of the designs. Although the early student projects of the Bonatz studio reflect a tendency towards a more massive and classical oriented architecture which is reminiscent of the kind of architecture similar to his earlier Stuttgart buildings, the later projects in his studio in Istanbul, reveal affiliation with the second national architectural style with references to the paradigms of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and the *Türk Evi* (Turkish House). This change might have resulted from his satisfaction and pleasure in working with Emin Onat and Sedad Hakkı Eldem. Both architects were in complete harmony with Bonatz professionally and had parallel ideas.

Bonatz, who presumed that architecture should represent the nationality of the architect as well as the period he lived in, carried comparable approaches to the Turkey. Probably also due to the influences of the architectural milieu in Turkey regarding the adoption of the new Turkish residential architecture, Bonatz seems to have been widely occupied in finding a national expression for Turkish architecture. According to Bonatz, the differences between nations and nationalities were an important aspect that should be considered in architecture as well as differences in local climatic conditions. He supported the use of Turkish elements and detail in his studio. He must have realized the Saraçoğlu Settlement project with such intentions where he used elements such as the top windows with iron lattice balustrades, projections at the facades and the use of wide eaves, protruding windows. However Bonatz has also tried to bring the “*Siedlung*”

understanding of 1920s Germany, with large spaces left for vegetation and playgrounds, schools and a social building together with the residential blocks. The efforts of Bonatz to merge “*Siedlung*” and the “Turkish House”, can also be seen as an interpretation of the debate on the relationship between the national and the international approaches specific for the young Republic. However the attempt of Bonatz to reflect the local historical and traditional components while designing for Turkey, and to comply with the local climatic and geographical nature of the land has often been criticized as being a superficial adaptation of the building tradition, in which he simply chose to use certain architectural icons of his host country.

Martin Elsaesser was another German architect who has built in Turkey in the 1930s. However, his situation as an immigrant in Turkey appears to be under different conditions compared to others like Bruno Taut.

His school buildings for the new Frankfurt project, presents an interaction between the modernization of the education system and architecture of the school buildings, and are considered to constitute examples of the “*Neues Bauen*” of the 1920s in view of their cubical forms with straight edges, the use of proportionality, tedious attention given to the requirements of the ground plan, well lit interior spaces, and their restricted relation to traditional elements.

The architectural approach of Martin Elsaesser seems to reflect continuity as he has found it appropriate to build in a “modern style” for the Turkish context. This attitude is different from both Bruno Taut and Paul Bonatz who have considered and questioned local issues in the process of designing for a nation other than their own, notwithstanding the fact that their approaches were different. In their work and discussions- although with dissimilar attitudes- one can not deny the existence and contemplation of local physical qualities such as climate and topography, or cultural aspects of a different geography such as traditionality or nationality. This understanding and appreciation do not come forward in the case of Martin Elsaesser.

Elsaesser has applied similar formal elements and contemporary construction techniques and materials as in Germany; his project for Sümerbank is a typical example of this attitude. On the other hand, he was more traditional in the project for the Ankara City Cemetery, where he considered local, climatic and topographic conditions within the given environment. Although he has pursued principles of design of cemeteries developed in Germany, he seems to have preferred a more traditional design compared to the Sümerbank project. The choices of his materials are interpreted to have met the

terms of the European context, rather than the Anatolian. However there exist claims that he tried to express the new democratic Turkey by avoiding hierarchy as a design tool. Other projects of Elsaesser designed for the Turkey that have not been realized are reminiscent of his projects from the late 1920s in Frankfurt, which at the same time fit into the “*cubique*” description free from ornaments with their geometrical masses, defined edges, and the use of rhythm in their facades. Although in a few cases Elseasser has made use of the local Ankara stone, most of the construction materials were imported from Europe, and the debate between national and international or local and global does not seem to come forward in the designs of Elsaesser. Any modification in his architecture or ideas stemming from the Turkish impressions or arbitration with the localities remains questionable.

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky is an Austrian architect who, like Martin Elsaesser, worked for the New Frankfurt project and designed the famous Frankfurter kitchen. She was a socially motivated professional. She was focused on making the lives of the middle class women of an industrialized society easier. Accordingly, for her, the kitchen was a key element in the design of a flat. She argued that simplicity and functionality are not only efficient, but with the use of the right material; forms and colors they were also beautiful. Schütte-Lihotzky argued that not only the necessities of society shape architecture, but also architecture affects the daily living of people.

Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky was invited to work in Turkey by Bruno Taut; however her stay is limited to less than one year. Her involvement seems to have been more politically oriented in the Turkish Context similar to the prior. She has worked on separate projects foreseen for different user groups, and it seems that according to the different user groups –for Anatolian villagers on the one hand, for urban girls from Ankara in a higher education facility on the other - she has taken different approaches in her design in its materials and construction techniques, as well as in its form. For the prototype Schools for Anatolian villages, she has designed a modest project in accordance with its concept, with local traditional awareness using local building materials which were traditional for Anatolia and could be extended by the locals when needed. The latter project was the extension of the Ankara High School for Girls designed with different concerns for an urban environment, and with symbolic expression instead of emphasis on the locality. She is interpreted to have aimed to reflect the new generation of Kemalist women, thereby she used modern architectural elements on purpose. Although she has made use of the topographical input, this project

refers more to her prior work. The work of Schütte-Lihotzky in Turkey, hints at a local awareness to design in accordance with the context and the conditions of the project at hand. Her social concerns are reflected in her short-lived career in the Turkey.

The other German architects that have worked in Turkey and their works can not be traced in such detail as Bruno Taut, Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky. Of this group of architects, Robert Vorhölzer has had a short career in the Turkish context, and has supposedly been a respected professor at the Academy of Fine Arts. Hans Poelzig has never resided in Turkey, and his contribution is limited to three architectural competition entries. Wilhelm Schütte contributed to the architectural debate through his ideas in the articles he has written on residential culture with discussions on traditional versus modern residential culture, and on the education of architecture. Hans Grimm, Franz Hillinger, Konrad Ruhl, Mundt, Runge, Schiner, and Zimmerman have worked as assistants and/or aids of the other German architects in Turkey.

In investigating the careers of the German architects before and after their arrival in Turkey, the study has taken aspects such as “practicing architecture in a foreign country” and “being a European architect in a non-European country” into consideration. Behind the individual story of each architect, the implication of practicing in a country with a different architectural culture than the motherland can be traced. Such aspects as the two mentioned above, may implicate two separate tendencies within architectural theory. On one hand practicing in a foreign country might contribute to the debate on the professional responsibilities of the architects such as professional ethics in a realm extending to a timeless platform; on the other hand the existence of concepts such as Europe versus non-Europe might lead to other standing points for further studies.

It is possible to view the practice of the architectural profession in a foreign country as a paradigm shift for the architects that have actually existed in the process. Educational aspects, architectural institutions involved, together with performance and capabilities of the architects which were tested and approved in Germany as well as all the paradigms and concepts that were accepted to be legitimate in that context move along the journey together with the personalities of the architects. Understanding the professional background and the biases each architect carried, might be the key in understanding the shift in the architects’ approaches with the changing context. In this

sense, three biases can be witnessed: the physical context, the cultural context and the political context.

Bruno Taut, who has had a physical contextual approach, has had tectonic biases in his career in Germany and in Turkey. However, the change of the physical context (climate, geography and topography) might have underlied the urge for reconsidering his building approach. In his diary and letters, one can witness his anxiety stemming from the difficult tasks at hand; Taut felt an obligation to stay within the limits of the building conditions in the Turkish context and reformulate all his prior paradigms. The analysis of the environment in Turkey followed by his experience in Japan, have required the regeneration and requisitioning of his own past oeuvre.

In the case of Paul Bonatz, the shift in cultural contextual attitudes can be witnessed. Continuity of the prior career of Bonatz, which was essentially conservative with the aim of restoring the ethical and artistic unity of the German culture, can be observed in Turkey in a tendency to apply similar concerns on the Turkish culture. However, the multi-layered structure consisting of a variety of ethnicities has been rather different in Turkey compared to the culture in Germany. Besides the difficulty – almost impossibility- of being able to culturally synthesize such historical complexity, the time necessary for the understanding and evaluating process was lacking due to the emergent building necessities in the Turkish Republic. This can be considered as a situation where the difficulty of haphazardly adapting to a new context surfaced, consequently causing Bonatz to face obstacles in legitimizing his historical references in Turkey.

Martin Elsaesser and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, have practiced the international and timeless language of “modern architecture” adaptable to all geographies in correlation with their universal understanding of modern ideologies.

In conclusion, the transformation in the architectural understanding of certain individuals which took place under the specific circumstances disclosed in this thesis, are probably not due to the context change alone, or not just to the restrictions/freedoms/demands of the Turkish state, but rather result from the multifactorial aspects where each factor is likely to have an effect leading to complex interactions. The thesis provides a preliminary proposal to take a deeper look into the complexities of the architecture culture carried by the personality and professional background of the German architects and their activities within the special circumstances of Turkey during the early Republican Period.

Since extensive studies on the topic are currently missing, the thesis attempts to fill a gap, and suggests an alternative reading to mythologizing the influences of the foreign architects on the development of Turkish architecture through detailed investigation of both German and Turkish literature on the issue. The thesis is thus carefully structured in this aspect, in illustrating an individual process rather than the relationship of buildings and architects to the society; and therefore hopes to encourage further studies which might deepen the debate.

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APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES FROM JOB APPOINTMENTS OF IMMIGRANTS

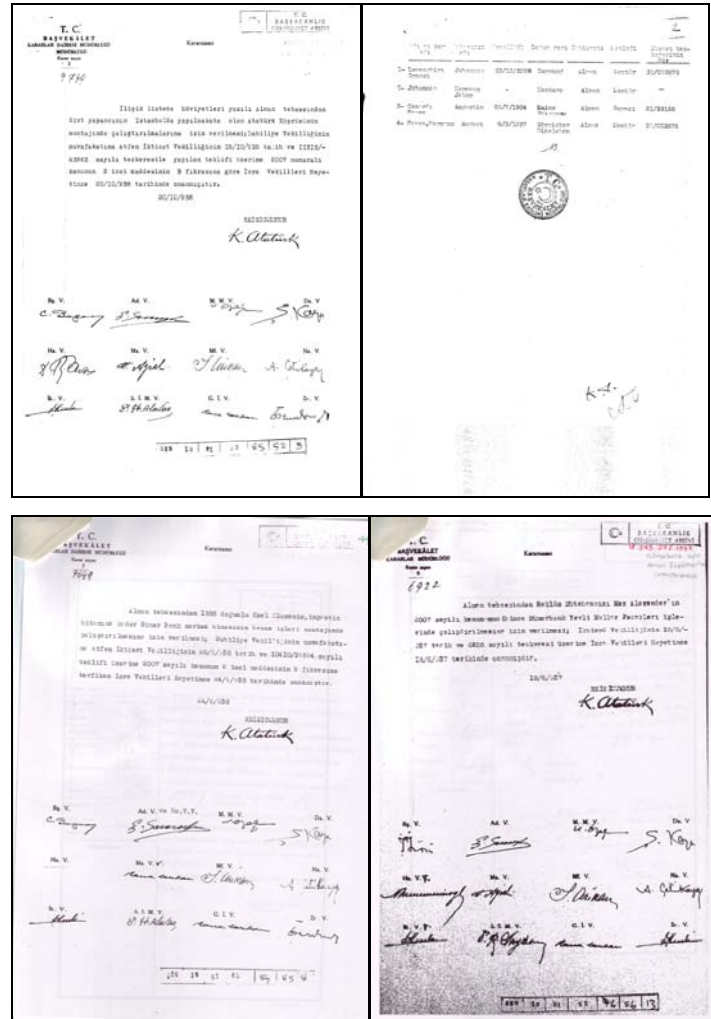


Figure B1. Some examples from job appointments of immigrants working in the construction field, handicrafts or marketing in the years 1937 – 1938 in Turkey
(Source: Turkish Prime Ministry Archives; documents number 243.243.272.1937, dated October 20, 1946, June 18, 1937 and September 24, 1938)

APPENDIX C

THE INTERVIEW OF THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR KEMALETTİN SAMİ PAŞA WITH ADOLF HITLER

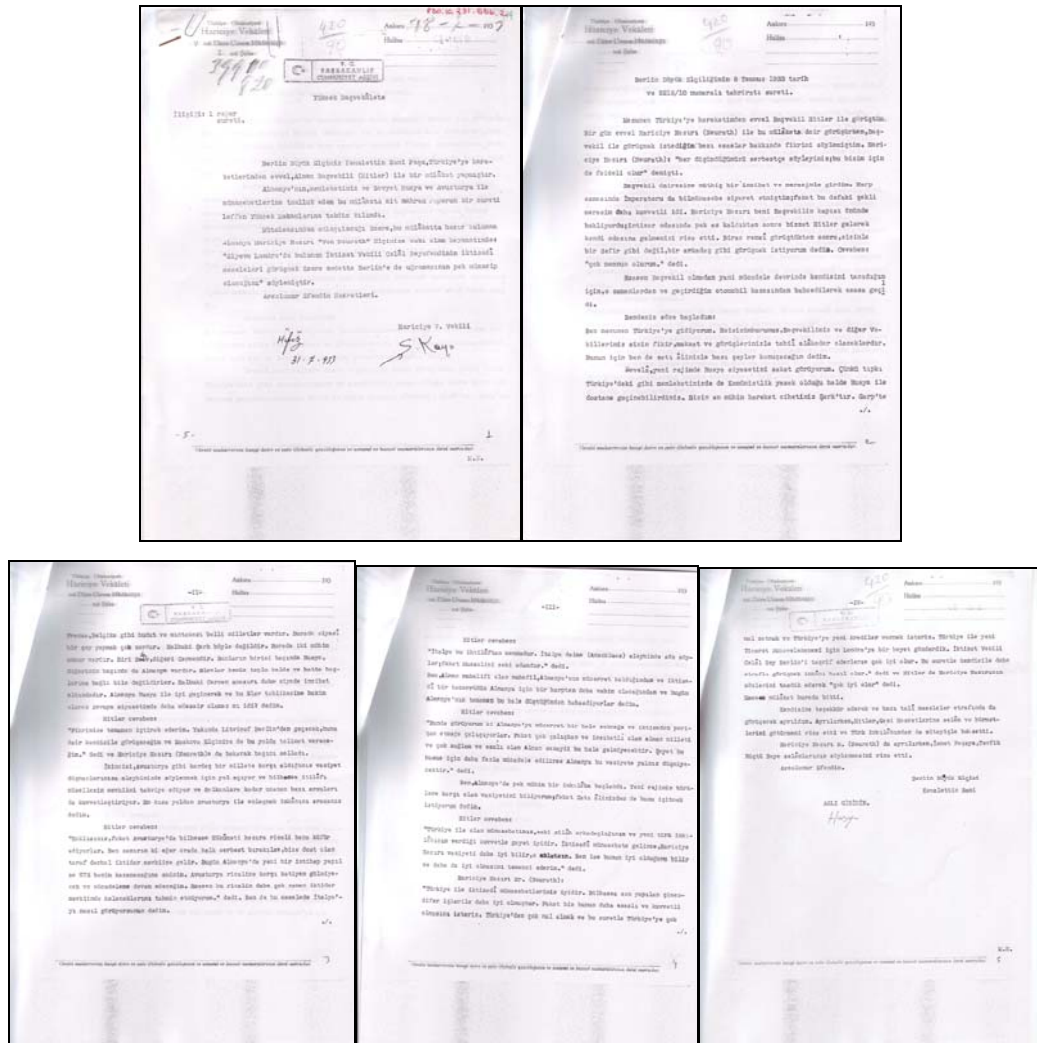


Figure C1. The interview by the Turkish Ambassador Kemalettin Sami Paşa in July 31, 1933 with Adolf Hitler
(Source: Turkish Prime Ministry Archives; documents number 830.10.231.556.2, dated July 31, 1933)

APPENDIX D

MEMORANDUM TO ALL GERMANS IN TURKEY

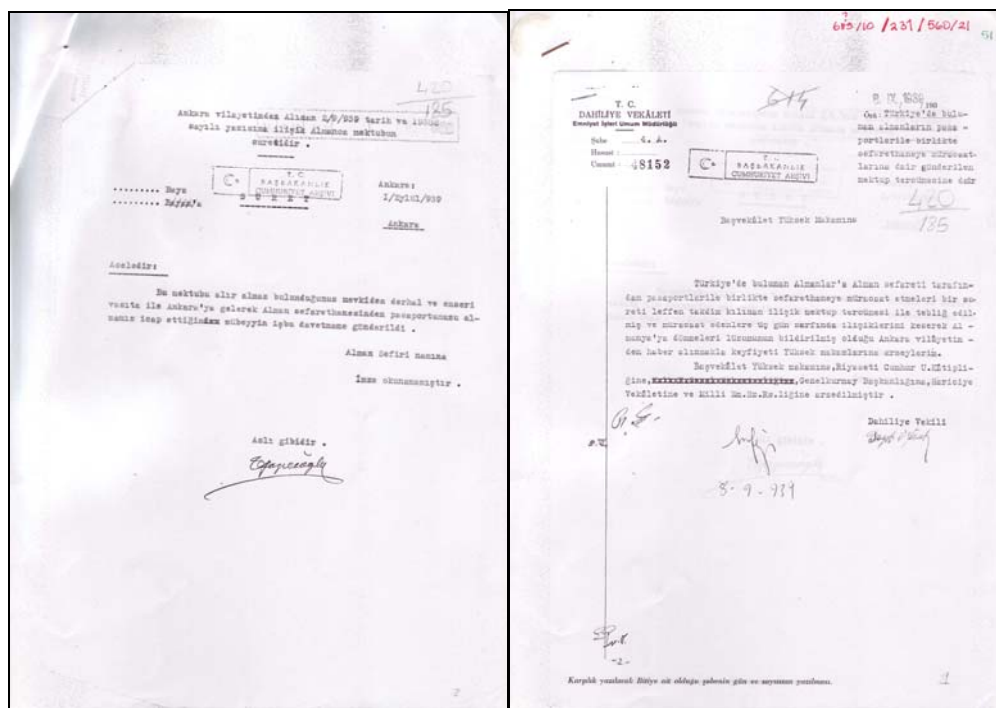


Figure D1. Memorandum sent by the German Embassy to all Germans in Turkey (Source: Turkish Prime Ministry Archives, document number 689.10.231.560.21, dated September 6, 1939)

APPENDIX E

LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE IMPORT OF CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS FOR SÜMERBANK



Figure E1. Legislation of the Prime Ministry, allowing the import of construction materials from Sweden, for the foundations of the Sümerbank building (Source: Turkish Prime Ministry Archives, document number 2/4655, dated May 25, 1936)

APPENDIX F

LIST OF THE TEXTS OF THE GERMAN ARCHITECTS IN TURKEY:

1) The texts Bruno Taut has written on or in Turkey:

Taut, B. (1938) “Teknik”, *Arkitekt*, no. 9, pp.257-260

Taut, B. (1938) “Teknik”, *Arkitekt*, no. 10-11, pp.317-323

Taut, B. (1938) “Mimari Nedir?”, *Arkitekt*, no. 5-6, pp.165-168

Taut, B. (1938) “Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara”, *Her Ay*, 1 Şubat 1938, pp.93-98

Taut, B. (1938) *Mimarlık Bilgisi* (trans. Adnan Kolatan), Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı, İstanbul

Taut, B., (1938). “Kamutay Projesi Müsabakası”, *Arkitekt*. No. 4, pp. 130-132

Taut, B. (1936-1938) “İstanbul Tagebuch”, Akademie der Künste, Archivabteilung Baukunst, Bruno Taut Sammlung

2) The texts Paul Bonatz has written on or in Turkey:

Bonatz, P., 1950. *Leben und Bauen*, (Engelhornverlag, Stuttgart)

Bonatz, P. (1942a) “Yeni Alman Mimarisi“, *Arkitekt*, no. 133, pp. 71-75

Bonatz, P. (1942b) “Yeni Alman Mimarisi“, *Arkitekt*, no. 133, pp. 119-120

Bonatz, P. (1944) “Çanakkale Zafer ve Meçhul Asker Abidesi Proje Müsabakası Münasebetiyle”, *Mimarlık*, no. 3, pp. 20-21

3) The texts Wilhelm Schütte has written in Turkey:

Schütte, W., 1940. “Zelzele Sahalarının Yeniden İmarı Hakkında Düşünceler”, *Arkitekt*. No. 3-4, pp. 75-87

- Schütte, W., 1940a. “Büyük Şehirlerin İnkişaf Meseleleri”, *Arkitekt.* No. 9-10, pp. 211-213
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- Schütte, W., 1942b. “Adolf Loos”, *Arkitekt.* No. 1-2, pp. 41-45
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- Schütte, W., 1944a. “Bugünkü Kültür ve İkametgah”, *Arkitekt.* No. 145-146, pp. 28-31
- Schütte, W., 1944b. “Bugünkü Kültür ve İkametgah II”, *Arkitekt.* No. 147-148, pp 66-70

4) The text Franz Hillinger has written in Turkey:

- Hillinger, F., 1941. “Damın İnşa Şekli Hakkında” *Arkitekt.* Vol. 9-10, pp. 221-224

APPENDIX G

DOCUMENT CONCERNING THE BERLIN TRIP OF ARIF HIKMET HOLTAY

T. C.
BAŞVEKÂLET
KARARLAR MODÜLÜSÜ
Karar sayı
4971

Kararname

18.242.1888
18.242.1888

Güzel San'atlar Akademisi Elmarif şubesinde profesör olarak ce-
liştirilmek üzere Almanyadan getirilmesi şakrur eden uzmanın seçil-
mesi işle megal olmak için Almanyaya gönderilecek olan Güzel San'at-
lar Akademisi Öğretmenlerinden Mimar Arif Hikmet kliring B hesabı ile
ödenmek üzere lüzumu kadar kumbyo müğadesi ve siyasiel pasaport ve-
rilmesi; Maarif Vekilliğinin 3/7/936 tarih ve 7930 sayılı tezkere ile
yapılan teklifi ve Maliye Vekilliğinin 7/7/936 tarih ve 54046/3/9656
sayılı mütealemması üzerine İcra Vekilleri Heyetince 8/7/36 da onan-
mıştır.

8/7/936

REİSİDANER
K. Altıntaş

B. V. Ad. V. M. M. V. Da. V.
J. İsmail S. Sarıca H. Özyurt S. Kaya

Ha. v. V. Ma. V. Me. V. Na. V.
S. Sarıca S. İsmail S. Akın A. Çelikkaya

K. V. S. İ. M. V. G. İ. V. Z. v. V.
C. Başoğlu S. İ. Özyurt K. Akın C. Başoğlu

18.242.1888 66 59 15

Figure G1. The document concerning the financial support provided for Arif Hikmet Holtay after he was commissioned for traveling to Germany (Source: Turkish Prime Ministry Archives document number 18.242.1888, dated July 8, 1936).

APPENDIX H

LETTER CONCERNING THE TRIP OF PROFESSOR HOLTAY

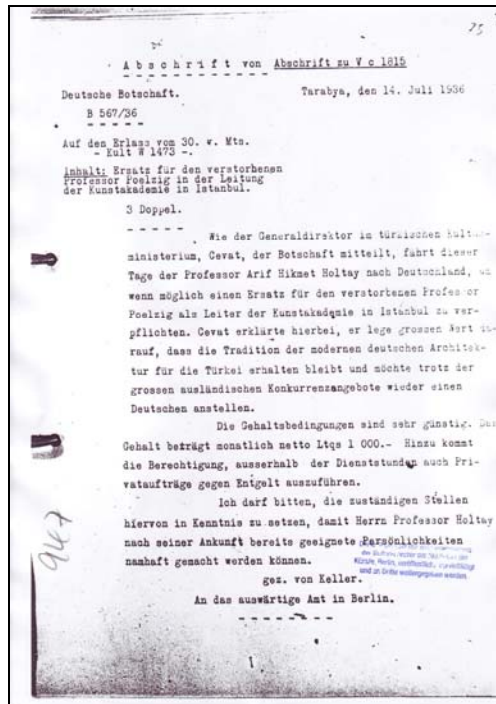


Figure H1. The letter sent to the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin from the German Embassy in Istanbul, informing them of the arrival of Professor Holtay, asking for their support in finding a German architect to work in Istanbul
(Source: Prussian Academy of Arts document number 947, dated July 14, 1936)

APPENDIX I

REPORT OF A MEETING AT THE PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS BERLIN

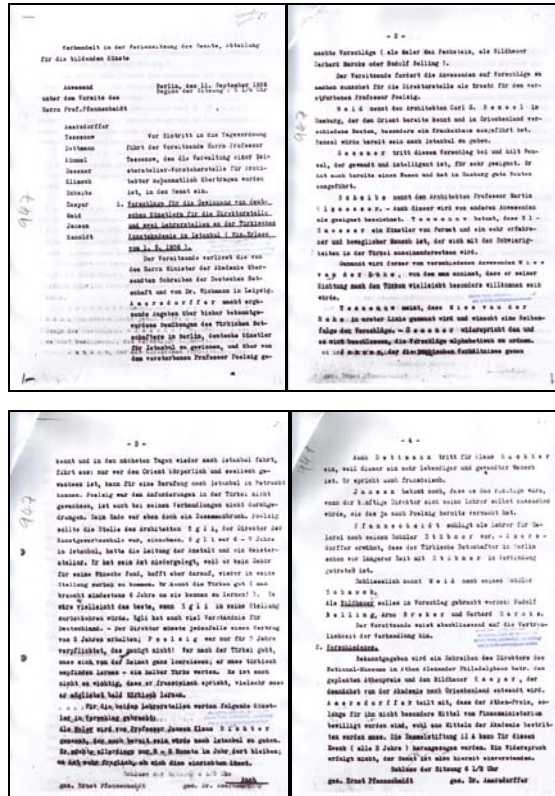


Figure II. A report prepared during a meeting organized in the Prussian Academy of Arts Berlin. The series of documents appended demonstrate the continuing efforts to find a professor who can be offered a position to work in Turkey to take the place of Hans Poelzig after his sudden death. Bruno Taut's name is not mentioned in those documents, but the names of Mies van der Rohe, Carl Bensel and Martin Elsaesser are included (Source: Prussian Academy of Arts document number 947, dated September 11, 1936).

APPENDIX J

REPORT OF A MEETING DATED NOVEMBER 30, 1933 AT THE PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS BERLIN

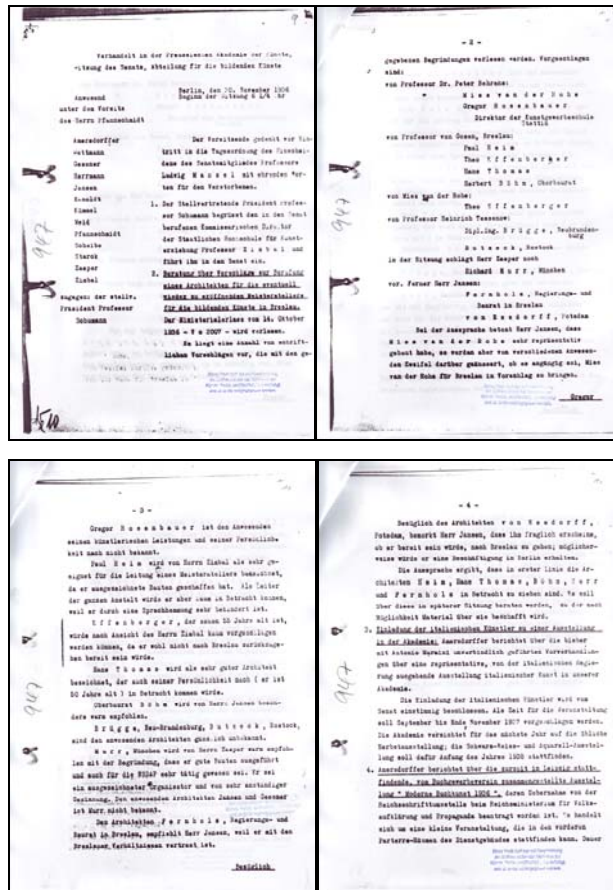


Figure J1. Report of a meeting in the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin, in which Prof. Hermann Jansen reports to the board, that Bruno Taut has been hired for the position in Turkey, without any previous notice to the Academy, and without the mention of any names that they have previously discussed (Source: Prussian Academy of Arts document number 947, dated November 30, 1933).

APPENDIX K

A TYPICAL WORKING CONTRACT OF A GERMAN EMPLOYEE

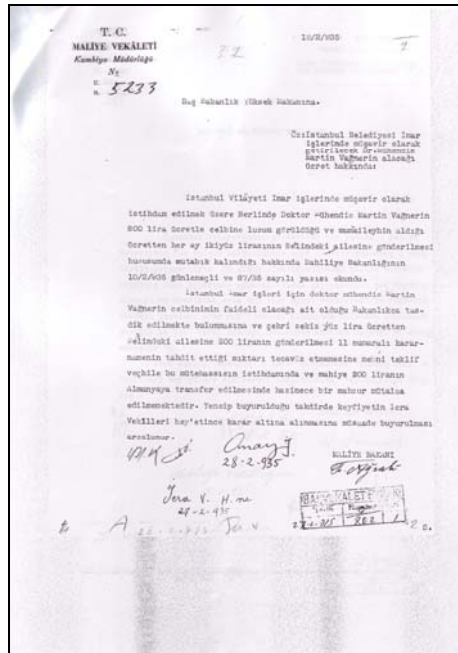


Figure K1. A typical working contract, regarding the salary of German city planner Professor Martin Wagner, including the detail that one fourth of his salary will be sent to his family in Berlin (Source: Turkish Prime Ministry Archives document number 18.240.186.1935, dated February 18, 1935).

APPENDIX M

TWO PAGES OF THE “ISTANBUL TAGEBUCH” OF BRUNO TAUT

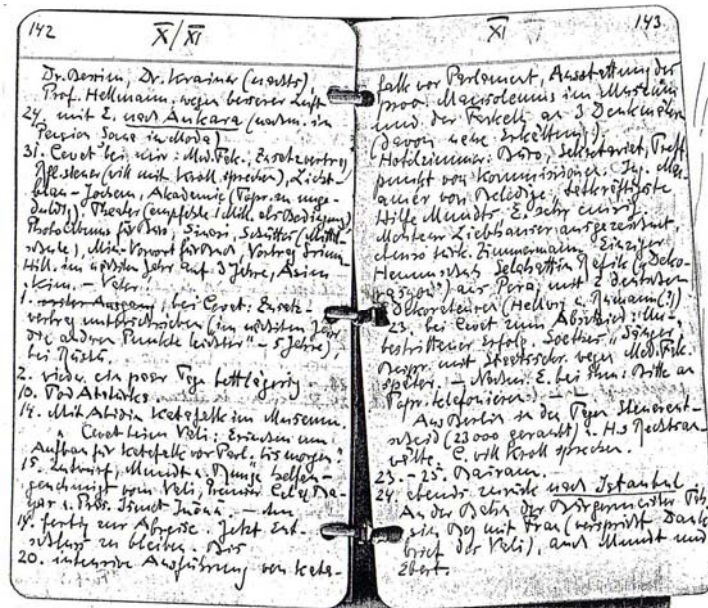


Figure M1. Example pages from the “Istanbul Tagebuch” of Bruno Taut
(Source: Taut 1936-1938: pp. 142-143)

APPENDIX N

THE WORKING CONTRACT OF PAUL BONATZ

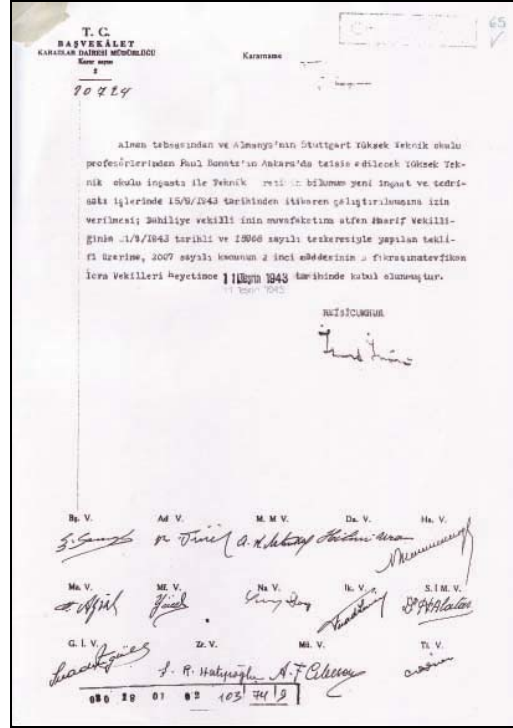


Figure N1. The acceptance of Paul Bonatz by the Turkish Government to work in Turkey as a consultant for the Ministry of Education (Source: Turkish Prime Ministry Archives document number 080.18.01.02/103/74/9, dated October 11, 1943).

APPENDIX O

REPORT OF A MEETING DATED SEPTEMBER 21, 1936 AT THE PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS BERLIN

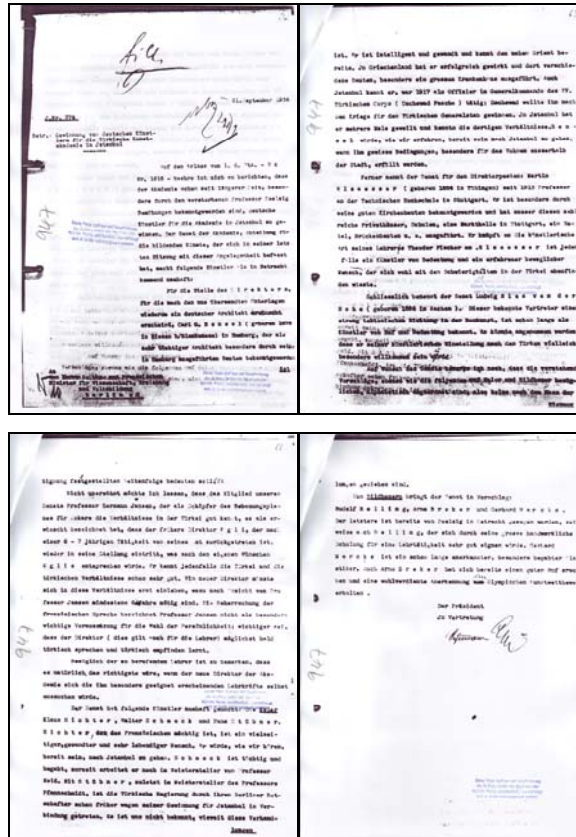


Figure O1. Report of a meeting held at the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin, trying to offer the Turkish Government a German professor to step in the position that originally Hans Poelzig was supposed to take as the director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul. In this document Martin Elsaesser is one of the names that comes forward, and is mentioned as working in Stuttgart as a professor (Source: Prussian Academy of Arts document number 947, dated September 21, 1936).

APPENDIX P

THE MEMORANDUM SENT TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE PRUSSIAN ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

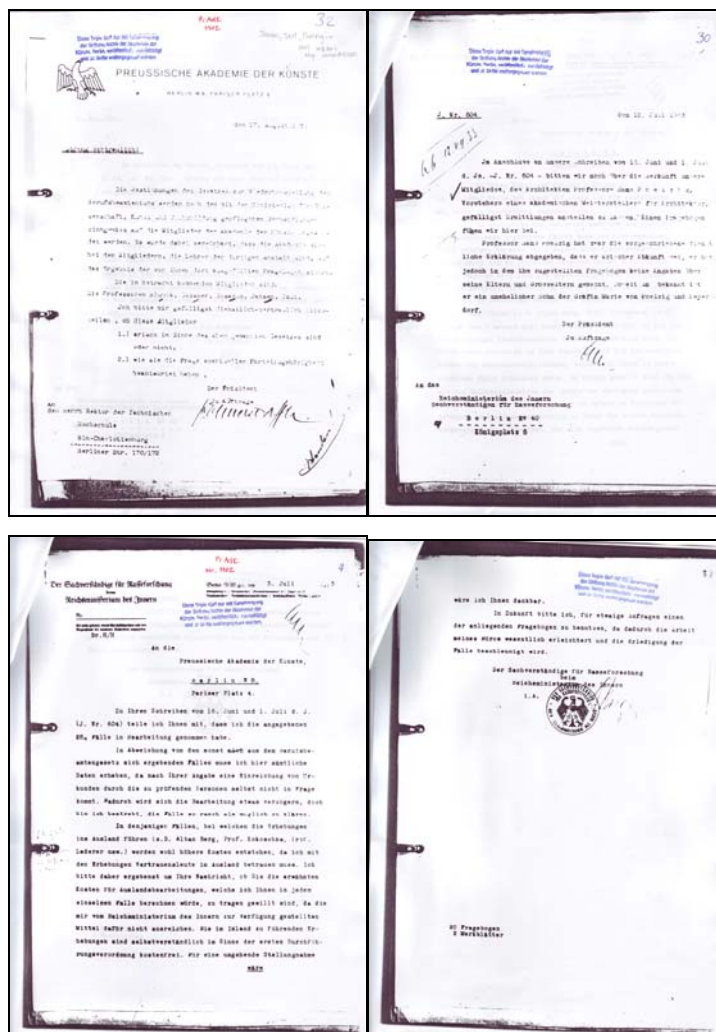


Figure P1. The memorandum from the Prussian Academy of Fine Arts sent to all its members, informing them that all members have to fill in an official form about all their family members in order to prove that they come from the Arian race (Source: Prussian Academy of Arts document number 1302, dated August 17, 1933).

APPENDIX Q

LETTER FROM BRUNO TAUT TO MIBARE

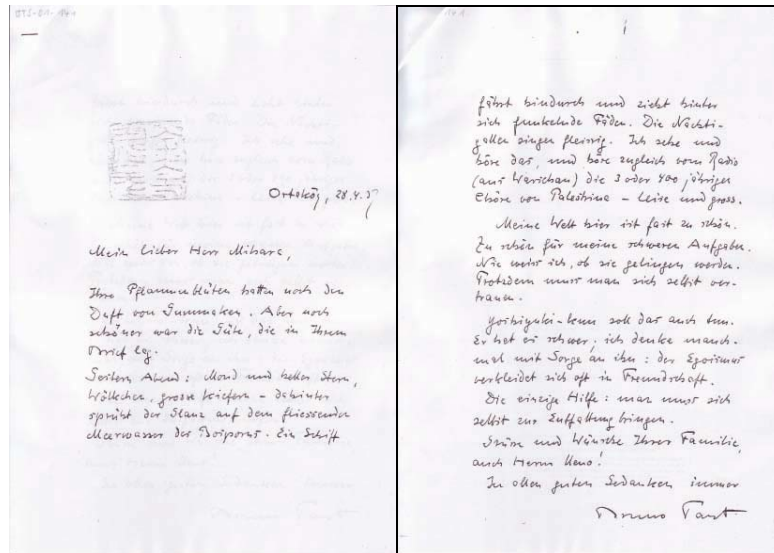


Figure Q1. Letter from Bruno Taut to Mibare, written in Ortaköy on April 28th, 1937
(Source: Taut 1937a)

APPENDIX R

LETTER FROM BRUNO TAUT TO CARL KRAYL



Figure R1. Letter from Bruno Taut to Carl Krayl written in İzmir on February 1st, 1938 (Taut 1938h)

The letter reads:

To Krayl

Dear, what would you say if I asked you for collaboration? It is not impossible and considering the construction of the Opera in Ankara, it could suddenly even become possible.

Here Mr. Hillinger is together with his family. You remember: ten years at GEHAG, then Mr. Grimm, before 1914 and after worked with me. You will get 900 pounds monthly.

This is asked only preliminarily. Please send your publications, CV and portfolio, what represents you in total. But I do not know if you want or can.

Are you still as funny as in earlier times? (Naughty question!)a

But Li is probably more beautiful and clever – just because of that it would be a pleasure.

I hope, but I am not allowed to hope much.

Greetings, Bruno and Erica