AN INQUIRY INTO THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL MEMORY IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD: ASSEMBLY BUILDINGS OF TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

AN INQUIRY INTO THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL MEMORY IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD: ASSEMBLY BUILDINGS OF TURKEY

At the turn of the 19th century, Anatolian lands witnessed a grandiose change in policy by questioning longstanding Ottoman monarchy. Amongst several steps paced towards a new regime, a series of reforms initiated a comprehensive transformation in political and socio-cultural contexts of the Empire towards a Republic. In pursuit of succeeding regulations, the lands of the Ottoman Empire transformed into the homeland of the Turkish Republic after a long and challenging period. Inherently, such an extensive conversion did not occur all at once but materialized in a completely new manner of mentality actualized in architectural spaces, collective events and mass media of the state.

Amongst these operational tools, the assembly buildings of Turkey take a critical position by iconically and officially representing the new Turkish national identity in the urban context from 1920. Grounding on archival evidence and discourse analysis, this study inquires the crucial position of the assembly buildings as *memory spaces* while actively participating to the construction of Republican identities.

In order to understand how the assembly buildings of Turkey carve a special niche for themselves while keeping and representing the collective memory of the state, a thematic approach is proposed upon their *concretizations, commemorations* and *imagery constructions* in time. Thus, the inquiry on the physical existences, collective uses and printed representations of the assembly buildings constitute the backbone of this study to understand active role of these three building as memory spaces and meaning storages of the Turkish Republic.

Keywords: Assembly Buildings of Turkey; Republican Period; Collective Memory; National Identity; Memory Spaces

ÖZET

CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE ULUSAL HAFIZANIN İNŞASI ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA: TÜRKİYE MİLLET MECLİSLERİ

19. yüzyıl dönümünde Anadolu toprakları, yüzyıllardır süregelen Osmanlı Monarşisinin sorgulanmasıyla başlayan kapsamlı bir dönüşüm sürecine girmiştir. Yeni yönetim anlayışına yönelik birbiri ardına atılan adımlar ve çok sayıda gerçekleştirilen yenilikçi yaklaşım, İmparatorluk düzenindeki politik ve sosyo-kültürel bağlamların, Cumhuriyet anlayışı ile yeniden düzenlenmesine yol açmıştır. Böylece, uzun ve zorlu bir süreç içerisinde Osmanlı toprakları, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin anavatanına dönüşmüştür. Bu köklü değişim, doğası gereği bir anda gerçekleşmemiş ve yeni yönetim anlayışı, devletin mimari üretimleri, toplumsal etkinlikleri ve kitle iletişim araçları ile görünür ve deneyimlenir hale getirilmiştir.

Türkiye Millet Meclisleri de bu köklü değişim içerisinde, 1920'den itibaren kentsel bağlamda kritik bir pozisyon edinerek, Türk milli kimliğini ikonik ve resmi bir biçimde temsil etmeye devam etmektedir. Bu çalışma, arşiv araştırması ve söylem analizi yöntemlerine dayanarak, Türkiye Millet Meclislerinin *hafıza mekanı* olarak milli kimliğin inşasına aktif katılım biçimlerini ve dolayısıyla, bu süreçteki kritik rolünü araştırmaktadır.

Araştırma kapsamında, Türkiye Millet Meclislerinin devletin toplumsal hafızasını inşa ve temsil ederken edindiği aktif pozisyonun anlaşılması ve tartışılması amacıyla *somutlaştırma – anma* ve *imge inşaları* olarak belirlenen tematik bir yaklaşım önerilmektedir. Böylece, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin *hafıza mekanları* olarak Türkiye Millet Meclislerinin kent içindeki fiziksel varlıklarının, toplumsal kullanımlarının ve basılı temsiliyetlerinin incelenmesi, bu çalışmanın temelini oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Türkiye Millet Meclisleri; Cumhuriyet Dönemi; Kolektif Bellek; Milli Kimlik; Hafıza Mekanları

to those who will never die…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

From the end of the 19th century to the first quarter of the 20th, a comprehensive transformation was held in Anatolian land where a centuries old Ottoman monarchy was evolved into the republican regime of Turkey. In this period, the strict monarchy of the late 1800s shaked and first steps of a democratic system emerged with reforms in political, social and cultural structures of the Empire. Amongst these transformations, the new understanding of the regime initially manifested itself in administrative changes of the country. In a parallel vein, social and cultural contexts of Anatolia were affected from the new political direction, which was diffused all levels of daily life through reforms and renovations. During this integrated condition of comprehensive changes into various structures, the collective memory of people, who were gradually become Turkish nationals from being Ottomans, has also passed an extensive transformation period and reconstructed according to the ongoing agenda of these lands.

In order to understand this comprehensive transformation process of Anatolia from being the lands of the Ottoman Empire to the homeland of Turkish Republic, this study begins with a brief description of historical background of this territory from the late 19th century. Specifically, by looking back on the recent past of these lands, this study proposes certain breaking points by determining thresholds occurred concurrently in the social, cultural and political structures and in the collective memories of people. Hence, it is aimed to construct a holistic view regarding these breaking points as ruptures, which resulted in a continual reconstruction of socio-cultural and political contexts and the collective memory of the time. Therefore, during the multi-layered narrative of these lands, the ruptures will be explained in detail to frame historical, theoretical and thematic approach of this study.

1.1.1. Problem Definition

In 1876, when the First Constitutional Era (*Birinci Meşrutiyet,* FCE) was declared in the Ottoman Empire, the new administrative system brought about its own Constitution (*Kanun-i Esasi)* and its own selected administrative group under the name of Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*). In this way, the new understanding of the regime produced concrete formations by providing a link between the citizen and the rulers for the first time in the Empire.[1] In order to conduct administrative meetings, Dolmabahçe Palace and then, the Darulfunun building in the neighborhood of Hagia Sophia were used as the official buildings of the FCE.

After two years in 1878, the FCE collapsed as a result of pressures on the sultan. Then, the constitutional monarchy returned to the old style monarchy of the Empire up to the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era (*İkinci Meşrutiyet,* SCE) in 1908 by Abdulhamid II.[2] On the one hand, declaration of the SCE was officialized with re-declaration of the Constitution (*Kanun-i Esasi*); on the other hand, the ruler group was changed from Chamber of Deputies to a new party organization which was selected by people in the Empire. Hence, another important step towards democracy paced by determining a party to represent citizen to administration at that time. The elections won by the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) and, the Chamber of Deputies were organized under the leadership of the ruling party. As the administration buildings, Çırağan Palace and Darulfunun were used up to the declaration of the Republic.[3]

Regarding the centuries old imperial tradition of the Ottoman, declaration of a constitution and establishment of a representative group by election, the first and second constitutional eras are of great value as the first steps towards democratization process of Anatolia. In this respect, these two radical reforms determined as meaningful breaking points in the collective memories of people as a natural result of a grand change in policy. By placing these novelties into consideration in political and socio-cultural contexts of

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[1]   Cezmi Eraslan. "II. Abdülhamid'in İlk Yıllarında Meclis ve Meşrutiyet Kavramları Üzerine Bazı Tespitler." In *Belgeler ve Fotoğraflarla Meclis-i Mebusan: 1877-1920,* ed. T. Cengiz Göncü (İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2010), 14.

[2]   Eraslan, "II. Abdülhamid'in İlk Yıllarında Meclis ve Meşrutiyet Kavramları Üzerine Bazı Tespitler," 14.

[3]   Yıldırım Yavuz. "Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Binası." In *Birinci Meclis,* ed. Cemil Koçak (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 1998), 204.

the Empie, the First and Second Constitutional Eras illuminate a special breaking points in the Anatolian land and determined as the first two ruptures for this study.

After a short span of time, in 1918, newly ended World War I resulted in administrative crisis between the sultan and deputies. Especially after the İstanbul occupation, trust in administration highly decreased and a new movement was emerged with its own manifesto, the National Pact (*Misak-ı Milli*), under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Fethi Okyar, Kazım Karabekir, İsmet Bey and Refet Bele.[4] Advocating the idea that ongoing administrative system was insufficient and a new understanding in policy was needed, the National Pact was supported by the members of the Chamber of Deputies. In time, the power and hegemony area of the National Pact increased in Anatolia, and a new administrative center was settled in Ankara.[5] In 23rd April 1920, changing administrative system of the country was officially concretized with the declaration of the Turkish Constitutional Law (*Teşkilat-ı Esasiye*), and the establishment of the first national assembly of Turkey in Ankara. Importantly, in contrast to the monarchy constitutions which were representing multi-national structure of the Ottoman Empire, the "Turkish Nation" phrase was especially emphasized in the Turkish Constitutional Law for the first time.

The opening of the 1st Assembly of Turkey, which was designed by architects Salim Bey and Hasip Bey, can be understood as the first official spatial representation of Turkish identity in the urban context of Ankara. By reading "there are not any superior power over the assembly anymore. Grand National Assembly is the representation of the search of Turkish national essence and the national conscience to self-governance for centuries", Mustafa Kemal clearly expresses that the 1st Assembly became a concrete symbol of the new understanding of the country towards national conscience and construction of a new national identity.[6] Therefore, this building became an iconic symbol of the new national identity of Turkey in the urban context from its opening in 1920. The proclamation words became one of the first signs to understand how the 1st Assembly was correlated to the construction of the Turkish national identity by attributing a significant role to the building in the memories of masses of the era.

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[4]   Kemal Kahraman. "Kanun-i Esasi'den Teşkilat-i Esasiye'ye Siyasi Sistemimiz." In *Belgeler ve Fotoğraflarla Meclis-i Mebusan: 1877-1920,* ed. T. Cengin Göncü (İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2010), 55.

[5]   Kahraman, "Kanun-i Esasi'den Teşkilat-i Esasiye'ye Siyasi Sistemimiz," 55.

[6]   https://www.tbmm.gov.tr

The 1st Assembly stayed in use for four years and became the core of nationalist movements towards the establishment of the Turkish Republic up to the 1924.[7] After the construction of the 2nd Assembly Building, the first was began to serve as the Headquarter of the Republican People's Party building and law school up to its conversion into the Museum of Grand National Assembly in 1961 and the War of Independence Museum in 1981.

Accordingly, the end of the World War I and beginning of a crisis period by questioning the ongoing administrative system mark another special point in the history of Anatolian lands. Followingly when the Ottoman monarchy came to a halt and a completely new understanding in policy was began with the National Pact, a significant threshold was paced in 1920 with the opening of the 1st Assembly Building on 23rd April. Thus, this period is determined as the third rupture for this study by placing the 1st Assembly Building as a striking rupture in the political and socio-cultural frameworks of the country and as an iconic representation by housing the struggling establishment process of the Republic.

In 1924, the administrative core moved to the 2nd Assembly of Turkey, which was designed by architect Vedat Tek as the office building of the Republican People's Party. In the opening ceremony of the 2nd Assembly, "… the new Turkey state is a people's state, but in the past, it was a state of one person… The grand thought movements, which rescued the certain societies from captivity and liberated them are the archenemies of people who relied upon obsolete institutions and decayed regimes… The new Turkey state is the representation of this grand idea which dominates the world and a realized example of its actualization" was read.[8] From its opening in 1924 to the construction of contemporary assembly of Turkey in 1961, the building served as the 2nd Assembly of the Republic and became another significant representation of Atatürk's principles and reforms, contemporary trends and nationalist movements paced in the Turkish Republic. Following the inauguration of the 3rd Assembly Building, the 2nd Assembly was converted into the Museum of Republic and opened for visit in 1981.

The opening of the 2nd Assembly Building in 1924 corresponds to the fourth rupture by symbolizing a firmly institutionalized republican memory through principles and reforms in the urban context. On the one hand, the architectural tectonics have the

[7]   Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Mimari Kültür* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012), 51.

[8]   www.tbmm.gov.tr

characteristics of a new search grounded on a nationalist connotations of the era (which would be called as the First National Movement in future), on the other hand, the 2nd Assembly represents a comprehensive rupture by becoming a stage for the concretization of the Turkish Republic in the urban context. Hence, the 2nd Assembly left marks on the collective memories of the era by physically representing reformist and innovative modernization principles of the state in the urban structure until 1924.

As the last and contemporary assembly of Turkey, the Grand National Assembly was designed by Austrian/Swiss architect Clemens Holzmeister in 1937 and after its completion in 1961 the building has stayed in use until today. For the construction of the 3rd Assembly Building, a design competition was held in 1937 with a brief invitation text saying "we need an assembly building which symbolizes the continuity of the monumental Republic of Turkey and which overlaps the contemporary architectural trends of our era in the 20th century."[9] With praises and emphasis on the monumentality and stability of the Turkish Republic, the competition text plainly declares that the planned assembly building is supposed to be an iconic representation of the state via its architectural manifestation of modernity and durability of the Turkish nation. Hence, the ideological objectives and the nationalist goals have to be embodied in the building in order to construct a proper and grandiose symbolization of the independent and monumental Turkish Republic in its current assembly.

In this way, the last rupture overlaps with the third and contemporary assembly building of Turkey, which was opened in 1961. Regarding its architectural stance and representative role for Turkish Republic overlapping with a new manner in architectural language of the era based on the symbolization of Turkish state and its long-lived history in the building scale (which would be called as the Second National Movement in future), the contemporary assembly building occupies a special place in national and international representation of the state after the mid-1950s. Moreover, the ongoing political and socio-cultural agenda of the era puts forwards the 3rd Assembly Building as an iconic symbol of a comprehensive transformations in the struggling times witnessing nationalism discourses, multi-party system and changing representations of the Republic from the first years of the state.

Today, the 1st and 2nd Assemblies has been using as museums by gaining different specific meanings and genereating thresholds in the urban context as living memory

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[9]   www.kultur.gov.tr

spaces of the Republic. After the opening of the 3rd Assembly Building, the former assemblies of the Republic passed through a transformation period and their functional stance in urban context changed. Accordingly, the 1st Assembly Building was converted into the Museum of Grand National Assembly in 1961 and the War of Independence Museum in 1981. Similarly, the 2nd Assembly was converted into the Museum of Republic in 1981.

Thus, the changing functions of these buildings are of vital importance for this study to understand how the provocative role of the assemblies frozen in time to continuously evoke and to keep alive the memories of the Republic and Turkish national identity. In this way, these transformations have also determined as significant ruptures fot this study to evaluate how these museums illuminated new thresholds in the urban context upon the visiting experience and exhibitory perceptions and differentiated the way of representation of the Turkish national identity.

Hence, the assembly buildings of Turkey point out a long process of the concretization of a nation-building procedure by representing significant social and political changes in the urban context as integrative parts and active actors, which are shaped under the collective transformations of the country. By handling these buildings as interrelated actors in the national identity construction of Turkey, this study problematizes that each assembly building represents different and unique transformative steps in the social, cultural and political contexts by producing specific viewpoints and representations in the collective memory of the time during the Early Republican Period. On the one hand, these buildings bring out idiosyncratic approaches for their own epochs, on the other hand, their continual use in the nation-building process generates a particular continuity in keeping the memories of these lands in the Early Republican Period.

1.1.2. Aim of the Study

The lands of the Ottoman Empire witnessed a comprehensive transformation period occurred day by day in political and socio-cultural contexts of Anatolia in order to construct a new democratic understanding in the administrative regime at the turn of the 19th century. Accordingly, the new manner of political structures needed new concrete representations in the country and Ankara became one of the major representations of the grand change. On the one hand, the political direction of the Empire was oriented towards

republican regime by high state officials, on the other hand, daily life flow fed from changes and reforms. In other words, centuries old imperial lives of people were converted into republican identities gradually within the frameworks of changing political, social and cultural contexts.

Inherently, such an extensive transformation did not occur all at once but daily life activities materialized in a completely new manner of mentality actualized in the built environment of the Republic. In this way, state institutions, public buildings, squares and monuments became iconographic symbols of the Republic in the urban context by representing new Turkish identity in a body. Thus, the physical silhouette of Ankara has passed an overall reconstruction process within the scope of ongoing national architecture discussions and concerns on the representation of nationality in the built environment of the capital. From this perspective, Ankara was recreated with republican artefacts such as ministries, museums, libraries, public institutions and monuments. On the one hand, these buildings symbolized new Turkish identity as architectural products in the built environment, on the other hand, their use in public occasions became an integral part of national connotations in the Early Republican Period.

In this way, collective activities came into prominence as effective mediums to construct Turkish national identity through celebrations and processions with participation of statesmen and public. Throughout the procession and in the grand scheme of the new capital silhouette of Ankara, the assembly buildings of the time became significant mark points of celebrations. Therefore, the assembly buildings actively participated to the ceremonies within their immediate vicinity in the Ulus Square and Çankaya by housing national meetings and celebrations in the first half of the 20th century.

From this perspective, this study focuses on the assembly buildings of Turkey as integrative and constitutive parts of the newly establishing Republic in the Early Republican Period. Within the scope of existing national identity studies on Turkey, the assembly buildings become considerable parts and discussion topics worthy to discuss as significant memory spaces of the Republic remained in use until today. Differently from handling the assembly buildings as mere architectural artefacts within the frameworks of national architecture discourse, this study aims to analyze these buildings as iconographic representations in their urban context by actively participating and housing collective occasions of the time while keeping memories of the Republic. Hence, in addition to the general studies on the assembly buildings of Turkey as valuable representations of the nationalist movement in architecture of their time, this study proposes a new perspective

on these buildings as memory spaces and living witnesses of Republic in architectural environment, national occasions and daily life circulations.

Thus, in this study, it is aimed to handle the Early Republican Period of Turkey through the ruptures occurred in the collective memory of people from the late 19th century to the mid-20th specifically focusing on the three assembly buildings of the country. Therefore, this study intends to place assembly buildings into the *memory space* discussion introduced in literature by French philosopher Pierre Nora at the end of the 20th century with a special emphasis on public buildings, libraries, museums and archives. From this perspective, these buildings are handled as memory spaces and active participators of national identity construction process of the Republic as concrete representations, commemorative spaces and imagery constructions in daily circulation during the Early Republican Period.

Accordingly, all kinds of material evidence –archival findings, literary research and personal recordings- have vital importance in understanding how the assemblies become memory spaces of the Republic through the determined ruptures occurred beginning from the 20th century. In order to understand the critical role of the assembly buildings, all forms of evidence such as literary sources, visual material, photographs, memory recordings, exhibition objects in museums or buildings themselves in the urban context are examined in detail. Under the light of these primary and secondary sources, it is aimed to find answers whether the assembly buildings can be handled as memory spaces of the Turkish Republic from the Early Republican Period of Turkey.

On the grounds of archival research, this study focuses on the assembly buildings of Turkey as memory spaces, which were represented in written and visual forms of media in the Early Republican Period. Thus, it is aimed to discuss how these buildings were represented as iconographic symbols of Turkish identity through their architectural characteristics as national spatial representations, in public uses especially during the national celebrations, and through the imagery representations in daily flow by keeping memories of the Republic in the first half of the 20th century. From this perspective, this study aims to inquire the following questions:

• In the periods of specific public changes in societies generating comprehensive transformations, how are memory spaces produced as spatial representations of these ruptures within the collective memory and national identity discourses?

- Through the determined ruptures occurred in the political context of the country, how did the assembly buildings became meaningful actors in the national identity construction process of Turkey?

- How can the assembly buildings of Turkey be analyzed as memory spaces and concrete representations within the national architecture discourse in the Early Republican Period?

- How did the assembly buildings become memory spaces of Turkish national identity through their participation into collective activities of the Republic in ceremonies, national celebrations and commemorations?

- Besides their architectonics and spatial uses, how did the assembly buildings gain an iconographic character as memory spaces in the Early Republican Period through their imagery constructions in written and visual media, newspapers and periodicals?

- Regarding the first two assembly buildings, how did the representation of the assemblies change after their conversion into museums in the urban context?

- After their conversion into museums, how is the representation of the Republic narrated within the two assembly buildings of Turkey as memory spaces?

Under the light of these research questions, this study handles the assembly buildings of Turkey as integrative parts of an overall re-construction project of the country in the first half of the 20th century. Thus, the inquire is conducted by keeping in mind these buildings as inseparable parts of a large-scale Republican ideal which is worth to discuss from numerous perspectives regarding their implicit meanings and potentials waiting to revelation in further studies. From this perspective, the assembly buildings of Turkey placed in their urban structure and socio-cultural context of the era as indivisible actors in the built environment with participation and cooperation of wide range of Republican innovations, constructions and reforms held by the state.

Hence, this study spans a period from the late Ottoman Era to the establishment of the Turkish state when major ruptures occurred in political and socio-cultural direction of Anatolia from being the lands of an Empire towards the homeland of a Republic. Accordingly, the timeperiod encapsulates two constitutional eras of the Empire, continues with selection of Ankara as the new state seat and discusses the preparations and declaration of the Republic in the 20th century. Following the establishment of the 1st Assembly as the first step towards democratization and openşng of the 2nd Assembly as the official representation of the Republic, this study continues to the inauguration of the

3rd Assembly Building as the firm and contemporary icon of the Turkish Republic since 1961. Additionally, this study gives a special place to the conversion of the first two assemblies into museums as generators of a new threshold in the urban context while keeping alive the memories of the Republic until today.

From this perspective, this study begins to inquiry by proposing a general question: how the Assembly Buildings of Turkey operated as memory spaces of the Turkish Republic through their architectural representations, collective uses and symbolization in public and imagery circulation in daily life?[10] Then, a multi-layered historical, political and socio-cultural narrative is constructed to understand specific and unique roles of each assembly within their particular conditions. In addition to the abovementioned ruptures, there are several breaking points have also determined for this study to provide a better understanding the ongoing agenda of the era.

1.1.3. The Methodological Approach of the Study

In order to understand, how the assembly buildings become memory spaces of the Republic, this study is fed from qualitative research methodology with a constructivist approach on the grounds of primary and secondary sources and visual materials interpreted through the content and discourse analysis methodologies within the case studies of the assembly buildings of Turkey. The argument is constituted upon a comprehensive archival research on the assembly buildings including various type of material including official documents, photographs and memoirs. All kinds of printed material of the time, maps, photograph archives of the buildings and their representations in newspapers, periodicals and postcards are examined especially focusing on the dates corresponding to the special times of the Republic such as victory ceremonies, national and religious days and celebrations in the newly establishing state.

As a significant position for this study, the assembly buildings are not handled as mere architectural artefacts, but also they are assumed as active parts of their urban context in three ways. Firstly, these buildings are interpreted as architectural artefacts and concrete representations of changing ideology in building scale. Accordingly, their

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[10] Throughout the study, the assembly buildings of Turkey are mentioned as *Kurultay, Kamutay* and *Meclis* proper to the original use in the literary sources and archival evidence. The multiple use of different names in Turkish and Arabic may also interpreted within the ongoing nationalism discussions and use of language as a significant symbol of a national identity.

architectonic characteristics and reformist stances in the new architectural search of the country are studied within ongoing nationalism discussions of the era. Hence, these buildings are of value as physical witnesses of the changing manner in architectural representations of the new national identity of the Republic symbolized in the urban context of the capital.

Secondly, the assembly buildings are studied within their social and political contexts in order to understand their active role in the construction of national identity by establishing correlational links between the ruptures in the collective memory of the time. From this perspective, these buidlings are interpreted within the urban context during their collective uses by masses, especially in special days of the Republic. Therefore, the role of the assembly buildings in these public events illuminates a special stance which puts forward these buildings as active participators of collective ceremonies.

Thirdly, the special role of the assembly buildings in the national identity construction process of the Republic is observed upon their imagery constructions on media, especially in the periodicals and newspapers of the era. Hence, the printed media gave wide coverage to the assembly buildings in their periods by photographing and writing about these buildings on specific days such as bairams, celebrations and inauguration days. Accordingly, the assembly buildings are mostly involved in the mass media tools as visible and concrete representations of the newly establishing state.

Therefore, understanding the socio-cultural and political contexts of the assembly buildings in their epoch is of vital importance for this study to place these buildings into a meaningful and inclusive theoretical framework in the Early Republican Period as memory spaces. Therefore, in order to understand the architectural environment of the time and its representative role in shaping memories of people, discourse analysis is conducted as one of the major methodological approaches of this study with inseparable and integrative participation of the archival evidence in particular.

In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (1991), French philosopher Michel Foucault encapsulates primary principles of discourse with a special focus on its criteria, inter-relations, limitations, dependencies and set of rules. Firstly, Foucault summarizes his perspective on discourse as "to introduce discontinuity and the constraints of system into the history of the mind", and enriches this description in several aspects within operational, theoretical and inner relations of discourses.[11] Followingly, discourse

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[11] Graham Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller eds. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 53.

is described as an entity consisted of its individual set of rules and as a transformative being which constitutes correlations with related fields, concepts, contexs, practices and objects. On the one hand, discourses are fed from unlimited concepts, contexts, operations and theories, on the other hand, there are "hierarchy", "directing principles" and "displacements" affecting discursive formations in societies. Thus, discourse appears as a "simultaneous play of specific remanences" not limited in "the grand theory" rather continuously establishes correlational links with ongoing agenda.[12]

As another significant aspect of discourse, Foucault explains the importance of limitations and set of rules specific to a society in producing discourses. Accordingly, the awareness about the knowledge in the concerned area and the decision of to what extent this knowledge is relevant or not appears as a major limitation in discursive formations.[13] Moreover, the validity of the knowledge –especially in handling past knowledge– and its "reactivization" in a soceity are amongst vital rules in the field of discursive area.[14] From this perspective, discourse establishes a correlational link between its contexts, concepts, objects and theories by affecting all these actors, and synchronously -and continuously- is affected by them.[15] Thus, the unlimited and prolific domain of discourse encounters certain difficulties in clearly determining the limits of domain, or in explicitly defining the "object of study," or in establishing links between the knowledge, theory and practice of discourse.[16]

In order to construct a holistic point of view, collective memory and national architecture discourses are intertwined within theoretical and historical frameworks in this study. Accordingly, it is aimed to construct a comprehesive perspective on the assemblies of Turkey by placing these buildings into their specific social, cultural and political contexts. In this respect, Foucault's approach on discourses as transformative entities establishing correlations with concepts, contexs and practices, the national architecture and memory discourses are of vital importance for this study by providing a prolific field in understanding the Early Republican Period. Thus, recollection channels of memory, its individual and collective formations, invented traditions and their practices in the built environment via national connotations, identity constructions, collective memorialization ceremonies and architectural agenda within the frameworks

[12] Burchell *et. al.* eds*., The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, 55.
[13] Burchell *et. al.* eds*., The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, 59, 60.
[14] Burchell *et. al.* eds*., The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, 60.
[15] Burchell *et. al.* eds*., The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, 57.
[16] Burchell *et. al.* eds*., The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, 64.

of memory and national architecture discourses are studied to understand the notion of memory and its spatialization in certain purposes.

Similarly, in *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (2001), Rose advocates that discourses are produced accounts which have power to create "specific views of the social world."[17] Moreover, each discourse rests upon various point of views correlated each other by placing numerous written, visual or oral evidence on concerned issue. On the one hand, gained data could be support one another, on the other hand, there could be numerous antithesis could emerge. At this point, Rose defines this correlation as "complexities and contradictions" which are natural characteristics of discourse.[18] Since it is constructed upon various viewpoints on a specific issue and consisted of different contradiction, discourse analysis is made to compose a persuasive whole rather than a proven truth sequence or a periodization.[19] Accordingly, the persuasive base of the argument and the source of the discourse could be institutions and practices besides texts, images of photographs.

In a parallel vein, in his renown piece, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (originally published in French, *L'archeologie du savoir*, 1972), Foucault proposes that a new understanding on periodization and conceptualization is needed to construct meaningful narratives on concerned issues. Accordingly, Foucault criticizes prevalent perspective on history by questioning its stable, unquestionable existence and acceptance of its linearity by proposing a new methodology foregrounding "peculiar discontinuities and patterns."[20] In this way, ongoing periodization of historical knowledge gave its place to milestones, thresholds and ruptures in histories of knowledge different fields such as science, philosophy, thought and literature.[21]

At this point, Foucault puts document in the center of his perspective by reversing its relation with history and knowledge. Therefore, history turns into an active actor in shaping, reinterpreting and reorganizing document itself, instead of being an interpretation or a result of it.[22] In this way, history reconstructs document by placing it into a correlational and interrelated network consisted of elements and unities. In other

[17] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London: SAGE Publications, 2001), 54.
[18] Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials,* 155.
[19] Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials,* 160.
[20] Michel Foucault*, The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 3.
[21] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* 4.
[22] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* 6.

words, history becomes a binding force to construct relations and totalities upon document, rather acting as a silent element "left by men." From this perspective, Foucault proposes a continual questioning of knowledge by placing it into engaged relations and theories, in other words, discourses.[23]

Accordingly, by suggesting stratification of discourses shaped around ruptures and discontinuities, "displacements and transformations of concepts" emerge as newly constructed foundations, which carry implicit meanings in their structural relationships, formations and contexts.[24] Thus, this new approach on history paves numerous ways to understand how these ruptures affected existing structures and lead comprehensive transformations on both discursive formations and perceiving social, political and cultural contexts from history onwards.[25] Therefore Foucault evaluates history as not a mere memorization of monuments, but an autonomous actor, which "transforms documents into monuments."[26] In other words, documents and all other evidence in textual, visual, oral, physical or written form can transform into a powerful material, which have an inert power to reconstitute historical strata by establishing meaningful relations between the evidence and different discourses.

From this perspective, discursive approaches on the Early Republican Period of Turkey are handled as interactive networks in this study, by placing archival evidence into meaningful political and socio-cultural contexts in the national identity construction of the Republic within the collective memory of the time and its representation in the architectural environment. Accordingly, the written and visual evidence and literary discussions provide a prolific atmosphere to understand how the Republican memory of Turkey is kept in the assembly buildings. In this way, *document* of this study placed into the related discursive fields of collective memory and national architectural movements to understand integrated role of the assembly buildings as memory spaces and their active participation to the representations of the Republic.

In a similar perspective, In *Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Students* (2012), Fairclough discusses political discourse as a "form of argumentation" which is handled as a practical medium during decision-making processes in societies in

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[23] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* 26.
[24] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* 4.
[25] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* 5.
[26] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language,* 7.

accordance with ongoing agenda of the time.[27] Accordingly, Fairclough proposes that discursive texts have to be placed in their "generic features" rather handling them as mere textual narratives.[28] From this perspective, discourse emerges a social construction, which affects and is affected from society in a continual and synchronous way upon various kinds of documents, texts and other kinds of remains.[29] One of the ways of this mutual effect of discourse manifesting itself is its "operational" character which enlivens discourse in a practical notion commonly shared by a society. Here, Fairclough proposes architecture as a significant element in the built environment where discourses physically embodied into the spaces in order to concretize discursive formations in relation with their social, cultural and political contexts.[30]

Under the light of the approaches on discourse, history, periodization and evidence, all kinds of material in literature and archives are of vital importance for this study to compose a meaningful framework to understand how the Republican identities were constructed in the Early Republican Period of Turkey. Therefore, the active embodiments of the assembly buildings in the urban contexts are handled as significant physical documents in understanding their representative roles as concrete symbols, commemorative representations and imagery constructions of identity, nationality and memory. Thus, this study proposes ruptures in the history of Anatolia dating back to the late 19th century by re-interpreting historical, socio-cultural and political transformation of the land in a specific perspective within theoretical discussions, archival evidence and discourses specific to the Early Republican Turkey and places the assembly buildings at the centre as memory spcaes of the Republic.

1.1.3.1. Archival Research on the Assembly Buildings: Printed and Visual Media, Postcards, Newspapers, Periodicals and Maps

In order to understand how the assembly buildings have actively participated to the national identity construction of the country, all kind of printed material of the time, photograph archives of the buildings and their representations in newspapers, periodicals and postcards are examined particularly focusing on the dates corresponding to the

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[27] Isabela Fairclough and Norman Fairclough, *Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Students* (London: Routledge, 2012), 1.

[28] Fairclough and Fairclough, *Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Students,* 1.

[29] Fairclough and Fairclough, *Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Students,* 79.

[30] Fairclough and Fairclough, *Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Students*, 84.

national bairams and celebrations in the newly establishing Republic. Especially national celebrations are selected as special times for the assemblies when the official character of the parliament building of the time transforms into a public space and becomes a stage to celebrate and to memorialize new Republican manner with the participation of people and the official figures of the state. In this way, it is aimed to understand the assembly buildings as memory spaces of the Republic by handling them as architectural and visual materials which carry special meanings for the Early Republican Period.

The archival research is conducted in the archives of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Assembly Buildings, the State Archives of the Prime Ministry, the National Library, Cultural Assets and Museums General Directorate and VEKAM archive in Ankara and Ahmet Piriştina City Archive and Museum (APİKAM) in İzmir. Additionally, online research is supported from databases, research centers and social platforms. Including numerous photograph and newspaper evidence on the Early Republican Period, archival research is mostly carried on keywords *Ulus Square, Station Boulevard, bairam celebrations* (especially on 23rd April, 29 October and 30th August), and *assembly buildings of Turkey.*

In the archives of the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings, research findings concentrated on newspaper collections of *Ulus* and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye,* postcard archives on the first quarter of the 20th century including Moughamian Freres, Söör, Jean Weinberg, Max Fruchtermann, J. Ludwingsohn, Sander and Othmar Pferschy catalogues, M. Cemal, Enver, Hilmi, Mümtaz, Akseki's photos and Doğan Kardeş illustration collections showing the old situation of Ankara. In a similar vein, APİKAM gave private access to a personal album for this study which illuminate the construction years of the assemblies and their use in celebrations and collective activities in 1920s.

On the other hand, the Ottoman and Republican Archives of State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey are generally consisted of written evidence including political documents of the time including diplomatic correspondences between national and international statesmen and guidelines for official celebrations, meetings or proclamations. The official state transcripts in the State Archives are found invaluable for this study to understand how the participation of the assembly buildings to the celebrations were officially organized and how a collective celebration such as meetings, parades and speeches were arranged around the assembly buildings in their urban context. Additionally, a wide range of telegraph and national correspondence in the State Archives are of vital importance to understand nation-wide reflections of these celebrations synchronously conducted in every city of the country.

In the archive of the Grand National Assembly, the findings are concentrated on renown periodicals of the Early Republican Period such as *Bayındırlık* and *Arkitekt.* Therefore, the ongoing agenda on the constructional works in the first half of the 20th century is analyzed to understand how the reconstruction goals of the state conducted and realized within the struggling economic conditions of the time. In order to understand these limited construction possibilites, the photograph albums on the construction years and the drawings/sketches of the 3rd Assembly Building illuminated various questions.

Importantly, the contemporary photos of the assemblies are taken to make a comparison to interpret physical and representational evolution of these buildings. Especially, the changing construction details and symbolic expressions of the assemblies are of vital importance both in the closed and open spaces while interpreting these buildings as memory spaces of Turkey by keeping the memories of the Republic.

As an important backbone in this study, the National Library of Turkey have a wide range of newspaper archive including the Ottoman and Republican periods. Particularly focusing on the dates of national celebrations and collective ceremonies, more than 350 newspapers are reached clearly expressing the role of the assembly buildings in headlines by keeping the memories of the newly establishing Republic visually and literary in daily life. Additionally, it is revealed that the international competition years of the 3rd Assembly Building in the late 1930s, the construction process until 1961 and the construction of the Anıtkabir emerge as important thresholds in keeping memories of the Republic and resulted in a change in the visibilities of the assemblies as prominent memory spaces of the country.

Moreover, master plans and city maps of Ankara are found invaluable to understand how the assembly buildings stayed in use as memory spaces within their immediate vicinity during the national ceremonies conducted in special places of the city. In this part of the research, the archive of Koç University Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center (VEKAM) have vital importance in accessing city plans of Ankara from the Early Republican years of the country, in addition to the rich database on the old photographs of the assemblies and Ankara.

Additionally, research findings are enriched with digital archives of public and private institutions including visual and written evidence valuable for the Early Republican Period of Turkey. Hence, online research offered a comprehensive evidence on the old photographs of Ankara and the assembly buildings, in addition to the online newspaper databases including national celebration photographs, headlines and articles.

Moreover, documentaries are analyzed as significant complementary evidence for this study. Accordingly, *Ankara: Türkiye'nin Kalbi* (1933)*, Kıymetli Bir Bina Öyküsü* (2016) and *Özden Toker ve Pembe Köşk* (2020) are amongst fundamental movies illuminated specific spots of the Republican Period of Turkey and the assembly buildings.

Thus, all types of written and visual material, personal archives and literary works have equal importance for this study to understand how the assembly buildings of Turkey have participated to the national identity construction process in Turkey. Throughout the study, national and religious ceremonies, celebrations and the days of public reforms are found highly important to comprehend living witnessing of the assembly buildings as memory spaces in the Early Republican Period. Thus, as an important supportive approach, personal recordings and memoirs occupy a vital role in understanding the Republic, Ankara and the assembly buildings in particular.

From this perspective, in addition to the primary evidence in the archives and the literary knowledge in the secondary sources, the micro-historical approach and its instruments play an important role in this study by providing evidence to understand the living stance of the assemblies in their urban context.[31] In this way, the memoirs on Ankara and the assembly buildings have special role to interpret changing atmosphere of the country from being an Anatolian town into the capital of the Republic.

Moreover, not only in urban scale of Ankara but also the role of the assemblies in the early years of democracy is tried to be understood from memoirs of statesmen, military figures and citizens during the use of these buildings in daily life. In a similar vein, newspapers of the time and their cover pages or periodical articles have vital

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[31] In the 19th century, the German historian Leopold von Ranke firstly placed micro-histories of people at the center of historical studies. According to this new perspective, the focus of historiography moved from glorious wars, victories and leaders to daily life flow, ordinary people and individual life stories. In a parallel vein, by proposing history from below, the American historian Joseph Gould emphasized illuminating and multifaceted character of micro-stories in understanding history beside the ongoing historiography tradition around macro narratives of grand movements, ruptures and conquests. [Danacıoğlu, E. *Geçmişin İzleri: Yanıbaşımızdaki Tarih İçin Bir Kılavuz*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001 and Tekeli, "İ. Tarih Yazımında Gündelik Yaşam Tarihçiliğinin Kavramsal Çerçevesi Nasıl Genişletile-bilir?". In *Tarih Yazımında Yeni Yaklaşımlar: Küreselleşme ve Yerelleşme*. İstanbul, 2000]. From this perspective, the memoirs on Ankara and the assembly buildings have special role in understanding changing atmosphere of the country from being an Anatolian town into the capital of the Republic. Moreover, not only Ankara but also the active role of the assembly buildings in the early years of the democracy was tried to be understood from the memoirs of statesmen, military figures and citizens of the time especially in the use of these buildings in national days, celebrations and opening ceremonies. Thus, in addition to the archival research on the official documents, newspapers, periodicals and photographs, memoirs constitute an important material evidence to understand changing social, cultural and political contexts of Anatolia in the first half of the 20th century.

importance to understand daily representations and the imagery construction of the assembly buildings in the Early Republican Period. Thus, not only their ceremonial character, but also the assemblies' daily life participation is of significant traces which transform these buildings into the active actors and living witnesses of the Republic in the 20th century.

1.1.3.2. Re-contextualization of Material Evidence: A Methodological Proposal for Archival Research

In Tilley and Keane's compiled book *Handbook of Material Culture* (2009), the powerful bond between material culture and their representational formations in societies is handled by advocating the idea that "material culture is fundamental to understand culture."[32] Accordingly, material culture emerges as "conceptualization of things" within their specific socio-cultural and political contexts by representing particular frameworks such as identity or memory.[33] Examining this understanding through architectural artefacts, material culture is defined as an entity which has power to compose and to modify relations for ideological functions constructed upon memory.[34]

In a parallel vein, in *Maddi Kültürü Anlamak* (*Understanding Material Culture*, 2016) Woodward handles materials as meaningful objects for people to understand the scope of their identities which are placed and shaped under the effects of social and cultural context.[35] These materials are described as "cultural objects" which actively participate to the construction and representation of identity in daily life flow by constructing and regulating public relations and giving symbolic meanings to human activities in different social, cultural and political contexts.[36] Similarly, Candlin and Guins point out symbolic meanings of material culture as "representation and encapsulation of memory" in their compiled book *The Object Reader* (2009).[37] In a parallel vein by concentrating on the representative role of materials, Edwards handles all

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[32] Chris Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Patricia Spyer, Mike Rowlands, eds. *Handbook of Material Culture* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2009), 4.
[33] Tilley *et al., Handbook of Material Culture,* 4.
[34] Anthony Alan Shelton. "Museums and Museum Displays." In *Handbook of Material Culture,* ed. Chris Tilley and Webb Keane et. al., 481, 484.
[35] Ian Woodward, *Maddi Kültürü Anlamak* trans. Ferit Burak Aydar (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016), 1.
[36] Woodward, *Maddi Kültürü Anlamak,* 2, 3, 7.
[37] Fiona Candlin and Raiford Guins eds. *The Object Reader* (London: Routledge, 2009), 1. Candlin and Guins eds., *The Object Reader.* London: Routledge, 2009.

kinds of materials - especially photographs - as physical actors of memory construction by advocating the idea that they are intentional products of cultures to evoke certain memories of societies.[38] Accordingly, photographs emerge as "desire for memory" which carry special meanings in their images witnessed to the passing time.[39]

In this respect, the power of daily life objects in evoking and representing ideas are also used by Ankara state in the Early Republican Period. Especially newspapers –as amongst the most common communication tools of the era– were actively used to introduce new democratic understanding of the state by using the images of the assembly buildings in different contexts. With reference to the archival findings, particularly the photographs of the opening ceremonies of the assembly buildings, victory celebrations, national ceremonies and general meetings of deputies in the council halls are frequently used images on newspaper headlines as iconographic representations of the Republic.

On the one hand, media and photographs are passive actors in evoking feelings and memories in societies, on the other hand, the collective occassions, celebrations and commemorations in the built environment emerge as living events by providing a stage for sharing common values in specific ceremonies. Accordingly, the time-standing character of images are supported by communal activities of people to evoke, to represent and to adopt certain ideas n societies.

By focusing on material culture and their relation with society, Jones places memorialization and recollection ways at the heart of discussion by asking "how things help societies remember?" in *Memory and Material Culture* (2007).[40] All materials as memory storages have implicit meanings immanently which become invaluable witnesses of history.[41] Importantly, Jones emphasizes that material culture of a society can not provide remembering by itself but can open roads by preparing collective occasions for recollection through experiences.[42] In this respect, celebrations or commemoration ceremonies provide roads for remembering by establishing living connections between artefacts and societies. Hence, Jones points out repetitive character of memorialization, which is collectively shared by people at certain times and certain

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[38] Elizabeth Edwards. "Photographs as Objects of Memory." In *The Object Reader*, 332. Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," 332.

[39] Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," 332.

[40] Andrew Jones, *Memory and Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 3.

[41] Jones, *Memory and Material Culture,* 19, 24.

[42] Jones, *Memory and Material Culture,* 21.

places.[43] Moreover, on the one hand commemoration becomes a storage for memory by itself, on the other hand, all actors in this process - the architectural artefact housing the ceremony to the texts written or read during the commemoration and people participated to the occasion - are included in material culture and discussed as individual memory storages of recollection for future generations.

From a similar perspective, in *Media and Memory* (2011), Garde-Hansen points out that media emerges as a powerful supporter by including all kinds of visual material to declare national connotations to a society. To clarify, Garde-Hansen proposes three dynamics of memory as *institutions, forms* and *practices.* In *institutions,* the author refers to museums and archives as foundations for keeping memories alive in societies.[44] In *forms,* Garde-Hansen refers all kind of memory recording tools via written, oral or technological devices.[45] Lastly in *practices,* collective experiences are handled as one of the most effective ways for memory representation which overlaps with Nora's approach by exemplifying ceremonies, memorials or national celebrations as significant memory spaces.

The tripodal approach of Garde-Hansen is observed in the Early Republican Period. The establishment of governmental offices, educational foundations, historical-linguistic associations, museums and libraries are amongst important institutional initiatives realized by the new state. In a similar way, publishing newspapers, periodicals and documentaries with imagery representations of the Republic and democracy may be interpreted as powerful forms of media to represent nationalist connotations in the society. Additionally, the active use of the built environment in daily life and in national days as stages of the Republic are amongst concrete symbols of practices embodied in the architectural spaces of the country.

Importantly, this tripodal dynamic is not disintegrated and independent tools, on the contrary, it is continually interacting and feeding one another to compose a meaningful representation of the new national identity and its memory. In a parallel vein, Garde-Hansen's tripodal approach may be observed in the Early Republican Turkey. Especially in Ankara, the state used the power of collective occasions in the city as a whole of practical formations of national identity construction., By conducting parades towards the assembly building of the time and using the building as a primary stage for

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[43] Jones, *Memory and Material Culture,* 44,45.
[44] Joanne Garde-Hansen, *Media and Memory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 54.
[45] Garde-Hansen, *Media and Memory,* 52.

celebrations on specific days, the Early Republican state tried to introduce and to settle Turkish national identity and the feeling of national belonging into the public by integrating collective events into the urban structure of the capital with a great participation of masses.

Accordingly, above-mentioned material culture studies have common understanding on their significant role in representing, evoking or constructing certain meanings within intentionally constituted contexts in different cultures. From this point of view, all kinds of object can become meaningful evidence in their particular context by pointing out a socio-cultural, political or ideological transformation leaving marks on the history. Under the light of these approaches, the assembly buildings of Turkey are handled as concrete representations of the construction of national identity in Turkey from the early 20th century in three ways throughout the study:

a. the assembly buildings are handled as architectural materials within the ongoing National Architecture Discourse of the era.

b. these buildings are handled within the frameworks of collective memory discourse as memory spaces of the Republic especially in national celebrations and ceremonies in collective activities.

c. the assembly buildings are studied upon their imagery representations in newspapers and periodicals of the time in daily life circulation.

Thus, visual, written or behavioral traces and materials in representing, provoking and re-calling the national identity process of Turkey have equal importance for this study in understanding the active role of the assemblies as memory spaces of Turkey. The archival findings on the assembly buildings are handled with content analysis method as independent material evidence witnessed to the construction process of national identity in the first quarter of the 20th century. In this way, findings are placed into their conceptual and contextual foundations to understand how the role of the assemblies of Turkey as memory spaces is read upon all kinds of material evidence. Thus, it is aimed to evaluate the assembly buildings as witnesses of the establishment of a new state and its memory spaces, which is continually discussed in collective memory and national architectural discourses as main theoretical frameworks of this study.

In order to provide a better understanding for numerous and distinctive discursive angles and to place archival evidence into proper settings, the content analysis is also used as a significant complementary methodology for this study. By using "independency of the material", numerous potential ways are pointed to state directive role of the

researcher's perspective in reading and understanding different meanings inherent to the material evidence. To make it clear, Rose asserts that content analysis provide a meaningful organization system to understand how visual materials can be used for answering research questions specific to a study.[46] Accordingly, in content analysis, wide range of materials can be systematically classified by following determined steps in research beginning with collecting all kinds of content –visual, written, oral, printed, digital etc. - convenient to the proposed area of research.[47]

In a parallel vein, during this study, visual and printed material evidence are collected from the archives of the assembly buildings, the State Archives of the Prime Ministry, the National Library VEKAM archive, Cultural Assets and Museums General Directorate in Ankara and Ahmet Piriştina City Archive and Museum (APİKAM) in İzmir. Additionally, digital archival research is carried as a significant contributor by providing albums, newspaper and periodical databases dates back to the Early Republican Period. At this point, as Rose emphasizes that numerous visual evidence have to eliminated and organized according to their relevancy to the study, *stratified sampling strategy* is used to classify materials by determining their material characteristics such as periodicals, newspapers, postcards or photographs in relation to the concerned issue.[48]

Secondly, Rose explains "devision" and "coding" of materials to establish links between visual evidence and theoretical framework of the study.[49] Here, these codes have to be *exhaustive, exclusive* and *enlightening* in order to provide a meaningful dataset for the study.[50] Accordingly, the archival research findings of this study are coded as *Ulus Square and Station Boulevard, Bairam Celebrations* and *Assembly Buildings* to understand the role of the assembly buildings as memory spaces in the urban context through newspapers and periodicals of the time (Figure 1).

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[46]   Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials,* 54.
[47]   Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials,* 56.
[48]   Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials,* 57.
[49]   Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials,* 59, 62.
[50]   Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials,* 60.

collecting
Ottoman and Republican Archives of State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey
Private Archives of I. and II. Assembly Buildings
Grand National Assembly Library
Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center
National Library in Ankara
Ahmet Piriştina City Archive and Museum
SALT Research
digital archival research
newspaper and periodicals databases
digital brochures of assemblies

sampling
photographs
postcards
newspapers
maps
periodicals
official government correspondences

coding
Ulus Square
Station Boulevard
bairam celebrations
assembly buildings

Figure 1. Content analysis phases and correspondences in research.

In this way, content analysis revealed an illuminating scheme to understand how the assembly buildings of Turkey imprinted on the memories of the Early Republican Period within different perspectives. Accordingly, the memoirs of people, especially witnessed to the opening of the 1st Assembly, to the establishment of the Republic and to the use of the 2nd Assembly up to the 1961 and the new representation of the 3rd Assembly have scrutinized with textual analysis to find frequently repetitive concepts. In this way, it is aimed to determine prominent items of the agenda in the memories–especially in the first quarter of the 20th century- in narrating, recalling and commemorating the establishment of the Republic and the construction of Turkish national identity. Thus, throughout the study, memoirs and narratives of the key figures of the Early Republican Period in different professionals such as authors, journalists, statesmen are attentively read and repetitive notions are noted as keywords of textual analysis.[51]

Accordingly, recordings of Salih Bozok, Yunus Nadi, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Mehmet Şeref, Falih Rıfkı Atay and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu are analyzed in detail by particularly focusing on their memories on the Republic, Ankara, assembly buildings and

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[51] Lawrence Neuman, *Basics of Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches,* (Essex: Pearson Education, 2005), 54.

technical, economical and socio-cultural atmosphere of the era. Then, frequently used concepts are determined as *financial difficulties*, *city silhouette*, *construction process*, *Ulus Square*, *Taşhan*, *Darülmuallimin*, *Ziraat Mektebi*, *Millet Bahçesi*, *Assembly Building*, *Çankaya Hill*, *Hacı Bayram Mosque*, *opening ceremony*, *Friday prayer*, *war victories*, *parade*, *crowd/unity and solidarity*, *ornamented streets*, *interior space details* and *city planning discussions* as keywords. Followingly, successive method is used to code, categorize and describe the ongoing agenda of the comprehensive transformation process of Anatolia (Figure 2).

keywords/memoirs	Salih Bozok & Cemil Bozok	Yunus Nadi	Ali Fuat Cebesoy	Mehmet Şeref	Falih Rıfkı Atay	Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu
financial difficulties	●		●	●		
city silhouette	●	●			●	●
construction process			●			
Ulus Square	●					
Taşhan	●					●
Darülmuallimin	●	●				
Ziraat Mektebi		●	●			
Millet Bahçesi	●					
Assembly Building	●		●	●		
Çankaya Hill		●				
Hacı Bayram Mosque		●				
Opening ceremony		●		●		
Friday prayer		●				
War victories	●					
Parade		●		●		
Crowd / unity and solidarity	●	●		●		●
Ornamented streets		●		●		
Interior space details	●	●		●		
city planning discussions					●	●

Figure 2. Frequently repeated keywords in memories.

In this way, the first step for reading material evidence of this study is fed from the content analysis methodology in finding, setting, coding and analyzing the archival findings. In order to conduct a meaningful research, discourse analysis is intertwined to

read material evidence in discursive frameworks regarding their social, political and cultural contexts. Thus, mixed methods are used by combining content and discourse analysis methodologies throughout the study. In this way, it is aimed to discuss the assembly buildings from various perspectives grounding on the archival and literary evidence by handling these buildings as integrative parts, living witnesses, iconographic representations and memory spaces of the Early Republican Period in their urban context shaped in the ongoing socio-cultural and political agenda.

1.1.3.3. Representation of the Republic: Concretization – Commemoration – Imagery Construction

Grounding on the archival evidence and literary sources in the research field, the assembly buildings of Turkey occupy an important position by spatially representing the construction of Turkish national identity as concrete symbols of the breaking points in the memories of people and as meaningful physical traces in the urban context witnessed to the extensive transformation period of Anatolia in the Early Republican Period. In order to understand specific stance of the assembly buildings as living witnesses of the Republic, this study proposes three thematic approaches on these buildings upon their concretizations, commemorations and imagery constructions in time. Thus, these three viewpoints on the assembly buildings of Turkey propose specific thematic discussions on their living witnessing as memory spaces of the Republic within their social, political and urban contexts in the first quarter of the 20th century.

In concretization, the construction processes and their physical embodiments as artefacts in the city are examined to understand relationship between ongoing national architectural discourse of the time and its physical reflections on the assemblies in the building scale during the Early Republican Period.

In commemoration, assembly buildings are handled as living witnesses and of the Republic, which participated to the collective events as stages of the national identity construction. In order to understand critical position of the assemblies in keeping memories of the Republic, their collective uses and representative roles in the urban context are discussed especially focusing on bairams and national celebrations as the most important collective occasions of the time.

In imagery construction, the assembly buildings are handled as iconic symbol of the Republic which are declared, provoked, represented and mentioned in memoirs, newspapers, narratives and personal recordings belongs to the Early Republican Period. Differently from the commemoration focused around special days as national bariams and celebrations, in imagery construction, the assembly buildings of the Republic are studied within different kinds of evidence such as oral narratives of people or written declarations of newspapers in circulation, which operate individually and collectively in daily life circulation.

From this perspective, the assembly buildings' physical existences, collective uses and printed representations are of great value as evidence for this study to understand active role of these buildings as memory spaces and meaning storages of the Republic within their architectural, commemorative and imagery representations. Thus, the historical role and the functional uses of the assemblies are not studied as separate topics but intertwined each other regarding their continual uses in different purposes during the construction of a new national identity within the ruptures occurred in the collective memory of people from the late 19th century.

1.1.3.4. Literature Review

In order to place archival evidence into theoretical, contextual and methodological frameworks, and to understand comprehensive transformation of the Anataolian lands in political and socio-cultural contexts the literature review is vital. Groat and Wang proposes that data gathering, especially the literature review, is conducted with written or published documents, visual materials such as photographs or personal works, artworks or diaries. The organization of evidence is made through identification of sources, observations or personal notes of the researcher. Then, organized knowledge on concerned issue is analyzed and is evaluated to provide verification and reliability in order to compose a coherent narrative of the study.[52]

Parallel with Groat and Wang's path on research, Gillham advocates the need for literature review in the beginning of research to recognize what has written and known about the concerned research issue. Importantly by doing this, there are several lacking

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[52] Linda N. Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods* (New Jersey: Wiley, 2013), 137.

data and information gaps can be revealed which would be participate to research process.[53] Since the literature review is the first step of the research, Gillham emphasizes the need of an open-mind to understand research field comprehensively.[54] Similarly, Groat and Wang describe literature "as a body of information, existing in a wide variety of stored formats that has conceptual relevance for a particular topic of inquiry" and points out a need for a general data gathering parallel with as Gillham emphasized.[55]

Accordingly, literature is used to identify research questions, to focus on the topic of inquiry, to understand the idea's generic roots and to understand the current conceptual landscape.[56] Within the scope of this study, literature review is conducted in all classifications of Groat and Wang. Hence, the collective memory and national architectural discourses are determined as inclusive research domains in general to construct an overall perspective in the literature review of this study. Thus, in this section, key studies are selected regarding their interdisciplinary viewpoints, pioneer roles in the research field or correlative approaches on identity, memory and nation-building processes from different angles. In order to understand collective memory discourse and the notion of nationality and national identity, the literature review begins with a brief description of *identiy* as the starting point of research.

In *Türk Kimliği: Kültür Tarihinin Kaynakları* (1993), renown Turkish architect and anthropologist, Güvenç describes identity as the answer of "who are you?" including the information of family, hometown, profession and age. Additionally in further need, identity includes specific knowledge on the social status, political view, religious belief of an individual.[57] Regarding their information qualities, Güvenç puts forward a tripodal identity description as individual (*bireysel kimlik*), personal (*kişisel kimlik*) and national (*ulusal/kültürel kimlik*).[58] Hence, individual identity contains distinguishing information of people given by state institutions such as identity card, driving licence or employee id. Secondly, the personal identity includes specific information revealing the "psychosocial" aspects of a person given by private foundations. Lastly, the national

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[53] Bill Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2000), 15.
[54] Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods,* 18.
[55] Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods,* 21.
[56] Groat and Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 139.
[57] Bozkurt Güvenç, *Türk Kimliği: Kültür Tarihinin Kaynakları* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), 3.
[58] Güvenç, *Türk Kimliği: Kültür Tarihinin Kaynakları,* 4.

identity demonstrates a larger scale data including citizenship information especially use in international occasions.[59]

There are numerous identities have been possessed by people with or without their formal/informal indicators such as identity cards, names or surnames. On the one hand, all these identity values are accepted as formal symbols of people's common social, cultural, political or genealogical values in their societies, on the other hand, identities are used to declare people's unique characters or qualities in a community.[60] According to Güvenç this dual character of identity constitutes the backbone of discussions on identification beginning from the change in social and political transformation on communities in history.

In traditional communities, the main criterion of identity arose from morals and customs of societies, which are accepted indisputable and inalterable. However, through the continual evolution of socio-cultural structure of communities in time, the customs and traditions became insufficient to describe an individual from all perspectives she/he possesses.[61] In this way, each rupture and step in becoming a modern society from a traditional community have accompanied by its own identification arguments. Especially in transition periods of being societies as imperial administrations to nationals of democratic understanding, Güvenç describes identity search of societies as an indicator of the "removing of pressure" rather handling it as a creation of a completely new notion.[62] Here, as a peculiar topic, the national state ideology (*milli devlet ideolojisi*) reveals as a significant pressure on people to gather individuals under a single roof of a certain identity. From this perspective, specific to the Turkish nation and its national identity discussions, Güvenç points out the activities of Young Turks (*Jeunes Turcs*) in the late Ottoman period to declare and constitute a well-described Turkish identity having its own laws, parliament and national connotations.

In order to discuss national formation of identity, Smith proposes need for a political organization and a homeland as two key necessities of a nation in *Milli Kimlik* (originally published in English, *National Identity*, 1991).[63] Accordingly, Smith handles ethnic groups as pioneers of nations by sharing a common *name*, *ancestry*, *memory*, *culture*, *land* and *solidarity*, which create institutional foundations and emotional

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[59] Güvenç, *Türk Kimliği: Kültür Tarihinin Kaynakları,* 4.
[60] Güvenç, *Türk Kimliği: Kültür Tarihinin Kaynakları,* 3.
[61] Güvenç, *Türk Kimliği: Kültür Tarihinin Kaynakları,* 5.
[62] Güvenç, *Türk Kimliği: Kültür Tarihinin Kaynakları,* 9.
[63] Anthony D. Smith, *Milli Kimlik* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), 24, 26.

belonging specific to a group.[64] In time, the territorial hegemony of different ethnic groups end up with the rise of nations as a result of unification or separation of different groups.[65] Then, in order to construct a firm belonging and national conscience, ideological mediums are used bby states including symbols, media tools, traditions and cultures in societies.[66]

From a different perspective, in "Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-state in Early Republican Turkey," Ergut handles nationalism as a process, which "creates, invents, imagines, and construct nations" by establishing correlations between cultural, social, political and economic contexts and national architecture.[67] Accordingly, the architectural products become meaningful entities, which are produced and at the same time, produce the national representations in the urban context.[68] In this way, Ergut handles conceptualization of national architecture by discussing nation-building as a process instead of an end product, which can be represented through architectural representations and understood within changing contexts of a country by mainly criticizing the general attempts formulating national architecture and nation building as stable concepts, which the latter was represented by the former.

Therefore, Ergut proposes that these concepts continuously change according to the changing contexts. By specifically handling the first half of the 20th century in Turkey, these contexts were highly shaped under the effects of political struggles, economic crisis and changing social structures in the country resulted from the long-lasting war years during the World War I and the War of Independence. Thus, in order to understand nation-building as a process, Ergut points out its collective character which is constructed upon the adoption of nationalism idea by masses in specific circumstances. In order to understand national collectivity and its operations by nation-state of Turkey, Ergut begins her argument from the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 as a revolutionary step.[69]

In a similar perspective, Güvenç and Ergut discuss nationalism and its construction in a country as a process which evolves correspondingly to the historical, political and socio-cultural contexts. Handling nationalism as a continuum, their

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[64] Smith, *Milli Kimlik,* 42.
[65] Smith, *Milli Kimlik,* 46.
[66] Smith, *Milli Kimlik,* 27.
[67] Tomris Elvan Ergut, "Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-state in Early Republican Turkey" (doctoral thesis, Binghamton University, 1998), 3.
[68] Ergut, "Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-state in Early Republican Turkey," 6.
[69] Ergut, "Making a National Architecture: Architecture and the Nation-state in Early Republican Turkey," 39.

discursive angles are constituted upon the idea that nationalism is not an end product but a process. From a different perspective, in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi* (1996), Metin Sözen handles architecture as a product of changing contexts and establishes nation-building discussion on the remarked phases of architectural evolution of Turkey in the first half of the 20th century.

By placing architecture as a product of national identity construction, Sözen looks backwards and begins his national identity discussion from the Second Constitutional Era (SCE) in 1908.[70] During the following decade of the SCE, Sözen mentions increasing Turkism idea, which was integrated all social and cultural networks of the country. On the one hand, a search for a new national attitude was continuing by the Turkish architects, on the other hand, there was a remarkable tendency to re-interpret Ottoman details within the name of the First National Movement.[71]

In a parallel vein, Aslanoğlu's *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938* (2001), shows parallelism with Sözen's by beginning with the First National Movement in Turkey when the "history-based" architectural manner is used to declare newly introduced nationalism attitude in the built environment.[72] Accordingly, Aslanoğlu's discussion is entitled in two main historical periods as 1920s and 1930s by pointing out different economical, socio-cultural and political contexts in Turkey. Although the circumstances were highly different from each other, both of the periods have similar underlying reasons as declaration and propagation of the new Turkish national identity. Accordingly, Aslanoğlu argues functional and stylistic evolution of architecture in the Early Republican Period as reflections of changing contexts from the beginning of the 1920s to the end of 1930s.[73] On the one hand, the author defines 1920s as "the years of shortage" when the destructive effects of the war tried to be healed and Ankara was reconstructed as the new capital of the Republic, the 1930s is defined as a period when the new architectural attempts were tried in public and private constructions.[74]

In *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması* (2001), Tekeli and İlkin proposes certain periods in evaluating the Early Republican Period and architectural evolution of the era. Accordingly, the first phase of this classification dates back to the declaration of the

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[70] Metin Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1996), 13.
[71] Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi*, 16.
[72] İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* (Ankara: ODTÜ, 1980), 8.
[73] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938*, 7.
[74] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938*, 8-9.

Republic and corresponds to the First National Movement as a re-thinking period of existing architectural language, instead of creating a new one.[75] In this respect, Tekeli and İlkin's perspective may be interpreted as an intertwined version of Ergut's nationalism based historical approach and Aslanoğlu and Sözen's architecture oriented perspectives. Followingly, the second phase of their classification occurs in 1926-27 when the abandonment of the First National Movement acquired currency and a new attitude towards a comprehensive modernization in a Western attitude in architecture was emerged.[76]

In a parallel vein, Aslanoğlu mentions the contemporary progress in the Western countries at the end of the 1920s, when the counter-views on the First National Movement surfaced. Accordingly, the main rejection was the idea that the Ottoman revival was an outdated fashion, which had to be abandoned in order to reach a modern architectural understanding based on functional and rational approach.[77] These rejections increased rapidly in the 1930s and the First National Movement replaced with a counter movement with the New Architecture. In this way, the Ottoman revivalism was left gradually and the New Architecture became a symbol of contradictions such as old-new, traditional-modern or reactionist-progressivist.[78]

In time, the adoption of a more secular attitute which clearly separates state from religion and appreciating foreign influences and modernization paces came to the fore in the policy. Accordingly, Aslanoğlu classifies this era by beginning with the International Movement, to the Neo-Classical Movement and finally ends with the Second National Movement in 1930s.[79] As the main reason for this three-staged progress, Aslanoğlu mentions the co-working of the foreign and local architects to construct national architecture of the Republic.[80] On the one hand, the foreign architects preferred monumental architectural style to propagate grandoise nationalism idea of the state, Turkish professionals used western-focused rational and functional attitude in architecture.

In a different perspective, Akın distinguishes First and Second National Movements regarding their relation with the idea of orient. On the one hand, the oriental

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[75] İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2001), 64.

[76] Tekeli and İlkin, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması,* 65.

[77] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 33.

[78] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 34.

[79] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 63.

[80] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 54.

manner of the Ottoman Empire was used as a basis in the First National Movement in 1920s, on the other hand, the Second National Movement was fed from the international attitudes concurrent with the West in 1930s.[81] Akın emphasizes that both of the national styles in the first half of the 20th century place nationalism at the core but differ from another regarding their references to the oriental language of architecture.[82] Accordingly, the co-working with the foreign architects in 1930s constituted the backbone of the functional and rational design principles, which were replaced use of Ottoman details and ornaments in architecture in the built environment.[83]

Similarly, Sözen describes the after-period of the First National Movement as a co-operation procedure with foreign architects to improve architectural characteristics of the state regarding construction technology and modern use of materials.[84] Thus, the former architectural language of the First National Movement as the combination of the Ottoman details in nationalist manner was replaced by monumental expression of buildings to represent newly established Republic and its glorious national identity in the urban context.[85] As a result of co-operation with the foreign architects, who were influenced from the ongoing modernism movement in Europe at that time, Sözen marks the Second National Movement as a search for functionalism in the architectural language of the country.[86] Thus, the co-working of foreign and local architects constituted the backbone of the Second National Movement in Turkey after the 1930s with monumental construction tendency and functional design principles.

The period of co-operation with foreign professionals is remarked as third phase of Tekeli and İlkin's evaluation, which begins in 1931 when the Republican People's Party was established under the leadership of Atatürk. In this period, the employment of foreign architects came to a halt in time, and a new understanding that the national identity of Turkey had to be designed by Turkish workers was internalized.[87] Then, the last phase is determined including the Second National Movement and the end of the World War II as a struggling factor in political and socio-cultural structures of the world. Accordingly, in this period, certain points of the former design tendencies were generally accepted as

[81] Günkut Akın. "Sadece Başlamış Bir Proje Olarak 1908 Romantizmi ve Vedad Tek." In *M. Vedad Tek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar,* ed. Afife Batur (İstanbul: YEM, 2003), 33,34.

[82] Akın, "Sadece Başlamış Bir Proje Olarak 1908 Romantizmi ve Vedad Tek," 33.

[83] Akın, "Sadece Başlamış Bir Proje Olarak 1908 Romantizmi ve Vedad Tek," 33.

[84] Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi*, 39.

[85] Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi*, 54.

[86] Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarisi*, 39.

[87] Tekeli and İlkin, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması,* 65.

fundamental principles[88] while new architectural attempts began to be tried in public and private constructions.[89]

Regarding their common references to the ongoing modernism movement in the rest of the world at that time, Bozdoğan's attitude on national architecture discourse of Turkey shows parallelism with aforesaid approaches for 1930s. Thus, in her book *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası* (originally published in English, *Modernism and the Nation Building*, 2012), Bozdoğan inserts modernity concept into the Early Republican discourse by emphasizing that the modern architecture became an instrument in the 20th century which created its own architectural language symbolizing the new national identity in Turkey. During this period, the modern architecture, which was inspired from the West was interpreted in a local viewpoint and resulted in its own architectural products. Besides architectural innovations and western viewpoint, Bozdoğan emphasizes the ideological effects of modernism in every stage of the state by focusing on the power of architecture regarding its ideological enforcements during the Early Republican Period in Turkey.

Clearly in the 20th century, the architectural studies laid the way open for interdisciplinary research and the field of history has been highly interacted with the architectural discourses in transforming societies. By combining historical understanding with its spatial representations, architectural space became an integral part of historical research, which gained an autonomous character as the physical witness of the changing time. Accordingly, architecture emerges as a living trace of the transformative power of histories, ideologies and changing social, cultural and economic contexts of countries. Through these studies, memory and national identity discourses became one of the most debated keywords by being significants binding forces between history, societies and architectural spaces as the stage for the flow of history. In this direction, there are numerous dissertations are conducted in academic research field focusing on identity, memory and their representations through architecture. Thus, within the numerous invaluable researches in this domain, specific studies are discussed regarding their theoretical and historical stances, approaches on the collective memory and national identity discourses and methodological approaches illuminated the direction of this study in the field.

In "Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory" (2007), Wilson

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[88] Tekeli and İlkin, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması,* 66.
[89] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 8-9.

discusses Anıtkabir and the previous four spaces which were used to preserve Atatürk's dead body from 1938 to 1953. In order to understand how these spaces were used as spatial representations of national memory of Turkey through the catafalque spaces of the founder of the Republic, Wilson uses interpretative-historical research methodology upon primary and secondary sources.[90]

In this direction, "The Representation of Memory" consists of memory discussions and memory's representations through the built environment. Then, Wilson continues the representation of funerary of Atatürk in five different architectural spaces by discussing "location" and "symbolism" by establishing links between architecture, space and national memory.[91] In "The Politicization of Memory", Wilson argues power of politics and its reflections on architecture by focusing on how memorization is realized through the built environment and through the monumental representation especially focusing on the funerary architecture of Atatürk.[92] Lastly in "The Maintenance of Memory" Wilson evaluates the continuation of memorization "physically and ideologically" through the museum spaces and commemorations.[93]

By using personal biographies, memory narratives, media documents, articles, visual media and academic sources, Wilson classifies his dissertation in three main titles as "representation", "politicization" and "maintenance."[94] Accordingly, the study is structured upon this sequence by differentiates itself from the chronological approaches on historical research and linear timeline. Hence, Wilson suggests a "topic-based" research, which all three topics are correlated with each other and consistent in themselves by suggesting a comprehensive overview on memorization, remembering and forgetting.[95]

As another study on memory and its architectural representations belongs to Yılmaz with the title of "Architectural Memorialisation of War: *Ars Memoriae* and the

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[90] Christopher Samuel Wilson, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory" (doctoral thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2007), 40.

[91] Wilson, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory," 42.

[92] Wilson, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory," 42.

[93] Wilson, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory," 42.

[94] Wilson, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory," 41.

[95] Wilson, "Remembering and Forgetting in the Funerary Architecture of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: The Construction and Maintenance of National Memory," 40, 41.

Landscape of Gallipoli Battles" (2008). In this study, Yılmaz evaluates changing approaches on commemoration of the Gallipoli Battles in the boundaries of Gallipoli Peninsula National and Historical Peace Park. Accordingly, Yılmaz tries to understand how the commemoration attitudes has changed from the erection of monuments which canonize the war and death to the exhibiting of war ruins in-situ to protest destructive effect of war by demonstrating physical traces of the war memories. [96]

The methodological attitude of Yılmaz is based on three steps of research beginning with phenomenological approach which "defines the objects of knowledge and gives the interpretive tools" to constitute the analysis of the method and evaluating it on the selected case.[97] Accordingly, Yılmaz suggests three main components for the methodology consisted of "the image", "the locus" and "the relation between them." The *image* corresponds an object of concerned issue, which is understood as a physical trace of a certain event. By handling the image as a representation, the *locus* is proposed as a site where the image interacted with the location.[98] Thus, this *interaction* corresponds to the third component of Yılmaz to understand how the memorization is realized upon the image and the site through different approaches on commemoration in the boundaries of Gallipoli Peninsula National and Historical Peace Park to memorize the Gallipoli Battles.

In a parallel vein, Pelin Gürol Öngören's study "Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic" (2012) is another research on historical studies focusing on the collective memory, identity and its representation in the architectural space. Focusing on the idea that museums are intentionally configured spaces to convey and propagate certain ideologies, Öngören evaluates how the museum space became a physical tool to declare collective identity in imperialist, nationalist and modernist manners.[99]

In contrast to Wilson's research, Öngören follows a chronological order in evaluating the museum space from the Ottoman Empire to the Early Republican Turkey and gathers data from primary and secondary sources consisted of newspapers, photographs, personal recordings such as letters or sketches. By giving a theoretical and

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[96] Ahenk Yılmaz, "Architectural Memorialisation of War: *Ars Memoriae* and the Landscape of Gallipoli Battles" (doctoral thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2008), v.

[97] Yılmaz, "Architectural Memorialisation of War: *Ars Memoriae* and the Landscape of Gallipoli Battles," 5.

[98] Yılmaz, "Architectural Memorialisation of War: *Ars Memoriae* and the Landscape of Gallipoli Battles," 71.

[99] Pelin Gürol Öngören, "Displaying Cultural Heritage, Defining Collective Identity: Museums from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early Turkish Republic," (doctoral thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2012), iv.

conceptual framework in the beginning, Öngören constitutes a historical and contextual background for the following museum discussions, which are organized to argue each museum upon their spatial evaluation within collection and displaying methods. Methodologically, Öngören uses case studies listed as Ottoman Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Humayun*), Museum of the Pious Foundations (*Evkaf-ı İslamiye Museum*), Ankara Ethnographical Museum (*Etnoğrafya Müzesi*) and the Hittite Museum (*Eti Museum*).

Accordingly, the scope of this study is determined regarding different discursive angles on the establishment process of Turkey by focusing on their particular viewpoints to construct a holistic point of view on memory, identity and their representation in the Early Republican Turkey. On the one hand, each perspective possesses its own particular attitude on identity construction, on the other hand, correlations between political transformation of the country and its architectural evaluation show similarities with one another. Thus, within the socio-cultural, political and architectural contexts specific to Turkey, evaluating identity, nationalism and its construction in a country in literature from different perspectives is of vital importance for this study.

Grounding on the illuminating perspectives of the literature review, this study integrates the assembly buildings of Turkey into the research field as memory spaces of the Republic as physical, commemorative and imagery representations of the Turkish national identity. In this way, this study proposes that the assembly buildings of Turkey carry special meanings from their inaugurations until today as living memory spaces of the country within their changing functional phases in the urban context.

From this perspective, the nationalism discussions of Turkey in the Early Republican Period entail a comprehensive understanding of the era, which dates back to the late Ottoman Empire to the early Republican years. Regarding different discursive angles, in a widespread manner, national identity construction process of Turkey is framed between the declaration of Republic in 1923 to the mid-20th century in literature by focusing on the Republican period of the country and its architectural products. However, reading the construction process of the new national identity of Turkey through the 20th century buildings and handling the construction process as a complete deletion of the Ottoman Empire creates a narrow point of view, which ignores historical and political foundation of the country. In order to handle the Early Republican Period and its architectural representations in the country, it has vital importance to understand political and ideological change from the Ottoman monarchy to the Turkish democracy in a holistic point of view. Thus, time period of this study is elongated towards to the past,

when the First and Second Constitutional Eras of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century became first steps towards the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

1.1.4. The Structure of the Study

In order to construct a unifying and integrative perspective, the structure of this study is organized as a weaving which intertwines collective memory, national identity and architectural discourses to each other by placing the Turkish Republic and its assembly buildings at the centre. Accordingly, Chapter-1 is structured as an informative prologue including the problem definition, the aim, the methodological approach and the literature review of this study. Therefore, a brief historical background of Anatolia is explained by determining breaking points in the social, cultural and political contexts of the land from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s. Importantly at this point, these ruptures are not handled as mere political thresholds, but also they are powerfully associated with daily life of the era and the memories of people witnessed to the comprehensive transformation of the country from being the lands of the Ottoman Empire to the homeland of Turkish Republic. Afterwards, the archival research is expressed as the backbone of this study by rendering visited archives in İzmir and Ankara, in addition to the online references and databases. In order to place archival findings into their historical and theoretical frameworks, the methodological approach of this study is given by briefly introducing content analysis, discourse analysis and textual analysis methodologies. Followingly, thematic lens of this study is explained and the literature review is elaborated by referencing to the studies held in the fields of collective memory, national architecture and memory spaces of nations including different perspectives and case studies.

In the Chapter-2, collective memory discourse is discussed to understand how memory and its collective formations can lead to the construction of a national identity specific to a society. Accordingly, this chapter is structured on the key perspectives on memory discussions, demarcations and classifications. Recollection channels, correlational links between memory and society through architectural spaces and collective occasions, invention of traditions in societies and iconographic representation of nations are discussed by interpreting these concepts within the institutional and ideological formations of the Early Republican period of Turkey. In this way, this chapter aims to understand comprehensive transformation of Anatolia by particularly focusing on

the ruptures occurred in the collective memories of people and the representation of this memory via the assembly building of the time physically and commemoratively during the extensive nation-building process of the country.

Parallel with the ongoing discussion on the collective memory of the Early Republican Period and its social, cultural and political atmosphere, the Chapter-3 begins with a brief historical background of the Ottoman Empire when the Anatolia was passing through a critical point towards being the homeland of the Turkish Republic in the following decades. Thus, the two constitutional monarchy periods of the Empire are handled as first steps towards democracy regarding their political and socio-cultural characteristics of the era. Then, the rise of Ankara as the new resistance center of the National Pact and future capital is discussed within the national struggle years in various perspectives. Afterwards, the opening of the 1st Assembly Building as the concrete representation of transforming nation is explained within the ongoing atmopshere of the ongoing agenda in economic and technical difficulties. Then, the opening of the 2nd Assembly overlaps with the era when the divergences in policy arose and the building became a concrete symbol of the officially declared Turkish Republic. In the following sections, the contested issues on nationality in architecture is discussed as significant steps towards the opening of a national design competition for the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey. Importantly, this chapter is structured upon parallel readings of national architecture discourse in the Early Republican Period and collective memory discourse with the integrative and inseparable participation of all kinds of archival evidence illuminating the discussion.

In the Chapter-4, the changing representative roles of the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings of Turkey in the urban context are discussed regarding their conversions into the War of Independence Museum and the Museum of Republic in 1981. Accordingly, the discussion on the 1st and 2nd Assemblies as memory spaces within their parliamentary role is enlarged towards their uses as museums by generating new thresholds in the urban context. Placing these buildings into the museuology discourse, it is aimed to construct a holistic perspective on their changing iconographic stance in keeping memories of the Republic. Therefore, beginning with a brief description of contemporary visiting atmosphere of the buildings, the discussion continues with assessments of museology discourse in literature and finally proposes an interpretive perspective by taking into consideration the ongoing socio-cultural and political agenda of the 1980s.

CHAPTER 2

COLLECTIVE MEMORY DISCOURSE: CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD OF TURKEY

Beginning from the end of the 19th century to the mid-20th, the Ottoman land has passed a critical point leading extensive changes in political, social and cultural structures of the Empire. Among these, the new manner in regime brought about change in the capital city primarily, and Ankara became one of the major representations of the comprehensive transformation of the Ottoman land from being an Empire toward the Republic. On the one hand, the political direction of the empire was oriented towards Republic by high state officials; on the other hand, daily life flow of public fed from minor changes and reforms in micro scale. In other words, the centuries old imperial lives of people began to be converted into republican identities day by day within the frameworks of changing political, social and cultural contexts. Inherently, such an extensive transformation did not occur all at once but daily life activities and commonly shared public events became significant tools to materialize the new manner of policy in the new public spaces of the Republic. In this way, collective activities held by people and the high state officials became one of the most effective ways for the construction of the Turkish national identity through celebrations, bairams and observances of new reforms.

Importantly, these collective rituals and celebrations conducted according to certain intentional formations in Ankara. In other words, from the beginning place of the procession to the route and the visited buildings through the march were intentionally selected and had great importance to properly integrate new manner of the state with the architectural representations of the Republic in the city. These celebrations and ceremonies were combined with elaborately constructed built environment of the Republic in order to generate practical spaces to share new attitutes, reformist behaviours and nationalist connotations in the urban context.

Thus, collective activities of the Republic in celebrations, ceremonies and marches are handled as significant public events during the national identity construction of

Turkey in the Early Republican Period. Within the scope of this study, it is asserted that the assembly building of the era became an inseparable part of these procedure by actively used as stages and spaces for collective share of unity, solidarity and national belonging in the urban context by masses. Specifically, throughout the procession, the assembly building of the time became mark point of the events where the Republican administration met with public while celebrating and listening the speeches of politics. Therefore, the assembly buildings become living witnesses of the new democratic Turkey and newly constructed Turkish nation representing a grand transition period from monarchy to democracy at the heart of the capital.

From this perspective, in this chapter, recollection ways, individual and collective formations of memory, representation and spatialization of collective memory of a nation, construction of a national identity and its embodiment through memory spaces in the built environment are discussed from different angles. Thus, this section begins with a broader perspective on memory and continues toward a more specialized formations as national identity and its spaces, operations and state tools especially focusing on the Early Republican Period of Turkey. In this way, it is aimed to demystify evolution of collective memory on the Anatolian lands during the long and struggling years of the grand transformation from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic.

2.1. Memory, History, Recollection: Collective Memory and its Construction

In order to provide a better understanding for memory space discussion on the assembly buildings of Turkey, examining memory discourse from different perspectives is found precious to comprehend how memory and its collective formations can lead to the construction of a national identity specific to a society. To start with Halbwachs' *On Collective Memory* (1992), the French philosopher handles collective memory as a continually changing concept depending on individuals and reads "collective memory is not a given but rather a socially constructed notion" by making a distinction between autobiographical and historical memory.[100] While autobiographical memory is produced by individual him/herself and can be recollected by participants of a certain event,

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[100] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* trans. and ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 22.

historical memory cannot be directly recollected and can be learned from secondary sources such as commemorative rituals, statues, written documents etc.[101] Although historical memories are produced to signify certain historical memories, each epoch's observer creates his/her own viewpoint according to the current day which is called "presentist approach" by Halbwachs.[102]

In order to explain how memories are recollected, Halbwachs refers three different channels. Firstly, memories are transferred by our family members and close friends while we are growing up. Secondly, society feeds our memories and takes part in our minds to organize them, and thirdly, memories are recollected by an individual him/herself instinctively.[103] According to Halbwachs, this trio constitutes collective framework of our memories and while each of them is correlating to another, society emerges as the most powerful framework which affects memories. As Halbwachs says:

> "Society from time to time obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events of their lives, but also to touch them up, to shorten them, or to complete them so that, however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them a prestige that reality did not posseses."104

As Halbwachs points out, individual's inherent recollections and his/her interaction with a society have a significant role in shaping and recollecting memories. In a parallel vein, in *Past is a Foreign Country* (2005), Lowenthal asserts that past and its construction through memories in contemporary lives are highly correlated with society and everyday life flow in present contexts.[105] Accordingly, Lowenthal suggests that even past is lingered in history, it has a continual effect on our contemporary lives and perception of present. On the one hand, our present day is shaped under the influence of our memories, on the other hand, these new understanding of today affects our way of remembering past synchronously.[106] Lowenthal begins his argument by asking "how do we come to know about the past?" and mentions numerous ways for recollecting our memories such as written documents, chronicles, letters and stories or relics.[107] Although

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[101] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* 23.
[102] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* 25.
[103] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* 38.
[104] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* 51.
[105] David Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 9.
[106] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 9.
[107] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 185.

some memories are defeated by time and are permanently deleted, there are certain memories which remained until today by having influences on our current lives.

Similar with Halbwachs' demarcation on autobiographical and historical memory, Lowenthal classifies sources of past knowledge as memory, history and relics. Accordingly, "memory is inescapable and prima-facie indubitable; history is contingent and empirically testable" for Lowenthal.[108] Although the author proposes certain differences between memory and history, he also emphasizes that the boundary between them blurs continually. As the third source of past knowledge, relics are handled as concrete mnemonic symbols of the past in natural forms or artifacts.[109]

Whether relics are natural or artificial, their existence is directly connected to our contemporary conscious. In order to acquire reliable knowledge, we have to know their past and contexts as in their own times.[110] Although relics are amongst the most concrete witnesses of the past and important physical mediators for recollection, their danger of extinction is always higher than the other sources of past knowledge. Since histories can be preserved by written evidence, and memories can be transferred in oral conversations, relics are continually exposed to corrosive effect of passing time.[111] To emphasize interconnectedness of three sources of past knowledge in composing collective memory and their shadowy boundaries, Lowenthal reminds that "uncertain where memory ends and history begins, we often attribute to one what comes from the other, jumbling early memories together with stories later heard and read, much as oral narrative conflates recent recollections with tales immemorially told."[112]

In all three sources, Lowenthal focuses on reliability and emphasizes that acquiring knowledge is only possible in current epistemological space-time configuration. Therefore, knowing and proving memories accurately is impossible with contemporary eyes.[113] Thus, Lowenthal argues that past is acknowledged in present circumstances and cannot be the same as its own occurrence in its own time in the past.[114] On the other hand, since individual has been transforming continually under the effect of society, the perception of history changes synchronously with the individual him/herself. In this way, it becomes impossible to mention a fixed historical knowledge, At he same

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[108] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 187.
[109] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 187.
[110] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 238.
[111] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 239.
[112] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 249.
[113] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 187.
[114] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 191.

time, reliability of memory is gradually decreases during passing time. The more individual interacts with other individuals in society, the more his/her memories become blurred under the effect of changing time-space configurations.[115] From this point of view, the attitude emphasizing that history is always perceived by today's eyes is also common in Halbwach's and Lowenthals approaches on memory and history.

Furthermore, personal and collective character of memory is composed by the elimination of certain memories and recollections of the others under the effect of social, cultural and political contexts. On the one hand, memory is completely personal and untouchable; on the other hand, it has a collective aspect that strengthens its existence with society and other individual's recollections.[116] Whether individual or collective, memory recalls our disappeared selves and each recollection of the "self" links us to our present day repeatedly. Memories strictly connected with "being him/herself" according to Lowenthal, and the author supports his argument by a quotation from an amnesiac who says:

"I felt nothing' said a man whose memory had been lost for several years; 'when you have no memory, you have no feelings.'"[117]

While personal memories are largely intrinsic to individual him/herself, history is shared by societies, and "intentionally sets out to engender new knowledge."[118] In larger scale, individual memories are connected each other in the form of "collective self-awareness" and history emerges as a defined form of collective memory in a certain group or society.[119]

In a parallel vein, Cubitt puts memory in a special place in *History and Memory* (2013), by highlighting memory's power on "producing insights and connections that are often stimulating or suggestive" in societies.[120] Similar with Halbwachs and Lowenthal, Cubitt makes a demarcation on memory and history. Firstly, the author handles memory as a historical moment which has happened and situated in its place in the flow of passing time. Secondly, Cubitt handles memory as "an object of historical study" which transforms into a methodological tool for a better understanding of history. Thirdly,

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[115] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 193.
[116] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 196.
[117] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 197.
[118] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 214.
[119] Lowenthal, *Past is a Foreign Country,* 213.
[120] Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 3.

Cubitt evaluates memory as a "form of knowledge" which establishes links between past and the present. [121] Furthermore, Cubitt forwards his discussion on memory and history by classifying their relationship under two main topics. In first, past is handled as an untouchable concept which possesses everything of passing time about societies without impressing from or depending on the present circumstances. Secondly and on the contrary, past is seen as a continuously interpreted concept of contemporary eyes by showing parallelism with Halbwachs' and Lowenthal's presentist approaches.[122] Thus, the tripodal understanding of Cubitt makes contribution to the ongoing demarcations on memory and history relations regarding their individual or collective formations, social connections, perceptions as survivals or reconstructions on the presentist comprehensions.[123]

2.2. Representation of Collective Memory: Memory Spaces

Memory and its collective character is also handled by French historian Nora in *Hafıza Mekanları* (*Les Lieux de Memoire,* 1984). In a specific way, Nora emphasizes that collective memory is a convertible concept that leads to the construction of national identity originated from historical connectedness of individuals in a certain society.[124] In order to constitute a powerful past ensuring the national unity and identity of a society, history acts as a binding force between individuals of a nation who share a common historical background, while memory emerges as a secondary concept full of individual memories and emotional relationships between events.[125] By making a demarcation between memory and history, Nora suggests that memory is a concept which is constructed by its own groups and changes dialectically as a result of forgetting and recollection.[126] On the one hand, the origin of memory is mementos and they get in harmony with others by transforming themselves synchronously with present, on the contrary, history is a stable concept which is a construction of the past disappeared long time ago.

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[121] Cubitt, *History and Memory,* 3, 4.
[122] Cubitt, *History and Memory,* 27.
[123] Cubitt, *History and Memory,* 4, 5.
[124] Pierre Nora, *Hafıza Mekanları* trans. Mehmet Emin Özcan (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2006), 22.
[125] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory,* 51.
[126] Nora, *Hafıza Mekanları,* 10.

Accordingly, national memory and identity emerge as constructed notions by society which are realized via human-made instruments such archives, museums, mausoleums, national celebrations and their spaces.[127] By calling these mediums and architectural artefacts as "memory spaces", Nora asserts that they are intentionally constructed spaces to escape from traces of former societies and to declare and propagate new characteristics of a new nation and its unique existence.[128] By calling these construction activities as "reification of the memory," the author emphasizes individual autonomy of memories similar to Halbwachs and Lowenthal's presentist approaches.[129] Since each memory is interpreted by its owner, national memory becomes a body of interpreted collective memories of a society whose reliability or certainty continually blur.

Similar with Nora, in *The City of Collective Memory* (1994), Boyer associates artefacts and spaces to memory by handling city as a "work of art" which is continually represented through iconographic representations of collective memories specific to a society.[130] Accordingly, city appears as a "narrative space" full of "emblematic" symbols referring to physically concretizations of memories in the urban context.[131] Either ephemeral representations –such as triumphal arches- or permanent architectural artefacts –as monuments or statues-, city becomes an intentional composition of iconographic representations of memorial ruptures of a society. In this way, recollection and memorialization of specific notions such as victorial celebrations after wars or construction of new nations with new national identities are physically constituted upon architectural symbols and representations in cities. Thus, a city with its built environment and architectural artefacts in the urban context emerge as intentionally produced notions as iconographic representations of history, memory and identity specific to a society.

In a parallel vein, in *Memory and Architecture* (2004)*,* Bastea asserts that architecture is a tool which concretizes humanitarian values within spaces and stages to live. Accordingly, the author emphasizes that past manifests itself in traces of the buildings which are open to numerous interpretations of individuals.[132] By discussing

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[127] Nora, *Hafıza Mekanları,* 23.
[128] Nora, *Hafıza Mekanları,* 23.
[129] Nora, *Hafıza Mekanları,* 26.
[130] M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory* (London: The MIT Press, 1994), 33.
[131] Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 33.
[132] Eleni Bastea ed. *Memory and Architecture* (Mexico: New Mexico Press, 2004), 1,7.

memory and its spatialization in the built environment, Bastea discusses collective memory and its national formations in societies and uses the term "memory's voices." In this way, the author handles memory as an active actor in shaping our present lives by carrying traces of our individual or collective past which constitute a continuous ground to identification, rememberance, recollection and memorialize.[133] Accordingly, memory provides opportunities to re-comprehend and re-shape present visions in accordance with traces carried from the past.[134]

From a similar perspective, in *Time and Memory* (2005), a compiled book on memory discourse from different disciplines, Harris handles memory as a key element for "permanence and identity."[135] Although passing time continuously affects recollection, memory immobilizes certain moments in history. In this way, their "plasticity" transforms passive events of the past into active actors of the present.[136] In a parallel vein with Harris' approach on memory, Crawford discusses commemorations as instruments to meet past and the present, remembering and fogetting.[137]

By drawing attention of their collective occurences, Crawford evaluates commemorations as intentional meetings where "the experiences and recollections of individuals weaved into a communal fabric."[138] Importantly in Crawford's approach, commemoration operates as a tool which blurs individual boundaries in order to create a collective belonging in a society by grounding on a collectively shared history. Similar to Nora's approach, commemorations become repetitions of "learned stories" in place of remembrance of a historical past.[139] In this way, they operate as "attractors" and starting points for planned future constructions which draw their strenghts from history, itself.[140]

To sum up, collective memory discourse is highly shaped around the common perspectives on society and linked to the construction of national memory and national identity through a commonly shared historical belongings. Even if the sources of past knowledge and recollection ways differ from each other, the collective aspect of memories interconnect individuals in their society through the construction of national

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[133] Bastea, *Memory and Architecture,* 5.
[134] Bastea, *Memory and Architecture,* 6.
[135] Jo Alyson Parker, P. A. Harris and M. Crawford eds., *Time and Memory* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), xvii.
[136] Harris, *Time and Memory,* 125.
[137] Michael Crawford. "Commemoration: Where Remembering and Forgetting Meet." In *Time and Memory* (Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), 225.
[138] Crawford, "Commemoration: Where Remembering and Forgetting Meet," 225.
[139] Crawford, "Commemoration: Where Remembering and Forgetting Meet," 226.
[140] Crawford, "Commemoration: Where Remembering and Forgetting Meet," 226.

identity. Agreeing on that individual memories compose collective memory of a society via common life experiences, in time, the collective togetherness can be transformed into the construction of a national identity on the grounds of shared values and a common history as powerful binding forces.

2.3. National Memory and Its Representations: Invented Traditions and Turkish National Identity Construction

Clearly, history becomes a powerful instrument which provides to create a common ground for societies and to establish relations between individuals. Following that, the potential of history and its transformative power on people has been used for centuries to produce an appropriate past and to serve for a basement for the construction of an intentionally configured future and unifier of national identities. In a parallel vein, creation of a history to provide unity between members of a society through the way of constructing national identity is evaluated in detail by Hobsbawm in *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) by handling traditions as constructed phenomena. Scrutinizing ongoing traditions which are adopted as if they are historical and stable in the flow of passing time, Hobsbawm asserts that "traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented."[141]

According to Hobsbawm, special settings are created synchronously in order to provide legitimization of new traditions on the grounds of a proper historical past and institutional foundations.[142] On the one hand, Hobsbawm mentions an urgent need of invented traditions in revolutionary circumstances to provide collective adoption of new changes in large-scale transformations, on the other hand, keeping real historical ties is also needed.[143] Thus, Hobsbawm proposes two ways in legitimization of invented traditions. The first is their connection to a relevant historical past focusing on their continuity from the history, and the second is their repetition in different ways such as ceremonies, rituals or daily life habits.[144]

From this point of view, Hobsbawm's theoretical stance on traditions and their active role in societies are found precious to produce new perspectives on societal

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[141] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.
[142] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1.
[143] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 2.
[144] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 2.

ruptures and their interpretation within socio-cultural and political contexts. In this study, invention of traditions in the Early Republican Turkish state is used as a prolific theoretical framework in order to construct new national identities at the threshold between the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic. In this way, re-construction of Turkish national history is interpreted within the frameworks of Hobsbawm's approach on invented traditions are needed in revolutionary circumstances to legitimize new definitions of national identity.[145]

Hobsbawm's discourse on invented traditions can be observed in the Early Republican Period of Turkey in the beginning of the 20th century when a comprehensive transformation in the social and political context has been occurring. In order to understand the clues of invented traditions in that period, national architecture arises as a powerful ideological tool in nation-building process of the country. Overlapping with Hobsbawm's argument, a new national history was needed in the Early Republican Period because of nationalists' rejection to the Ottoman past.

In *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (2001), Bozdoğan focuses on the late 1930s when the nationalist movements accelerated with a search for a national history, identity and its national architecture. At that time, the Republican People's Party, as the party in power, declared a new understanding of history which rejects Ottoman past and insists on creating a new "Turkishness" with its own national history.[146] In order to construct national identity of Turkey, the Republican People's Party and its intellectuals aimed to ground a new Turkish identity on a Turkish past which was separated from those of the Ottoman.

Therefore, the re-interpretation of Turkish national history as an important rupture in the social and political context of Turkey overlaps with Hobsbawm's approach that invented traditions are needed in revolutionary circumstances to legitimize new definitions of the national identity.[147] As one of the most important mediums, interpretation of a national history is vital in the invention of traditions among societies. Accordingly, attempts to create a new national future resulted in search for a national past and the Republican People's Party used two different historical references as Turkish roots. The first is the idea that the Turkish nation came from the Central Asia and the

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[145] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 2.
[146] Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasabalı, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 240, 241.
[147] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 2.

second is from the Asia Minor.[148] In the Republican People's Party's genealogy search, Hobsbawm's focus on the importance of historical continuity in inventing traditions may also be seen. According to Hobsbawm, invented traditions require their historical roots as continuation in order to be legitimized.[149] In this respect, the nationalism discussions on Turkey are also tried to ground on centuries old historical past which strengthens belonging to the Anatolian land. Therefore, it is aimed to use the existence of a grandeur history in order to empower nationalism perception through belonging and settling on the same land for thousands years.

Regarding Hobsbawm's second argument that invented traditions require repetition in different ways such as ceremonies, rituals or daily life habits, the Republican People's Party started an extensive support to spread national identity and Turkish nationalism idea in mass media tools and collective events. Hence, magazines, newspapers and publications widely gave place to the national connotations and representations in daily life circulation. In this way, gradually increasing use of national imagery and texts in publications and magazines became important tools to impose new national identity into Turkish public life by integrating new manner of policy in daily routines.

In a different field, the architectural understanding of the Early Republican Period was also shaped under the effects of nationalist movements was concretized in daily life. Instead of creating a completely new architectural style, professionals of the first quarter of the 20th century re-interpreted ongoing modern movement to declare nationalism idea via the built environment of the Republic. In this way, new nationalist perspective of the state was imposed into the existing Ottoman architectural style with certain interventions by overlapping with Hobsbawm's argument on the invented traditions are legitimized by constructing new relations upon ongoing habits.[150]

As another important tool of invented traditions, Hobsbawm mentions institutions as legitimizers by focusing on their power in adopting invented traditions into a certain society.[151] In a parallel, nation-building process of Turkey was also supported by certain foundations on national historical and linguistic institutions in order to provide

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[148] Bozdoğan and Kasabalı, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic,* 242.

[149] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 7.

[150] Bozdoğan and Kasabalı, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic,* 241.

[151] Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1.

legitimization via genealogy and institutional grounds.[152] The Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Society were established to accelerate national studies on language and history of Turkey by increasing literacy and disseminating national understanding. By establishing of these institutions, not only Republican people but also Western countries put Turkish studies on their agenda in investigating and declaring Turkish national identity.

In this respect, the nationalist attempts in the first quarter of the 20th century find many references in the invented tradition concept of Hobsbawm. Regarding institutional and ideological circumstances of the Early Republican period of Turkey, the new state's mediums as constructed continuities, repetitions in daily life, applications of national manner in architectural style and establishment of institutions may be evaluated as significant reflections of abovementioned invented tradition discourse.

Therefore, conducting historical searches for finding roots of a nation or recreating the built environment specific to a state or using visual, oral and published conversation tools to transfer ideological perspectives into daily lives have a common aim to represent grand changes in socio-cultural or political manners of a society which were used by states from the history onwards. Accordingly, these physical and imagery constructions are made upon different kinds of symbols in societies to declare and convey certain thoughts into memories of people. In this way, states use explicit or abstract symbols to construct narrations about their historical and contemporary circumstances, transformative periods and new eras in societies (Figure 3).

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[152] Bozdoğan and Kasabalı, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic,* 243.

	perspective	demarcations	recollection ways	history, memory and society
E. Hobsbawm 1983	"traditions which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented"	"invented traditions"	traditions	connection to a relevant historical past / repetition ceremonies, rituals or daily life habits
P. Nora 1984	"collective memory is a convertible concept thet leads to the construction of national identity"	memory as a construction / history as a stable concept "memory spaces"	archives, museums, mausoleums, national celebrations and their spaces	memory as a continually changing construction / history as a stable concept disappeared long time ago
M. Halbwachs 1992	"collective memory is not a given but rather a socially constructed notion"	autobiographical memory / historical memory "collective memory"	transferred by family members or frirends / fed by society / recollected by individual	soceity feeds memories and takes part in the organization of them
E. Bastea 2004	"architecture is a tool which concretizes humanitarian values within spaces and stages to live"	collective memory and its national formations "memory voices"	built environment	memory as an active actor in shaping societies by constituting a ground to identification, rememberance, recollection and memorialize
P. Harris 2004	"plasticity of memories transforms passive events of history into active actors of the present"	memories as certain moments of history "plasticity of memories"	personal recollections / written histories / narratives	"memory as the key element for permanance and identity"
M. Crawford 2004	"commemorations as intentional meetings where the experiences and recollections of individuals weaved into a communal fabric"	commemorations as repetitions of "learned stories" / as "attractors"	commemorations	commemorations blur individual boundaries to cretae collective belongings in society
D. Lowenthal 2005	"memory is enescapable and prima-facie indubitable; history is contingent and emprically testable"	memory / history / relics	written documents / chronicles / letters / stories / relics	even past is lingered in history, it has a continual effect on contemporary lives
G. Cubitt 2013	"memory has power on producing insights and connections that are often stimulating or suggestive"	memory as a historical moment / as an object of historical study / as a form of knowledge	individual and collective formations / social connections / reconstructions	history as an untouchable concept prosseses everything of passing time / history as a continual interpretation of contemporary eyes

Figure 3. Perspectives and demarcations in the collective memory discourse.

2.4. Iconographic Representation of a Nation

Symbols have powerful effects in conveying and representing comprehensive changes in socio-cultural and political contexts of nations. Hence, certain symbols, images, physical artefacts or intangible representations become iconographic actors for state operations in national connotations. Thus, historical searches for finding roots of a nation or recreating a built environment specific to a state or using published press tools to transfer ideological perspectives into daily lives have a common aim to represent

comprehesnive changes in socio-cultural or political manners of a society through icoographic representations of a nation.

In the Oxford Dictionary, *iconography* is described as "the visual images, symbols, or modes of representation collectively associated with a person, cult, or movement."[153] Similarly, in the Cambridge Dictionary, the term is specifically defined as "the use of images and symbols to represent ideas, or the particular images and symbols used in this way by a religious or political group, etc."[154] Moreover, the term is identified as "symbolic representation, especially the conventional meanings attached to an image or images."[155]

In a parallel vein, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (2001), Burke discusses representative role of images in various forms such as maps, photographs, postcards and other kinds of visual materials in conveying certain ideas and messages. Accordingly, Burke handles visual images as iconographies of ideas which are used as mediators in societies to transmit, declare and convey certain meanings.[156] In order to understand iconographic symbols, social, cultural or political contexts have vital importance as "social dimension" of interpretation in determining specific frameworks of intended messages.[157]

Therefore, iconography refers to a holistic view of representations which transform, convey, declare and provoke certain values in different modes of tools such as images, symbols, pictures, emblems, and all kinds of visual, written or oral material in societies. From this point of view, in this study, the scale of iconographic representation is enlarged specific to the assembly buildings of Turkey by questioning how construction process of new Turkish national identity was conducted in the Early Republican Period through symbols, representations and their spaces specific to the assembly buildings of the country. From this perspective, the assembly buildings and their iconographic representative roles as memory spaces are handled as storages of symbolic values of the Republic consisted of various identifier marks in different scales.

In *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity* (1993), Mach focuses on symbols and their active agency in social relations especially in identification processes of nations within

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[153] en.oxforddictionaries.com (Accessed: 20.5.2018)
[154] dictionary.cambridge.org (Accessed: 20.5.2018)
[155] dictionary.com (Accessed: 20.5.2018)
[156] Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 34.
[157] Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence,* 40.

theoretical and methodological frameworks of anthropology. Accordingly, Mach asserts that "social identity is a symbolic construction" which has been continually fed from the changing structures of a society within social, cultural, economic and political contexts.[158] In this way, continual changes in various contexts gives dynamic and contextual character to identity by transforming it into a processual notion.[159] Therefore, Mach handles symbols as powerful tools in identity constructions of societies by "organizing people's experiences and expressing relations."[160] Moreover, the identification need of societies based on a desire for classification and ordering the world from the first steps of the human existence in million years ago.

In *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), Geertz defines man as "a symbolizing, conceptualizing, meaning-seeking animal" by handling symbols as fundamental storages of meaning.[161] Accordingly, symbols provide numerous ways for organization of the world as principal mediators between human conscious and life.[162] From a similar perspective in *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite and Art* (1951), Langer handles symbolism and its operations in several fields such as linguistics, semantics, sacred contexts, myths and artistic expressions in a philosophic point of view. The author finds symbolization as a primary behavior of individual to give meaning to her/his environment which has been continually changing in different contexts.[163] By using symbols, specifications and similar various identifier marks, people are in natural tendency to determine their own defined societies in their symbolic model of the world shaped around a common historical past, shared values and perspectives (Figure 4).[164]

Figure 4. Schematic flow of the need of symbolization.

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[158] Zdzislaw Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), 263.
[159] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* x.
[160] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* x.
[161] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 127, 129.
[162] Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures,* 141.
[163] Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), 45.
[164] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* 5, 6.

In a similar perspective, in *Topluluğun Simgesel Kuruluşu* (*Symbolic Construction of Community,* 1985) (1999), Cohen handles symbols as cognitive fictions to create meaning in societies within a defined time, space and boundarily frameworks.[165] Accordingly, boundary gives identity to a society by operating in physical, religious, linguistic, ethnic or symbolic ways.[166] The fictional character of a society within boundaries is also proposed by Anderson in *Hayali Cemaatler* (*Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* 1991) (1995) by reading "nation is an imaginative society" which is sovereign and limited in concrete and abstract dimensions.[167] Accordingly, Anderson asserts that nationalism is an invention in the non-existence of a real nation, rather handling nationalism as a process of awakening on self-consciousness of a certain society.[168] In a parallel vein, the fictional character of a nation transforms national identity concept into a construction process. Here, symbols emerge as major actors in these construction activities by conveying internal and external meanings specific to a society. As Mach proposes that "symbols are ambitious and convey different meanings."[169] Cohen expresses that symbols give people capacity to create meanings rather than directly connote certain statements.[170]

Similarly, in *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbol, Myth and Ritual* (1975), anthropologist Victor Turner defines symbols as initiators for social action, which are multi-vocal by containing internal and external meanings inside.[171] Therefore, symbols operate actively in societies by establishing meaningful relations between culture, cognition and perception in national, religious, mythic, aesthetic, political and economic formations.[172] In this way, symbolism emerges in every level of a society, which is instrumentally and pragmatically integral to daily life flow.[173] Thus, ambitious and polysemous character of symbols transform themselves into active agents to reconcile individual into her/his society in general (Figure 5).[174]

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[165] Anthony P. Cohen, *Topluluğun Simgesel Kuruluşu* trans. Mehmet Küçük (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 1999), 17.

[166] Cohen, *Topluluğun Simgesel Kuruluşu,* 9.

[167] Benedict Anderson, *Hayali Cemaatler* trans. İskender Savaşır (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1995), 20.

[168] Anderson, *Hayali Cemaatler,* 20.

[169] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* 39.

[170] Cohen, *Topluluğun Simgesel Kuruluşu,* 14.

[171] Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbol, Myth and Ritual* (London: Cornell University Press, 1975), 55.

[172] Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbol, Myth and Ritual,* 7.

[173] Cohen, *Topluluğun Simgesel Kuruluşu,* 11.

[174] Cohen, *Topluluğun Simgesel Kuruluşu,* 23.

	perspective	symbols	identity	in society
S. Langer 1951	people are in natural tendency to determine their symbolic model of the world	principle tools of human to give meaning	specifications and various identifier marks	symbolic model of the world shaped around a common historical past and shared values
C. Geertz 1973	"man as a symbolizing, conceptualizing, meaning-seeking animal"	fundamental storages of meaning	need for a meaningful entity	principal mediators between the human conscious and life
V. Turner 1975	symbols are initiators for social action	ambitious and polysemous character	meaningful relations between culture, cognition and perception	symbols reconcile the individual and her/his society in general
Z. Mach 1993	"social identity is a symbolic construction"	organize people's experiences and express relations	dynamic, contextual and processual	symbols as powerful tools in identity constructions of societies
B. Anderson 1995	"nation is an imaginative society"	concrete and abstract dimensions	an invention in the non-existence	nation is sovereign and limited
A. Cohen 1999	society is a fiction	create meanings in societies	is created in a defined time, space and boundarily frameworks	symbols as cognitive fictions to create meanings in societies

Figure 5. Discursive perspectives of symbolic representation.

The reconciliation activities which ground on shared values and symbols of a society have been accumulating from the history onwards. By reading that "symbols convey norms and values and present them in a ceremonial and sacred form, saturate them with emotions and this impose them upon people in aura of obviousness and inevitability", Mach refers rituals as one of the major activities in societies to realize reconciliation and to construct commonly shared identity.[175] By preparing a common ground for togetherness and sense of belonging, rituals establish an environment for people to actively participate events for commemoration, celebration and consolidation of certain values.

As Mach proposes that rituals "represent the group, its identity, permanence and continuity" including abstract and concrete symbols, and require certain time and space organizations, which are meticulously structured and conducted repetitively in a confined space to communicate, mediate and symbolize certain values of a society.[176] Therefore, especially in revolutionary circumstances, states use ritualization to convey, express, declare and represent comprehensive changes in societies. Symbolic images, especially

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[175] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* 49.
[176] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* 72, 80.

rituals, through their capacity for creating images, express, develop and transmit nationalistic feelings," Mach put rituals as important leading strategy of states to construct public consciousness, national identity and adoption in masses through symbolic meanings.[177] Accordingly, the author points out that "to create image of a national, political identity, state elites employ the language of symbols.[178]

In a parallel vein, Cohen handles societies as *symbol storages,* which are full of religious, national, collective or daily life symbols. Accordingly, public awareness of a nation and its identity have to be kept alive by structured organizations through manipulation.[179] The power of manipulation may find response in rituals " to represent social order whether real or imaginary, existing or suggested."[180] From this perspective, states use symbols and their collective occurrence in rituals as powerful mediators in masses to properly declare and propagate identities of societies.[181] By reading "the picture of the entire nation unified in the realization of supreme values of independence, sovereignty, historical mission, social order…" Mach mentions emblem, flag and national anthem as the standard set of symbols, which primarily and fundamentally gain identity to a specific society.

Clearly, constructing of a nation and giving it a defined identity necessitate intentionally and specifically structured procedure which is organized around certain symbolic expressions in various forms in various contexts. In a parallel vein with the idea that identity is a symbolic construction, states use means of symbolization in societies to identify their members in a well-defined collective accumulation of shared values. As a continuation of this perspective, the Turkish Republic have also used different kinds of symbols –national, religious, historical, physical, abstract, ethnic, mythic, aesthetic, political, economical- in circulation of daily life and in collective occasions of society to provoke, declare and represent the new Turkish national identity and its Republican modern manner in life. For this purpose, the assembly buildings as major representations of the Republic have actively participated in these symbolization activities and iconographic representation of the state from the first assembly in 1920 to the contemporary building from its opening in 1961.

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[177] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* 105.
[178] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* 105.
[179] Cohen, *Topluluğun Simgesel Kuruluşu,* 12.
[180] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* 79.
[181] Mach, *Symbols, Conflict, and Identity,* 105.

CHAPTER 3

ASSEMBLY BUILDINGS AS MEMORY SPACES: CONCRETIZATION-COMMEMORATION-IMAGERY CONSTRUCTION OF THE REPUBLIC

From being the lands of a centuries-old Ottoman Empire to the homeland of Turkish Republic, Anatolia has passed several breaking points in its history regarding socio-cultural, political and economic contexts. Especially in the political transition period, the multi-national character of the imperial polity gave its place –due to mandatory, political or revolutionary reasons according to different perspectives– to the republican state officially in 1923, when the Turkish Republic was declared.[182]

Accordingly, the mid-1800s correspond to the first revolutionary changes occured in Anatolia when declaration of the Imperial Edict of the Gülhane (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Humayunu – Tanizmat Fermanı*) in 1839 and the Edict of Reform (*Islahat Hatt-ı Humayunu - Islahat Fermanı*) in 1856 realized by proposing comprehensive reforms in policy. Then, the first steps towards democracy were paced in the First and Second Constitutional Eras of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century up to the establishment of Ankara government in 1920 and to the declaration of the Republic in 1923. However, it would be misleading to accept such a comprehensive transformation as occurred in a flash with an official declaration on the October 29th. In the same way, it would be deceptive to see the conversion of Ottoman people into Turkish nationals as realized unconditionally and without objections. Thus, it is vital to understand political and ideological changes from Ottoman monarchy to Turkish democracy from various perspectives has vatial importance for this study, in order to elaborate national identity construction and its architectural representations in the Republic as a multi-layered process.

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[182] This chapter partly includes a research project entitled "Iconographic Representations of the Republic: I. and II. Assembly Buildings of Turkey as Memory Spaces" which is awarded from Koç University Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center (VEKAM) within the scope of Koç University VEKAM Research Awards in 2018.
(https://vekam.ku.edu.tr/en/vekam/research-awards/awarded-projects/#tid_60c1eea60a862)

Therefore, in this chapter, the assembly buildings of the Turkish Republic are discussed regarding their specific political and socio-cultural contexts. In this way, it is aimed to place the assembly buildings of Turkey within their continually changing urban structures during the comprehensive transformation of the country. Accordingly, the 1st Assembly Building is discussed as a concrete symbol of a transforming society from the centuries old imperial community towards a new democratic nation from the mid-1800s to the first quarter of the 20th century. Followingly, the inauguration of the 2nd Assembly in 1924 is discussed by handling the building as the official assembly of the Republic, which housed various resistance and divergencies in society during a new national identity has been constructing. Then, the 3rd Assembly is handled as the firm symbol of the Republic until 1961 which shapes nationalism discussions in country-wide professions, urban scale transformations of Ankara with the city plans, organization of international competitions for constructing new Republican buildings in administrative and public environment.

Thus, within the frameworks of collective memory discourse and its symbolic representations in societies, this chapter focuses on the assembly buildings of Turkey as significant symbols in the urban context to declare and express new Turkish national identity. In order to propose a holistic view on the establishment of the Turkish Republic and construction of its new democratic identities and spaces in the capital city, the discussion follows a path by weaving historical background of the country and the theoretical approaches on memory, identity and national representations in Turkey. Particularly, throughout the chapter, the role of the assembly buildings centered in discussion upon their concretization, commemoration and imagery constructions in the Early Republican Period of Turkey.

3.1. The 1st Assembly of Turkey: Representation of a Transforming Nation

3.1.1. First Steps towards Democracy: Constitutional Monarchies of the Ottoman Empire

In *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık* (2016), Dutch Turkologist Zürcher proposes an inclusive perspective on the mid-19th century when a ground-breaking political formation

was declared all across the imperial lands. Briefly looking back to the previous years of constitutional eras of the Ottoman Empire, the first revolutionary change occurred in the declaration of the Imperial Edict of the Gülhane (*Gülhane Hatt-ı Humayunu – Tanizmat Fermanı*) in 1839. Accordingly with this edict, broad equalities were accepted in multi-cultural and social structure of the Ottoman Empire in political, economic, cultural and religious rights.[183] However, not only social equality but also modernization steps in educational, institutional and political environment of the Empire were paced with the edict by focusing on "centralization of the state mechanisms" and on "betterment in profession."[184]

In order to realize these revolutionary steps in every level of the Empire, extensive changes and re-organization of new administrative, political, military and cultural structures were needed. Thus, the Empire was re-configurated on new laws and regulations in a modern manner which were majorly contrasted with the ongoing sharia.[185] In this way, new doors were opened to the restriction of the sultan and the sharia laws which were applied for hundred years in the Ottoman Empire.[186] Accordingly, for the first time, centralized and unquestionable authority of the sultan was deeply shaked through the way of modernization in the middle of the 19th century.

Naturally, the comprehensive change in the imperial structure received reactions especially from conservatives, but importantly from the public officers particularly after the Edict of Reform (*Islahat Hatt-ı Humayunu - Islahat Fermanı*), declared in 1856. Grounding on their western education in European countries, a group of public officers in the Empire began to discuss efficiencies, utilities and applicational forms in imperial institutions of the edict with the leadership of İbrahim Şinasi, Abdülhamit Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal.[187] Accordingly, the first reactionist movements against edicts began by questioning "superficial understanding of the westernization" and its employment in imperial, administrative and educational structures.[188] Zürcher calls this oppositional group as the Young Ottoman Movement (*Genç Osmanlılar*) which would evolve as *Jön Türkler* in the first decade of the 20th century.[189]

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[183] Eric Jan Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık* trans. Nüzhet Salihoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim, 2016), 17.
[184] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 17.
[185] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 18.
[186] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 18.
[187] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 21.
[188] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 21.
[189] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 20, 39.

Importantly at this point, it is useful to refer Berkes' denotation of this group as Jeunes Ottomans (*Yeni Osmanlılar*) regarding their roots in Europe. Accodingly at that time, the term *jeune* is used to describe both the advocators of the former Ottoman administration and to the supporters of a new group proposing that the sharia is an insufficient manner and the state-religion separation is essential.[190] However, the dual meaning of the *Jeune Ottomans* lost in Anatolia and the group was known as a reactionist group against the sultan and monarchy.[191]

The fundamental aim of the Young Ottomans for Zürcher was to "seek for a more democratic regime, to make a basic law and to establish a parliament."[192] Importantly, the Young Ottomans followed a new and critical path to impress masses by associating their new and modern manner of understanding with Islam. In order to propagate and circulate their reactionist activities, they used power of media in the form of newspapers of the era.[193] In time, consolidated voice of the group resulted in comprehensive political move in the Ottoman Empire with the declaration of the Constitution (*Kanun-i Esasi*) in 1876. In this way, the First Constitutional Era began by establishing an official connection between dynasty and nation for the first time in centuries old history of the Ottoman Empire.

In a parallel vein, renowned Turkish lawyer and academician Tunaya distinguishes the edicts of the Ottoman Empire and the Constitution regarding their political characters in *Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler 1876-1938* (2016). On the one hand, the Constitution brings about a totally modern and reformist approach in every level of imperial life as a law, on the other hand, the Imperial Edict of Gülhane and the Edict of Reform become significant "milestones" in the new political atmosphere of the empire.[194]

As a natural result of such a comprehensive transformation, opposite voices arose in administration by supporters of the sultan and protesters of the Muslim/non-Muslim equality which became an official law with the Constitution.[195] However, the aim of the Young Ottomans did not to overthrow the sultan, but rather, they proposed a more controllable and collaborative system of administration through the instrument of an

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[190] Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma,* 282.
[191] Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma,* 283.
[192] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 21.
[193] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 22, 27.
[194] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler 1876-1938* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2016), 3.
[195] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler 1876-1938*, 5.

assembly in order to prevent informal intervention and misdirection of the sultan.[196] As the first parliament building of the First Constitutional Era, Dolmabahçe Palace was used in İstanbul and then, the building of Darulfunun in the neighborhood of Hagia Sophia in Sultanahmet was used for official meetings of sultan and deputies as the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*). In this way, the new regime of the Empire was concretized in Dolmabahçe and Darulfunun for the first time and these buildings became architectural representations of new, changing administrative manner of the ear.

At this point, the selection of Darulfunun as the parliament building of the First Constitutional Era may be understood as an important spatial reflection of changing political and ideological setting of the Empire. When the former unlimited authority of the sultan was replaced by a more collective and restricted leadership with the Chamber of Deputies in the First Constitutional Era, the new regime necessitated an independent meeting point outside of the sultan's central power palace. Therefore, Darulfunun became an important spatial and concrete representation of changing power balances in the Ottoman Empire.

On the one hand, the First Constitutional Era is accepted as the pioneer of democratization, on the other hand, there were certain differences between a republican democracy and the new political formation of the Ottoman's constitutional eras.[197] Most importantly, the place and the importance of the citizen to the administration shows a critical distinction in comparison to that of a republic and the constitutional period. In this respect, while republican manner in democratic states prioritize people's voice as one of the fundamental political agents in the republic, the First Constitutional Era allows a more defined and limited connection between the citizen and the dynasty in the Ottoman Empire. In other words, republican regime focuses on the profit of the citizen, but the constitutional era's foremost actor emerges as the Empire.

However, the First Constitutional Era of the Ottomans have certain marks of a democratic regime regarding the declaration of an official constitution and the electoral systems which are common in two political manners. In the former, the Constitution corresponds to the basic law of democratic regimes and in the latter, the elections are made to determine the political agents and delegates between the administrative leaders,

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[196] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler 1876-1938*, 8.
[197] Eraslan, "II. Abdülhamid'in İlk Yıllarında Meclis ve Meşrutiyet Kavramları Üzerine Bazı Tespitler," 14.

state and the people. Thus, the Chamber of Deputies were selected by the male citizens of the Empire as the political representations of the Ottoman people and in this way, certain restrictions of the authority of the sultan were continued which began with the edicts of *Gülhane* and *Islahat*.[198]

Two years after declaration, the First Constitutional Era was ended due to the political pressures on the sultan and the Chamber of Deputies collapsed in 1878.[199] In this way, the Ottoman Empire turn back to the old style monarchy. Followingly, reactionist activities of democratic regime supporters were sharply banned by Abdulhamid II, however, published documents and newspapers were secretly spread in educational institutions and public circulation.[200] In 1889, the *İttihat-ı Osmanlı Cemiyeti* was found in the Gülhane Military Medical Academy and then, the rapid growth of the group resulted in the establishment of the Commitee of Union and Progess (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) in İstanbul. In this way, reactionist Young Ottomans gained strength again and hold two fundamental meetings in 1902 and 1907 under the name of the Young Turks (*Jön Türkler*) with the idea of a new parliament and a basic law.[201] Importantly, Zürcher emphasizes that at the beginning years of their foundation, the Young Turks were not actively advocating a completely different regime, but rather reformation and consolidation of the Ottoman Empire.[202]

In 1908, activities of the Young Turks succeeded and Abdulhamid II announced the Second Constitutional Era with re-declaration of the Constitution, *Kanun-i Esasi*. As an important difference from the First Constitutional Era, this time, elections were made not only to determine deputies but also the ruling party which has partly authority with the sultan. The elections were won by the Committee of Union and Progress and thus, The Chamber of Deputies was established for the second time with the leadership of the ruling party. In place of Dolmabahçe Palace, the administrative group of the Second Constitutional Era used Çırağan Palace and Darulfunun as parliaments as another architectural and spatial reflection of new administrative perspective escaping from the single authority of the sultan, as it was in the First Constitutional Era.[203]

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[198] Kenan Ongun. "1908 Meclis-i Mebusan Seçimleri ve Mebusların Meclisteki Temsili." In *Belgeler ve Fotoğraflarla Meclis-i Mebusan: 1877-1920,* ed. T. Cengiz Göncü (İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2010), 34.

[199] Eraslan, "II. Abdülhamid'in İlk Yıllarında Meclis ve Meşrutiyet Kavramları Üzerine Bazı Tespitler," 14.

[200] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 30.

[201] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 39.

[202] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 45.

[203] Yavuz, "Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Binası," 204.

Although the Young Turks have a strong hegemony in the constitutional periods, there were vital problems in the political and ideological structure of the committee. As Tunaya proposes, the Young Turks consisted of a heterogeneous crowd having different perspectives and thus, it is hard to mention consolidated and well-accepted laws to enhance and to recover the weakening Empire.[204] However, the Second Constitutional Era became "a political laboratory" which is called as "the declaration of freedom (*Hürriyetin İlanı*)" regarding its preliminary notions on a more democratic and independent regime.[205] In spite of their differences of opinion the Young Turks have certain consensus on the importance of sultan, the basic law and the assembly. Accordingly, it is needed to cease absolute authority of the sultan with the instrument of an assembly within formal frameworks of an official law directing political route of the new administrative system.[206]

3.1.2. Search for a New National Identity and the Rise of Ankara

The Second Constitutional Era housed large scale political fluctuations and administrative debates between the sultan, deputies and the ruling party during the World War I. As Zürcher proposes, the ongoing war-time circumstances and failed strategy of the Committee of Union and Progress resulted in loss of the war and that was the time when the direction of the party and the political atmosphere of the Empire changed by the intervention of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.[207] In a parallel vein, in his book *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk* (2018), Turkish historian Ortaylı proposes that decreasing respectability of the İstanbul government and the loss of authority resulted in the occupation of the city by the allied powers (*İtilaf Devletleri*).[208] In this way, the confidence in the regime was totally lost and a new movement emerged with the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Fethi Okyar, Kazım Karabekir, İsmet Bey and Refet Bele in the Turkish War of Independence with its own decisions declared in the National Pact (*Misak-Milli*). After the declaration of the National Pact, a part of deputies recognized authority of Ankara, and the rest of the statesmen left or expelled from the country.[209]

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[204] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler 1876-1938*, 18.
[205] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler 1876-1938*, 18.
[206] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de Siyasal Gelişmeler 1876-1938*, 93, 94, 95.
[207] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 17.
[208] İlber Ortaylı, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk* (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2018), 178.
[209] Ortaylı, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk,* 178.

The new revolution in policy necessitated its own center and administrative core in order to settle an organized administration. The selection of Ankara as the new resistance seat is discussed in *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü* (2005)*, regarding the city's advantageous position in the center of Anatolia and its distant location from İstanbul's complicated political atmosphere.[210] Moreover, the devoted commitment of Ankara during the stuggle for independence has a vital role in the selection of the city as the new capital of the future democratic regime.[211]

On the one hand, İstanbul was a considerably important center at that time as *payitaht* of the Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, Ankara had qualified members of the country such as consulates, foreign educational institutions, Armenian and Catholic communities, merchants and European experts.[212] Moreover, the convenient and sheltered strategic position and railway access of Ankara provided various advantages for being the new center of the newly establishing Republic.[213]

Although the well-educated population, strategical position and transportation network brings into prominence Ankara as the new center, the devprived built environment of the city was similar to its contemporaries in Anatolia. Accordingly, in his memories, renown politician Salih Bozok mentions poverty of the city at that time and refers to principle neighborhoods when he came to the city to participate establishment of the new state:

> "Although Ankara was one of the limited city centers of the middle Anatolia at that time, the city was deprived of certain civilized opportunities and comfort... Atpazarı, Koyunpazarı, Samanpazarı, Hacıbayram Mosque, Ulucanlar and Cebeci were the major districts of the city of the time. A great majority of the population resides the last two..."[214]

Similarly, Turkish journalist Yunus Nadi describes Ankara from his window view in the train while he was coming to the resistance center:

> "During the train travel, the buildings fade in on the left. It was Ziraat Mektebi (the agricultural education institute in the Ottoman Empire) on that hill, where Paşa resides. On

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[210] Suavi Aydın, K. Emiroğlu, Ö. Türkoğlu and E. D. Özsoy, *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (Ankara: Dost, 2005), 379.
[211] Aydın *et al., Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara,* 379.
[212] Ortaylı, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk,* 201.
[213] Ortaylı, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk,* 201.
[214] Salih Bozok and Cemil Bozok, *Hep Atatürk'ün Yanında* (İstanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1985), 81, 83.

the below, there is Sarıkışla in the plain. Finally, the silhouette of Ankara is seen from the horizon. A city built on a hill..."[215]

In "Mustafa Kemal Döneminde Ankara'nın İmarı" (2017), Turkish political scientist Duru mentions Ankara as "a neglected, poor and a small middle-Anatolia town consisted of one-two storey mud-brick houses."[216] Similarly, in "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Ankara'nın Ticaret Merkezi Yapısı, 1923-1933" (2017), Turkish urban and regional planner Tunçer describes the city as "a non-civilized, unwooded and pale town full of malaria epidemic due to the lack of water and marsh areas."[217] Nevertheless, Tunçer asserts that the railway access to the city and the state initiations remained incapable to construct a modern city and to modernize built environment at that time.[218]

In a parallel vein, Akgün discusses Ankara by elaborating political and economical condition of the city in the late 19th century and during the Independence War years. Accordingly, Akgün emphasizes that the common usage of industrialized European commodities in daily life resulted in the loss of economical importance of the city as an important trade center for Anatolia in the late 19th century. Then, during the struggling years of the independence, Ankara became a middle-Anatolia town with country houses, a couple of stone governmental buildings, streams and marsh areas, and engaged with agriculture as the main source of income.[219]

On 16th March 1920, the allied powers occupied in İstanbul and the moves of Ankara state gained momentum. Thus, the concretization of the new state seat become a vital step in controlling the ongoing political atmosphere of Anatolia. The official assignment of Ali Fuat (Cebesoy) Paşa as the 20th Corps Commande in Ankara was also an important factor in spreading Mustafa Kemal's ideas and aims for the new state to the city. In this way, the adoption of the new perspective of Ankara government accelerated and debates on the sultan's regime increased in public.[220]

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[215] Yunus Nadi, *Hep Kurtuluş Savaşı Anıları* (İstanbul: Gazete, Dergi, Kitap, Basın ve Yayın Anonim Şirketi, 1985), 246.

[216] Bülent Duru. "Mustafa Kemal Döneminde Ankara'nın İmarı." In *İcad Edilmiş Şehir: Ankara,* ed. Funda Şenol Cantek (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 108.

[217] Mehmet Tunçer. "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Ankara'nın Ticaret Merkezi Yapısı, 1923-1933." In *İcad Edilmiş Şehir: Ankara,* ed. Funda Şenol Cantek (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 147.

[218] Tunçer, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Ankara'nın Ticaret Merkezi Yapısı, 1923-1933," 147.

[219] Seçil Karal Akgün. "Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın Mekansal Stratejisi ve Ankara'nın Başkent Seçilmesi Kararının İçeriği." In *Tarih İçinde Ankara,* ed. Ayşıl Tükel Yavuz (Ankara: ODTÜ Ankaralılar Vakfı, 2000), 222.

[220] Akgün, "Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın Mekansal Stratejisi ve Ankara'nın Başkent Seçilmesi Kararının İçeriği," 222, 223.

In 1920, Ankara finalized as the new center of resistance. Therefore, rapid political initiatives and establishment of a parliament was needed for the new direction of the country. Thus, in 23rd April 1920, the 1st Assembly of Turkey was inaugurated in Ankara by using the name "Turkey" for the first time.[221] As the most important proof of the new democratic perspective of the country, the Turkish Constitution of Law (*Teşkilat-ı Esasiye*) was declared in the same year directly representing "Turkish Nation," in contrast to the first and second constitutions focusing on the multi-nationality of the Ottoman Empire.[222] Then, the 1st Assembly began to house meetings of foreing state officials, embassies, committees and professionals as the first state seat of the newly establishing Turkish Republic.[223]

Due to its exceptional permissions and powers, the first parliament was called as Constituent Assembly (*Kurucu Meclis*) which would continue up to the declaration of the Republic in 1923.[224] Importantly at this point, Ortaylı makes a clear definition by saying "it is not the state which was changed at this time but the motto. Actually, the state has been continuing while the Republic was in the period of establishment and the regime was changing."[225] On the one hand, Ortaylı approaches declaration of the Republic as a change of motto in a continuing state, on the other hand, abandonment of a centuries-old monarchy resulted in massive changes and political fluctuation from the 19th century.

In order to provide an organized control in the 1st Assembly and in the ongoing nationalist movement, the Countrywide Resistance Organization (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti*) was found by Mustafa Kemal in 1921. However, the oppositional groups continued to gather with the aim of hegemonizing in administration and restraining Mustafa Kemal's authority in the assembly and in the government. In this way, the counter views united under the leadership of Hüseyin Avni Ulaş, Celalettin Arif and Selahattin Çolakoğlu in the assembly, in addition to the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti) members as another opposing group of the era.

While the political organization of the new state have been passing through a comprehensive transformation, influences of the ongoing reformist atmosphere was diffused in every structure of the state. Accordingly, not only the establishment of the 1st

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[221] Ortaylı, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk,* 179.
[222] Bülent Tanör. "Teşkilat-i Esasiye Kanunu." In *Birinci Meclis,* ed. Cemil Koçak (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 1998), 77.
[223] Akgün, "Kurtuluş Savaşı'nın Mekansal Stratejisi ve Ankara'nın Başkent Seçilmesi Kararının İçeriği," 227, 228.
[224] Ortaylı, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk,* 179.
[225] Ortaylı, *Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk,* 181.

Assembly Building, but also, larger scale changes were conducted in the urban structure of Ankara, as the official showcase of the innovative and modern façade of the newly establishing Republic.

3.1.3. Taşhan Square as the Heart of the Capital

Clearly, 1920s became a rapturous decade for Ankara by shaping city as the new showcase of the Republic in national and worldwide agenda. Particularly focusing on the assembly buildings in this study, it has vital importance to recognize immediate vicinity of the buildings in which all collective events actualized as a whole. Accordingly, within the overall transformation of the city, Taşhan Square - contemporary Ulus Square - was an important city center of the era by housing important public buildings and state institutions around. Amongst these buildings, Taşhan comes into prominence by being the most popular and frequently used hotel of Ankara. In *Birinci Meclis* (1998), Yavuz mentions Darülmuallimin (*the male teacher's training school*) on the site of today's Ulus Office Block (*Ulus İşhanı*), Duyun-u Umumiye (*the Ottoman Public Debt Administration*) on the site of present Central Bank (*Merkez Bankası*) and the club building of the Committee of Union and Progress (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) as fundamental buildings at the center of the newly establishing Republic. Additionally, Taş Mektep (*a highschool in the Ottoman Empire*) on the slopes of the Ankara Castle and the Provincial Hall (*Vilayet Konağı*) were amongst the other state institutions located around the castle with Hacı Bayram Mosque.[226]

Taşhan was an invaluable building of that time by calling its name to the contemporary Ulus Square in future years of the Republic. Accordingly, up to the conversion of the name as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* in 1920 and then *Ulus* in the 1930s, the central area of the city was named as Taşhan Square.[227] In *Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara* (2005), Taşhan is described as one of the most important modernization steps in the urban structure regarding changing accommodation tradition from lodgement to hotel for users.[228] Besides wide range of lodgements in Ankara from the mid-1800s, Taşhan differs from its contemporaries with its well-equipped service and organization in the first years of the 1900s. While a traditional lodgement is used collectively by two or three

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[226] Yavuz, "Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Binası," 209.

[227] Tunçer, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Ankara'nın Ticaret Merkezi Yapısı, 1923-1933," 160.

- [228] Aydın *et al., Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara,* 288.

people at the same time in a room with additive barns for draught animals, Taşhan had opportunity for single accommodation for each room at that time in a modern manner (Figure 6).[229]

Figure 6. Taşhan in 1915-20.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Collection, ID No: 0975)

Thus, when Taşhan was built in 1886 by İsmail Hakkı Bey with its 100 rooms on the main road towards station, the building became a concrete representation of modernization in the urban context.[230] In his memories, Bozok defines Taşhan and its immediate vicinity in detail by reading:

"...People walking on the main road of the neighborhood surrounded with mud-brick houses and horse carts revealing that we entered to the city. After going up a hill, we stopped in front of a grand, two-storey stone building in a square located in the junction of five roads. Here is the well-known Taşhan. It has a grand door on the main road, where the horse carts enter to the large courtyard of the khan. So do us. There were plenty of carts in the courtyard. Here was the most popular hotel and khan of that time in Ankara where the building of Sümerbank is located now. Opposite Taşhan, the National Assembly was located in a garden. On across, Millet Bahçesi (*the National Garden*) occupies the corner between the roads going

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[229] Aydın *et al., Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara,* 289.
[230] Aydın *et al., Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara,* 289.

to the station and İncesu. On the left, the building of the Darülmuallimin (*the male teacher's tarining school*) was located on the corner of the Karaoğlan Street."[231]

Due to its closeness to the 1st Assembly Building, Taşhan was actively used by deputies during their visits to Ankara from the 1920s to 1936, when Sümerbank was built on its site.

> "The location of Taşhan –today's Ulus Square- occupied the city center. Due to the assembly, there was a continous crowd here at all hours of the day."[232]

As the new resistance core of the nation, Ankara and Taşhan Square at the center were of vital importance by housing governmental meetings, public organizations and accommodational opportunities. In in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Ankara[233]*, the city is described as the heart of the country and Taşhan comes into prominence as a crowded hotel where guests were lodged in four or five in a room decorated with old and rusty furniture. Moreover, Karaosmanoğlu mentions that aisles were also used for spending night because of no vacancy.[234] As a result of changing landholders in time, Taşhan was called occasionally *Anadolu Hotel* in 1890s, *Meşrutiyet Hotel* in 1920s and *the Grand Ankara Hotel* in 1960s (Figure 7).[235]

In addition to Taşhan, Darülmuallimin (the male teacher's training school) was another important accommodation building at Taşhan Square for deputies. As one of its first guests in 1920, Nadi refers the building:

> "...the building of the Darülmuallimin was allocated for the deputies coming from İstanbul and Anatolia. We were the first of the guests used this building firstly with my friends..."[236]

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[231] Bozok and Bozok. *Hep Atatürk'ün Yanında,* 71.

[232] Bozok and Bozok. *Hep Atatürk'ün Yanında,* 81.

[233] In *Ankara,* Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu novelizes the reconstruction period of Ankara in the Early Republican period from the eyes of a family migrated to the capital from İstanbul. On the one hand, the narrative have fictional details as a novel, on the other hand, the onogoing circumstances of the time is expressed by Karaosmanoğlu including details on Republic Day celebrations and political agenda of the country.

[234] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2018), 18, 19, 20.

[235] Aydın *et al., Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara,* 289. (In a parallel vein, the Turkish author and military officer Falih Rıfkı Atay mentions Taşhan as *Grand Ankara Hotel* [Taşhan Palas Hotel] ca. 1930s in his memoirs while describing the II. Assembly Building and its immediate vicinity.)

[236] Nadi, *Hep Kurtuluş Savaşı Anıları,* 264.

Figure 7. Taşhan in 1925-26.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Collection, ID No: 0768)

Importantly at that time, the National Garden (*Millet Bahçesi*) across the 1st Assembly Building was another significant public area to discuss ongoing agenda of the time, to spend time in daily life and to participate musical entertainments.[237] Locating at the corner framed by Atatürk and Station Boulevards, the National Garden stayed in use from late 1800s.[238] In the first quarter of the 20th century, the area became a living green park with active use of deputies working in the 1st Assembly Building across the road.

Moreover, the National Garden is used as a public entertainment core with the concerts of military band and theater plays.[239] The wooden building for theater was also housed movie screenings on every night and for the first concert of the *Büyük Orkestra.*[240] Following the city planning initiations of the city in 1929, the boundaries of the National Garden gained a commercial use with opening of shops. In this way, the public-park character of the area was diminished, especially after the establishment of the Atatürk Model Farm (*Atatürk Orman Çiftliği*) and the Youth Park (*Gençlik Parkı*) which would become popular green areas of the capital.[241]

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[237] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara,* 88.

[238] Cem Dedekargınoğlu, "Erken Cumhuriyet Ankara'sında Bir Kamusal Mekan: Millet Bahçesi," *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 7(2), (December, 2019), 355.

[239] Dedekargınoğlu, "Erken Cumhuriyet Ankara'sında Bir Kamusal Mekan: Millet Bahçesi," 362.

[240] Adile Nuray Bayraktar, "Başkent Ankara'da Cumhuriyet Sonrası Yaşanan Büyük Değişim: Modern Yaşam Kurgusu ve Modern Mekanlar," *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 4(1), (June, 2016), 68.

[241] Dedekargınoğlu, "Erken Cumhuriyet Ankara'sında Bir Kamusal Mekan: Millet Bahçesi," 368.

3.1.4. Raising a Parliament: Inauguration of the 1st Assembly

In 1920, when the establishment of the 1st Assembly was determined in Taşhan Square, the building was existingly used as the office building of the Committee of Union and Progress which was designed by architects Salim and Hasip Bey in 1917. Due to the economical limits and immediate need for an organized state-center, the single-story stone building of the party was transformed into the first administrative center of the new seat of the Ankara government (Figure 8).

Figure 8. The 1st Assembly Building of Turkey, 1921.
(Source: Assembly Archives Postcards Collection)

At that time, the building of the Committee of Union and Progress was a significant part of a country-wide strategy of the party aiming to construct several office buildings in the provinces of Anatolia beginning from the 1910s.[242] However, the construction of the club buildings could not be completed due to the political ruptures in the country and economical struggles in the war years. Thus, when Ankara was determined as the capital and a new state-seat was needed, the uncompleted Committee of Union and Progress building was determined as the most suitable solution. Accordingly, the building converted into the 1st Assembly of Turkey with a great

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[242] Yavuz, "Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Binası," 211.

commitment of people. The furnitures, gasoliers and heating stoves were brought from the schools, coffee-houses and the government offices (Figure 9).[243]

In his memories, the Turkish army officer and politician Ali Fuat Cebesoy describes the busy agenda of the time and endevour to complete deficiencies in the accommodation of deputies and construction of the assembly:

"...Meeting location of the national assembly in Ankara and the hosting of the deputies (coming from İstanbul and Anatolia) were highly occupying us. We considered appropriate Numune Mektebi (secondary school institutions in the Ottoman Empire), which was built by the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti and the later the head quarter of the Republican People's Party) formerly. However, the construction was not completed, yet. Also, the roofing tiles were not installed. Immediately I came into action and employed the fortification unit of the army cops. In order to complete certain regulations for the assembly hall, a group of professional friends also helped. We were frequently controlling the site with Mustafa Kemal Paşa and working to finish the construction as immediate as possible. Before the opening of the assembly, deputies were gathering in Muallim Mektebi or Ziraat Mektebi (the agricultural education institute in the Ottoman Empire) and discussing about the future of the country."[244]

Figure 9. The 1st Assembly Building of Turkey in 1922-23.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Collection, ID No: 1595)

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[243] Yavuz, "Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Binası," 211.
[244] Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Milli Mücadele Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 2017), 390,391. Cebesoy, *Milli Mücadele Hatıraları*, 390, 391.

In *Ankara,* the enthusiastic atmosphere is descibed by mentioning proudly participation of public to the comprehensive transformation of the country from the heart of the national struggle by emphasizing unity and solidarity feeling in the city. On the other hand, Ankara is attributed as an institution where people learned to struggle and endurance.[245] During the hardest time of the national struggle, characters mention the ruinous environment of Ankara and the Nationsl Garden near the 1st Assembly Building as a significant public area to discuss ongoing agenda of the time.[246]

Although there were several deficiencies in the building, the 1st Assembly of newly establishing Turkish Republic was opened on 23rd April 1920 with a glorious ceremony beginning from the prayers in the Hacı Bayram Mosque. Nadi narrates the opening day of the 1st Assembly:

> "...the day would start with Friday prayer at Hacı Bayram Mosque and continue with walking to the assembly to realize the opening in a divine atmosphere... The program of the ceremony was distributed to all country by Mustafa Kemal Paşa..."[247]

The parade began from Hacı Bayram Mosque after the prayer and the opening ceremony was conducted with great participation of all people. Accordingly, there were crowds all along the Station Boulevard, which links mosque to the assembly in the Taşhan Square (Figure 10). Following the Friday Prayer, the crowd walked towards the assembly with Mustafa Kemal Paşa, statesmen and the religious men of the time. Nadi continues to define the enthusiastic atmosphere:

> "...then, the opening day was determined as Friday... While the National Assembly was opening with a magnificent execution of the program on the 23rd day of April in 1920, all people in Ankara was participating to the ceremony with their tears and prayers... From the early morning, everybody was ready in their ornamented dresses for the celebration of such a magnificent day by standing in a one-kilometer in diameter circle covering all the buildings, lands and even the roof of the houses in Ankara from the Hacı Bayram Mosque to the Assembly... The community in the Hacı Bayram Mosque prayed crowdedly from the inside of the mosque to the marble courtyard of the building, to the graves and to the street. It was impossible to perform an appropriate prayer in these circumstances. I guess, there were not any prayers were performed in Ankara except the Hacı Bayram Mosque. At that day, not only the communities of the other mosques, but also their imams and muezzins participated to the prayer at the Hacı Bayram Mosque. Although there were strict measures taken by the state and the army cops, going to the assembly was a problem. In order to walk to the assembly with Mustafa Kemal Paşa and the deputies, it was needed to walk in crowds hardly."[248]

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[245] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara,* 80.
[246] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara,* 88.
[247] Nadi, *Hep Kurtuluş Savaşı Anıları,* 310.
[248] Nadi, *Hep Kurtuluş Savaşı Anıları,* 312, 313, 314.

Figure 10. Parade towards the 1st Assembly Building for the inauguration.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Photograph, Postcard
and Engraving Collection, ID No: 0209)

In *Atatürk Atatürk'ü Anlatıyor II,* Karakaş and Aksop evaluate the 1st Assembly as the concrete representation of the new state by handling the inauguration ceremony of the building with the parade, rituals, ornaments and traditional and religious symbols.[249] At the end of the walk, Mustafa Kemal and statesmen entered the 1st Assembly of the Republic while the crowd continued to celebrate the inauguration of the new state seat in the courtyard of the building. According to Nadi's depictions, a hodja accompanied prayers saying *amin* outside of the assembly*:*

> "On the one hand, sheeps were sacrified, on the other hand, a hodja was praying in Turkish with a fine strong voice while the *amin* voices were heard. When we entered to the assembly, the speech-desk was ornamented with flags in a divine atmosphere. The end of the prayers were read in the speech-desk and the echos were heard outside to the Hacı Bayram as a magnificent sound wave."[250]

With a great participation, the opening of the 1st Assembly reveals intertwined coexistence of people in different views including advocators of democracy and

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[249] İbrahim Karakaş and Gülnur Aksop, *Atatürk Atatürk'ü Anlatıyor II,* (İstanbul: Milliyet, 2007), 340.

[250] Nadi, *Hep Kurtuluş Savaşı Anıları,* 315.

supporters of conservative administration. Togetherness of innovative pioneers of the Republican state and religious section of the crowd in front of the building represent the absence of a sharp separation at that time between the defenders of a secular state and opposite views (Figure 11).

Figure 11. The opening pray of the 1st Assembly Building of Turkey.
(Source: Social Network Sharing Platforms / Facebook Group – Unutulmayan Eski Ankara Fotoğrafları ve Belgeleri Paylaşım Platformu / *www.facebook.com*)

In a parallel vein with this coexistence, the 1st Assembly Building housed not only national occasions but also celebrations in religious days (Figure 12). In this way, the 1st Assembly Building became a significant national symbol in the built environment of the country in order to convey certain meanings by representing specific national and religious belongings within the physical space of the parliament in the urban structure.
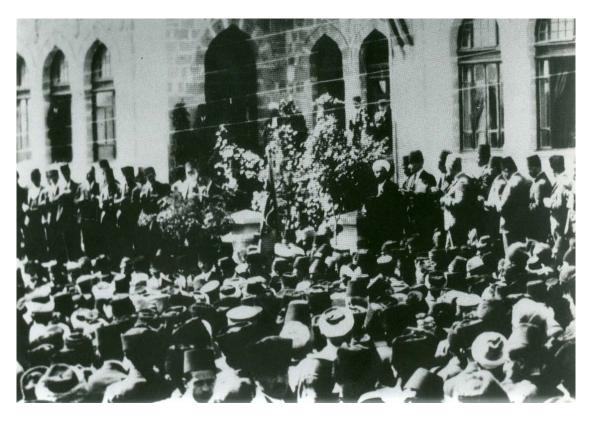
Figure 12. Ramadan pray in front of the 1ˢᵗ Assembly Building, 1920.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Collection, ID No: 0210)

3.1.5. Spatialization of the New State in the 1ˢᵗ Assembly of the Nation

The 1ˢᵗ Assembly Building generates a permanent trace in the urban memory of Ankara from its opening day, until today. Importantly, the procedure of the inauguration ceremony and the collective events conducted in the assembly illuminate characteristic stance of the building while actively participating to the construction and dissemination of the state ideology in the first quarter of the 20ᵗʰ century. On the one hand, these public events take significant part in the memory of the era, on the other hand, the 1ˢᵗ Assembly Building brings an authentic stance to the contemporary built environment of the capital at that time regarding its architectural characteristics and its symbolic representation in the collective memory of the era (Figure 13).

Figure 13. 1st Assembly Building of Turkey.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

Accordingly, the building may be described as an interpretation of the late-Ottoman architectural influences –which would evolve as the national architectural movement in the following years– and the Art Nouveau effects, especially in decorative elements such as the ceiling adornments and furniture details.[251] Due to the ongoing relation with centuries-old Ottoman tradition in the urban context, the architectural manner of the 1st Assembly also carries major characteristics of the imperial details.

Placing symmetrically on two sides of the grand assembly hall in the middle, the rectangular stone building consisted of a high-ceiled basement floor and a single storey. With its two entrance on two sides of the building (today, one of these entrances are used), the I. Assembly consisted of the Chairmanship Council (*Riyaset Divanı*), Committee Halls (*Encümen Odası*), Clerk's Room (*Katipler* Odası), rest room, administration room, meeting hall, President's Room, prayer room and the council hall (Figure 14, 15).

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[251] Yavuz, "Birinci Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Binası," 214.
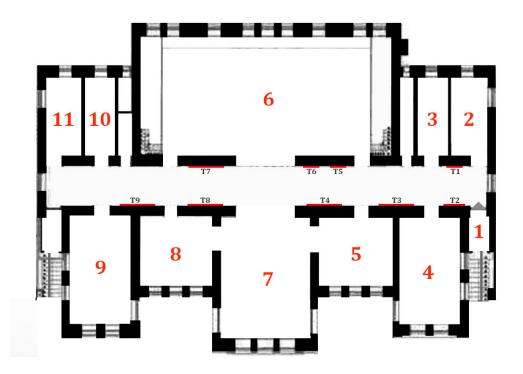
Figure 14: Plan of the 1st Assembly Building. [1. Entrance 2. Prayer Room 3. President's Room 4. Chairmanship Council 5. Committee Hall 6. Council Hall 7. Coulisse 8. Committee Hall 9. Clerk Room 10-11. Service Rooms (Base map from the official brochure of the War of Independence Museum)

Figure 15. 1st Assembly Building of Turkey.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

In his memories, Edirne deputy Mehmet Şeref depicts the council hall of the 1st Assembly of Turkey in detail while the opening speech was held by the president:

"...On the 23rd Friday of the April in the year of 336 on 14:00, Turkey was opening the first National Assembly. The prepared building as the assembly was a former stone building constructed on the Station Boulevard of Ankara. A hall was built in here with minor amendments. Seven rooms of all sizes are located on the two sides of the narrow and long aisle. By demolishing the partition wall, a large hall was built and, loggias were added made of wood on the two side. To access these loggias, a short, narrow and circular stairs were used. In the middle of the back wall of the hall, a wooden speech desk was built on platform and seats were added for the *Riyaset Makamı* (presidency) and clerks. For sitting of deputies, two-seater student desks were brought. There was nothing ornamented or decorated here. Eight to ten petroleum lamps were hung on ceiling with numbered by fives. Deputies were going to sit here barely. The assembly was going to open on 23rd April, Friday on 14:30. The Sinop deputy –the president of the assembly- Şerif Bey stood in the presidency and opened the I. Assembly of Turkey. The Ankara deputy Mustafa Kemal Paşa came to the speech desk and began his speech."[252]

During his speech, Şerif Bey used the name of *Grand National Assembly* for the first parliament of the newly establishing Republic. In this way, the former names used in circulation – *Meclis-i Kebir, Meclis-i Kebir-i Milli, Meclis-i Ali, Meclis-i Fevkalade* - were left and the official name of the 1st Assembly of Turkey was determined (Figure 16).[253]
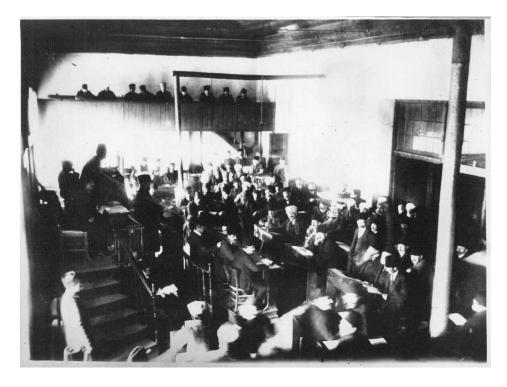
Figure 16. Council hall of the 1st Assembly Building.
(Source: Ahmet Piriştina City Archive and Museum)

[252] Taner Lüleci ed., *Tarihi ve Siyasi Tefrika, Birinci Millet Meclisi Edirne Meb'usu Mehmet Şeref* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2011), 15, 16.
[253] Mustafa Köksal, *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin İlkleri* (Ankara: Nobel, 2007), 50.

3.1.6. The 1ˢᵗ Assembly in Daily Life, Festives and Memoirs

As the first concrete representation of the newly establishing Republic, the 1ˢᵗ Assembly Building carves out a special nich for itself both in the political atmosphere of the country and in the built environment of the capital city. However, the unique seat of this building in the Republican memory is also fed from daily use of the assembly by the key statesmen of the era and their relatives. Moreover, not only political figures but also civil society have actively participated to the daily use of the 1ˢᵗ Assembly in everyday life via its public garden and central location in the heart of the city.

In his memories, Cemil Bozok narrates in detail the daily life flow in the 1ˢᵗ Assembly while actively using the building during his father's - Salih Bozok - working years as the vice president. Accordingly, Bozok mentions that the rooms of the assembly were always crowded with statesmen, military officers and applicants. Additionally, Bozok describes the council hall of the assembly in depth in his visits to listen discussions in meetings:

> "My father had the vice presidency room in the assembly. His adjacent room belong to Paşa. My father's room was full of deputies, commanders and applicants... The main topics were the state issues. Frequently, I went to the audience seats of the assembly hall to listen the discussions. The hall was not big but enough for the deputies of the time. The two sides of the hall were separated for the audience loggias. It wouldn't be wrong to say that there were not any child-audience except me. There were a lot of conservative deputies in the1ˢᵗ Assembly. Sometimes, works of the assembly last until late hours. The big petroleum lambs enlightened the hall. The biggest of them had a shade and was hung on the ceiling of the hall..."[254]

Due to the Independence War years of Anatolia, the 1ˢᵗ Assembly Building majorly housed war victories and celebrations in the 1920s. After each victory, Mustafa Kemal Paşa was welcomed in front of the 1ˢᵗ Assembly Building by an enthusiastic crowd within ornamented streets, flags, musical bands and triumphal arches in the Ulus Square –*Hakimiyeti Milliye Square* at that time-. Bozok defines the crowd in the city after the First Battle of İnönü in 1921 while people were waiting Mustafa Kemal Paşa in front of the 1ˢᵗ Assembly Building for the victory celebration:

> "The First Battle of İnönü ended with our victory and Anatolia –especially Ankara- felt joyful over... A festive air was lived in a couple of days. The government agencies, schools, bazaars and houses were decorated with flags. We were also informed by school to participate the parade in front of the assembly with Mustafa Kemal Paşa and the deputies. We

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[254] Bozok and Bozok, *Hep Atatürk'ün Yanında,* 91, 92.

were ordered to wear white shirts and suits. Then, the parade began with the harmonica of the military unit. In the forefront, the flag was flying and at the behind, the religious men and dervishes were walking and saying hymns. Paşa was standing near the deputies on the balcony of the assembly. The Nation Garden was full of applauding crowds across the assembly... They were all representations of the spirit of national struggle."[255]

In a similar way, after the Dumlupınar Battle in 1922, the 1st Assembly Building and the Square were ornamented with a triumphal arch, flags and carpets to welcome Mustafa Kemal Paşa and to celebrate victory in Ankara:

"The Turkish army, from the heart of the nation, concluded the victory by rescuing all the occupied territories in Anatolia after the Battle of Dumlupınar with the command of Gazi Mustafa Kemal Paşa. When Paşa's return to Ankara from his stay in İzmir, a comprehensive welcoming ceremony began to be prepared at the center of state. Ankara was ornamented with flags. Triumphal archs were set up alongside the road from the Station and the Assembly. Carpets were laid on the streets... Gazi's locomotive was decorated with daphnes and flags... Finally, Gazi arrived to Ankara before the noon. The station platform was full of deputies, soldiers and civils... A group of soldiers were standing ready with their harmonicas. From the window of the wagon, Paşa was seen in his uniform. Applauses and *yaşa, varol!* cheers were suppressing the harmonicas. After a while, Paşa get off the train and shook the hands in the forefront with a smile... Paşa was walking slowly on the carpets and was greeting the crowd parading to the Assembly. At the same time, sheeps were sacrificed and the hymns of dervishes were joining into the cheers. Such a glow beggars from description... The parade stopped in front of the assembly. Paşa entered to the building. Although a long time has passed, people did not leave from the Assembly. Also, the *yaşa, varol!* voices were continuing. On the other hand, Seymens (a folklore group of Ankara) were dancing from the Station to the Assembly... Finally, Paşa went out to the balcony and waved a long greeting to his beloved citizens. Then, the crowd broke up slowly."[256]

Thus, the collective use of the 1st Assembly by all people, statesmen and religious men of the time reveals active role of the building in keeping and constructing memories of the newly establishing Republic as a whole by housing different views of people at that time. Although the public use of the 1st Assembly Building comes into prominence especially on national days and anniversaries, on the other hand, the building leaves mark on the memories of people actively experienced the area. Accordingly, Türkyılmaz cites a memoir mentioning the use of the garden and the pool of the 1st Assembly by public in daily life:

"…besides, one of the most important pools was the one in the garden of the 1st Assembly Building… On Saturdays, bands and orchestras played around it… People had good times there… The garden of the Assembly was very important… That was the time between 1940s and 1950s…"[257]

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[255] Bozok and Bozok, *Hep Atatürk'ün Yanında,* 93.

[256] Bozok and Bozok, *Hep Atatürk'ün Yanında,* 122, 115.

[257] Mehtap Türkyılmaz, "Ankara'da Havuzbaşları: 1923-1950," *Ankara Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 3(1), (June, 2015), 110. (The cited parts of the memoirs are shortened in accordance with the focus of

The use of the building in daily life, the opening ceremony with a Friday prayer, collective ceremonies in religious days and victory celebrations after the battles have vital importance in understanding how the 1st Assembly building actively participated to the comprehensive transformation and modernization of the country in the first quarter of the 20th century. Parallel with Crawford's approach that collective activities operate as important tools, which blur individual boundaries in order to create belonging in a society, the 1st Assembly Building of Turkey stands as a physical representation of commonly shared values of opposing views in a single building reveals the non-separated structure of the society.

In this way, the 1st Assembly becomes a living memory space in the urban context and in the memories of people during the struggling years passed by defending and celebrating the preservation of shared values of all people lived for centuries on the Anatolia lands. Thus, the iconographic representation of the 1stAssembly has been supported by its public use as a meeting point of diversities such as traditional/innovative, historical/contemporary, conservative/secular meet on common grounds of the freedom (Figure 17, 18)

Figure 17. Crowded city center in front of the 1st Assembly Building, 1920.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Collection, ID No: 0009)

this study. However, in order to access full text and other memoirs on the public life of Ankara, please see the valuable work of Türkyılmaz.)
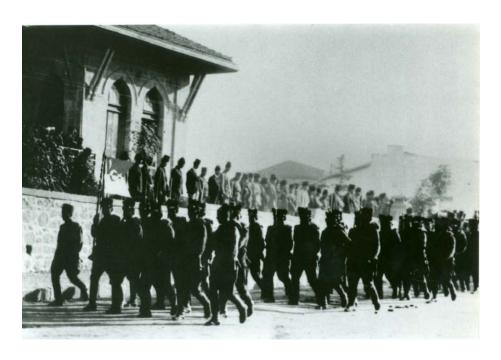
Figure 18. Parade in front of the 1ˢᵗ Assembly, 1922.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Photograph, Postcard
and Engraving Collection, ID No: 0212)

3.2. The 2ⁿᵈ Assembly of Turkey: Construction of a National Identity

3.2.1. Looking Back on the Roots: New Perspectives on Turkish Nationalism

In the 1920s, not only Turkey but also the European countries have been passing through a comprehensive transformation process under the effects of new modernization movement in every level of life. While introducing new principles and changing living standarts of the modern era, architecture became a powerful medium in cities by physically proposing spaces to live in. Accordingly, in the global scale, reconstruction and rethinking of the built environment became a major topic in architectural discourse by establishing links between changing socio-cultural and political context and their spaces in the urban structure. In a parallel vein, Turkey also participated to that new language search in architecture during the overall reconstruction process of the country in order to represent new democracy and its institutions in a modern and democratic manner.

Within this framework, in her book *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası* (*Modernism and the Nation Building,* 2012)*,* Bozdoğan emphasizes that ideological effects of modernism

in every stage of state were diffused into the power of built environment during the Early Republican Period in Turkey. The new understanding in architecture brought about its own ideological influences based on escape from the "past" and construction of a new language as "The New Architecture" –which would evolve as the First National Movement in the following years– in Turkey.[258]

Therefore, architecture became a living instrument in the first quarter of the 20th century, which created its own artefacts to symbolize new modern and national identity of the state.[259] Interpreting the principles of modern architectural movement, Ankara became a stage for concretization and representation of the Republic via modern public buildings especially in governmental offices, party buildings, post offices, museums, national libraries and archives as concrete symbols of newly constructed national identity of Turkey.

On the one hand, Bozdoğan handles the national identity discussion from the perspective of representative power of built environment, on the other hand, Ahmad elaborates the construction of Turkish identity within political and historical context of the country. Accordingly, Ahmad constructs his argument upon the historical and political context of the country and, his discursive angle on the construction of the Turkish national identity fed from the leading activities of a young group contended for a new national ideal. Therefore, in *The Making of Modern Turkey* (1993), Ahmad emphasizes that Turkey is not a re-built version of the Ottoman Empire but a completely and intentionally constructed new country of the Kemalists.[260] In order to propagate construction of new national identity, the Young Turks were active in every field of political and cultural contexts by advocating that former monarchy of the Ottoman Empire had to be abolished for the establishment of a "secular republic."[261]

From this perspective, in *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye* (2008), Ahmad describes the Young Turks as an intellectual group who advocates the necessity of a constitution as a legal document to highlight Turkey in its European contemporaries.[262] In this way, the constitution would comprehensively and officially represent political boundaries of the country and socio-cultural roots of the state in the form of a code. In order to construct a

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[258] Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası,* 34.
[259] Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası,* 49.
[260] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey,* (London: Routledge, 1993), ix.
[261] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey,* 16.
[262] Feroz Ahmad, *Bir Kimlik Peşinde Türkiye* trans. Sedat Cem Karadeli (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), 46.

firm policy and recognizable state, the Young Turks advocated secular-state system which separates religion and state from each other.

Looking back on the roots, the nation origins from Ural-Altaic community and believes the Islamic unity. However, the idiosyncratic cultural structure differs Turkish states from their contemporaries and thus, the nation had to be directly arisen from the Turkish folk culture. Within this framework, the new secular state approach and Turkishness discussions are generally conducted by Ziya Gökalp and his supporters in the first quarter of the 20th century.

In *Türkçülüğün Esasları,* Gökalp proposes an elaborated scope and programme of Turkishness by discussing its role in linguistics, aesthetics, moral structures, laws, economics, politics and philosophical perspectives. Accordingly, communities go through three basic phases until their institutionalization as a nation. In the first phase, a community shares a common language and geneaology which is entitled as a *tribe* (*kavim*). Then, the addition of a commonly shared religious belief transforms tribe into a *ummah* (*ümmet*) and followingly, construction of a culture and civilization bring ummah to the level of being a *nation* (*millet*).[263]

Specific to the evolution of the Turkish nation, Gökalp describes ideological perspectives of these phases respectively as Turkishness (*Türkçülük*), Islamism (*İslamcılık*) and Nationalism (*Milliyetçilik*). By proposing culture and civilization as fundamental elements for being a nation, Gökalp separates two notions from each other regarding their national/international aspects. Accordingly, "civilization" (*tehzip*) is a progress which can be learned from the west, but the "culture" (*hars*) and "identity" had to be strictly connected to the own folk of a nation.[264]

Associatively within the ongoing multi-vocal structure of Anatolia, "being a nation" was interpreted in different perspectives. Accordingly, the first group - the ethnic origin supporters - matches nation with collective share of a common race while the second group - the tribal Turkists - relates nation with a tribe which is consisted of people sharing a blood-relation. However, Gökalp rejects these attitudes ragarding their impossibility on having such a homogeneously shared blood and race relationships in the world. In the third group, nation is determined by locating on the same geographical area. However, there are numerous people in the world sharing same national connotations but settled on different geographical domains. Fourthly, a considerable part of the Ottomans

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[263] Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Konya: Gençlik Kitabevi Yayınları, 2012), 8.
[264] Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları,* 93.

describes nation as people living in the lands of the Empire, but at that time, Anatolia was collectively settled by several communities belonging different religious and moral structures. In the fifth group, the conservatives define nation where all the Muslims were included regardless their ethnical or geographical criteria. At this point, Gökalp rejects the last group by entitling described group as *ummah.*[265] The last group proposes a more independent perspective by saying "an individual is a member of a nation where she/he feels the sense of belonging." However, according to Gökalp, it is an inadequate perspective regarding the need of certain emotional, logical and cultural commongrounds to accomplish sense of belonging collectively in addition to the personel assumptions.

As a response to these classifications, Gökalp describes nation as a community who are cultured in similar manners and shares a common language, religion, moral and aesthetic senses collectively.[266] Naturally at that time, Gökalp's reformist approach got reactions regarding racial segregation accusations but on the contrary, Gökalp insisted on establishment of a national Turkish identity which originated from the political and historical past of the state by completely rejecting the segregation claims.[267]

3.2.2. Architecture as a Medium: Construction of a Republican Identity over an Imperial Community

Throughout the historical progress of the country rest upon the construction of new republican citizens and their collectively shared identities, active groups used different tools in socio-cultural, political and urban contexts during the Early Republican Period of Turkey. On the one hand, discussions on the cultural roots of the Turkish nation constituted the backbone of national identity discourse in the early 20th century, on the other hand, built environment of the country became another important topic in representation of new Turkish identities in a modern manner.

From this perspective, architecture became a living trace of the comprehensive transformation of Turkey by representing national goals both in the building scale and in the urban context. In a parallel vein, in her book *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938* (2001)*,* the Turkish architectural historian İnci Aslanoğlu begins her argument from the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 by handling political, socio-cultural and

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[265] Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları,* 27, 28, 29, 30.
[266] Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları,* 31.
[267] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 9.

economic transformation of Turkey with a special emphasis on the changing architectural silhouette of the country. Importantly, Aslanoğlu handles architectural products within their urban contexts by advocating that "architecture is not an isolated entity in itself," and argues functional and stylistic evolution of architecture in the Early Republican Period as reflections of changing contexts from the beginning of the 1920s to the end of 1930s.[268] Accordingly, Aslanoğlu defines 1920s as "the years of shortage" when the destructive effects of the war tried to be healed and Ankara was re-constructed as the new capital of the Republic. On the other hand, 1930s is defined as a period when the new architectural attempts were realized in public and private constructions.[269]

In the 1920s, the new architectural language search is mostly shaped around "a history-based" architectural manner which would be called as the First National Movement in the future.[270] Therefore, the Ottoman revivalism came into prominence as a proper tendency in the built environment in order to ease adaptation of the new state ideology into the conventional imperial language. Thus, the architectural products of the era may be interpreted as combinations of Ottoman architectural characteristics and application of new design principles and construction materials, especially in monumental scales.[271] Similarly, Bozdoğan handles this period as a beginning for the first steps towards a new architectural language and construction of a new national identity in under the name of "The First National Movement" or the "National Architectural Renaissance."[272] The architectural products of the era emerges as combinations of the ornamental elements of the Ottoman style -half-domes, pointed arches and glazed tile- and the western construction techniques - reinforced concrete, glass and steel-.[273]

Ideologically and politically determined principles of the First National Movement were applied mostly in Ankara as the capital of the new Turkish nation. In this period, Ankara Palas (1924), *Türk Ocağı Merkez Binası* (1927), Ethnographic Museum Ankara (1928), *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü* (1929) are amongst the premises of new democratic and modern structure of Ankara concretized in public, educational and state institutions.[274]

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[268] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 7, 8.
[269] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 8, 9.
[270] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 8.
[271] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 8.
[272] Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası,* 29.
[273] Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası,* 31.
[274] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 37.

Vedat and Kemalettin Bey, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, Tahsin Sermet, Ali Talat are key figures in the First National Style by designing monumental public and private buildings in the urban context under the effects of Ottoman revivalism. As the student of Vedat Tek, Koyunoğlu is a renowned architect of the time and designed the Foreing Office (*Hariciye Vekaleti*, 1927), the Etnographic Museum (1928) and Turkish Organization Office (*Türk Ocağı*, 1930) in Ankara and was supported by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Ziya Gökalp regarding his design principles grandiosely representing the "Turkish culture" in building scale.[275]

Besides Ankara, there were numerous buildings were constructed in İzmir, Konya, Kütahya and Afyon to spread the First National Movement all over the country.[276] These buildings were majorly consisted of public buildings, post offices, institutional buildings, libraries and museums during the first quarter of the 20th century. As one of the first examples of the era, Sirkeci Post Office was built by architect Vedat Tek in 1909 in Istanbul and most importantly, glass-concrete-steel roof of the building shows parallelism with Wagner's Austrian Postal Savings Bank in Vienna regarding their architectural language.[277]

Similarly Aslanoğlu exemplifies İzmir National Library and National Cinema by emphasizing the use of "national" in the names as a concrete symbol of the nationalist manner in the era.[278] The monumental use of the Ottoman style with high colonnades and stairs were supported with plantal figures, mingled geometrical forms –referencing to the Seljuk architecture- and muqarnas in the interior decorations.[279]

The transformative atmosphere in architectural language search of the new state is evaluated from a different perspective by Batur in *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century* (2005). Accordingly, Batur points out the struggling years of newly establishing Republic, especially in the early 1920s and proposes that the order of priority in the re-construction of the built environment in Anatolia has vital importance regarding the post-war years within economic and technical difficulties at that time.[280] Thus, in place of constructing new buildings all over the country in a completely new

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[275] Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası,* 55.
[276] Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası,* 55.
[277] Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası,* 29.
[278] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 26.
[279] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 32-33.
[280] Afife Batur, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century* (İstanbul: Chamber of Architects of Turkey, 2005), 6.

manner, the new state decided that Ankara have to be re-covered and re-constructed primarily with new institutional Republican buildings as the capital of Turkey.[281]

Due to the technical inadequacies and professional deficiencies in the First National Movement, the architectural language of the time was highly effected from the Ottoman period. New buildings carried the characteristics of the imperial attitude such as "the columns, capitals, arches, etc." in addition to the design principles supported with European neo-classical details in "symmetrical and axial masses and plans."[282] On the one hand, Turkey had certain economical and political struggles in the first quarter of the 20th century, on the other hand, the newly establishing Republic had the aim of re-constructing Ankara within its own architectural language representing the new Turkish Republican identities. Clearly, in order to represent new national manner in the built environment, the Ottoman tradition was highly preserved in the First National Movement in order to ease adoption by staying in touch with the recent past of the land.

The engagement to the Ottoman past and its interpretation in a modern architectural manner in Turkey also shows itself in the literary discourse of professional discussions on reconstruction of Ankara as a Republican capital.[283] Accordingly, in his article "Milli Mimarimiz" (1924), the politician İsmail Hakkı answers popular question of the era "what is a national architecture?" by saying "our national architecture will not stay out of the modern techniques. Also, our national architecture will not be irrelevant from the past. However, are these two elements going to mix to compose a blend? Definitely not! Because it is not a mineral blend but it is a piece of art, it is an admired notion. Thus, two elements have to be mixed in a proper way. In this way, we can say that the national architecture will be the continuation of the older Turkish architecture in modern techniques."[284]

On the one hand, İsmail Hakkı advocates the combination of rational techniques with traditional understanding in architecture, Mimar Kemaleddin has a different perspective on modernization and its application in the 1900s in his article written before two months from his death. In "Türk Meslek-i Mi'marisinde Yanlış Telakkiler" (1928),

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[281] Batur, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century,* 6.

[282] Batur, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century,* 7.

[283] In *Tereddüd ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960* (2007), the Turkish architect and architectural theoretician Bülent Tanju compiles interrelated texts of the professionals on the architecture and its social, cultural and economic contexts which have been synchronously transforming with the continual transformation of the country in the Early Republican Period.

[284] Bülent Tanju ed., *Tereddüd ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960* (İstanbul: Akınnalça Kitapları, 2007), 56.

Mimar Kemaleddin writes "in the new style, the construction workers cope with the completion and application of a project full of certain details and information, unaware of the future implementations of their works. All details and constructional phases of the building from beginning to end determined by an architect. Thus, the building accredited to the architect… However, Turkish architectural pieces are not the results of a predetermined details and applications, rather, they are meaningful entities of a compilation of coherent mastership, labor and effort of craftsmen worked on this piece. Hence, it is impossible to accredit a building to a specific architect."[285] Thus, Mimar Kemaleddin criticizes foregrounding role of architect in projects, especially in the architectural language search in the First National Movement, by comparing Ottoman examples and handling these buildings as compilation of mastership of artisans and craftsmen.

From a different perspective, the built environment of the city is described "exotique" in the novel *Ankara.* Accordingly, the silhouette of the city is consisted of turreted garden houses which look like "feudal chateaus" and public institutions were built in decorated and ornamented in Ottoman manner. However, in the following years, the Ottoman revivalism was replaced by modern attitute which was resulted in left of pointed arch windows, ornaments and decorative elements in architecture.[286]

On the one hand, the First National Movement grounds on continuation of the Ottoman language, especially in decorative elements in buildings, Turkish poet Ahmet Haşim rejects the acceptance of this approach as national and contemporary in his article "Mürteci Mimari" by writing "our era has no architecture. The styles of mosque, shrine and madrasah belong to the years when all Ottomans are indistinguishable from *şeyhülislam* in appearance… As the revitalization of the dresses of the Sultan Selim times in this era would be ridiculous –although they are better in comparison to our monotonic dresses today-, so it would be ridiculous equally to sustain the religious architecture of the Ottoman era."[287]

Thus, beginning from the grand change in the policy during the 1900s, the built environment of Anatolia has passed a similar transformation period as a result of a common view which handles architecture is the concrete and iconic representation of the new Reupublican manner. Therefore, the ongoing fluctuant political atmosphere of the

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[285] Tanju, *Tereddüd ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960,* 89.
[286] Karaosmanoğlu, *Ankara,* 127, 128.
[287] Tanju, *Tereddüd ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960,* 92.

country also reflected to the built environment of Turkey, and especially on Ankara as the capital, by generating a much-debated platform including viewpoints of different professionals of the era. In this way, the new architectural search of the country is mostly shaped around nationalism concerns which resulted in minor and major initiations realized in the urban structure of the Republic.

3.2.3. Urban Scale Transformations: City Plans of Ankara

Following the architectural discussions in the 1920s, the modernization and re-construction activities accelerated and large scale interventions were conducted in the urban context. Accordingly, public improvements and city planning initiatives were made for Ankara, which would be a model in the urbanization of the whole country in the following years.[288] In *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (1992), Vale summarizes the need of Ankara as "the reconfiguration of the distribution of political, cultural and economic power" for the re-construction years of the city.[289] Thus, after the official declaration of Ankara as the capital in 13 October 1923, a comprehensive city plan was needed to realize a controlled and well-organized development in the urban structure. Within the frameworks of the new necessities of the Republican capital, the urban scale re-organization of Ankara was firstly realized by the German architect Carl Christopher Lörcher in 1924.

Basically, the Lörcher plan divides the city into two main regions as the Old and New City which were organized according to the specific functional zones in the urban structure (Figure 19). In "Türkiye için Modern ve Planlı Bir Başkent Kurmak: Ankara 1920-1950" (Making a Modern and Planned Capital City for Turkey: Ankara 1920-1950), Cengizkan defines Old City of Lörcher as accommodation areas for the fast growing population of Ankara, while the New City is privatized for the public and governmental needs of the capital.[290]

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[288] Duru, "Mustafa Kemal Döneminde Ankara'nın İmarı," 107.
[289] Lawrence Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1992), 52.
[290] Ali Cengizkan. "Türkiye için Modern ve Planlı Bir Başkent Kurmak: Ankara 1920-1950." Availabe from: http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/trindex.htm (Accessed: 9.3.2018)
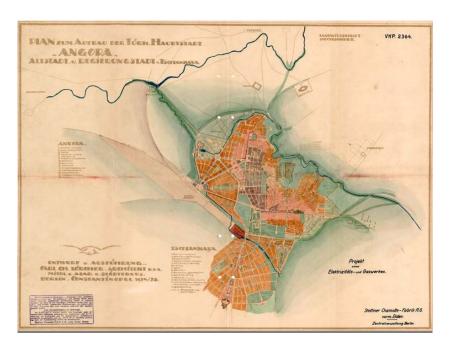
Figure 19. Lörcher plan, 1924.
(Source: http://www.goethe.de)

Importantly in the Lörcher plan, the Çankaya neighborhood of Ankara was planned as the core of the Republic, which would house ministry buildings, and the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey in the following decades.[291] In *Clemens Holzmeister: An Architect at the Turn of the Era* (2010), Cengizkan defines Çankaya region in detail with a special emphasis on the Ministries Quarter which was proposed in Lörcher's plan "with a wage-shaped site allotment" housing the ministry buildings, the 3rd Assembly and a public park in the zone.[292]

As a result of fast growing population of Ankara, the Lörcher plan was remained incapable –although a renovated plan was proposed by Lörcher in 1925- and a new urban plan competition was held.[293] Thus, three of well-known city planners of the era were invited to Ankara for a more developed city plan proper to the capital of the Turkish Republic. Amongst the plans of Jansen, Jausseley and Brix, German architect and urban planner Hermann Jansen's plan was selected with the Garden City proposal including a green area at the center of the plan and surrounding zones privatized for educational,

[291] Cengizkan, "Türkiye için Modern ve Planlı Bir Başkent Kurmak: Ankara 1920-1950." Availabe from: http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/trindex.htm (Accessed: 9.3.2018)

[292] Ali Cengizkan. "Holzmeister, *et al.* A Mise en Scene for Republican Power: Representations in the Ministries Quarter, Ankara." In *Clemens Holzmeister: An Architect at the Turn of the Era* (İstanbul: Boyut Yayıncılık, 2010), 87.

[293] Duru, "Mustafa Kemal Döneminde Ankara'nın İmarı," 114.

governmental, accommoditional and working functions.[294] Grounding on the design principles of the Lörcher plan, the primary targets of Jansen aimed to realize an ordered public life including green areas for children and sport activities within an urban aesthetic (Figure 20).[295]

Figure 20. Jansen plan, 1932.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Map and Plan Archive, ID No: H025_01)

Basically these second city plan proposals were supposed to follow basic design principles of Lörcher's, regarding the zoning strategy with the preservation and development of the Ministries Quarter in Çankaya.[296] Importantly, as one of the striking representations of the Turkish Republic in the urban context, the main axis of the new city plan was called as the Atatürk Boulevard, who was the founder of the new country. As stated in the Presidency Senate publication of *TBMM Kampüsünün Dünü-Bugünü-*

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[294] Vale, *Architecture, Power, and National Identity,* 99.
[295] Duru, "Mustafa Kemal Döneminde Ankara'nın İmarı," 117.
[296] Cengizkan, "Holzmeister, *et al.* A Mise en Scene for Republican Power: Representations in the Ministries Quarter, Ankara," 87.

Yarını (1976), the Ministries Quarter formerly called as the Monument of Republic (*Cumhuriyet Anıtı*) by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to symbolically represent new Turkey with its Republican state buildings and the contemporary assembly building at the heart of the city (Figure 21).[297]

Figure 21. H. Jansen's plan on the Ministries Quarter
(Source: Technische Universitat Berlin, Architekturmuseum. Inventory Number: 22585. architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/P/153605.php. Accessed: 20.04.2020)

The large scale discussions and comprehensive transformation of the city resulted in arguments of different professionals in economical and political perspectives. At that time, the urban planning need of the capital was frequently argued by renown Turkish writer and politician Falih Rıfkı Atay with his appreciation for the modernity of Jansen plan and regrets for its unapplicability in Ankara. Accordingly, Atay criticizes the Ottoman style monumental buildings and the absence of green areas in the city:

> "I wrote dozens of articles on city planning after the capitalization of Ankara. Then, the Ministry of Interior held an international competition. The first plan was for a 200.000 populated-city. As the urban growth continues, new building blocks will be opened according to the plan. The city plan was prepared for the automobilized era. Today, there is nothing

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[297] *TBMM Kampüsünün Dünü-Bugünü-Yarını* (Ankara: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Matbaası, 1976), 14.

remanined from this plan. Due to our municipal manner and self-seeking, all plan was disappeared. With its huge buildings, Ankara competes with Belgrade. But in an Ottoman style development. There are no parks or squares... The neighborhoods are concrete jungles. Jansen had brought us the automobilized era palnning when we had not any city..."[298]

According to the new plan, the future development of Ankara was determined toward south and the zones were re-organized with new neighborhood proposals regarding their functions as education, accommodation or working areas.[299] As the administrational zone, the former proposal of Lörcher's triangular governmental area was preserved and Jansen collaborated with Holzmeister for construction and settling of the state buildings.[300] Chronologically, the ministries of National Defence, Interiors, Public Works, Economics and Agriculture were constructed and the administrational zone was organized towards the north, where the 3rd Assembly Building was goning to be located on the highest point of the area.[301]

Additionally, the ongoing re-construction and planning procedures of Ankara has particularly been discussing in the written media of that time. Especially Atay frequently critizes the dissidents of the new Jansen plan of Ankara regarding their profit motives on the new Çankaya neighborhood:

"I am looking to the assembly and the State Neighborhood from the window of the Grand Ankara Hotel. The existence of such a neighborhood of state in the Jansen plan was displeased some deputies. At that time, the only commerce was to drive profit by getting lands of Ankara on cheap and to selling them expensively to the government agencies. These deputies say: *sir, not all ministry buildings were gathered in a single neighborhood. In a war situtation, all of them destroyed with a bombing.* As the president of the Zoning Board, I told these opinions to Atatürk. He said, *we protect all of these building at a time, rather protect them separately.* After this, we began to publicize the lands of today's ministry region including the Saraçoğlu neighborhood..."[302]

Importantly in the new plan, the governmental zone needed to have a public area where the administratives and citizens could "meet" proper to the ideological basis of the democratic Republic. In this way, as Demirkol stated in her dissertation, the Security

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[298] Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Ankara* (İstanbul: Pozitif Yayınları, 2018), 122, 123.

[299] Cengizkan, "Türkiye için Modern ve Planlı Bir Başkent Kurmak: Ankara 1920-1950." Availabe from: http://www.goethe.de/ins/tr/ank/prj/urs/geb/sta/trindex.htm (Accessed: 9.3.2018)

[300] Cengizkan, "Holzmeister, *et al.* A Mise en Scene for Republican Power: Representations in the Ministries Quarter, Ankara," 87.

[301] Cengizkan, "Holzmeister, *et al.* A Mise en Scene for Republican Power: Representations in the Ministries Quarter, Ankara," 88.

[302] Atay, *Ankara,* 121, 122. (The abovementioned neighborhood of Ankara would house to the ministry buildings of the Republic in Çankaya and the third National Assembly of Turkey in the following years.)

Monument and the Security Monument (*Güven Park* and *Güven Anıtı*) were located on the southern area as a grand public zone and linked city physically and visually to the 3rd Assembly on the north through the Atatürk Boulevard.[303] Thus, the reliability and stability of the state is publicly declared and physically symbolized at the beginning of its fundamental administrative axis which continues with the ministry buildings of the Republic.

3.2.4. Resistance to Change: Divergences in Polity and Public

While the built environment of the country became a continually transforming stage in accordance with the ongoing architectural discussions, the political changes and new perspectives on policy have also continued during the establishment of the new Republican manner. Following the declaration of the Republic on 29th October 1923, the Countrywide Resistance Organization (*Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti*) reorganized under the name of People's Party (*Halk Fırkası*). After a year, the group added "republican" to their names and became the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası*) in 1924. At the same time, the opposing group denominated themselves as the Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*) with a strategical choice by using "republican" to attract supporters of the ongoing nationalist movement and to take support of masses advocating the newly established Republic in the country.[304]

Zürcher compares the Progressive Republican Party with the Republican People's Party by describing the former as "a milder and liberal-Western version of the latter's more radical and authoritative character."[305] In *Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Siyasal Muhalefet: Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası 1924-1925* (2016), the Ottoman Empire is compared to the Turkish Republic regarding their "nationalist" perspectives in the first quarter of the 20th century. Accordingly on the one hand, the imperial attitude focuses on the independence and integrity of Muslim population in the Empire, on the other hand, Turkish national movement aims to realize reforms and revolutions towards modernization of the Turkish nation, especially after 1923.[306]

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[303] Hatice Günseli Demirkol, "The Turkish Grand National Assembly Complex: An Evaluation of the Function and Meaning of Parliamentary Spaces" (doctoral thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2009), 74.

[304] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 195, 209.

[305] Zürcher, *Milli Mücadelede İttihatçılık,* 210.

[306] Eric Jan Zürcher, *Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Siyasal Muhalefet: Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası 1924-1925* trans. Gül Çağalı Güven (İstanbul: İletişim, 2016), 7.

Moreover, the roots of the Progressive Republican Party and the nationalist movement under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk feed from similar groups served for the Committee of Union and Progress before the declaration of the Republic. Thus, in principle, the main conflict in the government realized by two different groups of former *İttihat* advocators between the supporters of the democratic Republic and the supporters of the continuation of the existing political situation in the new state.[307]

Inherently this comprehensive transformation did not occured in a flash and naturally encountered resistance in civil and political formations in the country. Although the political life of the Progressive Republican Party lasted in a year, the activities of the group constituted official backbone of those reactions towards the new political outlook of the Ankara government in 1924.[308]

In *Tek-Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler* (2015), Koçak elaborates divergences during the struggling years of the establishment of the Republic in the early 20th century. In addition to the opposition party of the time, Koçak handles local reactions as significant dissidents for the new Republican regime. By saying, "silence is an indicator of the authority, but not any society (could) stay completely silent in reality", Koçak especially focuses on the minor-stories of the individuals, rather focusing on the macro-histories of the past generally written from the eyes of the authority.[309]

As Koçak documents, mosques, coffee-houses and bazaars are significant centers for discussing and spreading oppositional views on democracy, reforms and modernization at that time.[310] The great majority of those reactions came from conservative and religious section of the nation, especially advocating the idea that the Republican leaders and advocators of democracy threaten religious beliefs of the society.[311] Thus, mosques in cities became prominent spaces for anti-democratic propaganda which were actively used in rumors. Accordingly, mosques were mentioned as if these spaces would be abused by democratics in future by changing their spatial qualities, permanently closings or interfering their functional uses such as putting

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[307] Zürcher, *Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Siyasal Muhalefet: Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası 1924-1925,* 26.

[308] Zürcher, *Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında Siyasal Muhalefet: Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası 1924-1925,* 8.

[309] Cemil Koçak, *Tek-Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2015), 12. ("*Suskunluk, iktidarın/otoritenin gücünün göstergesidir; fakat hiçbir toplum gerçekte tamamen suskun kal(a)maz.*")

[310] Koçak, *Tek-Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler,* 12. (Due to the lack of evidence, Koçak's archival research dates back to the 1929, especially on the daily life reactions and minor oppositions emerged against the new manner of the Republican state.)

[311] Koçak, *Tek-Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler,* 12.

campanes on mosques to harm Islamic spaces in cities.[312] In order to maintain control, the government made provisions for sermons in mosques especially in Ramadan and bairams. Moreover, according to dissidents, the new regime propose certain mandatory applications threating the religious beliefs and habits in social life such as obligatory wearing crosses by engaged people in society or accursed phenomena resulted from cultural reforms i.e. the collapse of a mosque in Aydın after a theater play.[313]

Another resistance in democracynconcentrates around rumors on assassination attempts to Atatürk and falsified news on his dead. In this way, it was aimed to deeply shake stability of the Republic with the death of the state leader. [314] Moreover, incurable disease rumors for Atatürk are amongst another prevalent tendency in dissidents which were discussed and got around in daily life in order to damage firm representation of the Republic over the political leader of the regime.[315] Clearly, placing Atatürk at the center of the rumors to react the Republic may be interpreted as a direct relationship between the representative seat of the founder and the state in the memories of the time. Additionally to the falsified news on Atatürk, a great amount of rumor were spread in daily life circulation through published leaflets announcing the impairing future plans of the Republic on working class in cities.[316]

Clearly, the comprehensive transformation of the Anatolian land towards being the homeland of the Turkish Republic resulted in ruptures in social, cultural and political contexts of the country. Alongside the fluctuant atmosphere, the revolutionary national group, their oppositional parties, public dissidents advocating the sultanate, conservative rejections and minor riots and rumors provide a prolific environment for democracy possessing a multi-vocal character in every level of the society endowed with numerous perspectives.

3.2.5. The New Seat of the Republic: Inauguration of the 2nd Assembly

As a result of rapid change in socio-cultural and especially political direction of the country, a more settled parliament building was necessitated to organize new state operations. Therefore, the official declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923 would be

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[312] Koçak, *Tek-Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler,* 34, 35, 38.
[313] Koçak, *Tek-Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler,* 34.
[314] Koçak, *Tek-Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler,* 96.
[315] Koçak, *Tek-Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler,* 99.
[316] Koçak, *Tek-Parti Döneminde Muhalif Sesler,* 105.

completed with a new assembly building as the concrete authority and the representation of new democratic state. In 1924, the administrative core moved to the 2nd Assembly of Turkey, which was formerly designed by Turkish architect Vedat Tek as the office building of the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası*) (Figure 22).
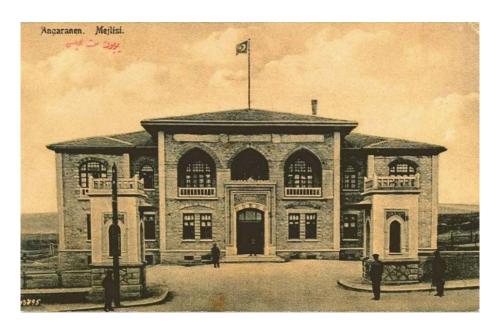
Figure 22. The 2nd Assembly Building, 1927.
(Source: Museum of Republic of Ankara, Postcards Collection – Editor Söör Cards)

In the opening ceremony of the 2nd Assembly, "… the new Turkey state is a people's state, but in the past, it was a state of one person… The grand movements, which rescued the certain societies from captivity and liberated them are the archenemies of people who relied upon obsolete institutions and decayed regimes… The new Turkish state is the representation of this grand idea which dominates the world and a realized example of its actualization" was read.[317]   Clearly, the opening speech reveals that the opening of the 2nd Assembly Building of Turkey is matched with revolutionary transformation of the country and accepted as an iconographic representation of the new state by keeping long lasted war memories within the authority of the new parliament building of the country in the international stages.

The construction years of the 2nd Assembly Building correspond to the period of the First National Movement in Turkey when the Ottoman revivalism was highly used to

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[317] www.tbmm.gov.tr (Accessed:12.3.2018)

provide a connection with the historical background of the country.[318] In their book *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması* (2001), Tekeli and İlkin divide the process of the construction of a new national identity in Turkey into four sections regarding interconnected relation between the political transformation and architectural understanding of the country. Accordingly, Tekeli and İlkin remarks declaration of the Republic as a re-thinking period of existing architectural language, instead of creating a new one.[319] Thus, the architectural manner of the Ottoman era were highly preserved in the First National Movement to stay in touch with the recent past of the country in order to ease adaptation of new national manner in traditional forms via architecture.

In a parallel vein, the 2nd Assembly Building is also one of the pioneer artefacts in the urban context which carries the principal tendencies of the First National Movemet. In *M. Vedad Tek: Kimliğinin İzinide Bir Mimar* (2003), Yavuz describes in detail the building, which was originally designed as the party building of the Republican People's Party and converted into the 2nd Assembly of the Republic in 1924 with required changes.[320] As amongst major characteristics of the ongoing Ottoman revivalism, the arched windows and glazed tiles in turquoise on the facade of the 2nd Assembly are seen as preliminary examples of the architectural manner in the first quarter of the 20th century (Figure 23).
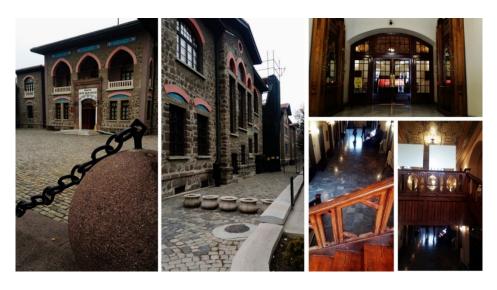
Figure 23. The 2nd Assembly Building of Turkey.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

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[318] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 8.

[319] Tekeli and İlkin, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması*, 64.

[320] Yıldırım Yavuz. "Kimliğinin İzinde III: Yeni Başkentte." In *M. Vedad Tek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar,* ed. Afife Batur (İstanbul: YEM, 2003), 177, 181.

Including the room of Council Hall raising two stories in the middle of the rectangular two-storey building, the 2nd Assembly consisted of lounges, clerk room, cloakrooms, Committees of education, accounting, economy, agriculture, court and constitution, internal affairs, public works and health, typewriters, public clerkship, party office, restaurant, canteen, post office on the ground floor. The upper story of the assembly houses more private rooms such as chairmanship, presidential lounge, offices of prime minister and president, committees of foreign affairs, finance and the national defence (Figure 24).
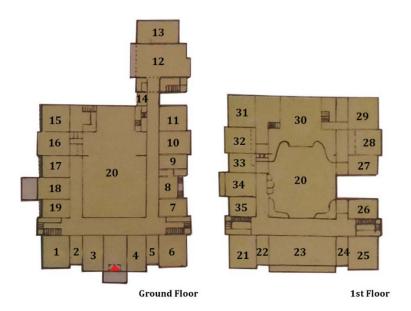
Figure 24: Plan of the 2nd Assembly of Turkey. [1. Lounge 2. Clerks Room (Divan Katipleri) 3-4. Cloakroom 5. Education and Accounting Committee (Maarif ve Divan-I Muhasebat Encümeni) 6. Economy and Agriculture Committee (Ekonomi ve Ziraat Encümeni) 7. Court and Constitution Committee (Adliye ve Teşkilat-I Esasiye Encümenleri) 8. Post Office 9. Typewriters 10. Public Clerkship (Umumi Katiplik) 11. Accounting Office (Muhasebe Kalemi) 12. Restaurant 13. Canteen 14. Barber 15-16. Waiting Room 17. Republican People's Party Office 18. Lounge 19. Internal Affairs, Public Works, Health and Social Welfare Committee 20. Council Hall 21-22. Chairmanship (Yüksek Reislik) 23. Presidential Lounge (Riyaset-I Cümhur Salonu) 24. Presidency Office (Riyaset-i Cümhur Çalışma Odası) 25. Prime Minister's Office (Başvekillik Çalışma Odası 26. Administration Supervisors (İdare Amirleri)) 27. National Defence Committee (Milli Müdafaa Encümeni) 28. International Parliaments Unity Room (Beynelmilel Parlamentolar İttihadı Odası) 29. Committee on Petition (Arzuhal Encümeni) 30. Audience Loggia (Samiin Locası) 31. Foreign Affairs, Finance, Customs Committee (Hariciye, Maliye, Gümrük ve İnhisarlar Encümeni) 32-33-34. Budget Office (Bütçe Encümeni Kalemi) 35. Deputies (Reisvekilleri)] (Source: Base map from the Cumhuriyet Müzesi.)

As the main space of the building, the Council Hall was elaborately decorated with a gridal ceiling system ornamented with gold and plantal figures.[321] The wooden speech platform and desks were brought from Darülfünun in İstanbul which was used previously as the parliament building in the Ottoman constitutional eras in the late 1800s (Figure 25).[322]
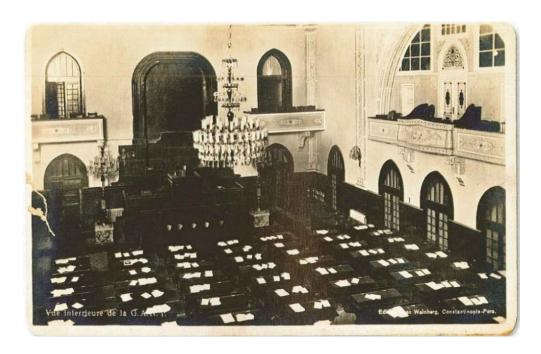
Figure 25. Council Hall of the 2nd Assembly Building, 1927.
(Source: Museum of Republic of Ankara, Postcards Collection – Jean Weinberg Cards)

As a result of continual growth, the plan scheme of the 2nd Assembly changed in 1930s and 1950s with constructions of additional parts to the main building. Thus, the former square-shaped plan of the 2nd Assembly transformed into a rectangular scheme which resulted in the change of spatial perception, especially felt in the main entrance of the building.[323] Accordingly, as Yavuz stated, the main entrance on the east facade facing to the Station Boulevard was assumed as it is a side gate due to the transformation in the mass organization (Figure 26).[324]

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[321] Yavuz, "Kimliğinin İzinde III: Yeni Başkentte," 189.
[322] Yavuz, "Kimliğinin İzinde III: Yeni Başkentte," 190.
[323] Yavuz, "Kimliğinin İzinde III: Yeni Başkentte," 190.
[324] Yavuz, "Kimliğinin İzinde III: Yeni Başkentte," 187, 190.

Figure 26. Aerial photograph of the the 2nd Assembly Building, 1938.
(Source: Museum of Republic of Ankara, Postcards Collection, p:1405 pl:2524 in
Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, Vol. I, Ankara University)

In the garden of the 2nd Asembly, a sea-shell shaped stage was used for concerts as a significant public area at that time (Figure 27). Türkyılmaz refers to daily use of this stage with a band plays musical pieces everyday. Additionally, the garden and the cascade pool of the 2nd Assembly were amongst another important public spaces at that time in Ulus. Therefore, with its the collectively shared garden, cascaded pool and concert area, the 2nd Assembly emerges as a living public area which actively participating to the everyday life of the capital.[325] As Türkyılmaz cites in memoirs on the public life of Ankara in the Early Republican years, the author gives rich information about the use of the 2nd Assembly Building's garden in daily life:

> "One of the places where my grandmother took me out was the garden of the assembly in Ulus…At that time, the parliament was working in this building… Also, its garden was open for everyone…Towards evening, band comes to the garden and plays. People with women and children gather around and listen…"[326]

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[325] Aydın *et al., Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara,* 400.
[326] Türkyılmaz, "Ankara'da Havuzbaşları: 1923-1950," 110, 112.

"…generally people accommodate around Yenimahalle wait for their bus by strolling through that park –mentions the park of the 2ⁿᵈ Assembly-."[327]

Figure 27. The sea-shell shaped concert area of the 2ⁿᵈ Assembly in late 1920s.
(Source: Archive of the War of Independence Museum)

On the one hand, long-term urban plans were conducting as discussed above, on the other hand, minor regulations were made in the immediate vicinity of the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ Assembly Buildings. Accordingly, the name of Taşhan Square was changed as *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* in 1920 and as *Ulus Square* after the declaration of the Republic.[328] As one of the most important representations of the Republic, Ulus/Victory Monument (*Ulus/Zafer Anıtı*) was built by Austrian sculptor Heinrich Krippel in 1927 at the center of the Square.[329] Following the opening of the sculpture, the public character of Ulus increased and transformed into a landmark in the urban context by housing the first two assembly buildings and a Republican monument as a significant urban meeting area at the heart of the city (Figure 28).

[327] Türkyılmaz, "Ankara'da Havuzbaşları: 1923-1950," 110.
[328] Tunçer, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Ankara'nın Ticaret Merkezi Yapısı, 1923-1933," 160.
[329] Tunçer, "Cumhuriyet'in İlk Yıllarında Ankara'nın Ticaret Merkezi Yapısı, 1923-1933," 160.

Figure 28. Construction of the Victory Monument and a celebration day, 1927. (Source: left-Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Collection, ID No: 0931. Right- Museum of Republic of Ankara, Postcards Collection, p:111 pl:164 in *Cumhuriyetin Başkenti*, Vol. I, Ankara University)

In order to increase publicity of the area, new public spaces were opened around the Ulus Square. Amongst these, Karpiç Restaurant was one of the most important meeting areas for socializing with its central location in Taşhan.[330] In "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankarası'nda Yükselen Orta Sınıf Üzerine", Nalbantoğlu mentions İstanbul Patisserie as another meeting point for deputies in addition to the active use of Karpiç in Ulus.[331] Importantly, the construction of Ankara Palas across the 2nd Assembly was completed in 1928 and the building became a living public area of the Republic by hosting foreign state officials and Republican meetings and celebrations.[332] The popular use of Ankara Palas is mentioned in Adalet Ağaoğlu's novel *Ölmeye Yatmak* (1976):

> "People of Ankara listen to *Radyo Temsil Saati* (Radio Performance Hour) on the Friday nights from 20:10-21:10... In the grand halls of Ankara Palas, 'The DANSANT' on every Sunday and 'SWING BOY's JAZZ' and 'MEZEY REVUE' ..."[333]

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[330] Aydın *et al., Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara,* 400.

[331] H. Ünal Nalbantoğlu. "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ankarası'nda Yükselen Orta Sınıf Üzerine." In *Tarih İçinde Ankara* ed. Ayşıl Tükel Yavuz (Ankara: ODTÜ Ankaralılar Vakfı, 2000), 297.

[332] Aydın *et al., Küçük Asya'nın Bin Yüzü: Ankara,* 401, 403.

[333] Adalet Ağaoğlu, *Ölmeye Yatmak* (İstanbul: Remzi, 1976). 82. [In Adalet Ağaoğlu's novel *Ölmeye Yatmak,* Ankara is frequently depicted while the author novelizes a life story of a women born in the Early Republican Period of Turkey. From 1938 to 1968, the daily life of Ankara, the built environment of the city and novelities of the new regime constitute the back ground of the story which is followed from the diary notes of the main character. Taşhan, Youth Park, People's House, Ankara Palace and Ulus Square and the broadcast of the Ankara Radio are amongst important Republican symbols referred in the novel. At that time, *Ankara Radio* was a significant media channel to announce country-wide news in Turkey and ctively participate to the daily life of the Republic.]

The urban atmosphere of Ankara is storified in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Panorama* while describing after work hours in the city when people were walking through the Station Boulevard and the 2nd Assembly to the bus stops in front of Taşhan:

> "…and again at this time, somber and heay going people are seen in similar clothes by walking on the slopy Station Boulevard between the assembly (the 2nd Assembly) and the party building (the 1st Assembly was used as the office building of the Republican People's Party at that time)."[334]

The development of Ulus as the administration core of the capital increased with the opening of the Government Office and its surrounding institutions around. In this way, the central character of the are stayed in use from the Ottoman times until Republic by housing parliament buildings of the Republic, public areas, government offices, restarurants and hotels. Accordingly, use of the two assemblies and construction of several governmental and public buildings, Ulus Square emerges as political and public core of the capital in the 1920s. Moreover, the active use of the area also shows itself in the national and special days of the Republic as the main ceremonial stage in the urban context.

3.2.6. Ceremonial Stages of the State: Ulus Square and the Hippodrome

Including fundamental administration cores and public institutions in the neighborghood, Ulus became the ceremonial showcase of the new democratic state which carries special procedures, routes and celebration traditions in essence. Accordingly, celebrations mostly consisted of a publicly participated parade and a visit to the parliament buildings.

In this procedure, marches began at Hacı Bayram Mosque near the Government Office and continues toward the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings in the Ulus Square. Throughout the Republican Boulevard, the buildings on two sides are ornamented and arches were constructed to compose an overall celebration stage in the urban context.[335] On special days, Ankara Palas was also used as an important ceremonial area by housing balls in the evenings. In this way, the Ulus Square and the assembly buildings became significant vsiting points during those marches which provides a common platform to realize meeting of enthusiastic crowd surrounded with the Republican artefacts (Figure 29).

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[334] Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, *Panorama* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2016). 34.
[335] Erdoğan and Günel, *İstiklal Savaşı'nda Ankara,* 153, 154.
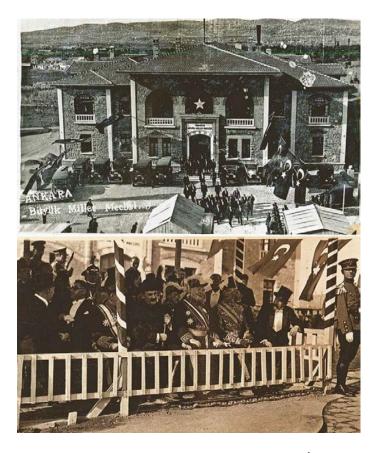
Figure 29. Republic Day celebrations in front of the 2ⁿᵈ Assembly, 1929.
(Source: Museum of Republic of Ankara, Postcards Collection, p:342 pl:551 and p:575 pl:984 in Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, Vol. I, Ankara University)

Therefore, it is aimed to increase certain feelinsg in the masses such as national belonging, citizenship, unity and solidarity. During these public events, the built environment of the city is deeply integrated to the collective activities of people while a Republican memory has been constructing in the minds of the era. In this way, the Ulus Square and the immediate vicinity of the assembly buildings actively participate to keeping memories of the state as fundamental storages of meaning and tradition.

The beginning place of the procession, the marching route and visited buildings through the parade have great importance to combine new national belonging into the architectural representations of the Republic in the urban context. After the opening of the 2ⁿᵈ Assembly Building, ongoing ceremonial tradition were mostly transformed from war victories into celebrations of national days, anniversaries of the battles and welcoming ceremonies to Mustafa Kemal Paşa for his coming to Ankara. In his memories, Edirne deputy Mehmet Şeref describes ornamented square with triumphal arches and flags with a great participation of people in 1931:

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"...Today, Mustafa Kemal Paşa was coming. It was a great enthusiasm, a magnificent national bairam. The station was ornamented entirely. A big triumphal arch set by soldiers become a honorary gate for the victorious commander on the narrow roadway on the outside of the station. All people live in Ankara lay their most precious scarfs and carpets on the roads. Mothers were hugging their babies and little children for the commander. Before the dayspring, crowds were filled the two sides of the station road... The major splendor was outside. When Mustafa Kemal Paşa stepped out the door, the state organized a service car to take him to the assembly. But who gets in? Mustafa Kemal Paşa stepped on the road on foot with his friends. The sounds of the drums and music could not be heard. The voices of the enthusiastic crowd was heard under the celestial sphere."[336]

Importantly, in his words, Şeref clearly describes the 2nd Assembly Building as the concrete representation and keystone of the Turkish Republic and its eternal freedom:

"...Everyone standing and people were passing by the assembly with their beloved hearts by looking the building as it was a holy and sacred monument. The Turkish togetherness which was settled in this building created today and strenghtened this national bond. This stone building was the keystone of the Turkish independence, Turkish people's state and Turkish Republic... At the station, soldiers, polices, the municipal polices were in parade and the deputies were standing in the forefront."[337]

Throughout the processions and celebrations, the assembly building of the time became mark point of the ceremonies where the Republican administration met with public while celebrating and listening speeches of politics. Thus, the assembly buildings actively participate to the construction of new Turkish national identity at the time by housing national meetings and celebrations of the Republic in the first quarter of the 20th century. During their active use as parliaments, the assembly buildings become architectural witnesses and memory spaces of the new democratic Turkey and the Ulus Square represents a grand transition from monarchy to democracy in building scale at the heart of the capital.

Clearly, the Ulus Square and the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings became significant marks in the urban context of Ankara and şn the memories of the Turkish Republic by witnessing and participating to large number of significant collective activities in national celebrations and ceremonies. As Crawford proposes that commemorations establish links between past and present, remembering and forgetting, the assembly buildings of Turkey become "attractors" for future constructions by weaving a "communal fabric" in the collective occasions of the Republic (Figure 30, 31, 32).

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[336] Lüleci, *Tarihi ve Siyasi Tefrika, Birinci Millet Meclisi Edirne Meb'usu Mehmet Şeref*, 173, 176.
[337] Lüleci, *Tarihi ve Siyasi Tefrika, Birinci Millet Meclisi Edirne Meb'usu Mehmet Şeref*, 173.

Figure 30. The Republic Day ceremonies in front of the 1st Assembly, 1927. (Source: Assembly Archives Postcards Collection)
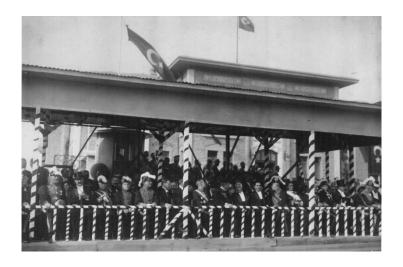

Figure 31. National bairam celebrations in front of the 2nd Assembly Building.
. (Source: Ahmet Piriştina City Archive and Museum.)

Figure 32. National bairam celebrations at the Ulus Square.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Photograph, Postcard and Engraving Collection, ID No: 0936)

In the beginning of the 1930s, enthusiastic participation to celebrations necessitated larger spaces to collectively conduct national day and bairam ceremonies as significant meeting days of politics and the public. As previously mentioned, these decades have been witnessing discussions to increase national representations of the Republic in the building and urban scales. Accordingly, in order to develop a more local and national architectural manner for the Republic, the built environment of the country, especially of Ankara as the capital, became one of the main concerns from the second half of the 1920s. Therefore, debates on nationalism in architecture showed itself in design competitions which were held in order to construct public and state buildings, especially in the 1930s. In this way, it is aimed to gain national and international perspectives on the representation of the Turkish Republic through the built environment of the country.

In "Ankara Hippodrome: The National Celebrations of Early Republican Turkey", Özdemir focuses the hippodrome complex of Ankara –built with an international project- as a crucial performative space to convey national belonging and meaning through celebrations. Accordingly, the existing horse site was transformed into a large celebration and sports area with an international design competition to modernize ongoing horse races and to spatialize national celebrations to meet increasing needs of the population and to represent sportive and healthy youth of the Republic (Figure 33).[338]

Importantly, the Jansen plan had a proposal for development of the existing Horse Race area as a hippodrome complex additively with the construction of a stadium in the immediate vicinity of the Ankara Train Station.[339] Despite the revision plans of Jansen in the following years, the state held an international competition for the Hippodrome in 1931, which would be constructed on the west of the Independence Avenue (*İstiklal Bulvarı*).[340] Here, the site selection of the Hippodrome on the Independence Avenue may be interpreted as an important continuation from the ongoing ceremonial tradition conducted in this neighborhood by framing the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings and the Ulus Square in a triangular area.

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[338] Diler Özdemir, "Ankara Hippodrome: The National Celebrations of Early Republican Turkey" (master thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2004), 29.

[339] Özdemir, "Ankara Hippodrome: The National Celebrations of Early Republican Turkey," 37.

[340] Özdemir, "Ankara Hippodrome: The National Celebrations of Early Republican Turkey," 49.
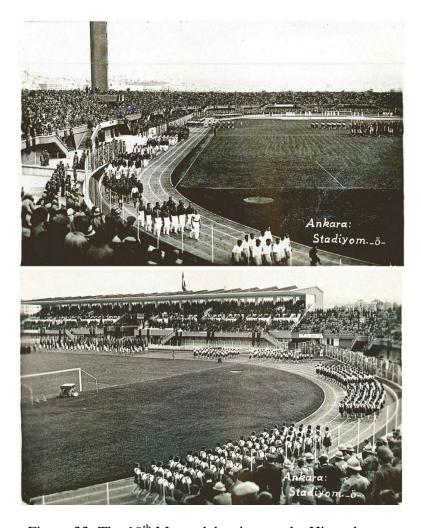
Figure 33. The 19th May celebrations at the Hippodrome.
(Source: Museum of Republic of Ankara, Postcards Collection, p:371 pl:608, 609 in
Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, Vol. I, Ankara University)

Despite the application of the Italian architect Paulo Vietti-Violi's winning project had not begun yet, the Hippodrome area was prepared for the celebrations of the 10th Anniversary of the Republic in 1933. Tribunes for the public spectators, press and statesmen were built and the participator groups of students, scouts and athletes organized according to the programme.[341] Ceremony began with a parade in front of the 2nd Assembly and continued with an official reception in the building conducted by the political leaders of the time. Then, the official group arrived to the Hippodrome with thousands of people in a great enthusiasm and the program was began with the speech of Atatürk.[342]

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[341] Özdemir, "Ankara Hippodrome: The National Celebrations of Early Republican Turkey," 95.
[342] Özdemir, "Ankara Hippodrome: The National Celebrations of Early Republican Turkey," 97, 98.

In 1935, the National Festivals and General Holidays Law declared that the Foundation of the Republic on 29th Oct., the Victory on 30th August and the National Sovereignty on 23rd Apr. and 19th May are determined as national festivals of the Republic which would be celebrated in the country-wide organizations in every year.[343] Then, in 1936, the Hippodrome complex of Ankara was opened as the main stage for these national celebrations. The Vietti-Violi's project includes separate spectator areas in the Hippodrome such as the tribune of the President, the first-class tribunes and for the other spectator areas, which were differentiates via architectural details, mass organization and material selection.[344]

In this way, national festivals began to be celebrated with a well-attended atmosphere at the Hippodrome through the participation of politicians, civils, schools, student groups, scouts and sportmen and began to be called as te Republican Square of Ankara (Figure 34).[345]
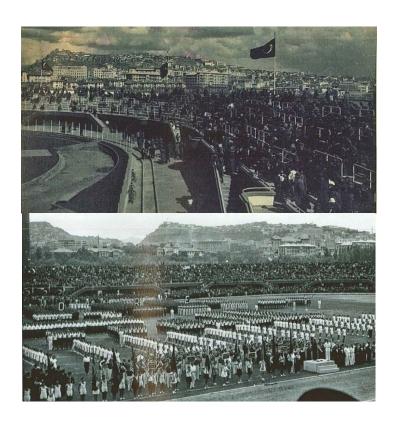
Figure 34. Celebrations at the Hippodrome, 1940.
(Source: Museum of Republic of Ankara, Postcards Collection, p:1066 pl:1914 and p:1065 pl:1912 in Cumhuriyetin Başkenti, Vol. I, Ankara University)

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[343] Özdemir, "Ankara Hippodrome: The National Celebrations of Early Republican Turkey," 72.
[344] Özdemir, "Ankara Hippodrome: The National Celebrations of Early Republican Turkey," 57, 60.
[345] Özdemir, "Ankara Hippodrome: The National Celebrations of Early Republican Turkey," 85.

In *Ölmeye Yatmak,* Ağaoğlu's main character describes a Republican Day with their participation as a scout:

> "At this anniversary of our Republic, I become a scout. We wore pleated blue skirts and four-pocket shirts. We also wore red foulards and tight belts... While we are passing by our *Milli Şef* (National Chief), drums are not played. You are putting drumsticks on the instrument and walk uprightly..."[346]

In this way, the parade and the celebrations in front of the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings changed in practive by transforming these buildings into official reception areas used by political leaders of the time before their participation to the Hippodrome. However, the active participators of the Ulus Square mostly changed from public to the official figures while Hippodrome gathered public institutions, civil participation and political contribution with its grandeur ceremonial area in the urban context. Importantly, the governmental focal character of the 2nd Assembly Building preserved by housing official receptions of political leaders, ambassadors and diplomatic groups before their participation to the Hippodrome.

3.2.7. Imagery Representations of the Republic on Written and Visual Media

As Garde-Hansen points out that representative power of media is an integral part of a state to represent ideas in public, the Turkish state also used the power of media to propagate, declare and represent Republican images in society as significant tools of daily life circulation. The cover pages, headlines and articles in publications are clearly and impressively indicate the assembly buildings, their establishment processes and the Republic, ceremonies on national days, photographs of statesmen to represent and to circulate collective memories of the nation in written and visual mediums. Accordingly, construction of the Turkish national identity continued unintermittedly through the construction of a Republican built environment, its use in collective activities and imagery constructions conducted by the mass media tools.

On the cover page of *Ulus* (Figure- 35, 30 Oct. 1935), the 12th anniversary of the Republic is seen as a commonly shared excitement by statesmen and Turkish citizens. Importantly, details of the Republic Day is declared with a rich content including the

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[346] Ağaoğlu, *Ölmeye Yatmak,* 101.

program of ceremony beginning at 8:00 with a parade from Station Boulevard to the Hippodrome. Followingly at 13:30, greetings of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and officials were realized and arrival to the Hippodrom completed at 14:30 with a great reception by public. Additionally, participation of scouts, soldiery, marines and villagers to the parade under the show of aeroplanes were written and supported with photographs by representing unity and solidarity of Turkish nation. Moreover, attendance of people of all ages to the celebrations indicates peaceful coexistence of nation without exception regarding age, profession or authority. In a similar way, on the cover page of *Ulus* (Figure- 35, 24 Apr. 1936), the anniversary of the opening of the 1st Assembly Building and the National Sovereignty and Children's Day is seen with a great participation by people at the Ulus Square with aeroplanes, ornaments and parade.

In a parallel vein, *Akşam* (Figure- 35 29 Oct. 1933), celebrates the 10th anniversary of the Republic with an expressive collage consisted of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Ankara Castle, Assembly Building with Turkish flag, aeroplanes, train and books on Turkish history and linguistics. Accordingly, selected figures have certain meanings by representing coexistence of the historical background of the city with castle and its contemporary industrial and cultural developments by expressing books, means of transport and factory silhouettes. Additionally, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's portrait in a sun clearly represents modernization and enlightenment of Turkish nation with the leadership of Atatürk on the top of the Assembly Building of the time with a red, flying Turkish flag.

Similarly, on the 15th anniversary of the Republic Day, the newspaper supplement of *Cumhuriyet* (Figure- 36, 29 Oct. 1938), have articles on the national struggle, establishment of the Republic, the developments made in the 15 years and the images of new architectural representations of the country. On the cover page, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and soldiers under the Turkish flag are seen by representing indivisible integrity of the nation with the leadership of Atatürk. Additionally, factories and city silhouettes beside a train image indicate modernization steps paced in the Republican regime and changing built environment of the cities by using high-rise settlement drawings. On the continual pages, new architectural artefacst of the Republic such as the Station Building, Ethnographic Museum, Ulus Monument, the Ankara Exhibition Building and the 2nd Assembly Building are seen as major representations of the new Turkish Republic and its modern architectural language with the use of the phrase *New Ankara.*

Figure 35. Newspaper headlines of *Akşam* and *Ulus*.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive)

Figure 36. Newspaper supplemet of Cumhuriyet, 1938.
(Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Documents Collection,
ID No: LA008_01, LA008_16)

In 1939, *Ulus* gave wide publicity to the ceremonies on the Victory Day and Republican Day (Figure- 37). The official reception by the leaders of the state and foreign diplomats in the 2nd Assembly Building is seen and the flow of events are supported with photographs. Followingly, the administrative leaders and public met at the Hippodrome in order to collectively celebrate national bairams with parades, airshows and dances. In the arcticles, the enthusiastic celebrations are depicted and participator groups are photographed to imagerily put the assembly buildings and the Hippodrome in the memories of the time.

Additionally, the inaugurations of the political periods in the assemblies have also declared on the newspapers with the photographs of the buildings and the council halls. (Figure-38) Here, the local papers and periodicals are also of vital importance in imagery constitutions of the Republic and its national representations. Accordingly, *Türk Yolu* and *Türk Sözü* became significant visual and written materials from their establishment in 1924 by declaring and discussing the Turkish Republic, national bairams, reforms and descriptions of Ankara in several issues. Especially "Yeni Türkiye" article series (vol: 391-398), "Ankara Yolunda" columns (vol: 402-409), "Yeniden Canlanan Türkiye" (vol:

431), "Yeni Bir Büyük Devlet: Türkiye'nin Bugünkü Vaziyeti" (vol: 437-439), "Dil Bayramımız" (vol: 444), "Kamutay Açılıyor" (vol: 445), "Cumhuriyet Bayramı Kutlulama Programı" (vol:448), "Cumhuriyet Devrinde Yapılan İşler" (vol: 449) in Türk Sözü are invaluable written evidence to understand political and social agenda in the following years of the proclamation of the Republic. In a similar way, *Türk Sözü* gave wide coverage to national celebrations, preparation phases and articles about the Commemoration of Atatürk Youth and Sports Day on 19th May and the National Sovereignty and Children's Day on 23rd April. (Figure- 39)

Figure 37. Celebrations for the Republic Day and Victory Day in 1939.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive)

Figure 38. Inauguration of the 2nd Assembly Building in 1946, 1948 and 1950.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive.)

Figure 39. Cover pages of *Türk Yolu* and *Türk Sözü* in 1938, 1942 and 1945.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Periodicals Archive)

In addition to the newspapers, there were considerable works to represent and promote the Turkish Republic in national and international stages. Accordingly, the comprehensive celebration programme of the Republic Day in 1933 became a siginificant medium to increase recognition of the new Turkey by housing foreign statesmen, diplomats and political figures as official guests. In "Halkevleri'nde Eğitici Sinema Repertuarı: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Sinema, Eğitim, Propaganda (1923-1945)" (2016), Çeliktemel-Thomen examines use of cinematography in the Early Republican Period to spread and to represent new democratic understanding of the government. Accordingly, movies become powerful mediums of states to meet with public audience in People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) in the first half of the 20th century.[347] By using the symbols of the state and the ruling party, speeches of political leaders and war memories and images of Republican architectural buildings, these movies actively participate to the representation of Turkish national identity as significant cultural and educational instruments.[348]

In a similar perspective, Lüleci analyzes a well-known Republican documentary completed in 1933 as a key cinematographic production to represent new Republican era of the country in "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Sovyetler Birliği Arasındaki Sanatsal İlişkiler: 'Ankara: Türkiye'nin Kalbi' Belgeseli Örneği" (2014). Grounding on the good political relations during the Independence War and on the advanced artistic improvements of Russia in 1930s, the Turkish Republic conducted valuable collaborations with foreign countries, especially with Soviet Union.[349] Followingly, the Soviet Russia was invited to the celebrations of the 10th Anniversary of the Republic with intentions of expressing gratitude towards the Soviet Uninon for their support during the war years and of preaparing an informative guidance to introduce the country for filming.[350] Then, the Soviet group made two documentaries called "Ankara: Türkiye'nin Kalbi" (1933) and "Türk İnkılabı'nda Terakki Hamleleri" (1937) including narrations and imagery scenes on the struggling war years of the country, declaration of the Republic and the contemporary condition of Turkey.[351]

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[347] Özde Çeliktemel-Thomen. "Halkevleri'nde Eğitici Sinema Repertuarı: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Sinema, Eğitim, Propaganda (1923-1945)," *sinecine* (6)2, 51, 52.

[348] Çeliktemel-Thomen. "Halkevleri'nde Eğitici Sinema Repertuarı: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Sinema, Eğitim, Propaganda (1923-1945)," 52.

[349] Lüleci, "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Sovyetler Birliği Arasındaki Sanatsal İlişkiler: 'Ankara: Türkiye'nin Kalbi' Belgeseli Örneği," 50.

[350] Lüleci, "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Sovyetler Birliği Arasındaki Sanatsal İlişkiler: 'Ankara: Türkiye'nin Kalbi' Belgeseli Örneği," 50.

[351] Lüleci, "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Sovyetler Birliği Arasındaki Sanatsal İlişkiler: 'Ankara: Türkiye'nin Kalbi' Belgeseli Örneği," 50.

In "Ankara: Türkiye'nin Kalbi", the directors of the documentary –Sergei Yutkevich and Lev Arnshtam- frequently use comporative images, scenes and figures to represent comprehensive change in social, cultural, political contexts and in the built environment of Turkey.[352] During the documentary, the assembly buildings and the Ulus Square were frequently used in scenes as an integral whole of the representation of new Turkish national identity. Accordingly, the changing city silhouette of Ankara from a middle-Anatolian town to a Republican capital, images of trains, planes and cars as symbols of industrialization, new state and public buildings in a new archtiectural manner and changing clothes of people are amogst primary comparison elements in the movie to represent rapid growth of the Republic from 1923.[353]

On the 25th anniversary of the Republic, the Governorship of Ankara declared the programme of the Republic Day celebration held from 28th October, 13:00 to 30th October 24:00. The official letter consisted of the course of events including visited buildings of the city such including the assembly buildings, the Ethnographic Museum, Ulus Square and the Hippodrome. Additionally, the organization of the parade and the participator groups –marching band, flags and scouts- were clearly defined in the letter according to their alignment in procession (Figure- 40).

After giving information about the opening speech and the visit of the temporal mausoleum of Atatürk in the Museum, the celebration programme was predominantly consisted of the organizational details of the Hippodrome as the main stage of the day. On the same day, the *Ulus* newspaper gave wide coverage to the representation of the Republic with figures and symbols of the era.

On the top of the page, the portraits of Atatürk and İsmet İnönü is seen as the first two presidents of the Republic. On two sides of the star and the crescent, Atatürk and İnönü are facing each other as a representation of an agreement about the Republic under the symbols of the Turkish flag. Below their portraits naval, army and air officers are seen as strong symbols of the military power of the state. Behind them, factory chimneys, aeroplanes, ships, train, tank and trucks are located as symbols of the industrialized and modernized silhouette of the country.

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[352] Lüleci, "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Sovyetler Birliği Arasındaki Sanatsal İlişkiler: 'Ankara: Türkiye'nin Kalbi' Belgeseli Örneği," 56.

[353] Lüleci, "Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ile Sovyetler Birliği Arasındaki Sanatsal İlişkiler: 'Ankara: Türkiye'nin Kalbi' Belgeseli Örneği," 56.

"In the newspapers of Ulus and Akşam on 1953, the celebration details of the Republic Day were given in detail. Accordingly, the visit to the tomb of Atatürk in the Ethnographic Museum and celebrations at the Hippodrome and the Ulus Square are clearly seen on the cover pages of the day. Importantly, the image of Atatürk portrait placed on top as a symbol of changing representative image of the Republic changed from the use of photographs of the assemblies and Republican buildings into the founder of the country as iconographically representations of political figures (Figure-41).

Clearly, media publications in the first half of the 20th century occupies a significant place to construct imagery constructions of the Republic in the memories of the nation. Especially on national days, ceremonial procedure conducted in the city was depicted in detail and visited buildings were given in publications through written and visual representations. Therefore, media tools became vital mediums to convey national ideals of the Republic through the imagery constructions of the new, democratic Turkish state. From the cover pages of the newapapers to the articles in the inner pages, daily circulation of the periodicals is of great importance to declare and propagate new Turkish national ideal. In the course of time, the Republican representations in the built environment of the country diversified as a natural consequence of developing state. Thus, the wide coverage of the assembly buildings were supported with new Republican symbols in the imagery representations of the nation and in various representative formations parallel with continuously changing agenda.
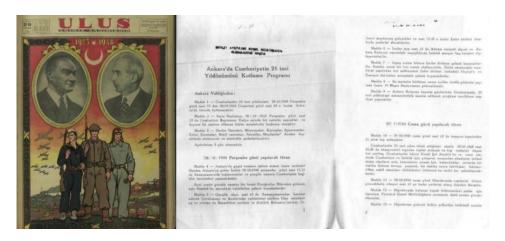
Figure 40. *Ulus* newspaper and the archival documents on the celebration programme for the 25th anniversary of the Republic, 1948. (Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive and Ottoman and Republican archives of State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey - 490-1-0-0_1141-2-2)

Figure 41. Cover pages of *Ulus* and *Akşam* on the Republic Day in 1953.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive)

3.3. The 3rd Assembly of Turkey: Symbolization of a Republic

The first quarter of the 20th century of Anatolia housed comprehensive transformations in socio-cultural and political contexts of the land, which resulted in significant change in vision of the new Turkish Republic. On the one hand, the Republican idea was developing in governmental and institutional mediums of policy, on the other hand, the ongoing democracy was re-questioned in accordance with new necessities of developing regime. Accordingly, a multi-vocal atmosphere of the assembly was found precious to improve democratic manner of the Republic, and oppositional groups began to emerge in the last years of the 1930s. In the same decade, the Turkish Republic was shaken with devastating loss of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1938 as a historical threshold. In every level of life, bereavement of Atatürk created an intense sorrow and Turkey encountered a series of new and acute decisions in political environment of the country.

Thus, this section proposes an overall perspective on changing democratic scheme of the Republic in the late 1930s when the period brought about political and socio-cultural transformations in the nation. Then, the opening of the 3rd Assembly Building in 1961 is evaluated as another significant threshold for the country which was fed from continually evolving structures of the ongoing agenda. From this perspective, the loss of Atatürk, transition to a multi-party system and improving discourses on the representation of the Turkish nation and the construction and inauguration of the 3rd Assembly Building are handled as primary concerns for this section.

Importantly, the abovementioned breaking points were occurred in the period of the 2nd Assembly and paved the ways of the 3rd Assembly Building as the last and contemporary representation of the Turkish Republic. From this perspective, a complementary and holistic point of view is used to understand primary reasons, circumstances and changing political and architectural environment of Turkey in the process of constructing the 3rd Assembly Building. Therefore, this section proposes an inclusive window incorporating with political and architectural transformations of Turkey from the late 1930s and places the 3rd Assembly Building at the center as the contemporary symbol of the projected ideal of the Republic produced after all those ruptuıres.

3.3.1. New Perspectives on Democracy: The Multi-Party System after 1930s

Following the establishment of the Republic, the late 1920s and 1930s generally witnessed to introductory operations of new democratic regime and its mediums in policy. During the first decade of democracy, the single party system was found convenient to spread new necessities of a Republican state which was constituted upon multi-national structure of the Ottoman Empire.[354] Thus, the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) took significant steps as party in power and primarily declared six principles of the state which would be symbolized with six arrows in the logo of the party in future.[355] Accordingly, *republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism* and *revolutionism* were adopted as main principles of the constitution and spread in public as orderly reminders of the Turkish Republican mentality in every level of life. Importantly

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[354] Feroz Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu* trans. Yavuz Alogan (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), 79.
[355] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 81.

in 1930s, the People's Houses were established in different cities in order to spread democratic ideal of the state and to raise educated Turkish people who were well-informed in social-cultural issues, art, literature and crafts.[356]

On the one hand, political perspective of the state instrumentalizes educational and cultural reforms as significant mediums for adopting new Republican manner in daily life, on the other hand, construction and planning activities in Ankara became important tools to generate new Republican spaces for public. Therefore, improving built environment of the capital in time became a pioneer for future developments of other cities in the country. In "Mustafa Kemal Dönemi'nde Ankara'nın İmarı", Duru emphasizes that Ankara was the first exemplary city for Turkey in public improvements which would be conducted in Turkey later on.[357] Thus, the 1930s' Ankara takes an important place for future development of a Republican country as the heart of the new Turkish state.[358]

Following the devastating loss of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1938, İsmet İnönü was selected as the new president of the Republic to maintain, protect and improve the Republican legacy of Atatürk. Towards the end of the first decade of his presidency, a need for an opposition party arose to constitute a proper democratic system both in national and international stages. Up to that time, dissidents established Liberal Republican Party (*Cumhuriyetçi Serbest Fırka*) in 1930s and the Independent Group (*Bağımsız Grup*) in the 1940s. However, they remained as minor oppositional groups in the assembly against Republican People's Party and not affected the election atmosphere in the country.[359] As the first organized opposition party, the Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti*) was established by Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan and Fuat Köprülü in 1946.[360] In *Celal Bayar Arşivi'nden Serbest Fırka Anıları*, Naskali compares the LRP and DP by pointing out their establishment processes and founders. Accordingly, the LRP arose as a new group which was established on the directions of Atatürk while the DP was founded by oppositional figures separately from the president of the time.[361]

Although the underlying democratic ideologies of RPP and DP meet in keeping Atatürk's perspective on Republic, the Democrat Party frequently criticized the single

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[356] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 81.
[357] Duru, "Mustafa Kemal Döneminde Ankara'nın İmarı," 108.
[358] Duru, "Mustafa Kemal Döneminde Ankara'nın İmarı," 122.
[359] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 89, 125.
[360] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 126.
[361] Emine Gürsoy Naskali, *Celal Bayar Arşivi'nden Serbest Fırka Anıları* (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2015), 11.

party system inherited from 1923. In this way, toleration of public against the ongoing system and unquestioned acceptance of the administration began to shake after the establishment of the Democrtat Party, and a new election was held in 1950.[362] The intensive oppositional program of the Democrat Party was widely accepted in the country and the Republican People's Party defeated by the Democrats at that time.[363] Then, the Democrat Party won again 1954 elections and consolidated their seat in the assembly. Here, Ahmad points out that the existing political facilities, institutions and laws were inherited from the first years of the establishment of the Republic in 1920s. Thus, the Democrat Party had to re-organize and re-constitute these existing political legacy in accordance with their new political perspective and future aims.[364]

However, the ruling party prioritized economic transformation of the country and postponed re-consideration of ongoing political mediums which brought about insecurity within the party in power and also in public.[365] As a result of increasing discontent in economic and political structures of the Republic, the potency of the Democrat Party came to a halt with a military coup called National Unity Committee (*Milli Birlik Komitesi*) in 1960. Until 1961, the army seized power and then, parties were allowed to be established under the control of NUC. In this way, the Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*) and the New Turkey Party (*Yeni Türkiye Partisi*) were established. In 1961 elections, the Justice Party and the RPP formed a coalition until 1964, when the JP won the elections as the party in power.[366] Up to 1971, the Republic witnessed a dynamic political atmosphere with the establishments of the Reliance Party (*Güven Partisi*) and the Nationalist Movement Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*).[367] However, the ongoing political struggles, rifts within parties, economic discontent in nation-wide and international issues resulted in unsuccessful leadership in the assembly. Then, a military memorandum occurred to call resignation of the Justice Party in 1971.[368]

Clearly, beginning from the 1940s, the political atmosphere of the Turkish Republic has continually transformed according to continual questioning of democratic regime with its oppositional groups and parties in the assembly. Thus, the single-party authority of the 1920s was replaced by the multi-party system, and this new perspective

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[362] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 129.
[363] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 132.
[364] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 134.
[365] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 134.
[366] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 170.
[367] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 172.
[368] Ahmad, *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*, 176.

on democracy brought about certain change in the representation of the Republic. Accordingly, political figures, groups and parties came into prominence as popular symbols of the state from that time. However, it must be noted that the symbols of the Republic were not sharply transformed from artefacts to political leaders in a flash. The intense construction of the Republican institutions after 1930s sustained as it was in the last decade of the country, but at that time, re-organized and re-considered democratic manner accompanied a rise in the visibility of politicians and political groups as representations of the Republic.

Thus, the last and contemporary assembly building of Turkey corresponds such a transformative period in the country when the visibility of political figures increased as symbols of the democratic stance of Turkey. The rising needs of the regime and requirements for larger spaces in the dynamic political atmosphere of the late 1930s, an iconic parliament building was needed as an official representation of the Republic. From this perspective, an international competition was held for the 3rd Assembly Building in order to construct the new concrete symbol of the consolidated existence of the Turkish Republic. Therefore, this building was supposed to represent grandeur stance of the democratic state via different levels of symbolization both in the urban structure.

3.3.2. Contested Issues on Locality and Nationality in Architecture

The dynamic political atmosphere of the Turkish Republic after 1930s showed its effects in various structures of the state. The built environment of the country came into prominence as one of these stages where the active changes were observed. Accordingly, reforms and modernization steps of the era find opportunity to be concretely experienced and spatialized via newly establishing Republican artefacts in cities.

As Bozdoğan emphasizes the use of architecture as a significant actor by the Turkish state in the Early Republican Period, the construction activities accelerated with a new perspective in the late 1930s. Accordingly, the Ottoman revivalist architectural language of the 1920s was questioned in a more local and national manner and the built environment of the Republic was re-considering as one of the major representation of the state.

Therefore, the Ottoman revival evaluated as an outdated fashion which had to be abandoned in order to reach a modern architectural understanding based on functional

and rational approach.[369] Thus, the 1930s witnessed a critical period of the ongoing architectural manner in the country from various professionals in the state. In this way, a new discursive era in architecture began by accepting co-existence of old and new, traditional and modern, reactionist and progressivist.[370] In the following years, this period would be called as the end of the First National Movement and Ottoman revivalism with the beginning of the New Architecture.

Aslanoğlu defines this new period as the International Movement, the Neo-Classical Movement and the Second National Movement beginning with co-working of local and foreign architects in practice through the new architectural constructions of the Republic.[371] In a parallel vein, Tekeli and İlkin's second phase overlaps this period with the abandonment of the First National Movement and the beginning of a new attitude towards comprehensive modernization in a western attitude in the 1930s.[372] Thus, foreign architects were invited to Ankara in order to revise and re-consider architectural products of the epoch.[373]

Here, Aslanoğlu refers *Teşvik-i Sanayi Yasası* as an important factor which resulted in improving relations with the west. In this way, a rich interaction between local and foreign architects were established and an international perspective began to be approved by Turkish professionals in Anatolia, especially in Ankara.[374] On the one hand, foreign architects, such as Giulio Mongeri, Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut and Martin Elsaesser preferred monumental architectural language to propagate nationalism in grandeur scales, Turkish architects used western-focused rational and functional attitude in architecture.

In time, local architects advocated that the ongoing Ottoman revivalism and monumental design principles had to be replaced by new modern, functional and rational perspective in order to properly represent the firm Turkish nationalism. Accordingly monumental, symmetrical and highly decorative attitudes were replaced by purist, simple and functional architectural manner in the International Movement.[375] In order to empower form-function relation in designs, concrete skeleton systems, plain roofs,

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[369] Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası,* 33.
[370] Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası,* 34.
[371] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 54, 63.
[372] Tekeli and İlkin, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması,* 65.
[373] Bülent Batuman. "Identity, Monumentally, Security: Building a Monument in Early Republican Ankara," *Journal of Architectural Education* 59, no:1 (2005), 37.
[374] İnci Aslanoğlu. "1928-1946 Döneminde Ankara'da Yapılan Resmi Yapıların Mimarisinin Değerlendirilmesi." In *Tarih İçinde Ankara* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, 2000), 272.
[375] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 63, 64.

cubical masses, asymmetrical volumes were mostly used in the International Movement.[376]

However, Batur proposes that invitation of foreign architects remained incapable to pace realistic steps towards modernization in the architectural language of Turkey by pointing out inadequacies in construction technology and professional deficiencies at that time.[377] Then in the late 1930s, a common reaction to the domination of foreign architects emerged, which would be named as the Second National Movement in the following years. Aslanoğlu explains this phase of architectural search of Turkey as an escape from the foreign influences in national architecture and the will to prove sufficiency of Turkish professionals to declare new Republican identity in the built environment.[378]

This nationalist attitude in architecture overlaps with Tekeli and İlkin's third and fourth phases. Accordingly, this period is defined when the employment of foreign architects came to a halt and a new understanding arose. By advocating the idea that the national identity of Turkey had to be designed by Turkish architects, engineers and technical specialists, the ongoing co-working tendencies were reconsidered under the name of the Second National Movement. In this way, a special emphasis was laid on the need of Turkish professionals in the built environment of the 1940s.[379]

In this period, Turkish architects Behçet and Necati Bey, Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat become the key figures in representing the new national manner in architecture. However, as Batur proposed previously, the existing circumstances and deficiencies in construction and design techniques resulted in involuntary collaboration with foreigners. Leadingly, the Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister became one of the most important architects of the Second National Movement in Turkey by designing the ministry buildings of Defense, Interior, Public Works and Presidency of the Judicial Council in Ankara, in addition to the other public institutions in the city. Importantly, the 3rd Assembly was designed by Holzmeister in 1937 and after its completion in 1961, the building have stayed in use until today as the last and contemporary assembly building of the Turkish Republic.

At this time, the most popular architectural publications of the era – journals of *Mimar*, *Mimarlık*, *Arkitekt* and *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* – became significant indicators

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[376] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 64.
[377] Batur, *A Concise History: Architecture in Turkey During the 20th Century,* 15.
[378] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı: 1923-1938,* 69.
[379] Tekeli and İlkin, *Modernite Aşılırken Kent Planlaması,* 65.

of ongoing discontent on "foreign architect admiration" through the articles of well-known Turkish architects and planners. While a group of administrators, architects, planners and media professionals were supporting the productive atmosphere of co-operations with foreign architects, a remarkable group rejected dominant influence of foreigners in the built environment, especially while representing Turkish national identity. Basically regarding cultural concerns in discussion, this group advocated the idea that a national architecture of a country could only be properly realized by its own citizens.[380]

In his article "Mimar ve Mimarlık" (1941), architect and engineer Orhan Alsaç emphasizes the need of a national architectural language specific to a society. According to Alsaç, national architecture circles around climatic characteristics, culture and traditional habits of a certain community. Hence, national architecture of Turkey was supposed to be created by Turkish architects, planners and designers arose from the Turkish culture, traditions and unique chacateristics.[381]

Thus, the national language of the Republic was amongst vital needs of the state and had to be reformist and innovative in construction. From this perspective, the built environment of the country had to represent Turkish nation by careful works of Turkish professionals.[382]As one of the vigorous advocators of Turkish architects in national discourse, architect Abidin Mortaş expresses his discontent:

> "we are not engaging in a mere nationalism demagoguery. We are justifiably advocating that it is necessary to be proud of the products of a well-educated Turkish group, instead of blindly and uncomprehendingly appreciating all foreign works in this country..."[383]

Similarly, another well-known architect of the time, Şevki Balmumcu argues journalist Falih Rıfkı Atay's positive opinions on foreign collaboration:

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[380] Gürhan Tümer, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Yabancı Mimarlar Sorunu* (İzmir: İzmir Mimarlar Odası Şubesi, 1998), 57. [In his detailed book on the foreign architects problem in Turkey, architect Gürhan Tümer compares positive and negative reactions on the collaborations with foreigners in the Republican period by analyzing the articles of the time.]

[381] Orhan Alsaç. "Mimar ve Mimarlık." In *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi,* (Year:8 İssue:7), 54, 55. [Orhan Alsaç is one of the leading figures in the construction process of the 3rd Assembly Building and worked as officer in the public works of the complex.).

[382] Alsaç, "Mimar ve Mimarlık," 61.

[383] Tümer, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Yabancı Mimarlar Sorunu,* 18. (*"Biz, kuru milliyetçilik demogojisi yapmıyoruz. Bu memlekette, bütün ecnebi eserlere anlamadan körü körüne tapmanın hatalı olduğunu, yetişmiş bir Türk zümrenin iyi eserler ile iftihar etmek icap ettiğini haklı olarak iddia ediyoruz."*)

"we are inviting Falih Rıfkı Atay for making a proper analysis and observation on the circumstances we are in... After seeing our situation, he would write again..."[384]

In a parallel vein, architects Behçet and Bedrettin Beyler advocate the need of local attitude in the search of national architectural tendency in Turkey by writing:

"really, it is seen that the national spirit and national architecture are overwhelmed and wiped off in recent years. Day by day, the good or bad products of foreign artists have been rising in the cities… However, today's (Turkish) architects can rival in foreigners and – more over– can win the competitions after one or two try. It is certain that all these young and recent notions will develop… They are correcting their deficiencies and they are learning… Turkish lands are waiting for the masterpieces born from itself. The foreign and deceptive buildings, which are nonconforming our lands, are not appeal us. They are not firmly in place. This is what we are expecting in architecture and art. The architecture of these lands… The products of these lands, these lands' children and architects…"[385]

Additionally, architect Sedat Hakkı Eldem points out the importance of local perspective not only in architectural design but also in the technical proficiency of constructional works:

"as we proposed previously, it is time for becoming self-sufficient in construction. Hence, -within the economical and industrial possibilities- local materials and engineers are employed in public works progressively… In example, especially in Ankara, the buildings which are designed and constructed by the foreign professionals contradict with the character of the city and give the feeling of they are imported from the outside… In our opinion, the beneficial occupancy with foreigners have to be in two circumstances: a) if we have no professional specific to a work b) if it was an educational process."[386]

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[384] Tümer, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Yabancı Mimarlar Sorunu,* 18. (*"Falih Rıfkı Atay'ı, içinde bulunduğumuz şartları daha yakından tetkik ve tahlile davet ediyoruz. Buyursunlar, görsünler ve sonra yazsınlar...")*

[385] Tanju, *Tereddüd ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960,* 192, 193, 194. (*"Hakikaten son senelerde; milli ruh ve mimarinin ezildiği ve silindiği görülüyor. Memlekette her gün ecnebi sanatkarların iyi kötü eserleri yükselip duruyor... Bugünkü mimarlar bir iki deneme neticesi, ecnebi mimarlarla boy ölçüşebiliyor ve daha ileri giderek her girdiği müsabakayı kazanıyorlar. Bu körpe ve taze unsurlar daha olgunlaşacakları muhakkaktır. Eksiklerini tamamlıyor, öğreniyorlar... Türk toprakları; artık kendinden doğacak şaheserleri bekliyor. Toprağımıza ve havamıza uymıyan yabancı ve yalancı binalar bizleri sarmıyor, iğreti duruyor. Bizim istediğimiz mimari beklediğimiz sanat da budur. Bu toprağın mimarisidir. Bu toprakların öz çocuklarının, mimarlarının yapacakları eserlerdir."*)

[386] Tanju, *Tereddüd ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960,* 285, 292, 296. (*"Yukarda da işaret ettiğimiz gibi yapı işlerinde de (kendi yağımızda kavrulmak) zihniyetinin daha esaslı bir şekilde hakim olması zamanı çoktan gelmiştir... Netekim Nafıa işlerinde –iktisadi ve sınayi imkan dahilinde- gittikçe yerli malzeme ve yerli mühendis kullanılmaktadır. Misal: Memleketimizde bilhassa Ankarada ecnebi mütehassıslarına yaptırılan binaların bir çoğu memleketin karakterine aykırı düşmekte ve dışarıdan ithal edilmiş hissini vermektedir... Fikrimizce yapı ve imar ilerinde ecnebilerden istifade şu sahfalarda olmalıdır: a) Bizde ehli olmayan işlerde, b) Yetiştirme ve terbiye sahasında."*

In an interview of *Arkitekt,* Eldem points out the importance of co-operation with foreign professionals regarding their knowledge on the construction technology especially in steel and concrete constructions.[387] Accordingly, the new, innovative and reformist character of the Republic could be produced in accordance with certain criteria. Firstly, the new built environment of the country was supposed to fit Turkish people living standards. Secondly, the work force had to be sufficient to combine new technical and cognitive procedures. Thirdly, the local specialities had to complied with site and climatic characteristics.[388]

Eldem particularly emphasizes that the first years of the Republic was in urgent need of institutionalization in public and governmental buildings and thus, the help of foreign initiations had to be appreciated to accelerate process.[389] However, those dependant circumstances of the state was over in these decades as a result of developing state organizations and local specialization on building technology could be achived by Turkish professionals.

From another perspective, Zeki Sayar criticizes extensive employment of foreign professionals in the Republic and proposes that Turkish architects cannot find opportunity to show their proficiency and knowledge in the built environment.[390] Moreover, the products of foreign architects could not fit intended needs of the national architecture and unable to go beyond artistic experimentations.[391] In a parallel vein with Sayar, Abidin Mortaş rejects unquestioned foreign admiration in the Republic. Accordingly, Mortaş proposes that technical knowledge and developments could be used in the building technology of the country by combining technical knowledge with local needs and socio-cultural characteristics of the Turkish nation.[392]

Clearly, the continual transformation in Anatolia resulted in a synchronous transformation in the built environment of the country, especially in Ankara as the capital of the Turkish Republic. The architectural movements beginning from the first years of the 20th century continued until the 1950s when a more stable and consolidated architectural representations were realized not only in Ankara but also in the country. In order to find a national architectural language and properly represent the Turkish national

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[387] "Milli Mimari Meselesi." In *Arkitekt,* vol: 1939 issue: 1939-09-10 (105-106), 220.
[388] "Milli Mimari Meselesi," 221, 222.
[389] "Milli Mimari Meselesi," 221.
[390] "Hadiseler: Yerli ve Yabancı Mimar," in *Arkitekt,* vol: 1938 issue: 1938-02 (86), 65.
[391] "Hadiseler: Yerli ve Yabancı Mimar," 65.
[392] "Harp Sonrası İmar İşleri." In *Arkitekt,* vol: 1945 issue: 1945-09-10 (165-166), 192.

identity, the built environment of the country was continually re-considered and re-constructed. Thus, the grandiose stance of the Turkish Republic was concretely produced in architectural spaces which were shaped around the principles of democratic and republican character of Turkey, contemporary architectural trends and ongoing technological innovations of the time.

3.3.3. Competing for the New National Assembly of Turkey

Ongoing national architecture discussions and reformist initiations in the built environment were also fed from architectural competitions in the 1930s where the foreign and Turkish architects found opportunity to present their specific design approaches.[393] Thus, following the late 1930s, design competitions became a popular topic in professional platforms to discuss their executions, advantages or disadvantages and fundamental principles in participation, assessment and finalization procedures.

Leadingly, Abidin Mortaş appreciates design competitions by emphasizing their prolific atmosphere to give Turkish architects opportunity for demonstrate their proficiency at construction site.[394] Accordingly, Mortaş summarizes fundamental principles of a design competition and its assessment criteria as a fulfilling architectural program, a functional plan organization, construction convenience, economic efficiency, architectural perspective and additional needs specific to design.[395] In a similar vein, Zeki Sayar criticizes architectural competitions regarding deficiencies in requested programs and list of conditions in competition announcements. Thus, Sayar emphasizes the importance of careful and well-thought processes in competitions in order to achieve a more proper and more rewarding products meeting the needs of the Republic.[396]

As a well-known product of such a prolific competitional environment, the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey was brought to agenda in 1937. In these years, a need for a new assembly building was brought to agenda in order to declare and represent the consolidated regime, democratic manner of the country, the stable existence of the Republic. In this way, it is aimed to create a new and iconic symbol of the country which

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[393] As previously discussed, Italian architect Paulo Vietti-Violi's Hippodrome project in 1931 was one of the significant thresholds in the memories of the Republic which was built after a design competition.

[394] "Proje Müsabakaları." In *Arkitekt,* vol: 1944 issue: 1944-01-02 (145-146), 2.

[395] "Proje Müsabakaları," 2.

[396] "Müsabakalar ve Jüriler." In *Arkitekt,* vol: 1945 issue: 1945-05-06 (161-162), 96.

would be represent the Turkish Republic's principles, history, freedom, strength and future aims in the urban structure of the capital. In accordance with this perspective, Çankaya –where was formerly proposed as the new administration core of the Republic in accordance with the plans of Lörcher and Jansen in the 1920s – determined as the site of the third and contemporary assembly building of Turkey in the Ministries Quarter (Figure 42, 43, 44).
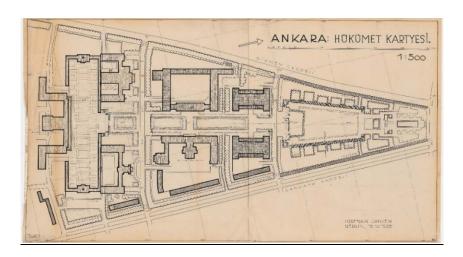
Figure 42. Hermann Jansen's site plan drawing of the Ministries Quarter, 1935. (Source: Scale: 1/500, Ankara Hükümet Kartyesi. Technische Universitat Berlin, Architekturmuseum. Inventory Number: 22866. architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/P/158056.php. Accessed: 20.04.2020)

Figure 43. Hermann Jansen's drawing on the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey, 1933. (Source: Technische Universitat Berlin, Architekturmuseum. Inventory Number: 22870. architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de/P/98337.php. Accessed: 20.04.2020)
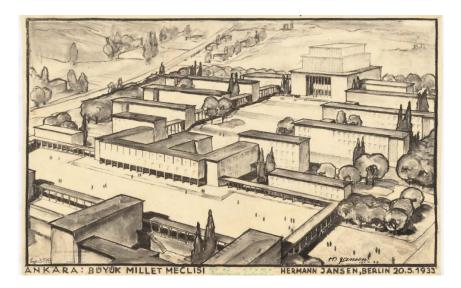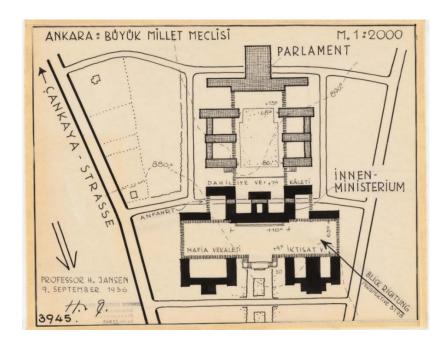
Figure 44. Hermann Jansen's site plan drawing of the Ministries Quarter, 1936.
(Source: Scale: 1/500, Ankara Hükümet Kartyesi. Technische Universitat Berlin,
Architekturmuseum. Inventory Number: 22869. architekturmuseum.ub.tu-
berlin.de/P/98294.php. Accessed: 20.04.2020)

In the January of 1937, an international competition for the new assembly of Turkey was declared on decisions of the Chairmanship Council (*Riyaset Divanı*) and Grand National Assembly of Turkey Presidency Council - Competition Commission (*TBMM Başkanlık Divanı Yarışma Komistonu*) with the jury members, W.M. Dudok from Holland, I. Tengbom from Sweden and H. Robertson from England (Figure 45).[397]

The special role of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey was also clearly expressed in the declaration text of the competition committee and intended grandeur symbolization of the campus was announced:

> "the competition aims to construct a monumental representation of the Turkish Republic in the 20th century stage which has to symbolize perfect and pure manner in architectural style, in addition to its grand and detailed program."[398]

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[397] *Yarım Asırlık Meclis Binası: 51. Yıl,* (Ankara: TBMM Prestij Kitaplar, TBMM Basın, Yayın ve Halkla İlişkiler Başkanlığı Yayınları No:1, Nisan 2012), 2.

[398] *Yarım Asırlık Meclis Binası: 51. Yıl,* 2. [In contrast to the first two assemblies of Turkey, the 3rd Assembly became the first administration core of the country which was constructed as the parliament building fort he country from the beginning. To make it clear, the first assembly was formerly used as the office buliding of the Committee of Union and Progress and similarly, the second was used as the office of the Republican People's Party before its use as the secondassembly of Turkey.]

— 132 —

Büyük Millet Meclisi binasile Başvekâlet ve Hariciye vekâleti binalarının yapılması için taahhüd icrasına mezuniyet verilmesi hakkında kanun

(Resmî Gazete ile neşir ve ilânı : 21/I/1937 - Sayı : 3513)

No.
3090

Kabul tarihi
11 - I - 1937

BİRİNCİ MADDE — Şehir plânında Büyük Millet Meclisi için tahsis ve tefrik edilen sahada Cümhur Başkanlığı dairesini de ihtiva etmek üzere Büyük Millet Meclisi binasile ayni saha içinde Başvekâlet ve Hariciye vekâleti binaları inşası için altı senede ödenmek üzere (4 500 000) liraya kadar taahhüd yapılmasına mezuniyet verilmiştir.

İKİNCİ MADDE — Birinci madde ile verilen salâhiyete istinaden yapılacak taahhüdler mucibince her sene tediye edilecek miktar mezkûr seneler Büyük Millet Meclisi bütçesine konulacak tahsisattan ödenir.

ÜÇÜNCÜ MADDE — Bu kanun neşri tarihinden muteberdir.

DÖRDÜNCÜ MADDE — Bu kanunun hükümleri Büyük Millet Meclisi tarafından icra olunur.

18 kânunusani 1937

Cümhuriyet Reisliğine yazılan tezkerenin tarih ve numarası : 11 - I - 1937 ve 2/38
Bu kanunun neşir ve ilânının Başvekilliğe bildirildiğine dair Cümhur Reisliğinden gelen tezkerenin tarih ve numarası : 18 - I - 1937 ve 4/45

T. B. M. M.
Reisliği . . · - 193

Yeniden yaptırılacak B.M.M. binası için lüzumu olan projeleri ihzar ettirerek bu projeleri tetkik etmek üzere fen heyetleri teşkil etmek ve takarrür edecek plân ve projeler üzerine münakaşa ilân ederek inşaatı ihale etmek ve buna mütedair bilcümle hususatı verecekleri kararlar dairesinde idare etmek üzere Reis Vekillerinden Konya mebusu Tevfik Fikret Sılayın Başkanlığı altında İdare Âmirlerinden mürekkeb olmak üzere bir İnşaat komisyonu teşkiline karar verilmiştir.

Reis   R.Vekili   R.Vekili   R.Vekili

İdare Âmiri   İdare Âmiri   İdare Âmiri

Kâtib   Kâtib   Kâtib

Kâtib   Kâtib   Kâtib

Figure 45. Official state documents declaring decisions for the budget and organization of the construction committee for the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey. (Source: *Yarım Asırlık Meclis Binası: 51. Yıl.* Ankara: TBMM Prestij Kitaplar, TBMM Basın, Yayın ve Halkla İlişkiler Başkanlığı Yayınları No:1, Nisan 2012. p: 7.)

On 10th Dec. 1937, the competition was ended and *Arkitekt* published a detailed program including information about regulations, project proposals, economic limits,

refereeing tasks and time constraints for the competitors, referee report and Bruno Taut's commentary on the competition (Figure 46).
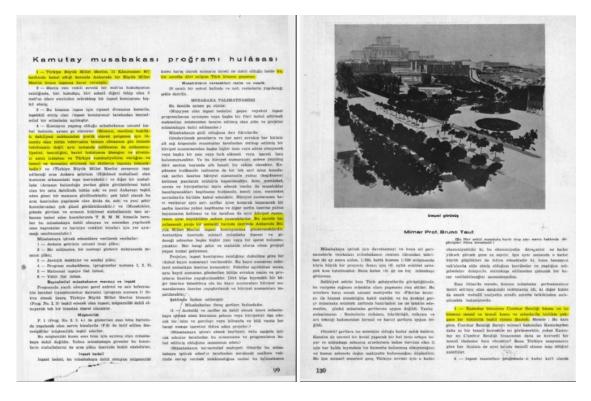
Figure 46. Arkitekt's article on the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building design competiton. (Source: "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası" in Arkitekt, vol: 1938 issue: 1938-04 (88), pp: 99-132. pp: 99, 130.)

In the referee report, preliminary preparations were expressed by visiting the construction site and evaluating the neighborhood in order to understand technical and zoning limitations of the area. Then, the competition was appreciated by the referees regarding orderly progress and attentive perspective of the process.[399] However, the timespan of the competition was found inadequate to properly realize the needs of such a comprehensive program.[400] On the other hand, referees attentively analyzed proposals regarding their convenience to the competition text such as submission requirements, mass organizations, symbolic details and economic limitations. In order to approximately

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[399] "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası." In Arkitekt, vol: 1938 issue: 1938-04 (88), 104.

[400] "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası," 104.

calculate possible cost of the project, referees took reference contemporarily constructed buildings in Ankara during these years.[401]

Referees classified their evaluation criteria as plan and division (*plan ve taksimat*), architectonics (*mimari*), economic side (*ekonomi cephesi*) and site plan (*vaziyet planı*).[402] Accordingly, all projects were commentated under these sections and Holzmeister's winning proposal competed with the name *project no.13*. According to the report, the plan scheme of the project found rational, economic and monumental. The organization of four meeting halls was reviewed as pure and lighted while their foyers were evaluated as grand and spectacular as main transition areas. However, the presidency was found small and simple regarding future use of the area in ceremonies as the central monumental core of the building.[403]

In the architectural evaluation, referees express the building as moderate and dignified which establishes a convenient relationship with the construction site and its urban context. In a similar way, the economical side of the project found proper and appropriate for future modifications. Regarding the last criteria as the site plan, certain alterations were proposed such as completely using the whole site which was allocated for the 3rd Assembly Building in Jansen plan and expanding the main courtyard –stated as *Forum* in the report– to host grand ceremonies and to utilize the area for vehicle use.[404]

Following the referee's report, Taut's evaluation article finishes the text. Accordingly, Taut emphasizes iconographic representation of the 3rd Assembly Building by describing the complex as a crown placed upon the head of Ankara.[405] Importantly, representation was amongst main topics of the program in order to achieve a symbolic integrity between working zones and representative components of the complex.[406] From this perspective, the last assembly building of the country was supposed to meet all technical and administrative needs of the Republic while locating at the highest point of the Ministries Quarter gradually stepping on the slopes with gardens and courtyards toward Çankaya.[407] Amongst 14 projects, proposals of Albert Laprade, Alois Mezara and Clemens Holzmeister were selected and presented to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to select winning project (Figure 47, 48, 49).

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[401] "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası," 105.
[402] "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası," 109.
[403] "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası," 109.
[404] "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası," 109.
[405] "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası," 131.
[406] "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası," 131.
[407] "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası," 132.
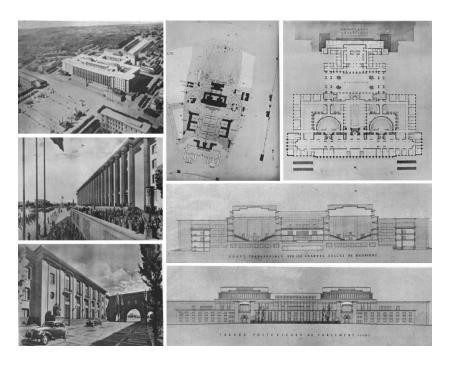
Figure 47. Details of Albert Laprade's proposal for the international competition of the 3rd Assembly Building. (Source: "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası", 105-108.)
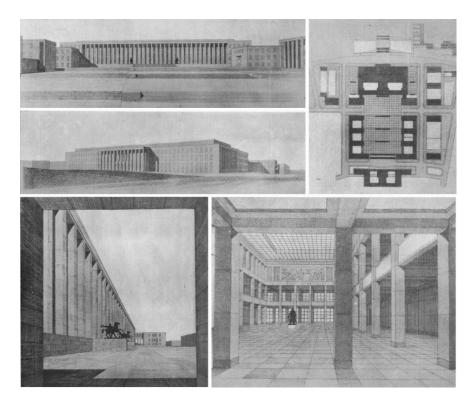
Figure 48. Details of Alois Mezara's proposal for the international competition of the 3rd Assembly Building. (Source: "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası", 111-113.)
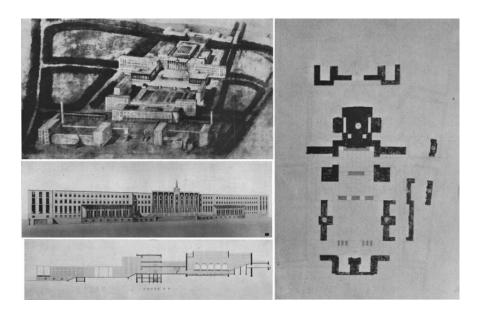
Figure 49.Details of Clemens Holzmeister's proposal for the international competition of the 3rd Assembly Building. (Source: "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası", 101-113.)

The *Ulus* newspaper gave wide coverage to results of the competition and details of Holzmeister's winning project. Accordingly, drawings of the building, referee report and a detailed interview with Fikret Sılay, who was the Chairman of the Construction Committee, were published including comprehensive information on the competition process and architectural characteristics of the winning project (Figure 50).

Figure 50. *Ulus'* announcement on 23 Feb. 1938 to declare the winning project of the Grand National Assembly design competition. (Source: National Library of Turkey, Periodicals Archive)

In the interview, Sılay appreciates international competitions to construct monumental buildings regarding their prolific atmosphere which gather different professional fields together. In this way, the construction of the 3rd Assembly Building fed from such a productive platform consisted of several architects, planner, engineers and designers from different nations. As Sılay expresses, the assembly building was described as a "monument" which was supposed to embody and represent the firm existence of the Turkish Republic with its pure and perfect style meeting the needs of the 20th century in a harmony. In order to realize such a comprehensive building, a 350.00 m^2. land was determined on the back side of the Ministries Quarter. Thus, the project area was located on a hill where the old and new Ankara were clearly seen and generates a threshold in the urban context of the city.

In response to the architectural program of the competition, Sılay gives a detailed framework of the spaces supposed to meet the needs of the new parliament. Accordingly, the project would include four main meeting halls, offices for presidency, parliament members and councils. Additionally, service spaces such as heating and ventilation stations, electric units, water tank, press and rooms for police, servants and guards were designed separately from the main building. The first hall of the assembly includes 600 seats for parliament members, 1000 seats for audience, 100 seats for ambassadors, 100 seats for officials and 100 seats for journalists. The smaller second hall includes 300 seats for parliament members and 300 seats for audience. Differently from the others, these first two halls have honorary loggias on three sides of the seats. The third and fourth halls host 200 seats in total.

According to Sılay, the competition and the final decision have to be appreciated by all competitors and the Turkish nation regarding the international perspective of the process and fair procedure of the competition. As another significant result, the referees were supposed to give two conferences about Turkey in their countries. Hence, it may be noted that the state aimed to increase international recognition of the Turkish Republic via its improving architectural and technical proficiency and perspective in the world stage by placing the 3rd Assembly uilding as the foremost icon of the Republic.

3.3.4. Construction of the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building

Regarding his active participation into the construction of new state buildings, Clemens Holzmeister became one of the key figures in the Early Republican Period of Turkey. Beginning from 1928, the Austrian architect designed a great number of institutions in Ankara such as the Ministry of Defense, Turkish Armed Forces General Staff, Presidential Palace, Central Bank, Ministry of the Interior, Court of Cassation in cooperation with Turkish and foreign professionals. Following his visit to Turkey in 1928 for the Ministry of Defense, Holzmeister stayed in touch with the Republic near 50 years. In these years, Holzmeister also worked as an academician in İstanbul Technical University until 1950.[408] Amongst his numerous works, the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building of Turkey has a special role for this study to understand iconographic symbolization of the complex as a memory space of the Republic with its architectural, technical and material characteristics.

Following the end up of the competition, the construction of the Holzmeister's project for the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building began with a great enthusiasm in 1939. Unfortunately, an obligatory break was given due to the World War II which affected all the countries with limited work force and large-scale economic and political crisis.[409]

The construction began again a year later with a detailed division of labor consisted of Turkish, English and Swedish architects, engineers and contractors. In an interview, Holzmeister frequently mentions struggling atmosphere of the era in the first half of the 20ᵗʰ century regarding economical limitations, technical inadequacies and material deficiencies. In order to decrease costs and access to material easily, the architect emphasizes use of local materials in construction as the primary solution in such a limited atmosphere.[410] In a parallel vein, Holzmeister mentions a group of Austrian geologists who carried a comprehensive work in Anatolia to find proper marble and stone sources for the assembly building.[411] Within these multi-faceted process, Holzmeister moved

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[408] "C. Holzmeister'in Ardından." In *Mimarlık* (vol:1987 July, issue: 193), 6.

[409] *Yarım Asırlık Meclis Binası: 51. Yıl,* 3.

[410] "Prof.Dr. Clemens Holzmeister ile Söyleşi." In *Mimarlık,* (vol: 1987 March, issue: 224), 29. [In 1979, Holzmeister gave an interview to Osman Sirman, who was the chief consul of Salzburg, to share his life story and works in Turkey. After his decease, *Mimarlık* published the interview in 1987 as a commemoration of the Austrian architect witnessed to the early years of the Republic.]

[411] "Prof.Dr. Clemens Holzmeister ile Söyleşi," 29.

İstanbul with his professional team and established an atelier in order to conduct construction works of the 3rd Assembly, (Figure 51, 52).[412]
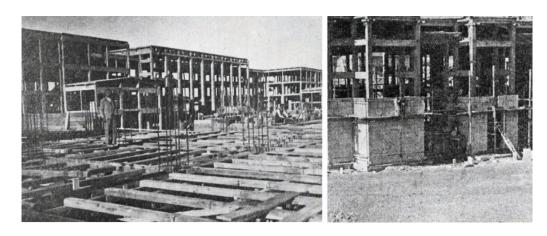
Figure 51. Construction site of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey.
(Source: Bayındırlık, 1944 and 1947)
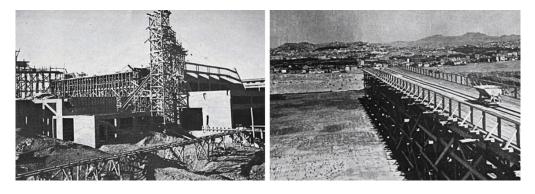
Figure 52. Construction site of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey.
(Source: La Turquie Kemaliste, 1947)

In his workgroup, Ziya Payzın had a special role as his former student in academy and professional colleague during the construction of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey. By actively participating to the process from the first day, Payzın was fully tasked in 1948 with the supervision and control of the project up to the completion. In an interview, Payzın mentions opposing views to the construction of the assembly regarding

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[412] "Prof.Dr. Clemens Holzmeister ile Söyleşi," 29.

economical and technical limitations. However, use of marble, stone and gravel from domestic sources in Anatolia and receiving supports of local craftsmen decreased costs and at the same time, enriched design with a national and local spirit. Therefore, Payzın appreciates the 3rd Assembly Building as a significant ecole where all the workers and craftsmen learned a lot in their professional fields [413] and emphasizes that the construction of the complex was not solely resulted from the increasing need for a more complex parliament building, rather it was a product of a nation-wide discipline.[414]

In *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi,* Vehbi Ekesan shares a detailed program of installation works of the 3rd Assembly by referring historical and representational significance of the building.[415] Accordingly, the construction site of the complex was determined on the east side of the Ministries Quarter by occupying a 450.000m^2 area, and the building was designed to "embrace" the Ministries Quarter of Çankaya with its well-thought organization of open and close spaces.[416] From a different angle, Payzın evaluates the settlement plan of the Ministries Quarter within the bounds of possibilities of the era. Accordingly, by taking into consideration the rapid progress of the state works, the close allocation of the ministries and the parliament buildings of the Republic in the same city block made communication and documentation easier in these years.[417] Although the building was planned low-rise due to economic and technical limitations such as lack of energy, electricity and technology, the settlement of the parliament building was designed as a wing embracing the capital city of the Republic.[418]

In order to enrich spatial perception of the complex and to bring into prominent material selections to represent local and national representations of the 3rd Assembly Building, Ekesan emphasizes carefully organization of masses, courtyards and vestibules.[419] As a result of the World War II in the 1940s, the construction of the complex

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[413] "Prof.Dr. Clemens Holzmeister ile Söyleşi," 29.

[414] "Kıymetli Bir Bina Öyküsü: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi," (TRT Belgesel, 2016). 0:50, 1:19. [In *Kıymetli Bir Bina Öyküsü: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*, the long-life story of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey is majorly narrated by people who actively experienced the building from the firsthand. Especially, Ziya Payzın's interview illuminate significant spots on building such as the competition and construction years, material selections and ongoing political and economic agenda of the era. Moreover, former workers of the complex also gave detailed information about daily life of the building and its special place in the memories of the nation.]

[415] Vehbi Ekesan is one of the most important figures in the construction process of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey by working as the chef officer of installation (1949-1957) and construction works (1958-1963).

[416] Vehbi Ekesan. "Muhteşem Bir Binada Dev Tesisat." In *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi,* (44-20), 9.

[417] "Kıymetli Bir Bina Öyküsü: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi," 07:14.

[418] "Kıymetli Bir Bina Öyküsü: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi," 10:39.

[419] Ekesan, "Muhteşem Bir Binada Dev Tesisat," 9.

was considerably slowed down and the completion of the project was postponed. Correspondingly, the building expenses increased and reached about 91 million liras and the time schedule was calculated about 19 years.[420] At this point Ekesan writes "actually construction of such a careful, qualified and unique building could not be expected to complete in a shorter span of time" (Figure 53).[421]
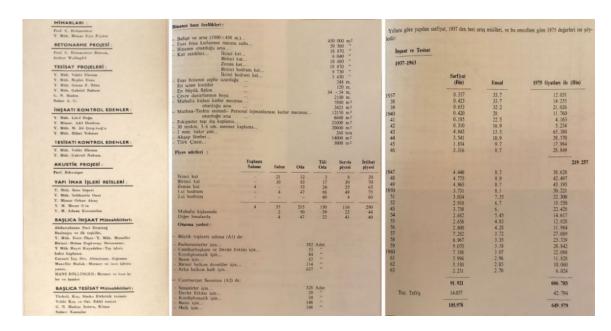
Figure 53. Tables on the Professional commissioning of the 3rd Assembly Building for the projects of architecture, construction, installation, acoustics and public works, characteristics, mass organizations and cost sheets. (Source: *Hans Röllinger İnşaat Müteahhitliği, Yeni Meclis Binasında Yapılan İşler* and Ekesan, "Muhteşem Bir Binada Dev Tesisat", 11, 13. Grand National Assembly Library Archive)

In material selections and interior details, Ekesan points out the importance of qualified production and craftsmanship in the 3rd Assembly Building. As an architectural and technological reflection of the ongoing co-working construction trends, the whole complex was a unique example of a well-combination of new materials in the world and rich local products of the country. Similar to Payzın, Ekesan also defines construction site of the 3rd Assembly as "an academy, application area and exhibition of good examples."[422] Thus, the complex is appreciated as a symbol of sophisticated

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[420] Ekesan, "Muhteşem Bir Binada Dev Tesisat," 9.
[421] Ekesan, "Muhteşem Bir Binada Dev Tesisat," 9.
[422] Ekesan, "Muhteşem Bir Binada Dev Tesisat," 10.

craftsmanship of Turkish masons in the international stage and "the material applications, stone facings and marble selections make the 3rd Assembly Building one of the most special examples of the parliament buildings in the world."[423]

Due to the synchronous constructions of Anıtkabir and the 3rd Assembly Building, some of the material processing were conducted concurrently for these two symbolic monuments of the Republic. Especially, the marble works of the Anıtkabir majorly supported by the construction equip of the 3rd Assembly who had marble and stone cutting ateliers in the site. Thus, on the one hand Denizli marbles were cut in there and transported to Anıtkabir, these materials were also prepared for the construction of the 3rd Assembly Building. Accordingly, the white travertines of Anıtkabir were also used outer spaces of the complex and the darks were sliced and used on the walls in the interior space of the building (Figure 54).[424]

Figure 54. Clemens Holzmeister in front of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey.
(Source: Yarım Asırlık Meclis Binası: 51. Yıl, 112.)

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[423] Ekesan, "Muhteşem Bir Binada Dev Tesisat," 10.
[424] *"Kıymetli Bir Bina Öyküsü: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi,"* 32:05.

The 3rd Assembly Building was used for meetings of CENTO (The Central Threaty Organization) for the first time in 1957 and then, opened as the last and contemporary parliament building of Turkey in 1961.[425] As Payzın states that when the 3rd Assembly was firstly used for CENTO, the building was heated in the morning and this activity became a symbolic evidence of the well-planned construction process of the 3rd Assembly Building. Accordingly, the successful technical progress of the complex during the meeting days proved technical proficiency of the construction equip and allowed to restore the Turkish nation's trust after the long construction years of the building.[426]

As a symbolically significant anecdote, Mustafa Poyraz, who is a retired personnel of the assembly, expresses that before the inauguration of the 3rd Assembly Building, all workers in the parliament and in the construction site were supposed to plant a tree in the garden of the complex.[427] In this way, emotional bonds between people and the building were established by leaving a living trace behind their long working years in the complex.

3.3.5. Ceremonial and Symbolic Visage of the Assembly

In "The Turkish Grand National Assembly Complex: An Evaluation of the Function and Meaning of Parliamentary Spaces", Demirkol states that the 3rd Assembly Building was designed to increase "readability and orientation of the crowds" during special meetings of the state proper to the political mind of the democratic regime.[428] Thus, the space organization of the assembly was realized around green areas, squares, courtyards, forecourts and wide meeting halls which would properly function as meeting areas for the upper statesmen and parliament members as representations of the Republic (Figure 55, 56).[429]

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[425] "Prof.Dr. Clemens Holzmeister ile Söyleşi," 29.
[426] *"Kıymetli Bir Bina Öyküsü: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi,"* 24:22.
[427] *"Kıymetli Bir Bina Öyküsü: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi,"* 39:30.
[428] Demirkol, "The Turkish Grand National Assembly Complex: An Evaluation of the Function and Meaning of Parliamentary Spaces," 96.
[429] Demirkol, "The Turkish Grand National Assembly Complex: An Evaluation of the Function and Meaning of Parliamentary Spaces," 96.
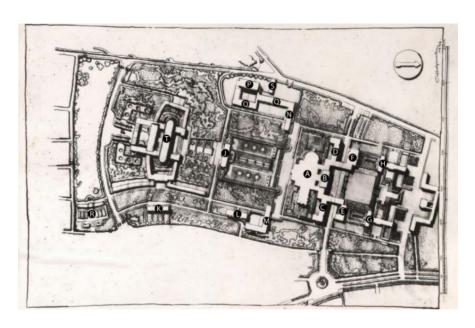
Figure 55. C. Holzmeister's drawing on the aerial perspective of the 3rd Assembly Building Complex. [A, B, C, D. Assembly building main blocks E. Presidency F. Ceremony building G. Prime Ministry H. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs J. Office of the President of the Assembly K. Administrative committee block L. Archive M. Troop of guardsmen N. Police station P. Telephone Central Q. Printing press and service blocks for work force. R. Greenhouse S. Automobile atelier. T. Presidential palace] (Source: Grand National Assembly Library Archive)
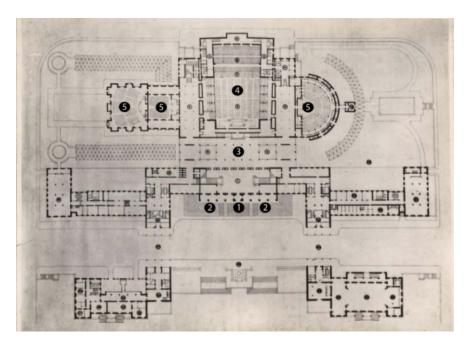
Figure 56. Plan of the 3rd Assembly main building. [1. Honorary Gate for president's entrance 2. Parliament members' gates 3. Honorary Hall 4. Plenary Hall 5. Party hall] (Source: Grand National Assembly Library Archive.)

As planned in the design phase of the 3ʳᵈ Assembly, the celebrations of national bairams and opening ceremonies of the government annually became significant unifying occasions in the Republic, which strengthens and consolidates the national identification and sense of belonging in masses. Thus, the building occupies an important position from the competition years until today by symbolizing durable and stable character of the state which have a collective mark in the memories of the nation. Accordingly, even today, the introductory information on the website have clear definition on this symbolic meaning and iconographic representation of the building in the world stage:

> "The Parliamentary building has special characteristics and a general structure that symbolize the power and eternity of the Turkish Republic and designed with the qualities reflecting gravity, solidity and strength. Monumental, balanced and three-dimensional setting is used in all spaces."

Clearly, the grandeur architectural language of the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building and the location of the complex in the urban context have special meanings to reflect power and well-organized structure of the Republic on the Çankaya hill of the capital until today. The building is consisted of several symbolic details both in the urban and building scale to represent steady stance of the Republic in different levels of symbolization. Within this framework, symbolic references of the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building can be divided into two main periods as dating back to the beginning of the 1960s and the last years of the 1970s.

The first phase overlaps with the opening years of the complex which were conducted according to Holzmeister's original project and structural details. As stated in the competition text, the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building was supposed to become iconographic representation of the stable and durable existence of the Turkish Republic which draws its strength from the centuries old Turkish states in history. From this perspective, as one of the most striking symbols of a nation, the Turkish flag locates at the central point of the grand courtyard. Metaphorically, the flag have never hauled down in any circumstances to symbolize firm existence, sovereignty and invincibility of the state (Figure 57).[430]

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[430] *Yarım Asırlık Meclis Binası: 51. Yıl,* 6.

Figure 57. Construction of the flagstaff in the Honorary Square.
(Source: *TBMM Atatürk Anıtı Albümü*, Cilt:1. Grand National Assembly Library Archive)

On the main façade, there are nine entrances where politicians meet and pass towards the Honorary Hall (*Şeref Holü*) inside. Importantly, these gates differentiate in accordance with their users' seniority in the parliament. Accordingly, the monumental portal is a crown gate – the Honorary Gate (*Şeref Kapısı*) – and can only be used by the president of the Republic and the president of the assembly. [431] The other eight gates served for other parliament members and deputies. On the frames of the Honorary Gate, the star and the crescent figures intertwine as main symbols of the Turkish flag. In a

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[431] *Yarım Asırlık Meclis Binası: 51. Yıl,* 6.

parallel vein, all doors on the façade carry a striking wattling pattern in order to symbolize indivisible integrity of the Turkish Republic through the inseparable knitting craftsmanship. Inside, the Drop/Bunch Door (*Damlalı Kapı*) opens into the presidency hall and is ornamented with sixteen drop figures symbolizing sixteen Turkish states in the history. As a continuation of these historical references and symbolic representations of the long-lived existence of the Turkish states, sixteen crystal chandeliers illuminate general convention hall.[432]

In addition to the object-scale and ornamental details in the 3rd Assembly Building, Afyon marbles were frequently used in the complex to declare and propagate local wealth of the country in construction materials as clearly expressed in the interviews of Holzmeister and Payzın. On the floor coverings of the Honorary Hall, Payzın describes this area as a garden consisted of fractured marbles. During his visits to Mersin and Hatay, Payzın was impressed by the Roman ruins in-situ and used similar mosaic tiling technique in the grand entrance of the building. Accordingly, Anatolian motifs and Central Asian Turks' alphabetic symbols were used in this area with a detailed craftsmanship of marble (Figure 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63).[433]

Figure 58. The Honorary Gate and the Drop/Bunch Door of the 3rd Assembly. (Source: Left - Author's personal archive. Right - Grand National Assembly Library Archive.)

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[432] *Yarım Asırlık Meclis Binası: 51. Yıl,* 6.
[433] "*Kıymetli Bir Bina Öyküsü: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi,*" 33:42.
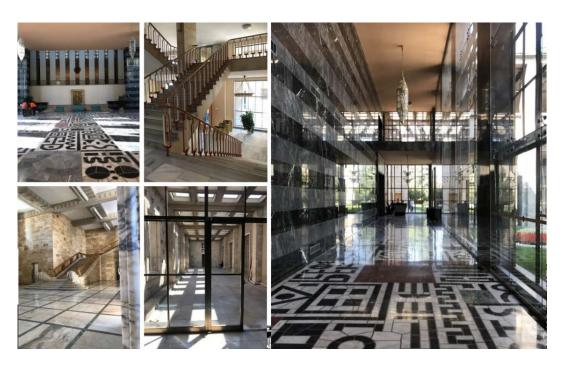
Figure 59. Grand National Assembly of Turkey.
(Source: Author's personal archive)
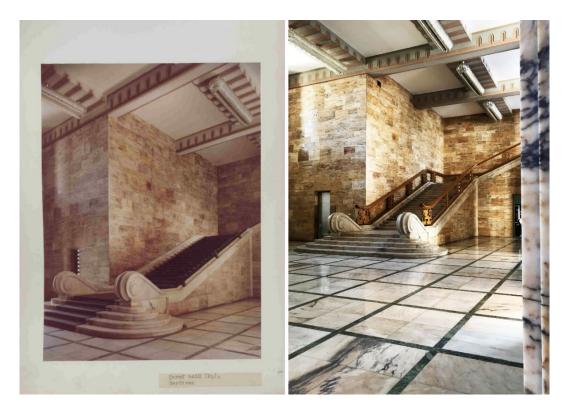
Figure 60. The Honorary Hall.
(Source: Left - Grand National Assembly Library Archive. Right - Author's personal archive.)

Figure 61. Marble works in the 3rd Assembly Building.
(Source: Grand National Assembly Library Archive.)

Figure 62. The Drop/Bunch Door.
(Source: Above - Grand National Assembly Library Archive. Below - Author's
personal archive.)

Figure 63. The Plenary Hall in the drawings of the Holzmeister (above) and after the construction (below). Chandeliers are seen as representations of sixteen Turkish states. (Source: Grand National Assembly Library Archive.)

The abovementioned details and selections grounded on Holzmeister's proposals were constructed with an attentive co-working of Turkish professionals including architects, engineers and contractors. Thus, the original details of the project were realized by a collaborative group and emerges as a combination of advanced building technology and fine craftsmanship of local material richness.

However, the fluctuant political atmosphere in the 1970s resulted in a need for reconsideration and reproduction of the Republican symbols once again. Especially after military coups and establishment of new parties in the parliament, dynamic agenda of the era necessitated new initiations in the assembly to refresh and revitalize national connotations in the memories of the Republic. Therefore, the second phase of symbolic

details of the complex corresponds to the 1970s when the Committee of Monuments and Buildings (*Anıtlar ve Yapılar Hazırlık Komitesi*) held a meeting to receive opinions to construct monuments inner and outer spaces of the assembly to symbolize principles of Atatürk and Turkish national existence. In his opening speech for this meeting, the president of the Republic Senate Tekin Arıburun declared that:

> "what is a Turkish state? How long has it been these lands? How it has gained its democratic character? These questions are frequently discussed in the assembly, but all the spoken words fly away. There are not any trace remains from these words... Here, you are supposed to concrete these discussions physically in the assembly... The story of the Turkish nation has to be seen, read and felt in the building..."[434]

In these words, Arıburun clearly expresses symbolic role of the 3rd Assembly for the Turkish nation by placing the building as a monumental representation of the Republic. By handling newly built statues and monuments in the complex as meaningful entities, Arıburun ideologically links the existence of the assembly with the existence of the Republic.

In the same meeting, the chef architect of the assembly complex during the construction process, Ziya Payzın expresses the original proposals of Holzmeister and planned installations in the campus. Amongst several symbolic installations to the complex, a special priority was given to the construction of the Atatürk Monument. Then, Holzmeister's proposals were reconsidered according to their location, figurative expression and symbolic references:

> "The architect of the building C. Holzmeister allocated a special location for Atatürk in his project. In the competition, this location was on the roof of the middle gate. Then, it was transformed into an obelisk in the Honorary Courtyard. Followingly the proposal was transformed into a relief on a platform in front of the Honorary Square. In order to construct figurative or non-figurative compositions, several locations were determined. Certain arrangements were made for art works such as sculpture reliefs, mosaics or inscriptions. However, themes for these compositions could not be decided. Should the choice of themes be left to the professionals?"[435]

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[434] *TBMM Anıtlar Dizisi – Önfikir Araştırması I. Toplantı, Bildiriler ve Tutanaklar* (Ankara: TBMM Matbaası, 1976), 1. (*"Türk Devleti nedir? Ne zamandan beri vardır Nereden nereye gelmiştir? Demokrasinin hangi yüzeyine, nasıl gelmiştir? Nereye gidecektir? Bunlar hep burada defalarca konuşulur, kürsüden çıkan ses dağılır, sonra gelenler bir şey duyamaz ve bir iz göremez, ama bu anıtsal bina yerindedir... İşte sizlerden istenen husus, Türk Milletinin öyküsü de bina içinde görülmeli, göz önünde canlandırılmalıdır..."*)

[435] *TBMM Anıtlar Dizisi – Önfikir Araştırması I. Toplantı, Bildiriler ve Tutanaklar*, 7. (*"Binanın Proje Mimarı C. Holzmeister projesinde Atatürk için özel bir yer ayırmıştır. Bu yer yarışmada orta kapının üstü idi. Sonra Şeref Avlusunda obelisk şekline dönüştü. Sonra da Şeref Meydanı önünde, kürsü şeklinde, relief şekline dönüştü. Binanın çeşitli yerlerinde, figüratif, nonfigüratif, çeşitli sanat yapıtları için yerler ayrıldı. Heykel relief, mozaik, yazılar şeklinde sanat yapıtlarının*

However, the selections for the subjects were made by the committee:

> "...the Commitee of Monuments and Buildings decided that the north-south axis of the assembly will be furnished with statues representing the development of the Turkish national history, and the east-west axis will be furnished with the statues of the history of Turkish principles. It has vital important to decide which themes and principles have to be represented in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Thus, this meeting is organized and asked for help from the science and the nation."[436]

As Payzın expresses, Atatürk Monument was firstly proposed on the roof of the front facade of the parliament building. However, this proposal contradicted with the ideological mindset of the Republic regarding the idea that "the founder of the Republic have to be represented as a civilian but not as a commander" to connect administrative leaders to the nation democratically and equally (Figure 64).[437]

Figure 64. Holzmeister's proposal for Atatürk Monument as a roof sculpture.
(Source: "Kamutay Musabakası Programı Hulasası", 99, 101.)

Then, the roof sculpture was converted into an obelisk which would be located in the Honorary Courtyard of the complex. However, this proposal was abandoned and the Committee of Monuments and Buildings held a design competition in 1978 for the new proposals of the Atatürk Monument (Figure 65).

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konması için hazırlıklar yapıldı. Fakat bunların konularının seçimi yapılamadı. Konuların seçimi sanatçılara mı bırakılmalıydı?")

[436] *TBMM Anıtlar Dizisi – Önfikir Araştırması I. Toplantı, Bildiriler ve Tutanaklar, 7. ("... Anıtlar Komitesi binanın güney-kuzey ekseni boyunca, Türk Milli Tarihi'nin gelişmesin, doğu-batı ekseni boyuca da Türk Devrim Tarihi'nin gelişmesini işlemeye karar verdi. Fakat konuların seçimi çok önemli idi. Bilimin ve ulusun yardımna başvurulması istendi. İşte bugünkü toplantının anlamı budur...")*

[437] Demirkol, "The Turkish Grand National Assembly Complex: An Evaluation of the Function and Meaning of Parliamentary Spaces," 114.
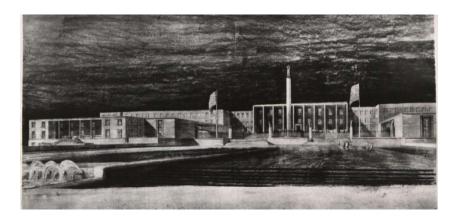
Figure 65. Holzmeister's proposal for Atatürk Monument as an obelisk.
(Source: Grand National Assembly Library Archive)

Amongst 43 competitors, sculptor Hüseyin Gezer and architect İmran Gezer's monument proposal was selected (Figure 66). In the report of the winning proposal, Gezer states:

"we are primarily supposed to design a monument with its surrounding landscape area which allows to organize public meetings and ceremonies... Thus, in order to properly represent Atatürk and to conduct collective events, we proposed an integral project with an amphi and a circular platform located in front of the parliament building... The surrounding facades are designed to narrate Atatürk in reliefs and inscriptions... In this way, the Atatürk Epic is expressed on wide surfaces while composing a ceremonial area in the middle of the biographical narratives... At the end of the relief and inscription compositions, the Atatürk Monument stands as an ending point by symbolizing the well-known words of Atatürk, *freedom and independence is my character...*"[438]

In 1981, the opening of the Atatürk Monument was held with a well-attended public ceremony as it was supposed in the competition text. Then, the monument become one of the most important ceremonial icon in the Honorary Square by housing national bairam celebrations and keeping memories of the Republic (Figure 66, 67).

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[438] "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Atatürk Anıtı." In *Arkitekt* (1979), 130-131. ("*Yarışma koşullarında verilen programa göre Anıt'ın halkın toplantılar ve gösteriler yapabilmesine olanak verecek bir çevre düzenlemesiyle birlikte çözümlenmesi istenmekteydi ki bu, konua en önemli yaklaşımdı... Atatürk'ü anlatma ve toplantı-gösteri yapma olanağı veren bir çevre düzenleme istemlerini bir bütünlük içinde, bir kompozisyonla çözümlüyoruz. Bunun için mimari kompleksin ana yüzü ve merdivenlerden inerek İnönü Caddesi'ne uzanan mekanın aksına ve merdivenlerin önünde yayılan düzleme bir amfi oturtuyoruz... İçe bakan yüzleri oturma elemanlarını, dış yüzleri ise Atatürk'ü anlatan rölyef ve yazıtları kapsıyor... Böylece Atatürk Destanı başından sonuna, bir biyografi verircesine, geniş yüzeylerde anlatılmak olanağı buluyor..aynı zamanda toplantı ve gösterilerin yapılacağı mekanı oluşturuyor... Heykel kompozisyonu, Atatürk'ü anlatan rölyef ve yazıtlar zincirinin sonunda konulmuş bir nokta, bir son halka gibi. O'nun kendisini en iyi anlattığına inandığımız şu sözünü simgeleştiriyor: Bağımsızlık ve özgürlük benim karakterimdir...*"

Figure 66. Construction of the Atatürk Monument.
(Source: TBMM Atatürk Anıtı Albümü, Cilt:1. Grand National Assembly Library
Archive)

Figure 67. Opening ceremony of the Atatürk Monument in 1981.
(Source: TBMM Atatürk Anıtı Albümü, Cilt:1. Grand National Assembly Library
Archive)

Figure 68. Opening ceremony of the Atatürk Monument in 1981.
(Source: TBMM Atatürk Anıtı Albümü, Cilt:1. Grand National Assembly Library
Archive)

Clearly, the 3rd Assembly Building became an iconic representation of the
Republic with its architectural design principles, ornamental characteristics including
historical and local references and monuments. Moreover, not only physical details but
also collective uses of the campus are amongst significant reflections of the representative
power of the building in the memories of the nation. By placing at the center of certain
collective events of the Turkish nation, the outdoor spaces of the 3rd Assembly becomes
a common stage for the nation where ceremonies, celebrations and commemorations have

regularly repeated to keep alive memories of the Republic and the Turkish national identity. While ceremonial occasions have been conducting in the Honorary Square of the 3rd Assembly Building, the flying Turkish flag, grandiosely ornamented gates of the parliament building and the Atatürk Monument explicitly refer to the symbols of Turkishness. In this way, the monumental representation of the 3rd Assembly Building is supported and enriched with interior details and sculptural additions in the complex. From material selections to organization of masses in the whole complex, the last and contemporary parliament building of the Turkish Republic gains a specific place in the memories of the Turkish nation (Figure 69).
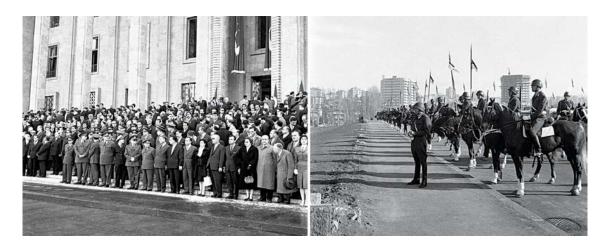
Figure 69. The opening ceremony of the 3rd Assembly Building in 1961.
(Source: *Yarım Asırlık Meclis Binası: 51. Yıl,* 106, 107.)

3.3.6. In Press: New Portraits in the Imagery Constructions of the Republic

Up to the opening of the 3rd Assembly Building, Turkey has passed several breaking points in its political and socio-cultural structures beginning from the late 1930s. In a parallel vein with the abovementioned circumstances such as transition to the multi-party system, the loss of Atatürk and the acutely changing administrative scheme, the printed media of the era also transformed regarding their imagery expressions and representative symbols in the cover pages, headlines, photographs and articles published and circulated in the daily life of the country. In comparison to the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings' media expressions, it may be noted that the 3rd Assembly takes a different part in periodicals and publications. In relation to the ongoing political circumstances and

current events, the representative role and the visibility of the assemblies on media has changed beginning from the 1930s.

During this transformative period, the 2nd Assembly Building of the time kept its firm stance on media, however, new Republican artefacts and significant memorialization places accompanied the iconographic representation of the state. In this way, the national celebrations and ceremonies were conducted within a holistic point of view by incorporating with the former assemblies, the Ulus Square as the center of the city, Anıtkabir as the eternal tomb of Atatürk, the Hippodrome as the ceremonial stage of the Republic and the other Republican buildings of the city. Synchronously, the printed media showed parallelism with the new ceremonial map of the city and gave place to the imagery expressions of these important visiting points on the pages. In this way, the assembly buildings remained living memory spaces in the urban context by actively participating to the public events as significant visiting and reception points through the extensive memorization and ceremonial structures of the Republic.

Looking back on the newspapers of this period, the media shows certain reflections of this new understanding in the ceremonial manner of the Republic within their headlines and photographs on their cover pages. As an example, *Ulus* gave wide coverage to the celebrations of the Victory Day in 1941 and 1944 by clearly expressing the enthusiastic atmosphere of the country. On the cover page of the Victory Day in 1941, a Turkish soldier is seen in front of the drawings of developing Republic. Accordingly, the figure was backed to apartments, factories and a train as the symbols of industrialization of the country. Additionally, the headline declares details of the ceremony. Therefore, following the official receptions held in the assembly and the General Staff, the ceremony was continued with parade and celebrations took place at the Hippodrome. In the other cities, the ceremonies were held in the People's Houses as another significant Republican places of the country. In a parallel vein, 1944's Victory Day was celebrated with a similar procedure by conducting a reception and public visit to the People's Houses in Ankara (Figure 70).

Figure 70. Newspapers on the Victory Day in 1941 and 1944.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive)

Republican Day ceremonies also show parallelism with the Victory Day celebrations regarding their ceremonial procedure and visited Republican buildings. In 1953, *Ulus* describes the enthusiastic atmosphere of the city in the Republican Day with photographs and articles depicting ceremonies. Accordingly, celebrations began in the morning by visiting Atatürk's temporary tomb in the Ethnographic Museum and continued with an official reception by the leaders in the 2nd Assembly Building of Turkey. While official greetings were conducting in the parliament by political and military figures, the Hippodrome was hosting thousands of people waiting for the collective celebrations and parades in the afternoon. Publishing the photographs from the Hippodrome and visiting to Atatürk, the newspaper clearly expresses the significant Republican points of the era which became commemoration and celebration spaces of the state placed into into memories (Figure 71).

Figure 71. *Ulus* on 30 Oct. 1953, declaring the Republican Day celebrations.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive)

Another significant change in the imagery representations of the Republic engaged attention on media by giving prominence to the political figures of the time on headlines and cover pages after 1930s. This transformative period put forward people as significant Republican representations. Especially after the devastating loss of Atatürk, the iconographic symbolization of the national identity matched with him in person. In this way, the ongoing predominant representative role of the assembly buildings as memory spaces of the Republic began to be supported with the portraits of politicians and images of the new Republican artefacts. In this way, imagery representations of the state gained different visibility levels between political figures, the parliament building of the time and the new architectural products of the Republic.

On the Republican Day in 1953, different newspapers gave place to figurative images on their cover pages to represent Republic and innovative development of the state. Thus, drawings of the soldiers, planes, bridges, factories and construction scenes seen in *Ulus* newspaper's supplement. Additionally, a historical article on the declaration of the Republic was given to memorize the struggling years of the first decades of the new democratic country in the 1920s.

In a similar way, *Vakit, Akşam, Her Gün* and *Gece Postası* gave wide coverage to the representations of the Republic in several images. Hence, developing Republican ideal was mostly represented via political leaders and symbols of modernized and industrialized Turkey. Therefore, new improvements in construction technology and

industrialization were given with drawings of trains, cars, aeroplanes, bridges and factories in pictures. Also, the Ulus Monument, Hippodrome and the Turkish flag were frequently used in the cover pages to imprint Republican symbols on the memories of people. Additionally, portraits of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk were widely used to symbolize the Turkish Republic via its founder. In these times, Atatürk's portraits were enriched with the photographs of the other political leaders of the era (Figure 72).

Figure 72. The Republic Day newspapers in 1953.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive)

Under the light of the illuminative imagery expressions of the state from the late 1930s, the ceremonial tradition has passed a transformative period regarding visiting points and celebration spaces in the urban context. Accordingly, in time, the parliament building of the era transformed into the main reception space while the public parades began from the city center and completed at the Hippodrome of the capital. Beginning in the 2nd Assembly Building's period and continued in the 3rd Assembly, the ceremonial procedure was conducted in two channels as firstly in the assembly building for the

official receptions and secondly at the Hippodrome for collective celebrations and parades.

As another example in the transformation of imagery representations of the Republic on media, pictures and drawings of certain symbols were widely used in newspapers. Accordingly, in the covers of *Ulus* in 1948, 1950 and 1957, soldiers, monuments and Turkish flag illustrations were supported with modern symbols of democracy such as quotes from the Address to Youth and the pictures of children and women on cover pages. In this way, the representations of the Republic were enriched with different actors from socio-cultural, military and political structures of the state and media tools actively participated to the collective circulation of Republican symbols in daily life (Figure 73).

Figure 73. *Ulus* newspaper on the Republic Day in 1948, 1950 and 1957.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive)

Moreover, changing political regime, the multi-party system and prominence of the political leaders resulted in a change in media. Accordingly, the imagery representations of the Republic via the assembly buildings as memory spaces were also supported with the portraits of the political leaders of the era. In this way, a new, holistic imagery representation of the Republic was constructed upon the expressions of parliament buildings, statesmen, architectural products and numerous national symbols. Thus, the iconographic stances of the assemblies were supported with increasing visibilities of the other Republican actors.

In 1961, a significant rupture was occurred with the opening of the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building as the last and contemporary parliament of the Turkish Republic. As previously mentioned, the competition process of the assembly was also gained wide coverage and the important role of the building on media was continued during the construction years. In 1939, *Ulus* announced groundbreaking ceremony of the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building with a brief article. On the cover page, the official participants of the ceremony were declared and the estimated time of the project was stated as four years. In the following pages, details of the project were given including certain information about construction decisions. Thus, the estimated four years was determined for only the completion of the main building of the complex and the following process for the constructions of prime ministry and foreign affairs would be decided later on (Figure 74).

Figure 74. The groundbreaking ceremony of the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building.
(Source: National Library of Turkey, Periodicals Archive)

On 7 Jan. 1961, *Ulus* published photographs from the inauguration of the 3ʳᵈ Assembly (Figure 75). On the cover page, an image of the Plenary Hall is seen with the participation of all politicians while Fahri Özdilek (on behalf of Cemal Gürsel) and İsmet İnönü were giving speeches. In the caption of the image, constructional details on the

timeline and cost of the building was given. Additionally, the grandeur atmosphere of the Hall was described as:

> "The plenary hall of the new assembly, which was completed in 22 years and costed more than 100.000.000 Liras, witnessed promises of the founders of the second Republic for the first time."[439]

In the following pages, the grand ceremony in front of the building is seen with several photographs. The results of the grand efforts in construction of the 3rd Assembly were expressed with imagery scenes from the Plenary Hall and the iconographic representation of the complex was imprinted on memories through the inauguration of the building.

Figure 75. Inauguration of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey in 1961.
(Source: National Library of Turkey, Periodicals Archive)

In a similar way, *Akşam* published the inauguration of the 3rd Assembly with photographs of the Plenary Hall and Özdilek's speech on behalf of Gürsel (Figure 76). In

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[439] "22 senede ve 100.000.000 liradan fazla para sarfiyle tamamlanan yeni Meclisin Genel Kurul toplantı salonu dün ilk defa olarak İkinci Cumhuriyeti kuracak olanların and içişine sahne olmuştur.", *Ulus,* 7 Jan. 1961. (National Library of Turkey, Periodicals Archive.)

the following pages, architectural features, capacities of the halls, material qualities and technical innovations were depicted with a detailed article with an image of the monumental façade of the building.

Figure 76. Inauguration of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey in 1961.
(Source: National Library of Turkey, Periodicals Archive)

In *Her Gün,* the opening of the 3rd Assembly was stated with portraits of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Cemal Gürsel on two sides of the Plenary Hall (Figure 77). On the top, Turkish flag was located. In this way, the political leaders and the flag of the state surrounds the image of the building as constitutive representations of the Republic. In the continuation of the headline, a detailed article was given to describe technical and architectural characteristics of the Hall. Accordingly, the Plenary Hall can host 1600 people in total with a specified seating arrangement for politicians, diplomats, secretary, journalists, guests and public. Moreover, the article shares a significant technologic development in the Assembly which gave privatized digital voting opportunity for parliament members by using white, green and red buttons for abstaining, affirmative and dissenter votes in elections.

Figure 77. Inauguration of the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey in 1961.
(Source: National Library of Turkey, Periodicals Archive)

To summarize, the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey gained wide coverage on media from its competition years in 1930s to the construction details and inauguration in 1961. During all these process, the photographs from the complex and articles on the architectural details were forcefully announced in newspapers to imprint the 3rd Assembly on memories as a firm and powerful iconographic representation of the Turkish national identity. As a continuation of this iconographic construction, the use of the 3rd Assembly Building on national days have an important place to understand how this building kept memories of the Republic in a collective manner.

After the opening of the 3rd Assembly, the official receptions were conducted in the ceremonial hall of the complex and public ceremonies were continued in certain locations of the city such as Tandoğan, Kızılay and Ulus Squares. Then, the grand celebrations were held at the Hippodrome where the politicians, military leaders and public came together with ornaments, flags, parades and bands. Thus, the 3rd Assembly became an official ceremonial area in national days while hosting political and military figures for reception. On media, synchronous activities in different locations of capital were published with photographs and majorly, the portrait of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was used on the cover pages (Figure 78).

Figure 78. The Republic Day newspapers in 1965 and 1967.
(Source: The National Library of Turkey, Newspapers Archive)

In 1967, the 44th anniversary of the Republic witnessed a different imagery expression on media. Accordingly, the article on the ceremonial procedure mentions Anıtkabir visit and Hippodrome celebrations, while the 3rd Assembly did not take place in newspaper in textual and visual narratives. However, the ongoing ceremonial tradition necessitates an official reception at the assembly of the era as an old tradition from the opening of the 1st Assembly Building. Although the 3rd Assembly was not mentioned, it may be noted that an official reception was also held in the complex before the public celebrations at the Hippodrome.

As clearly seen on the evidence, the visibilities of Anıtkabir and the Hippodrome are increased on media as peculiar examples in changing ceremonial tradition of the Republic in time. In the Republic Day ceremonies at the end of the 1960s, the usual ceremonial procedure was expressed on media via publishing visits to Anıtkabir and the official reception at the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey. Followingly the Hippodrome hosted collective celebrations of the state with parades and bands in a grand participation of leaders and public (Figure 79).

Figure 79. *Ulus* declaring the Republic Day celebrations.
(Source: National Library of Turkey, Periodicals Archive)

Therefore, the 3rd Assembly Building of Turkey may be handled as a multi-faceted representation of the governmental, architectural and technical showcase and the memory space of the Turkish Republic from the competition years to the construction process and its use as the contemporary parliament building of the country. Then, the representational expression of the complex was supported with architectural design characteristics, collective use on national days and imagery representations of the assembly on media in daily life via newspapers and periodicals. In this way, the 3rd Assembly Building carves out a special niche for itself in keeping memories of the Republic from the late 1930s until today with its long-lived stance in minds.

CHAPTER 4

A THRESHOLD IN KEEPING MEMORIES: THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE MUSEUM AND THE MUSEUM OF REPUBLIC

Throughout the fluctuating history of Anatolia in becoming homeland of the Turkish Republic, Ankara had a central role in consolidating a democratic new state. Afterwards, by housing fundamental administrative buildings and public institutions, the city became the showcase of the new and modern silhouette of the Turkish Republic. The establishment of the 1st Assembly Building represented the firm stand of the newly establishing democratic government over the imperial tradition of the lands in national and international stages. Due to the ongoing transitional period, the 1st Assembly became a critical threshold in the urban context by symbolizing the future aims of the state in a new manner of political and socio-cultural understanding.

In time, the government necessitated a more organized parliament building for rising needs of developing official relations. Thus, the 2nd Assembly was inaugurated in 1924 as the symbol of a growing nation in every level of life. Therefore, the first steps of modernization which were paced in the 1st Assembly Building has continued in the 2nd Assembly of Turkey by placing nationalism discussions at the center. In order to construct a firm and strong national belonging, public and private institutions were established, political renovations were made and the built environment of the country was re-considered in accordance with developing national stand of the state. In this way, the 2nd Assembly became a representation of the new, modern and democratic mindset of the Turkish Republic.

When the 3rd Assembly Building was inaugurated in 1961 in Çankaya, the 1st and 2nd Assemblies stayed in use with a different function in Ulus as representations of the abovementioned periods of the Early Republican Turkey. In this way, their representational roles in the historical center of Ankara began to illuminate particular aspects of war years of Anatolia, modernization steps, establishment of a democratic state and construction of a national identity with a grand transformation period through their new organizations as the Independence War Museum and the Museum of Republic.

Accordingly, conversions of the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings into museum spaces have a special place for this study to understand how the representative role of the assemblies changed after their use as museums in the urban context. When the parliament role of the 1st Assembly was taken over by the 2nd Assembly in 1924, which was located in the neighborhood of the former parliament in Ulus, a new representative threshold was paced in the urban structure of the city. Looking back in detail, the inauguration of the 2nd Assembly Building resulted in the use of the first as the office building of the Republican People's Party for a short span of time. Then, the building served as a law school and, transferred to the Board of Education (*Maarif Vekaleti*) in 1952 to begin the conversion process of the building into a museum (Figure-80).[440]

The conversion of the building into museum acquired currency in 1957, and thus, the former 1st Assembly was opened as the Museum of Grand National Assembly of Turkey (*TBMM Müzesi*) in 1961. Within the organizational framework of the Centennial Celebration Program of the Birth of Atatürk, the building came into service as the Independence War Museum on 23rd April 1981.[441]

In a similar way, after the opening of the 3rd Assembly Building in Çankaya, the 2nd Assembly Building was partly allocated to CENTO until 1979 (Figure-81). Then, the building was transferred to the Ministry of Culture under the name of Revolution Museum (*İnkılap Müzesi*). After a re-organization process, some parts of the building served to the General Directorate of Ancient Arts and Museums and the rest of the area was allocated to the Museum of Republic which was opened on 30th October 1981.[442]

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[440] "Kurtuluş Savaşı Müzesi: Milletin Yazgısını Milletten Aldığı Güçle Değiştiren Zafer Meclisi," *The Official Brochure*, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism.
[441] "Kurtuluş Savaşı Müzesi: Milletin Yazgısını Milletten Aldığı Güçle Değiştiren Zafer Meclisi," *The Official Brochure*, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism.
[442] *Cumhuriyet Müzesi.* (Ankara: Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2014), 33.

KARAR

Eski C. H. P. Merkez binasının,(Birinci Büyük Millet Meclisine ait hatıraları ihya etmek maksadile kullanılmak üzere) Millî Eğitim Bakanlığına tahsis edilmesi; Maliye Bakanlığının 31/1/1952 tarihli ve 3307/358-2041 sayılı yazısı üzerine, Bakanlar Kurulunun 15/6/1952 tarihli toplantısında kararlaştırılmıştır.

CUMHURBAŞKANI

C. Bayar

Başbakan	Devlet Bakanı Başbakan Yardımcısı	Devlet Bakanı	Adalet Bakanı
Millî Savunma Bakanı	İçişleri Bakanı	Dışişleri Bakanı	Maliye Bakanı
Millî Eğitim Bakanı	Bayındırlık Bakanı	Eko. ve Ticaret Bakanı	Sa. ve So. Y. Bakanı
G. ve Tekel Bakanı	Tarım Bakanı	Ulaştırma Bakanı	Çalışma Bakanı	İşletmeler Bakanı
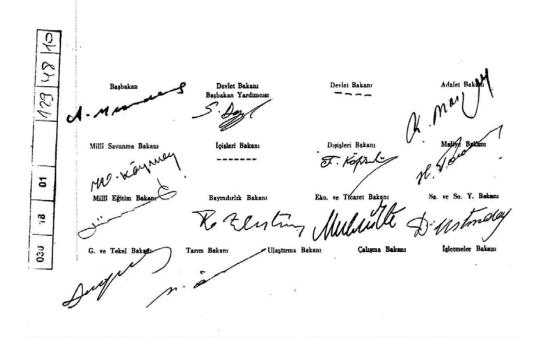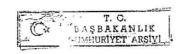
Figure 80: The official letter on the allocation of the 1st Assembly Building to the Board of Education for the conversion of the building into a museum, 15.06.1952. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 30-18-1-2 / 19-48-10)

T. C.
BAŞBAKANLIK
KANUNLAR VE KARARLAR
Tetkik Dairesi
Karar Sayısı
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Eki

K A R A R N A M E

       Esas itibariyle (İnkılâp Müzesi) olması mukar -
rer olan ve Ankara Merkez İlçesinde 15 pafta, 2720 ada ve 36 parsel'de
kayıtlı 59.933 metrekare mesahalı saha dahilindeki Türkiye Cumhuriyeti
Büyük Millet Meclisi eski binası ile bitişiğindeki kütüphane ve gazino
binalarının, içindeki demirbaşlarla birlikte muvakkat kaydiyle CENTO
ile müştereken kullanılmak ve gerekli muhafaza tedbirleri alınmak sure-
tiyle Dışişleri Bakanlığına tahsisi ve Dışişleri ve Maliye Bakanlıkla-
riyle Kurucu Meclis Başkanlığı mümüssilleri arasında bir protokol tan-
zimi suretiyle devir ve teslim muamelelerinin icrası; Bakanlar Kurulu-
nun 20/6/1961 tarihli toplantısında kararlaştırılmıştır.

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Devlet Başkanı ve Başbakan	Devlet Bakanı ve Başb. Yardımcısı ve Milli Savunma B.V.	Devlet Bakanı	Devlet Bakanı
Adalet Bakanı	Milli Savunma Bakanı	İçişleri Bakanı	Dışişleri Bakanı
Maliye Bakanı	Milli Eğitim Bakanı	Bayındırlık Bakanı	Ticaret Bakanı
Sa· ve So· Y· Bakanı	Güm· ve Tekel Bakanı	Tarım Bakanı	Ulaştırma Bakanı
Çalışma Bakanı	Sanayi Bakanı	Ba.-Ya. ve Turizm Bakanı	İmar ve İskân Bakanı

Dosya No :
19-113
795

Figure 81: The official letter on the allocation of the 2nd Assembly Building to the CENTO,
20.06.1961. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 30-18-1-
1-2 / 160-32-20)

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Each move to the new parliamentary building brought about inevitable changes in the former assembly regarding its functional use and representative role in the urban context. Accordingly, besides their monumental existence in the Ulus Square as concrete symbols of the Early Republican years, their conversions into museums are found precious to understand how the Turkish national identity was represented and exhibited during the afterlives of the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings of Turkey and generated thresholds in the urban structure by exhibiting and keeping memories of the Republic.

Therefore, this chapter focuses on the newly gained museum characteristics of the first two assembly buildings of Turkey which brought about a new way of memorialization of Turkish nationalism, battles, victories, losses, political, social and cultural reforms and renovations represented by various media in exhibitory spaces. In order to understand their new representative stances, the chapter begins with a brief description on the visiting experience of the buildings. Then, the discussion continues with a synchronous weaving of different angles from the museology discourse and interpretive perspectives on the War of Independence Museum and the Museum of Republic regarding their changing political and urban contexts.

4.1. Visiting the Independence War Museum and the Museum of Republic

Today, the historical buildings of the 1st and 2nd Assemblies in Ulus are open to visit to commemorate the war years of the Turkish Republic in the first quarter of the 20th century and to remember fluctuating atmosphere of the state in taking paces of modernization while becoming the homeland of the Turkish nation. In order to analyze their changing representative roles in the urban context by being parliaments to museums, understanding their contemporary conditions is found valuable regarding their symbolic stands as architectural artefacts and as museum spaces along with their exhibited objects inside. From 1981, the 1st Assembly Building of Turkey has been maintaining its active stand as an iconic symbol of the Early Republican Period of the country by serving as the War of the Independence Museum in Ulus. Grounding on a high-ceiled basement floor, the single storey rectangular stone building of the Museum stands symmetrically on two sides of the grand council hall in the middle (Figure 82).
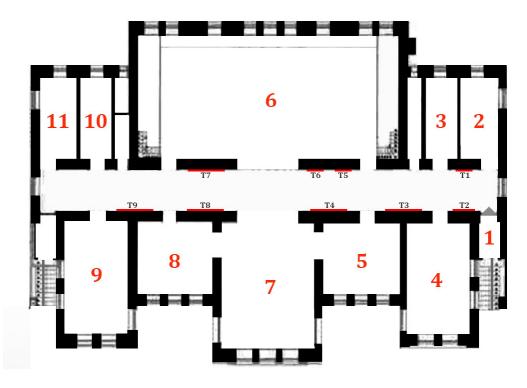
Figure 82. Plan of the War of Independence Museum. [1. Entrance 2. Prayer Room 3. President's Room 4. Chairmanship Council 5. Committee Hall 6. Council Hall 7. Coulisse 8. Committee Hall 9. Clerk Room 10. Presentation Room 11. Manager Room] (Source: Base map from the official brochure of the War of Independence Museum)

The museum space is largely organized in accordance with the former functions of the rooms from the times that the building served as the 1st Assembly Building of Turkey. In a parallel vein, the original furniture, objects and documents have been preserving and exhibiting in their original rooms. Additionally, tableaux are also significant components of the museum space in evoking national consciousness and remembering the war years of Anatolia. Including scenes from the battles during the War of Independence and meetings held in the Council Hall of the 1st Assembly Building, the paintings hung on the two sides of the aisle to visually recall the establishment period of a new democratic regime within a limited economical and technical impossibilities during the Early Republican Period.[443]

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[443] **Tableaux: T1.** Atatürk Portrait **T2.** "Atatürk Meclis'te Konuşuyor", Refik Epikman, oil on-canvas painting **T3.** A scene from the Council Hall **T4.** "Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın Ankara'da Seğmenler Tarafından Karşılanışı", Saip Tuna, 1933, oil on-canvas painting **T5.** "Çanakkale Savaşı; Düşman Kaçtıktan Sonra", Mehmet Ruhi Arel, oil on-canvas painting **T6.** A scene from the battle **T7.** A scene from the Council Hall **T8.** A scene from the 1st Assembly Building **T9.** "Çanakkale İsmail Tepe Savaşı", Mehmet Sami Yetik, oil on-canvas painting.

The high-ceiled basement floor is reached by staircases towards the main entrance **(1)** of the Museum, today. Then, the Prayer Room (*mescit*) **(2)** is located across the entrance including significant Islamic symbols such as Koran, scatters and reading desks, and *Sancak-ı Şerif,* which is a special weaving made of satin (*atlas*) and glitter, hung on the wall. This weaving was brought from the Hacı Bayram Mosque on the inauguration day of the 1st Assembly Building with the hand-works of basmala and a sura as a grandiose representation of strong belief on Islam and its protective power for the newly establishing state.[444]

At the adjacent room, the President's Room (*Reis Odası*) **(3)** is located with its original furniture. Accordingly, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was worked in here by using contemporarily preserved and exhibited objects including his silver inkwell set, bell and coffee table. On the walls, two carpet tableaux are hung and, "Allah" and "Ankara" words are written in Ottoman into the middle of a crescent figure. On the opposite tableaux, which was made in Isparta and gifted to Atatürk, "Gazi" and "Mustafa Kemal Paşa'ya" are written between two crescents (Figure 83).[445]

At the opposite room, where is adjacent to the entrance, Chairmanship Council (*Riyaset Divanı*) **(4)** is located as the meeting room for the council of the ministers. A large meeting table is placed in the middle and the inkwell sets of the statesmen were preserved originally. Today, two panels are added in this room by depicting portraits of the first and temporal members of *Divan* respectively. Adjacent to this room, Committee Hall (*Şer'iye Encümeni Odası*) **(5)** is majorly used for meetings about legislative proposals and, importantly, the grand wooden table in the middle was used during the Treaty of Lausanne on 24th July 1923. Additionally, the manuscripts of *Teşkilatı-ı Esasiye Kanunu,* War of Independence Medals and wooden file cabinets are preserved and exhibited as original evidence in this room (Figure 84).[446]

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[444] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr
[445] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr
[446] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr
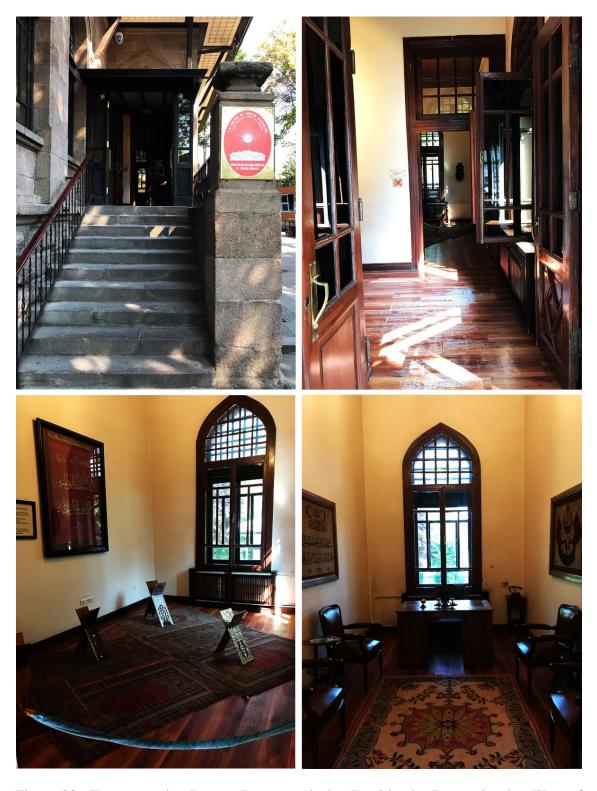
Figure 83. Entrance, the Prayer Room and the President's Room in the War of Independence Museum. (Source: Author's personal archive)

Figure 84. The War of Independence Museum.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

On the symmetry axis of the building, the Council Hall (*Genel Kurul Salonu*) **(6)** and Coulisse (*Kulis*) **(7)** are located on two sides of the aisle. The Council Hall includes wooden furniture, desks, loggias, balconies and a speech platform right across the entrance and covered with a lacunar. In front of the speech desk, seats of the ministers and desks for the deputies are placed on two sides of this central area. The right balcony was reserved for diplomatic corps and the left was used by audiences. Under these balconies, the loggias were allocated for press.[447]

As previously mentioned, the furniture of the 1st Assembly Building was from several volunteer supports of the nation at that time. Thus, schools of the era, coffee houses and governmental offices contributed to the organization of the assembly from desks to the office equipment, stoves and inkwell sets for the first parliament of the country. Also, the wooden speech platform which is crowned with an Atatürk bust was gifted by Turkish historian Afet İnan.[448] Behind, a weaving is hung with a sura weaved with gold Ottoman letters on black atlas (Figure 85).

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[447] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr
[448] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr

Figure 85. The War of Independence Museum.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

Right across, Coulisse (*Kulis*) **(7)** is located on the other side of the aisle as an additional meeting space for the Council Hall. Today, this room exhibits the models of *Imalat-ı Harbiye* vehicles in glass cases. Adjacent to this room, the second Committee Hall (*Encümen Odası*) **(8)** is located and formerly used for meetings of commissions discussing on different topics. Today, munitions have been exhibiting here including rifles, manual telephone switchboards, converters, morse machinery in glass cases (Figure 86).[449]

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[449] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr

Figure 86. The War of Independence Museum.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

The Clerk Room (*Katipler Odası*) **(9),** formerly used for editorial and paper works of the assembly, is used for the exhibitions of seals, War of Independence Medals, salary documents and personal belongings of deputies, today. Additionally, Atatürk's rifle and walking stick are also exhibited in the Clerk Room. On the other side of the aisle, two rooms are located. One of them **(10)** is used for digital representations, films and video shows about the historical background of the nation and the other **(11)** is allocated for the manager of the Museum (Figure 87).[450]

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[450] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr

Figure 87. The War of Independence Museum.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

As a significant complementary representation of the Early Republican Period of Turkey, the Museum of Republic has also open to visit at Ulus from 1981 besides the War of Independence Museum at Ulus. Organized around the council hall raising two stories in the middle, the building includes several meeting rooms, offices and service areas. In time, the building complex has changed and enlarged due to the necessities of the era; and contemporarily, a limited area of the original building has been serving as the museum space. The rest of the rooms and additional buildings have been using as archive

and storage since 1979, when the building was assigned to the General Directorate of Ancient Arts and Museums (Figure 88).[451]

Figure 88.   Plan of the Museum of Republic. [1. Entrance 2-3-4. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Room 5-6-7. Mustafa İsmet İnönü and Mehmet Celal Bayar Room 8. Exhibition Room - the Ottoman Flag 9. Exhibition Room 10. Council Hall 11. Presidential Lounge (Cumhurbaşkanlığı Salonu) 12. Presidency Office (Cumhurbaşkanı Çalışma Odası) 13. The Prime Minister's Office (Başbakan Çalışma Odası) 14. Chairmanship (Yüksek Başkanlık) 15. Chairmanship (Yüksek Başkanlığı) 16. Support Unit Management (Daire Başkanlığı) 17. Administration Supervisors (İdare Amirleri)] (Source: Base map from the Cumhuriyet Müzesi. The grey parts are closed to visit today.)

Passing toward the crown gate, the entrance hall **(1)** opens a grand aisle where the tableaux written "sovereignty belongs to the nation" (*Hakimiyet milletindir*) in Ottoman by strikingly representing the ideals of the newly establishing state. On the right, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk Room* **(2-3-4)** is located and linked to the other two adjacent rooms in row. Including personal belongings and posters on the life story of Atatürk; his typewriter, leather desk pad produced for the 10th anniversary of the Republic, letters, clothes and special Turkish Coffee cup – surah al fatihah is written on the porcelain – have been exhibiting in the glass cases, today (Figure 89).[452]

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[451] *Cumhuriyet Müzesi.* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, 2014,), 33.

[452] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr

Figure 89. The Museum of Republic.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

In the adjacent room **(3)**, Atatürk's special letters, hat, shoes, shirts and his microphone used during the 10th Year's Speech have been exhibiting with the photographs and posters on the walls narrating Atatürk. The last room on the corner **(4)** includes objects from the pioneer factories of the Early Republican Period which have special importance to understand developing industrialization progress of the state in the first half of the 20th century. In example, the first productions of the Alpullu Sugar Factory can be seen in a silver sugar-bowl with the opening date of the factory (17 Nov. 1926) written on the cap. Likewise, Sümerbank Factory's first textile production, which was gifted to Atatürk in 1937, has been exhibiting in addition to the personal belongings in this room (Figure 90).[453]

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[453] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr

Figure 90. The Museum of Republic.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

On the left of the entrance hall, *Mustafa İsmet İnönü and Mehmet Celal Bayar Room* **(5-6-7)** is located. Similar to the *Atatürk Room, İnönü and Bayar's Room* consisted of three adjacent rooms including special objects from the Republican Period and personal belongings of the second and third presidents of the state. In the glass cases, the parliamentary minutes (*Zabıt Cerideleri*), the original publication of The Speech and office equipment of the parliament members have been exhibiting today. Adjacent here **(6)**, Bayar's belongings are placed into glass cases including his fountain pen, gifts from the first glass factory of Turkey and a calendar which the date of death of Atatürk was marked on it by Bayar. Next to here **(7)**, İsmet İnönü's belongings have been exhibiting including his clothes and accessories (Figure 91).[454]

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[454] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr

Figure 91. The Museum of Republic.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

On across, only two small rooms are open to visit near the Council Hall. In one of these rooms **(8)**, the Ottoman flag can be seen which was brought to England by English commanders during the 1st World War and returned to Turkey in 2014. Adjacent here **(9)**, the original document of the Turkish Civil Code (*Türk Medeni Kanunu*) and personal belongings of Zübeyde Hanım have been exhibiting including her umbrella, hairpin and packs.[455]

The two-story rising Council Hall **(10)** is the main area of the building with its central role in the meetings from the assembly times and with its architectural details as the pioneer examples of the First National Movement in the first quarter of the 20th century. Accordingly, a grand wooden speech platform which was brought from the Chamber of Deputies (*Meclis-i Mebusan*) in İstanbul, is located between two entrances of the hall and behind, "sovereignty belongs to the nation" (*Hakimiyet milletindir*) is hung written in Latin after the Alphabet Reform in 1928.

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[455] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr

In front of the speech platform, wooden desks are located for deputies of the assembly and, presidency loggia is located with floral ornaments of daphne and plane tree in addition to the star and crescent figures in the middle. Metaphorically, the use of daphe and plane tree may be interpreted as symbols of peace and long-lived existence of the Republic in the grand Council Hall of the 2nd Assembly of the Republic. In the upper story, the loggias are located for the ambassadors and foreign statesman (Figure 92).[456]
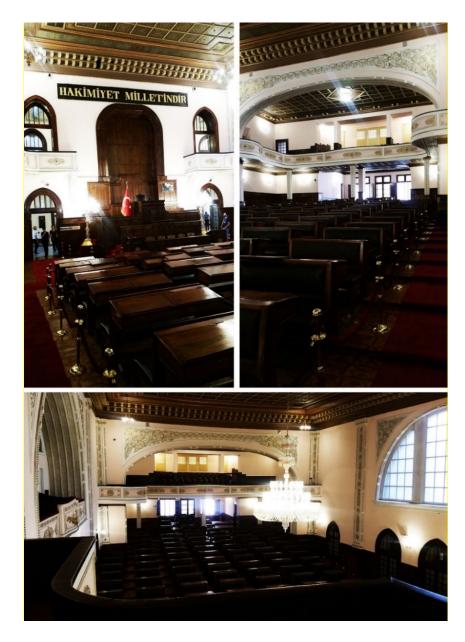
Figure 92. The Council Hall of the Museum of Republic.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

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[456] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr

The 2nd floor of the building houses to the offices of the president and prime minister of the Republic, chairmanships and management rooms. Facing towards the ambassador loggias' entrance, the Presidential Lounge **(11)** is located as the biggest room of this story. This room is furnished with Dolmabahçe Palace pieces to left a luxurious impression for the meetings of national and international guests. Adjacent here, Presidency Office **(12)** is open to visit with an original wooden desk and armchairs, brought from the Cemile Sultan Mansion as one of the quarters of the Chamber of Deputies in İstanbul. In the next room, the Prime Minister's Office **(13)** is open to visit with original furniture and nine portraits of the prime ministers who formerly used this room as their offices during the Early Republican Period are hung on the wall (Figure 93, 94).[457]

Figure 93. The Museum of Republic.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

Figure 94. The Museum of Republic.
(Source: Author's personal archive)

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[457] www.sanalmuze.gov.tr

On the other side of the Presidential Lounge, two rooms for the Chairmanship **(14-15)** are located and preserved with their original situation until today. On across, the rooms of the Support Unit Management and Administration Supervisors are open to visit with their modest interior spaces next to the ambassador loggia entrances to the Council Hall in the middle.

Contemporarily, the Independence War Museum and the Museum of Republic preserve their former characteristics in general by proposing an unmediated visiting experience based on the memories of the Early Republican Period, war years and modernization steps via original conservation of the interior spaces and exhibition formations parallel with the former uses of the spaces as assemblies. Thus, analyzing a museum space within its implicit meanings constructed upon exhibited objects, symbols and visiting experience is found precious to provide a better understanding of the Independence War Museum and the Museum of Republic which stand as living witnesses from the Early Republican Period of Turkey in Ulus, until today.

4.2. Remembering the Republic: From a Modest Seat to a Grounded State

Looking back on the *memory spaces* of Nora, the author singles out museums of a nation, which are full of emblematic symbols and representations grounding on the collectively shared values of a society. On the one hand, exhibited objects become meaningful memory storages; on the other hand, museum space itself has a significant power in representation regarding its iconographic existence in the urban context. Therefore, museums become valuable mediums for states to declare, propagate and recollect symbols of certain ideas especially in remembering of revolutionary circumstances.

In "Mümkün Olmayan Müze: Müzeler Ne Gösteriyor?" (2017), Artun defines museum as a "symbolic world" where the relationship between knowledge, ideology and state is reconstructed through the objects, curations and museum space itself.[458] Similarly, Duncan and Wallach focuses on the representative aspect of museums in "Evrensel Müze" (2006) by expressing "the primary function of a museum is to convey the most

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[458] Ali Artun, *Mümkün Olmayan Müze: Müzeler Ne Gösteriyor?* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2017), 14.

supreme beliefs and values to public" in a special set of purposes in architectural space.[459] Within their predetermined spatial characteristics and exhibition arrangements, museums emerge as powerful mediums to symbolize states and their steady power in the urban context by integrating visitors into a curated atmosphere through the visiting activity.[460] Hence, museum becomes a stage to display a particular setting, which called as "architectural scenario."[461] In this way, architectural space of a museum and its exhibition objects become an inseparable whole to represent and convey particular attitudes, beliefs or values in a society.

During the Early Republican Period, the newly establishing Turkish state also used the power of museums in the urban structure to represent Turkish national identity and history, beginning with the establishment of the Ethnography Museum of Ankara in 1928. In *Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey* (2000), Kezer discusses Ethnography Museum as one of the most leading representations of nation-building process of Turkey which was concretized in the urban context of Ankara.

Regarding the Museum's exhibition objects and exhibitory manner, Kezer criticizes conflicting notions between the state's targets and their representations in the building. In example, on the one hand, the selected objects in the Museum were referred as "historical," the majority of them had been in use actively in the daily life of the time.[462] In this way, the Museum generated a blurred boundary between the ongoing life and the exhibited objects which were labeled as historical.[463] On the other hand, classifying objects according to their practical and objective characteristics, in place of constituting a contextual togetherness, created an experience which was unbounded with historical, geographical and temporal qualities.[464]

Despite of incorporating with certain spatial and exhibitory crucial points, the Ethnography Museum emerges as a pioneer of the new initiations of the state in the late

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[459] Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach. "Evrensel Müze." In *Müze ve Eleştirel Düşünce: Tarih Sahneleri – Sanat Müzeleri II.* trans. Renan Akman and Esin Soğancılar *et. al.,* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006), 50.

[460] Duncan and Wallach, "Evrensel Müze," 52.

[461] Duncan and Wallach, "Evrensel Müze," 53.

[462] Zeynep Kezer, "Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey." In *Perspective in Vernacular Architecture*, vol.8 People, Power, Places, (2000), 107.

[463] Kezer, "Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey," 108.

[464] Kezer, "Familiar Things in Strange Places: Ankara's Ethnography Museum and the Legacy of Islam in Republican Turkey," 106.

1920s. By physically and practically proposing a new experience and representation in the urban context of Ankara in an exhibitory space, the Museum stands as one of the leading examples in government's use of museums as ideological tools to concretely represent a threshold between the past and the present in the urban structure.

Following the Ethnography Museum, exhibitions, historical findings, excavations and preservation became frequently discussed topics in the Republic, in order to remember, declare and represent natural and historical values of the state. Hence, official committees were required to construct a well-organized archaeological and museological research in the 1930. Accordingly, the first committee was established with Prime Ministry consultant Kemal Bey, Internal Affairs consultant Hilmi Bey, Education consultant Mehmet Emin Bey, General Directorate of Foundations' manager Niyazi Bey, director of Museums Hamit Zübeyr Bey and the manager of the Ethnography Museum Osman Ferit Bey in 1931 (Figure 95).

In 1932, The Turkish Historical Congress was held as another clear reflection of the era by placing archaeological, historical, genealogic and linguistic discussions at the center to comprehensively elaborate national notions from different angles. During the congress, Halil Etem, who was a member of the Committee for the Study of the Turkish History (*Türk Tarihi Tetkik* Cemiyeti), the Istanbul deputy and the brother of Osman Hamdi Bey as a key figure in the Ottoman museology, gave a detailed speech on the ongoing museology activities and special place of museums for the state. Accordingly, museums were defined as embracive spaces by including, preserving and exhibiting various kind of scientific, technical and artistic objects.[465]

Etem begins his argument with a short brief on the historical evaluation of museums in the world by explaining changing excavation, preservation and exhibition manners in time. While the historical objects were majorly conserved and collected in churches, monasteries and palaces of dynasties as commodities of the empires formerly; these objects became significant symbols of power and valued as public objects of *tour de force* from the 18th century. In this way, the first public museums were opened in France and spread around the world beginning from the mid-1750s.[466]

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[465] Halil Etem. "Müzeler." In *I. Türk Tarih Kongresi,* (Ankara, 2-11 July 1932), 532. (www.ttk.gov.tr Accessed: 07.06.2021)
[466] Etem, "Müzeler," 533, 534.
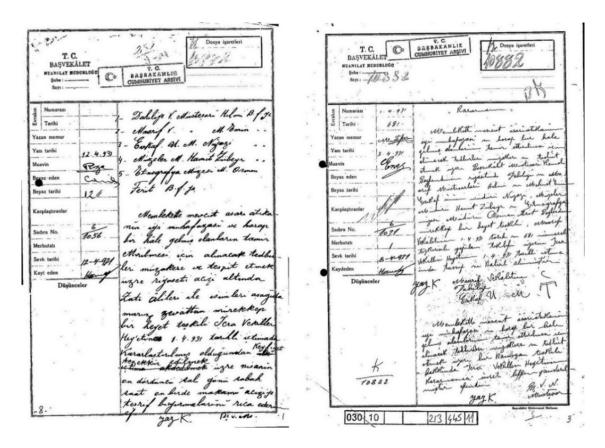
Figure 95: The official letter on foundation of a committee to conduct archaeological research, 12.04.1931. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 30-10-0-0 / 213-445-11)

In a parallel vein with ongoing worldwide agenda, announcement of the first Regulation of the Ancient Monuments (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) became a leading representation of changing preservation and exhibition ways of the Ottoman Empire in 1869. In "Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Müzeler" (2009), Çal comprehensively discusses the evaluation of museology from the Ottoman times to the Turkish Republic and places this law as the official declaration of the new manner in the Empire. Importantly, the Regulation bans the ongoing permissions of leaving archaeological and historical findings abroad and encourages institutions to preserve, repair and exhibit these objects as legacy of these lands.[467]

However, in 1874, the second Regulation was declared and a certain percentage of the findings were allowed to be exported until 1881, when Osman Hamdi became the new managing director by announcing the third Regulation which put a ban on the former

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[467] Halit Çal, "Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Müzeler." In *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol.7 no:14 (2009), 317.

exporting activities.[468] During his directorate, the Archeology Museums of Istanbul were established as a pioneer of well-organized museum spaces of the Empire which would be example for the future museums of the Turkish Republic. After his decease in 1910, Halil Etem assumed his position as the museum manager and maintained Osman Hamdi's comprehensive works on museology.

During his speech in The Turkish Historical Congress, Etem frequently emphasizes the critical role of the museums for the states by disseminating several kind of information including various fields of economy, industry, history, health, education, physics, anthropology and ethnography.[469] Although significant role of the museums were appreciated by majority, Etem mentions counterviews on museums who advocates the idea that excavation, exhibition, and preservation of antiquities were unnecessary activities which result loss of time and finance.[470]

From a different perspective, excavation methodologies and preserving findings in-situ were also popular topics which were discussed in various perspectives. On the one hand, a group of professionals justifies in-situ exhibitions and proposes that moving objects from their original contexts and placing them into a museum was an unacceptable act; the other group defends the advantageous sides of museums by collecting valuable objects together in a single space into a well-defined inclusive and didactic organization.[471]

Beyond these discussions, Etem particularly impresses the importance of national initiations in archaeological and museological activities in the state by advocating natural and historical richness of Anatolia which had to be excavated, preserved and exhibited by Turkish professionals.[472] While collecting various kind of finding in museums, Etem summarizes certain criteria to compose a proper exhibition manner. Firstly, the occupancy of objects has to be balanced to ease visiting, observing and experiencing activity in the museum space. Secondly, collections have to be organized in accordance with a specific order such as chronological classification or material characteristics, as it was in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums at that time.[473]

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[468] Çal, "Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Türkiye'de Müzeler," 318.
[469] Etem, "Müzeler," 539.
[470] Etem, "Müzeler," 539.
[471] Etem, "Müzeler," 540.
[472] Etem, "Müzeler," 545.
[473] Etem, "Müzeler," 545.

Following the congress, archaeological and museological research in the Republic gained momentum and establishment of a Revolution Museum (*İnkilap-Devrim Müzesi*) acquired currency in order to comprehensively represent establishment years of the state, Republican developments, leading political figures of the government and reforms realized in every level of life. Thus, beginning from 1935, reports on the worldwide revolution museums came into prominence as significant guides to the foundation of a museum in the Turkish Republic.

In one of these reports, Erzurum deputy Nafi Atuf Kansu emphasizes that constituting a proper committee, organization plan, collection regulations and establishment of a new, comprehensive museum was required to the Republic, which was beyond the ongoing works of the People's Houses up to that time. Thus, Kansu examines revolution museums of Russia, Germany and Italy by briefly introducing their foundation process and content. Afterword, he summarizes vital necessities of a Revolution Museum in Turkey by listing certain criteria as: **a.** determining the main building of the museum **b.** collecting photographs, antiquities, memories and findings **c.** preparation of a regulation for collecting those objects **d.** calculating expenses for the collections **e.** foundation of a committee **f.** allocating a building to conduct collecting **g.** constituting an exhibition plan (Figure 96, 97, 98).[474]

In another report, Münir Hayri (Egeli) who was educated in cinema and worked as a teacher and manager at the General Directorate of State Theaters, elaborately examines revolution museums by specifically focusing on the worldwide examples and emphasizes the belated initiation of the Turkish Republic. After analyzing these museums in Germany, Italy and Russia, Egeli proposes that a revolution museum had to be easily understandable and clear in exhibiting psychological circumstances and grand changes of states from their history onwards (Figure 99, 100, 101).[475]

Then, Egeli lists certain kind of material which were required to be collected and exhibited in a revolution museum. Accordingly, he suggests a comprehensive list on these objects as essential and authentic objects, reproductions, photographs (including images from revolutionary times, from revolutionary sites and photomontages to increase public interaction), paintings (especially custom built on the order of the Museum), statues and

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[474] In order to ease readability of the documents, images are added to the chapter break. Please see pp: 41, 42, 43.
[475] In order to ease readability of the documents, images are added to the chapter break. Please see pp: 44, 45, 46.

portraits of the political leaders, cartograms, dioramas and diagrams on the revolutions and leading speeches and quotations of the politicians (Figure 102, 103, 104).[476]

Moreover, Egeli states that a Revolution Exhibition (*Devrim Sergisi*) had to be organized until the completion of the Revolutionary Museum of Turkey in a proper building. In this way, the organizational practices could be experienced and the public interaction with museums could be observed while a comprehensive Revolution Museum works had been continuing. In order to increase countrywide influence, Egeli emphasizes that the Revolution Exhibition had to be portable to re-construct in different cities, primarily in İstanbul and İzmir. Moreover, Egeli proposes a detailed draft on the organizational scheme of the Revolution Exhibition by clearly classifying thematic departments of the exhibition as **a.** Turkey before the revolution **b.** grand revolution and the War of Independence **c.** Republican Turkey **d.** Atatürk: founder of the new Turkey (Figure 105, 106, 107, 108).[477]

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[476] In order to ease readability of the documents, images are added to the chapter break. Please see pp: 47, 48, 49.

[477] In order to ease readability of the documents, images are added to the chapter break. Please see pp: 50, 51, 52, 53.

19, XII, 1935

1367

C.H.P. Genel Sekreterliğine

Devrim müzesi ve sergileri mahiyetindeki kurumlara ,daha çok; Rusya,Almanya, İtalyada rastlanmaktadır. Çekoslovakya gibi harp sonunda Avrupa haritasında yer alan devletler de sıyasal istiklâllerini kurtarmak için yaptıkları savaşları belirtmekte fayda görmüşler, sabit ve seyyar sergiler açmışlardır. Bunarın kurulma şekillerine kısaca bir göz atmada fayda vardır.

Teşrini evvel ihtilâlinin beşinci ~~senei devriyesini tesit eden~~ *yıl dönümünü kutlayan* oniki Teşrinisani 1922 tarihinde,sabık İngiliz klübünün salonlarında kızıl Moskova adında bir sergi açılmıştır.

müessislerinin fikrine göre bu sergi" Kızıl Moskova"nın İnkilâp tarihi müzesinin temellerini kuracaktır.

Hakikatta bu biraz başkaca olmuş.Bu sergiden vücuda gelen Müze bidayette(1923 senesinin son baharında) "Moskova şehrinin İnkilâp tarihi Müzesi" ve bilâhara (1924 senesinin Martında)"Komünist Partisinin Merkez komitesine merbut İnkilâp Müzesi" ve Nihayet(1924 senesi Mayıs ayının sonunda)" İttihat merkez İcra komitesine merbut"Soviyet İttihadı İnkilâbı Müzesi" *adını* almıştır.

1925 senesindenberi Müze İttihat merkez İcra Komitesinin İlmiğ ve maarif müesseselerini idare eden komiteye ve ideoloji bakımından "Marks,Engels ve Lenin enstitüsünün" direktiflerine tabidir.

Hitler, Almanyayi ele aldığının ilk aylarında Berlinde heman bir devrim Sergisi açtı: (Die Front). Bu sergi büyük harbin neye malolduğu ile başlayan ve Harp sonu Almanyanın çektiği acıları üne seren ve Hitler Partisinin nasıl bir yoldan yürümek istediğini anlatmağa çalışan bir serim idi. Ayrıca (Propağanda Bakanlığında) (Devrim Propağandası) şubesi kurulmuştu. Ve bu şubede Sergi,Sinema ve Radyo yolları ile nasıl çalışacağının Program ha-

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Figure 96. Nafi Atuf Kansu's report on the establishment of the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
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zırlanıyordu.

Romada açılmış olan(Mostra della rèvioluzione Fascista) bir çeşit Devrim Sergisidir. Bu sergi, birinci salonunda : İtalya Milletinin nasıl meydana geldiğini, ikinci salonu; 1915 de nasıl harbe girildiğini, üçüncü salon; Büyük Harbi, Dördüncü salonu; İtalyanın zaferini, Zaferden sonra İtalyanın nasıl buhran geçirdiğini gösterdikten sonra Faşizm hareketine geçer ve on iki salonda da bu hareketi teşhir ve izaheder, ayrı bir katta da Faşist Devriminin başardıkları ve başaracakları işler, bu işlerle ilgili yayın ve Dünyada Faşizm hareketi öne sürülmektedir.

Parti Programımızın kurulmasını emrettiği devrim müzesi hakkında Genyönkurul Ankara Halkevinin sunduğu rapor üzerine 27.6.933 tarihli toplantısında böyle bir müzenin esaslarını konuşmuş ve onaylamış bulunmaktadır . Bu karara göre :

a) İnkilâp müzesinin esas bina meselesi ayrıca hallolunacak ,

b) Teklifteki esaslar içinde müzenin her kısmı için vesikalar , resimler , eserler , hatıralar gibi şeyler derlemeye başlanacak ,

c) Derleme planı yapılarak eşya, vesika gibi maddelerin toplanması usulleri hazırlanacak ve bu usul yollarında lâzımgelen makamlarla muhabere olunarak eşya ve vesikalar istenecek .

d) Derleme ve temsil vasıtalarının yaptırılması masrafları ve hesapları ilk iş olarak hazırlanacak

e) Derlemeyi yapacak heyet tesbit olunacak .

f) Eğer alâkalı makamlarla uyuşulabilirse derleme işinin yapılacağı bina ziraat mektebinin yanındaki eski büyük erkânı harbiyebinası olacaktır . Yoksa bir yer bulunacaktır . (Eski erkânı harbiye binası mümkün olmadı; şimdilik kira ile de bir yer tutulmak caizdir)

g) Teşhir planı esas binanın tesbitinden sonra yapılacaktır .

Bu kararı alan Ankara Halkevi , Genyönkurulca onaylanan rapor esasları içinde çalışmak üzre bir komite toplamış ve bu komitenin önergeleri üzerine devrimle ilgili bazı eşyaların da toplanması için yazışmakara

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Figure 97. Nafi Atuf Kansu's report on the establishment of the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

girişmiş ve devrime ait bazı hadiseleri , tablo ve resim olarak tesbit ettir-
miştir . Bu arada Atatürkün Ankaraya gelişini gösteren tabloyu sayabilirim.

Ancak görülmüştür ki devrim hareketine katılmış bir çok vatandaş-
ları ve bir çok resmî hususî orunları ilgilendiren ve onların ciddî yardıml
rına dayanan bu büyük iş Ankara Halkevinin toplayabileceği bir komite ve
bu komitenin kararlarile işe koyulacak Halkevi organizasyonu yetişmemektedir

Bundan başka bu iş her hangi Halkevinin seçimlere bağlı komite-
lerinin selâhiyetlerini aşan devanlı , metotlu çalışmayı isteyen bir iştir .

Hakikatte bu müzenin siyasal , kültürel önemi aydındır . Önemi
ve şumulü göz önünde tutulunca ilk iş olarak bu müzenin kurulmasında,idare
ve nezaretinde yetkili ve sürel bir komitenin kurulması gerektir . Bu komi-
tenin ödevi şöylece hülâsa olunabilir : *teklif etmek ve tasdikten sonra toplanmak .*

   Y   1.- Müzenin bütçesini yapmak ve kontrol etmek.

       2.- Müzede çalışacak işyarları atamak .

       3.- Müzenin kararlaştırılmış esaslar içinde kurulmasına , işle-
mesine , inkişafına bakmak .

       4.- Derleme işini başarmaktır .

Devrim müzesinin vücut bulmasında ilk iş olarak böyle selâhiyet-
lerle cihazlanmış ve partiye bağlı bir komitenin kurulmasını zarurî görmek-
teyim. Bu komiteye SÜ , Kültür , İç Bakanlığından birer üye ile Türk tarih
kurumundan bir üye alınmasında fayda vardır .

Ankara Halkevinde toplanmış komitenin hazırladığı bütçe taslağı
ile devrim müzeleri üzerinde etüdler yapmış olan M.Hayrinin raporunu ilişik
olarak sunuyorum.

En derin saygılarımın kabûlünü dilerim.

                                                     Büro V.
                                                 Erzurum Saylavı

Figure 98. Nafi Atuf Kansu's report on the establishment of the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

Ankara Halkevi

Reisliği

No.

DEVLET ARŞİVLERİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

Ankara ,28.Temmuz .1935

DEVRİM MUZESİ için Rapordur.

Sayın Şefim ,

Buyruğunuza uyarak son iki yıl içinde birbiri ardı sıra yakından incelemeğe yol bulduğum Alman, İtalyan, Rus uluslarının devrim müzeleri üstüne kısaca bir kaç söz yazdıktan sonra bir Devrim Müzesinin kuruluş ve yaşayışında önemli sayılan teknik kurallarını gene kısaca önünüze sermekle raporuma başlıyacağım.

Harb sonunda büyük ve ulusal revolusyonlar geçiren dört büyük ulusdan yalınız biz bir Devrim Müzesini meydana getirmekde gecikmiş bulunuyoruz. Ulusal devrimin apojesi sayılan cumuriyetin,on ikinci yıl dönümünüde pek yakında kutlulayacağız. Büyük kurtuluş savaşının anıtları gün geçdikce daha uzaklaşıyor ve bir çokları ölüm, kaza ve kaydsızlık yüzünden kayb olmakda bulunuyor. Her gün yeni işler başarılıyor. Bir araya toplanarak öne serildigi zaman büyük devrimimizin önemini yar ve yad gözlere çok kuvvetle serecek olan bu günlük ilerleyişlerin angıları çok defa gönlün istediği kadar göze çarpmadan kayb olub gidiyor ... Bunları düşünerek, şeflerimizin gün geçirmeden "devrim müzesi" işini ele ve öne almalarını saygıle anmak istedim.

ÜÇ DEVRİM MÜZESİNİN TARİHİ

"Hitler" Almanyayı ele aldığının ilk aylarında "Berlinde" hemen bir türlü devrim sergisi açdı: "Die Front".Bu sergi büyük harbin Almanyaya neye mal olduğu ile başlayan ve harb sonu Almanyanın çekdiği acıları canlı angılarla öne seren ve "Hitler" partisinin nasıl bir yoldan yürümek istediğini anlatmağa çalışan bir serim idi.Ayrıca "Propağanda Bakanlığında""Devrim Propağandası" şubesi kurulmuştu. Ve bu şubede sergi, sinema ve radyo yollarile nasıl çalışacağının programı hazırlanıyordu.

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Figure 99. Münir Hayri Egeli's report on the establishment of the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

Ankara Halkevi

Reisliği   DEVL... ...VL.. ....VEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ
№. ....   CUMHURİYET ARŞİVİ

Çekler Mazarik Enistitüsü adını verdikleri halk terbiyesi mü-
esseselerinde birde sergi şubesi kurmuşlardı. Onların hazırladıkları
"Seyyar Sergilerini" de gördüm. Büyük Çek İmparatorluğu adını verdikleri
bir harita önünde bundan iki yıl evvelki duygularımı buraya kayd etmek
isteyeceğim. Harıta Çek "Bohemya" dere-beylerinin engeniş İmparatorluğu-
nu gösteriyordu. Bu geniş imparatorluğun sınırları bizim iki ilimizin
içine sığacak kadar dar , yaşayışıda iki insan ömrü kadar kısa idi. İki
saat sonra baha bir hisar gösterdiler: Burada sizin dedelerinizin ileri
karakolları varmış, dediler. Gene o yıl içinde Milânodaki "Trianval" ser-
giyi ve Romadaki "Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista" yı gördüm. Tesadüfer
meşhur Roma üzerine yürüyüşde, bende Romada bulunuyordum. Yaşadığım bir
inkılâbın on yıl sonra ne şekilde söylendiğini mukayese edebildim. Bu
serginin birincisalonu: İtalya milletinin nasıl meydana geldiğini, İkin-
ci salonu:1915 de nasıl herbe girildiğini, Üçüncü salonu:büyük harbi,
Dördüncü salonu:İtalyanın zaferini, Beşinci salonu:Zaferden sonra nasıl
İtalyanın buhran geçirdiğini, Altıncı salonu:1919 zu, Yedinci salonu1920
yi, Sekizinci salonu:Fiyume ve Dalmaçya yı, Dokuzuncu salonu:1921 yılını
Onuncu salonu:1920 "Oktobr" nı, On birinci salonu: Nepolli hareketini,On
ikinci salonu: Roma üzerine yürüyüşü, On üçüncü salonu:Şeref salonu, yani
kahramanları tekrim salonunu, On dördüncü salonu:Façistlik galebesini,
Onbeşinci salonu:Musoloniyi, On altıncı salonu:şehitleri gösteriypr ve
böylece devrim hikâyesi bitiyordu. Ondan sonraki bir katta A, B, C,
salonlarında Façist devriminin başardıkları ve başaracakları işler, D
salonunda bu işlere bakan neşriyat E, F, salonlarında da dünyada façizim
hareketi öne serilmekde idi.)

Bu yılda Rusyadaki devrim müzelerini yakından inceledim. Rusya,
devrim müzeciliğinanasıdır. Bu gün, bu işi en başaranlardan birde Ruslar
olmuştur, diyebileceğim. Rusyada devrim müzeleri çok ve çeşitlidir. Eş
hadiseler başka başka halka göre ayrı ayrı müzelerde ayrı usullerde an-
latılmıştır. Yalınız bu müzeler üzerine topladığım notları ve vesikaları
bir araya getirsem kocaman bir kitab ve küçük bir sergi meydana gelebilir.

Figure 100.   Münir Hayri Egeli's report on the establishment of the Revolution Museum,
              1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 /
              1199-205-1)

Burada ancak kısaca bir genel görüşü yapabileceğim.

1- "Tarihi Müze" adını verdikleri, ve "Kırmızı" meydandaki eski asarıatika müzesinin binasını dolduran bu ilk müze devrim müzelerinin birinci etapîdır. Burada doğrudan doğruya insanlığın sosyal ideoloji bakımından geçirdiği Evolüsyonu öne sermekdeler. Tarihi müzede hakikî eşya, taklidler, kopyalar, resimler, tablolar, fotoğraflar, mankenler, diyorama gereği olan yerlerde ve belli bir düşünüşün istediği biçimde her hangi bir adamın anlıyacağı gibi dizilmiş insanlığın Dere-beylerinden, emperyalizmden, egemenlerden neler çekdiğinin tarihi inandırıcı bir metodla ve karşılaşdırma yollarile gösterilmişti

2- Devrim Müzesi.

Bütün "Devrim Müzelerinin" en eskisi ve çekirdeğidir. 1924 de "Kızıl Moskova Müzesi" adile başlayan ve bir sergi halinde on sene büyüyen, genişleyen ve yer değişdiren bu müze şimdi eski ingiliz kulübünün binasında otuz üç oda, bir sinema salonu, bir kütübhane ve başka bölümlerle toplayanız kocaman bir izerdir. Revolüsyon müzesi artık orayada sığamamakdadır. Yeni bir bina yapdırılması kararlaşdırılmış ve yeni binada müzenin nasıl kurulacağına bakan ana çizgileri bulmak içinde bir komite kurulmuştur. Bu komitenin toplantılarında bulundum. Vardığı sonuçlar/da öğrendim. Yeni "Müze Binası" şimdikinden on defa daha büyük olacakdır. Şimdiki müze devrim tarihile başlar. Rusyada en eski büyük halk revolusyonu olan "Razin" ayaklanmasile işe girer. Yeni yapılan müzede bundan evvel ta birinci tarih günlerindeki halk ihtilâllerile müzeye başlamıyı tasarlıyorlar. Şimdiki müzede halkın neler çekdiğini ve kaç türlü ayaklanma olduğu hikâyesi üç salon doldurmakdadır. Ondan sonra kominist partisinin anası olan "Paris Komünü" ele alınmakdadır. Leninin/arkadaşlarının kurdukları ihtilâl partisi, bolşevik ve menşeviklerin ayrılması, sırasile parti kongreleri ve o kongre kararlarının Sonunçları sayılan "1905 ihtilâli" ve sırasile diğer ihtilâllerle "Eylül İnkılâbı" öne serilmekde, bir salon şeflere, bir salon reaksiyon-lara, ve bir salonda inkılâbın başardığı işlere ayrılmakdadır.)

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Figure 101.   Münir Hayri Egeli's report on the establishment of the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

Devrim müzesine bağlı filim, neşriyat, temsil, radyo kolları var
dır.

3-"Lenin Müzesi"

Bu müze Leninin inkılâb şefi olarak hayatını ve eserlerini e
almakdadır. Bu müzede Leninin fikirlerinden yol aldığı.hız aldığı Karl
Maks ve Engels'in hayatı ve fikirlerile başlıyor. Leninin ölümüne kadar
sürüyor. Ve Leninin türlü odalarının kopyalarile bitiyor.

4- İstra müzesi, seyyar bir müzedir. Muhtelif müzelerde bulunan
eşyanın kopye ve fotoğraflarından yapılmıştır. Bu müze memleket içini ve
dışını dolaşmışdır. Ayrıca çıkartılan küçük kopyalar/da Rusyanın bir çol
yerlerini zaman zaman gezmekdedir.

5- "Başarımlar Müzesi" Moskavanın en büyük müzesidir. İnkılâbın
neler başardığını bir çok sahalardaki yeni hamlelerini göstermekdedir.
Her yıl bu müze yeni organize edilmekdedir. Bu müzeye bağlı birde
"Sovyet Bilginlerinin Bulguları Müzesi, vardırki burada gençliğin fen
yolundaki yenilikleri,buluşları gösterilmekdedir.

6- Din müzeleri, Türlü dinlerin nasıl insanları yanlış yollara
götürdüklerini göstermege çalışmakdadır.

7- Revolüsyon hatıralarını saklayan bir yer altı basım evi,
"Büyük adamların evleri", önemli işlerin geçdikleri yerle/de oldukları
gibi saklanmakda ve gezdirilmekdedir.

8- "Rusyadaki milletlerin müzesi" de sovyet birligine girmiş
olan başka ulusların geçirdikleri devrim yapraklarını gösteren bir müze-
dir.

9-„Kızıl ordur müzesi„devrimin ordu bakımından hatıralarını sı-
ralayan kocaman bir müzedir.

BİR DEVRİM MÜZESİ TEKNİĞİNİN ANA ÇİZGİLERİ

Bütn bu müzeleri ayrı ayrı inceledikdensonra hepsinde bir olan
teknikana karekterleri ortaya serebilirim.

Bir devrim müzesinin karektiristik ana çizgisi her yerde ve her

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Figure 102. Münir Hayri Egeli's report on the guidelines and exhibited objects in the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

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millet için gene halkın anlıya bileceği ve zevk alabileceği bir durumda olmasıdır. Her ulus kendi devrim müzesini yaparken kendi ulusunun psikolojik devrimlerini göz önüne almalıdır. Bundan ötürü benim gördüğüm devrim müzelerinin hiç birinde tarihi müzelerdeki teknik yer bulmamakdadır. Bir devrim müzesinde bu bakımdan şu türlü eşya bulunmakdadır.

1- Esaslı ve otantik vesikalar. Bunların üç kısımda ele alındığını görüyoruz.

A- En değerlileri: Yangın gibi tehlikelere karşı bunların eşleri, taklidleri yapılmış asılları yanmaz hazînelerde saklanmıştır.

B- İkinci katagori otantik vesikalar: ya doğrudan doğruya müzeye konmuş ve ya fotoğrafları konmuştur.

C- Türlü yerlerde bulunan eşyanın o yerlerdeki biçimde örnekleri aynı büyüklükde ve ya küçülterek yapılmıştır.
Bu vesikalar tasnifde iki bakımdan ele alınmakdadır.

a- Halk kımıldanışlarına ilgili olanlar .

b- Bağdaki şeflere ilgili olanlar...

Bu otantik vesikalar halk tarafından kolaylıkla anlaşılamadığı için devrim müzelerinde bunlar ancak dayanma noktalarını teşkil etmekde ve aşağıda sıralıyacağım materyel daha çok geniş yer bulmakdadır.

2- Fotoğraflar: bir devrim müzesine konacak fotoğraflar üç türlüdür.

A- Devrime ait hadiselerin zamanında alınmış fotoğrafları.

B-—Devrime ait hadise yerlerinin fotoğrafları.

C- Yukarıdaki fotoğraflar çok defa halkın anlayışı bakımından istenilen heycanı doğurmağa yetişmediklerinden bunu meydana getirmek için yapılacak fotomontajlar...

Fotoğraflarla istenildiği kadar ar ve zekâ oynansada gene yetişmekdedir.

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Figure 103. Münir Hayri Egeli's report on the guidelines and exhibited objects in the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

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3- Tablolar, renkli ve canlı olmak bakımından çok önemli sayılıyorlar. Ressamların kendi kendilerine yapdıkları tablolardan başka büyük bir çoklukla müzenin kendi isteğine göre ısmarlatub yapdırdığı tablolar devrim müzesinin en canlı materyelerinden sayılmakdadır.

4- Heykeller, devrim şeflerinin portreleri monüman kopyeleri ile ısmarlanarak yapdırılacak freskler tabloların arasında değişikliği ortaya koyacakdır.

5- Kartogramlar; halk haritaları: Türlü devrim işlerinin türlü metodlarla yapılmış halkın anlıyacağı gibi kolaylaşdırılmış haritaları önemli bir yer almakdadırlar.

6- Diyagramlar; canlı ve cisimli istatistikler: Bir devrim müzesinin önemli materyellerinden sayılmakdadır.

7- Diyoramalar; küçük sahneler, tablolardan anlaşılmayan ve daha canlandırılmak istenen türlü yerler ve işler naturel büyüklükde ve ya küçülterek diyoramalar halinde gösterilmekdedir.

8- Röpradüksiyonlar; bazı odalar, hapishaneler gibi heycanı verilmek istenen yerler müzelerde tıpkı tıpkısına kopye edilmekdedir.

9- En sonra bütün bunları aydınlatacak olan sözlerde şeflerin söylevlerinden ve diyevlerinden çıkarılarak türlü biçimde ortaya konmakdadır.

Yukarıda saydığım yoldaki materyelden başka birde müzelerin onar on beşer dakikalık filimleri vardır.

Bütün bu materyel hadiselerin sırasile ve burada uzun uzadıya anlatmayı yersiz sandığım fakat her hadisenin gösterilişinde ona bakan atmosferi yaratacak bir stilde ekspoze tekniğile serilir. Bu teknik materyali ehemiyetine göre iten, sıralayan ve kolay anlaşılmasını, görüldükden sonrada iz bırakmasını isteyen yollardır.

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Figure 104. Münir Hayri Egeli's report on the guidelines and exhibited objects in the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

3- Devrimin sonuçları ve başarıları. 4.- Şef.

Bu ilk ana tasnif yapıldıkdan sonra her bölümün nelerden meydana geleceğini şöyle düşünebiliriz.

1- Devrimden evvel Türk ili bölümü. Bu bölümde şu ana düşünce hakim ~~hakim~~ olabilir: Türk ulusu tarihinin en eski günlerine ün salmış büyük bir ulusdur. Yanlış idare yüzünden çıkan revolüsyon istekleri kan ve ateşle basdırılmıştır. Sultanlar yurdu çiftlik, ulusu köle haline getirmişlerdir. Yurd uçuruma yuvarlanırken girişilen bir kaç kurtulu adımı muvafak olamamıştır. En sonra yurdun bölünmesi parçalanması bir emri vaki halini almıştır.

Devrim müzelerini kuran bilginler için eski tarihini öne sermeği, onu kuvvetle anlatmağı müzeyi gezecek olan halka yaşadıkları revolüsiyonun ne kadar derinlerden gelen bir isteğe karşılık olduğun yaşatmak bakımından pek önemli saymakdadırlar. Bir ihtilâli ansızın ve tarihin op ortasında meydana gelmiş üstün körü bir hadise gibi göstermeği kiritik ediyorlar.

Biz bu düşünceyi şöylece yaşatabiliriz:

a-"Türk ulusu eski ve dünya sivilizasyonunda büyük rol oyn mış bir ulusdur," Temini tarihî vesikalar, haritalar, bazı eşyanın kopyalarını sermekle canlandırırız.

b- Türk ulusunun acun tarihinde epoklar açan büyük bilgi ve fenni atımlarının ana çizgileri gösterilir.

c- Kötü idare edilen ulusun ve yurdun yüz yıllar süren düşüşü. Sultanların kötü idarelerinin yurda getirdiği fenalıklar. Halkın ve sarayın karşılaşdırılması.

d- Bakımsız ve arık kalan Anadolu. Anadoluda ilk ayaklanmalar. Tarihin Celâlî dedikleri halk ayaklanmaları gibi önemli kımıldanışlar. İstanbul halkının sarayla savaşı.

e- İlk reform adımları. Süel reform. Tanzimat, ilk konsi-

Figure 105. Münir Hayri Egeli's report on thematic departmens of the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

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tüsyon 1908 İhtilâli . Bu ihtilâlin acunda akisleri.

f- 1908-1914 de kadar Türkiyede ilk devrim adımları.

g- 1914-1918 büyük savaş. Savaşın sonu. Mondoros mütarekes:

h- İşgaller.

i- Sevr.

Bu ilk bölümde bu günkü devrimin ruhu anlatılacak ve aydın-
latılacakdır. Bu bölüm ulusal tarihe dayanan inkılâbt ideolojişini:
çok kısa, çok kına çizgilerle halka anlatılışı olacakdır. Bu bölüm
dört cildlik/yeni Türk tarihinin ilk üç cildinin sığdırılmış küçük
vülgarizasyonu olacakdır. Pisikolojik gayesi müzeye girenlerin
birden kuvvetli çizgilerle "Milliyetciyiz" prensibinin içine sokmal
sayılabilir.

2- BÜYÜK DEVRİM VE KURTULUŞ SAVAŞI BÖLÜMÜ : Birinci bölüme
bir girişdir. İkinci bölüm asıl müzenin başlangıcı/demin sonsuz
kalan ihtilâl ve devrim atılışlarını gördük. Onların hepsi daha
uygun daha kolay şartalar içinde başlamışdır. Az çok bir iş görmek
istemişlerdi. Fakat bu son savaş enguç şartlar içinde en büyük teh-
like karşısında başlıyordu. Birinci bölümün sonunda "Sevr" ile yur-
dun ne köyü bir uruma düşdüğünü canlandırmışdım. Şimdi bu hiçden n
sıl devrim yaratıldığını göze serilmege çalışılacakdır.

a- Sevr imzalanırken Türkiye.

b-Atatürk Samsuna ayak basıyor. 19/Mayıs/1919 ilk hazırlık-
lar. İlk güçlükler.

c- Erzurum kongresi 23/ Temmuz/1919.ilk kararlar. İlk müda-
fa savaşları.

d- Sivas kongresi "Misakı Milli" 4/Eylül/1919

e- Ankarada birinci büyük millet meclisinin açılışı 23/Ni-
san/1920

Figure 106. Münir Hayri Egeli's report on thematic departmens of the Revolution
Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives   of the Prime Ministry,
490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

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f- İlk savaş. İzmir-Balıkesir. Cenub- Şark. Birinci, İkinci

İnönü 9/ILK./1921   30.

g- Sakarya. 23 Ağustos - 13 Eylül 1921

h- Sayayın hucumları. İçerdeki irtica ayaklanmaları.

i- Dumlu pinar. 31/Ağıstos/1921

j- Anayurdun kurtuluşu.

k- Mudanya mütarekesi. Mondorosla karşı karşıya(3.11 Birinci

Teşrin 1922)

l- Lozan : Sevr ile karşı karşıya. Lozan diger bütün büyük

muahedelerle karşı karşıya.Lozan bütün harb sonu muahedelerile karşı

karşıya.

m- İkinci Büyük millet meclisi.

n- Dışdaki düşmanla savaşlarından sonra içdeki düşmanların

    edilmesi. hilâfetin kalkması 3/Mart/1924 Cumhuriyet (Kurtuluş

savaşının dünyadaki akisleri)

o- Kurtuluş savaşının şeref koridoru.

p- Büyük ölülerin anıldığı yer.

3- CUMHURİYET TÜRKİYESİ BÖLÜMÜ : Bu bölümde savaşdan sonra

devrimin başardığı işler canlandırılacakdır. Bu bölüm, ulusal kurtuluş

savaşının bir korunma muharebesinde başka bir milletin hatta bütün zulüm

gören milletlerin taliini gösteren bir büyük devrim olduğunu yaşatacakdır

Bu bölüm aşağıdaki şeyleri toplayabilir:

a- Cumhuriyet konduğu zaman Türkiye . Cumhuriyet neleri yıkdı

Köle İmparatorluk. özür bir Cumhuriyet .Cumhuriyet Türkiyesinin vatanı

(Vatan hiç bir kayd veşart altında ayrılık bilmez bir küldür.)

Cumhuriyet Türkiyesinin ulusu. (Egemnlik ulusundur)

Figure 107. Münir Hayri Egeli's report on thematic departmens of the Revolution
        Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives   of the Prime Ministry,
        490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

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b- Cumhuriyette kanunreformu. Eski kanunlarla karşılaşması. Kadın hüriyeti. Eski ile Kıyas.

c- Cumhuriyette ordu. Türk ordusunun kısa tarihi vatan korunması terbiyesidir.?

d- Cumhuriyette iç güven. Eski eşkıyalık. Bu günkü Türkiye.

e- Cumhuriyette finans - eski rejimin mliyesi ile karşılaşdırılack .

f- Cumhuriyette Ekonomi- tarim işleri beş yıllık pilânlar.

g- Cumhuriyedde Bayındırlık- demir yolları. Elektirik su yolları. Yeni şarlar. kendler . Bir örnek "Yeni Ankara Eski Ankara"

h- Cumhuriyette sosyal bakımı. Sağlık işleri. Sosyal. Sosyeteler. Halkevleri. Hilâlahmer. Çocuk bakımı Kurumu v.s.

i- Cumhuriyette Kültür:eski medrese kültürü. Kılık- dil- yazı- tarih devrimlerinin anlatılışı. Üniversite . Bunların ana çizgiler. Ar işleri. Muzik.

j- Cumuriyet Türkiyesinin dünyadaki yeri. Siyasal kımıldanış ların . Ankaraya gelen büyüklerin, yapılan önemli muahedelerin . Türk Cumuriyetinin siyasal muvaffakıyetlerinin biri.
(İrtica atımları - Şeyh Sait . Menemen ne oldu ?)

k- Atatürkün Cumuriyet bayramının onuncu yılındaki yeni fır- ka kongresindeki nutku . Dördünçü kurultayın çizdiği yarinki Türkiye.

4- YENİ TÜRKİYENİN YPICISI ATATÜRK BÖLÜMÜ :Müzeni diger kıdımlarında tabib Atatürkün her işde yapdığı adımlar başlıca yaşatılacal tır. Bundan başka yeni Türkiyenin lideri olarak onun şahsının devir bö- lümde ayrıca ele alınması gerektir. Bu bölüm. Atatürkün birinci bölümde ki tarihi Türk ilinde beklenen başlangıç heycanının son kombinezonu olacakdır. Müze ve ya sergiyi gezen insanların çıkarken Atatürke duya-

Figure 108. Münir Hayri Egeli's report on thematic departmens of the Revolution Museum, 1935. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

In 1939, the Ankara People's House (*Ankara Halkevi*) collaborated with the Republican People's Party to organize establishment process of the Revolution Museum in Ankara. Therefore, the existing official documents in the People's House archives were shared with the party authorities in order to collectively conduct the process in countrywide. These documents consisted of a formal cover letter of the Ankara People's Party, their archival inventory, Zonguldak deputy Halil Türkmen's collaboration for the establishment of a museum, reports on the existing revolution museums in the world, regulations and needs of Turkey's Revolution Museum, and an organization plan for the Revolution Exhibition which was held before the establishment of the museum (Figure 109).
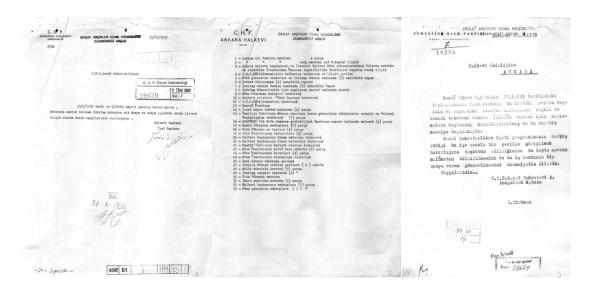
Figure 109. Official documents on the establishment of the Revolution Museum which were shared with the Republican People' Party by the Ankara People's House, 1939. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

In addition to the report, a preliminary budget allotment was proposed including expenses on building rent, repair, heating and lighting, fire extinguishing arrangements, exhibition installments, interior organization, recoating paintings, purchasing, transportation and unpredicted expenditures (Figure 110).

Figure 110. Preliminary budget allotment for the Revolution Museum, 1939.
(Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

Setting up a committee was also suggested to conduct, control and organize establishment process of the Revolution Museum of Turkey. Accordingly, the recommended board was consisted of significant political figures of the era including historian Hikmet Bayır, economist and former Minister of Education Cemal Hüsnü (Taray), another former Minister of Education Esat (Sagay), former Director of the Ancient Arts and Museums Halil (Etem), İstanbul deputy Salah Cimcoz, former Minister of Public Works and Seyhan deputy Hilmi Uran, İstanbul and Gümüşhane deputy Edip Servet (Tör), army officer Cevad Abbas (Gürer) and Mersin deputy Ferit Celal Güven (Figure 111).
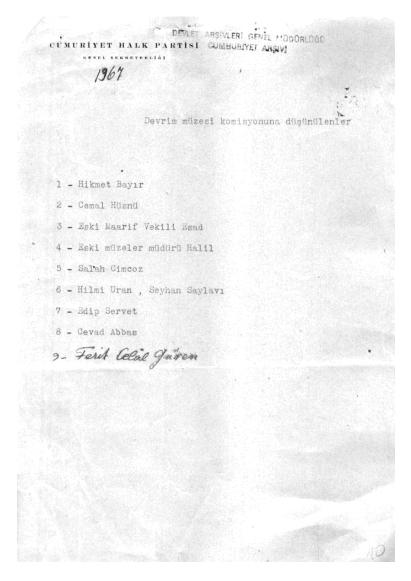
Figure 111. The recommended board for the establishment of the Revolution Museum.
(Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 1199-205-1)

In the following decades, the archaeological research and foundations of museums remained agenda of the Republic. In order to constitute a regular organization in these fields, the General Directorate of Ancient Arts and Museums periodically reported their activities including excavations, repairs and budget allotments. Therefore, in 1957, the Directorate declared a report consisted of information about the repair budgets, museum organizations and new modern understanding in exhibitory practices of the state spanning 1950-1957. Accordingly, the repairs conducted in the former 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings as Grand National Assembly Museum (*Büyük Millet Meclisi Müzesi*) and Revolution Museum (*İnkılap Müzesi*) were also reported in 1952, 1953 and 1956 activities (Figure 112).
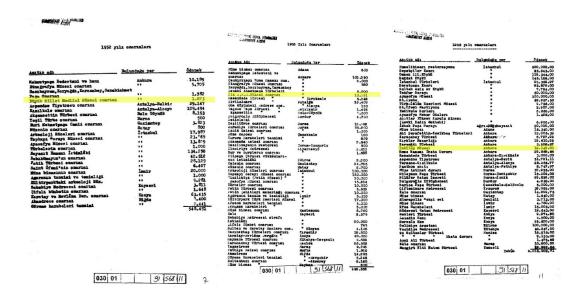
Figure 112. The official letters on the repair budgets of museums between 1950-1957. Repair expenses for the Grand National Assembly Museums and the Revolution Museum are seen. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 30-1-0-0 / 91-568-11)

Thus, the Turkish state attached a special importance to museums from the early years of the Republic and instrumentalized them as powerful spaces to represent, declare, recall and spread national connotations into the public. Accordingly, amongst several museology initiations, conversion of the 1st and 2nd Assemblies into museums emerges as an ideological action to create a new memory space in the urban structure.

In *Osmanlı Müzeciliği:Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihi Görselleştirilmesi* (2004), Shaw defines museum as a special setting where the reminiscent of particular notions are exhibited.[478] Accordingly, Shaw emphasizes that museum space has a didactic character especially in special circumstances of states such as revolutionary transformations or governmental and national reforms.[479] Therefore, museums become representative architectural spaces to legitimize, adopt or spread ideas into societies especially in revolutionary thresholds and breaking points of states. By using reminiscent symbols, a museum may propose a well-defined visiting experience which transforms visiting into a journey.[480]

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[478] Wendy M.K. Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihi Görselleştirilmesi* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), 7.

[479] Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihi Görselleştirilmesi,* 15.

[480] Shaw, *Osmanlı Müzeciliği: Müzeler, Arkeoloji ve Tarihi Görselleştirilmesi,* 15.

The War of Independence Museum and the Museum of Republic propose an unmediated visiting activity, today. The symbolic worlds in these museums offer a special experience for people by preserving original conditions of the buildings with minor additions in glass cases in order to exhibit personal belongings of the statesmen and the state documents of the era. In this way, the Turkish state intended to create a living scenario of the Early Republican Period by leaving these buildings as they were in the fluctuating years of their own era. Hence, these museums have organized in accordance with their former usage as they were assembly buildings of the state. In example, the president room of the War of Independence Museum is preserved with the working tools of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the carpet panels hung on the walls with the name of Atatürk, Ankara and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in Ottoman Turkish. Similarly, the grand meeting room's wooden benches are open to visit with the text above the wooden platform saying "the sovereignty belongs to the nation." In concordance with the former use, the head clerk rooms include civil service documents, portraits of deputies, war of independence medals, the original document of the Treaty of Lausanne, the Turkish Constitution of Law and a digital presentation of history of the building. Additionally, the tableaux of the scenes from the War of Independence, Atatürk and his fellow fighters have been exhibiting on the walls of the aisle.

In the same vein, after the conversion of the 2nd Assembly Building into the Museum of Republic, the former functions of the administrative spaces are preserved according to their original interior organizations. In this way, the aura of the building stayed unchanged from the early 20th century including daily life objects, tables and documents which are generally exhibited in glass boxes. Moreover, the Museum of Republic houses the original documents of reforms and principles, which constitute the backbone of the Turkish democracy and its modernization steps in every level of life during the Early Republican Period. In the upper story, the rooms of the building are allocated for exhibitions of the other presidents of the Republic within well-preserved meeting and administrative rooms of the assembly.

As a critical perspective, in *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (2003), Hooper-Greenhill emphasizes a collaboration between the ongoing socio-cultural and political contexts and the museum space itself. On the one hand, the museum becomes a convertible notion in accordance with existing conditions of a state, government or policy; on the other hand, it has an authentic power in converting and regulating these orders. While doing this, architecture of a museum and its exhibition forms emerge as

active actors in shaping representation of knowledge and its perception by audience.[481] In order to create a proper remembering, learning or communicating with an exhibition object, Hooper-Greenhill criticizes inconvenience of glass showcases in traditional museum space. By placing these objects into their specific environment as they were in history, the author emphasizes that looking towards an object into a glass-box remains inadequate and synthetic.[482] Thus, new exhibitions ways have to emerge to provide a better understanding of objects to represent their origins, messages, meanings and knowledge in a proper way.[483]

Today, the glass-cases have been using both in the Independence War Museum and the Museum of Republic. In comparison with one another, the Museum of Republic gives a wider coverage to the glass-cases in accordance with its wide-ranging exhibition objects including personal belongings and state documents. Moreover, the longer life story of the 2nd Assembly may also be interpreted as a significant factor in accumulating such a comprehensive collection to exhibit. On the one hand, the original conditions of these buildings partially ease to comprehend idiosyncratic contexts of the objects, the glass-boxes inevitably result in an inaccessible visiting experience.

However, the preservation of the original conditions of the buildings and adding glass-cases for object exhibitions may also be interpreted as a special intent to create an unmediated remembrance of difficult establishment years of the Republic by using all mediums of these spaces. Besides architectural stands of the museums, their interior characteristics, furniture and selected objects for exhibition were supposed to compose a meaningful whole to generate an active memorialization of early years of the state. Thus, the well-preserved buildings partly enable to place these objects into their original contexts and enable visitor to experience a multi-layered visiting activity.

In "Sanat Müzeleri ve Yurttaşlık Ritüeli" (2006), Duncan emphasizes that museums are "not neutral and transparent spaces," on the contrary they have special characteristics and signs, which point out certain set of purposes, especially in nationalist ideals.[484] Thus, museums become particularly selected and curated spaces to convey

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[481] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 201.

[482] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge,* 204.

[483] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge.* 202.

[484] Carol Duncan. "Sanat Müzeleri ve Yurttaşlık Ritüeli." In *Müze ve Eleştirel Düşünce: Tarih Sahneleri –Sanat Müzeleri II.* trans. Renan Akman and Esin Soğancılar *et. al.,* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006), 208.

certain thoughts into public through reorganization, stimulation and regulation of collectively shared values, memories or historical belongings specific to a society.

Similarly, Artun underlines the power of history in adopting and representing new ideas in museums by connecting past and the present of a society.[485] Through the instrument of historical connotations, revolutionary steps, new ideals and certain beliefs find way to be embraced in public by establishing familiar links between memories, historical notions and future constructions in a museum space. Ferguson also handles exhibitions as "publicly sanctioned representations of identity" where all the elements have specific roles and meanings including exhibited objects, their exhibition forms, interior space characteristics, architectonics of the exhibition building and published or visual material served for public use.[486] In a more specific perspective, Macdonald and Fyfe describe museums as "projections of identity" where specific forms of knowledge are produced and shared institutionally.[487] Importantly, production process of knowledge and meaning is not limited with existing socio-cultural and political context, but also museums have power to create or regulate new settings in society to transfer particular phrases of meaning.[488]

In a parallel vein, Savaş discusses relationship between recollection and architectural space by emphasizing that spatial configuration is needed as one of the primary conditions to realize a meaningful remembering.[489] In this way, an interconnected relationship between recollection, recollected and physical space has to be established.[490] Hence, the author handles museums as narrative spaces, which have their own spatial configurations and exhibition objects representing a certain era, period or event. This rhetorical aspect of museums transform the act of recollection from being an individual remembering into a collective construction shared by people.[491] Although every experience would differ from each other according to visitor's personal condition and perception, a museum space converts individual experience into a collective activity through the architectural space and exhibited objects of a museum.

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[485] Artun, *Mümkün Olmayan Müze: Müzeler Ne Gösteriyor?,* 15.

[486] Bruce W. Ferguson. "Exhibition Rhetorics: Material Speech and Utter Sense." In *Thinking About Exhibitions* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 126, 128.

[487] Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe eds. *Theorizing Museums* (Oxford: Balckwell Publishers, 1999), 9.

[488] Macdonald and Fyfe eds., *Theorizing Museums,* 8.

[489] Ayşen Savaş. "Mnemosine: Kurtuluş Savaşı'nı Hatırlamanın Sanatı." In *Birinci Meclis* (İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, ed. Cemil Koçak, 1998), 220.

[490] Savaş, "Mnemosine: Kurtuluş Savaşı'nı Hatırlamanın Sanatı," 217.

[491] Savaş, "Mnemosine: Kurtuluş Savaşı'nı Hatırlamanın Sanatı," 218.

Similarly, in *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (1995)*,* Bennett handles museums "performative" spaces where the exhibited objects and their visiting act become specifically organized and aforethought routine which is explicitly or implicitly didactic.[492] By becoming active actors in transferring certain ideological, informative, historical or political meanings, museum space implies new messages on exhibited objects in accordance with the necessities of time within certain socio-cultural and political contexts. In this way, exhibitions become living tools of social constructions upon masses in order to reflect and represent "new social purposes."[493] Thus, the museums became ideological tools to declare certain circumstances, needs, reforms or novelties to the public who gather around "temporarily organized order of things" by perceiving them as common grounds and shared values to "construct a *we*, who identified as a unity".[494]

Accordingly, the War of Independence Museum and the Museum of Republic propose a meticulously aggregated whole of objects and spaces to represent Turkish national identity and establishment of a new state. The remembering experience in these buildings are produced upon a multi-faceted set of changes in the state which has specific overlays and agents to convey certain meanings about the Turkish Republican history. Thus, the Turkish state put a special value on museums as significant participants of modernization and nationalization processes which implicitly or explicitly integrated to the daily life flow of the public. Accordingly, active use of museums, their exhibitory manners and exhibited objects were amongst particular didactic notions to declare ideological beliefs into society and to recall certain breaking points occurred in the history.

In a parallel vein, in *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (2007), Hamilakis inquires the correlational link between objects, people and national consciousness specifically focusing on Greece. Accordingly, the material antiquities are handled as significant actors in concretization of national memory and belonging in societies by opening ways for a continual reproduction of "national imagination" upon various materials.[495] While, nationalist moves of states are handled as ideological initiations and imperative operations in societies, Hamilakis inquires how people prefer to participate these pre-determined applications voluntarily, compulsory or unwittingly.

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[492] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 33.
[493] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics,* 33.
[494] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics,* 79.
[495] Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), vii,viii, 290.

Here, the author values museum as "a complex map, a place, to be toured where geographical and chronological travel, space, time, and identity merge" while the integration of people into national operations are conducted in peculiarly organized museum spaces.[496] Accordingly, the adoption and dissemination of national belonging into a society is eased by "naturalizing" these operations and integrating them into daily experiences of people.[497] Therefore, nationalization of a group emerges as a continually transforming and reproducing notion which embodied in specific ideological tools and symbols such as organizing collective ceremonies, rituals and celebrations or using certain icons such as emblem, anthem or logos.[498]

From this point of view, the War of Independence Museum and the Museum of Republic are organized to clearly represent certain values and ideological objectives of the state upon these buildings, exhibited objects, fundamental state documents including the Speech, the Treaty of Lausanne and the Constitution of Law, president portraits and personal belongings of political figures. On the other hand, regarding changing socio-cultural, political and economic conditions of their era, these museums differ from each other in certain aspects.

In example, highly limited economic circumstances and fluctuating political atmosphere of the 1st Assembly Building is felt in the visiting experience of the building as a museum. During the visit, unmediated relation with the exhibited rooms gives a clear understanding about the war years of the building. By preserving original furniture, which were brought from schools, coffee houses and public buildings, and by using a large number of tableaux on battle scenes and meetings in the council hall, the Independence War Museum proposes a dramatic commemoration of the establishment years of the state. The modest atmosphere of the building is strengthened with a variety of paintings on the walls which are clearly depicting the long war years of the state and the first paces of the establishment process of a democratic country.

Today, the aisle of the museum houses prosperous examples of the Early Republican Period paintings as significant representations of the establishment years of the new state. Contemporarily, the painting art pieces of Mehmet Ruhi Arel (1880-1931),

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[496] Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece,* 19.

[497] Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece,* 16.

[498] Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece,* 17.

Refik Epikman (1902-1974) and Saip Tuna (1904-1974) are significant examples of these artistic expressions of the era including scenes from Atatürk's visit to Ankara, Battle of Gallipoli and interior descriptions of the 1st Assembly Building. Following their education at the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi,* these artists found opportunity to work abroad such as Germany and France and then, they brought new tendencies and perspectives to the Turkish art in the first half of the 20th century including works on landscape, portrait and still-life paintings.

As a result of their commitment to the Turkish Republic, these artists use their canvas as a colorful performance area to express their sense of belonging to the state and its struggling history in the way of establishing the Republic. Focusing on the Independence War and founding paces for the new state, the painters depict the assembly, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and battles with a great devotion as significant reminiscent of the challenging past and promising future of the country on the walls.[499] On the other hand, these tableaux express visualization of a period which could not be witnessed or participated by visitors of the museum. Thus, these pieces become significant recollection objects of the battlefield while a new Republican state was establishing.

From a different perspective, the Museum of Republic stands as a witness of a more stable and well-organized state situation. Thus, the spatial expression of the museum space gives a more consolidated atmosphere in accordance with day by day developing state condition with reforms, revolutions and principles. In this way, the recollection qualities of these museums show differences especially during the visiting of the buildings and experiencing the memories of their era at first-hand. Accordingly, the modest atmosphere of the Independence War Museum diverges with royal expression of the Museum of Republic responsively with their specific eras, today. Especially, the furniture of the Independence War Museum, which was brought from Dolmabahçe Palace, may point out a special intent of the state to physically and symbolically declare the new state seat in Ankara by replacing İstanbul. On the other hand, the use of Dolmabahça furniture may also be interpreted as a tool to declare long historical background of the state from the Ottoman times of the lands.

Considering from another angle, the establishment of a new, democratic regime brought about several changes, reforms, renovations and ruptures occurred in socio-cultural, political and urban context of the state. Accordingly, the governmental

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[499] Fulya Ulusoy, "Refik Epikman (1902-1974)" (master thesis, Hacettepe University, 2006), 90 and Önder Çetin, "Mehmet Ruhi Arel ve Sanatı" (master thesis, Gazi University, 2004), 173, 174.

operations have been continuously re-organized in accordance with rapidly changing agenda of the country including the establishment of the state, inauguration of assemblies, declaration of the Republic, transition to a multi-party system and military coups. In each rupture, Republican authorities initiated several actions in the political and social structures of the country and those activities were majorly concretized, experienced and represented in the continuously changing built environment of Turkey.

During the fluctuating atmosphere of the Republic, opening of the Independence War Museum and the Museum of Republic were acute initiations in the urban context to provide a fresh memorialization of the Turkish state and its long-lived existence struggled against difficulties. In order to survive traumatic results of ongoing political agenda after coups, the Turkish state may use the power of remembering in the urban context by converting the 1st and 2nd Assemblies into museums.

Here, the War of Independence Museum shows a clear interaction with the coups. Following its allocation to the Board of Education in 1952 and finalizing of its transition to the museum in 1957, the former building of the 1st Assembly opened as the Museum of the Grand National Assembly in 1961, right after the coup of 1960. Similarly, the museum changed its name as the War of Independence Museum in 1981 when the second coup was occurred in 1980. In a parallel vein, the former building of the 2nd Assembly was opened in 1981 with the name of the Museum of Republic. In this way, visiting these buildings within their well-protected conditions as they were in the Early Republican Period was supposed to create a special experience to freshen and to recreate beliefs in the powerful stand of the state. Thus in this framework, re-naming and re-openings of these buildings as museums right after the coups are powerful ideological acts in the urban context to create a new memorialization in the urban structure by recalling the state's power in overcoming several difficulties and crisis in the history of the Turkish Republic.

Following that in 1961, the General Directorate of Ancient Arts and Museums declared an annual report to discuss existing museum organizations, exhibitory manners and classifications regarding their specific symbolization qualities for the Republic. Accordingly, the Grand National Assembly Museum was classified into the *Revolutionary Museums* as a clear reflection of ongoing perception about the building as one of the leading symbols of the comprehensive transformation from the centuries old imperial tradition to a democratic system. Additionally, restoration and renovation expenses are declared in the report by clearly reporting the special role of this building for the Turkish Republic (Figure 113).
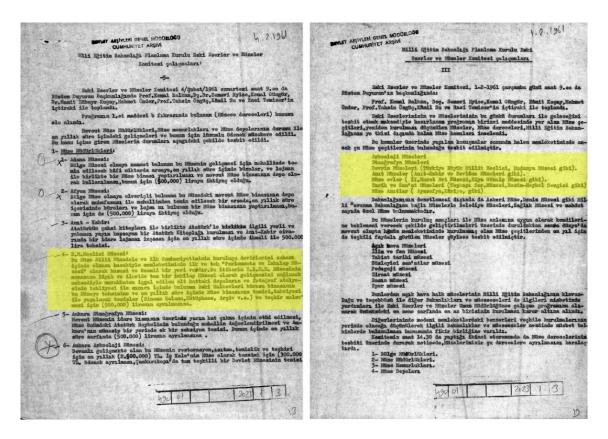
Figure 113: The official report of the General Directorate of Ancient Arts and Museums, 30.01.1961-14.11.1961. (Source: BCA, The State Archives of the Prime Ministry, 490-1-0-0 / 2023-1-3)

Moreover, the report suggests that co-operation between museums and schools have vital importance in educating people within a special setting full of historic, archaeologic and natural findings of these lands. Hence, the educational and professional qualities of the staff working in these museums were elaborately discussed in the report by pointing out the importance of the authorities in founding, managing and curating museum spaces. Also, the Directorate proposed that a 15-min. radio broadcasting in a week was necessary to integrate museum culture into the lives through the daily life activities.

As another reflection of ongoing agenda during the multi-party system and prominence of the political figures as state symbols, the Museum of Republic predominantly consisted of personal belongings of the leaders of the era. While the first steps of the multi-party system in policy were paced, the 2nd Assembly was in power as the consolidated representation of the Turkish Republic. Accordingly, the exhibition rooms for Atatürk, İnönü and Bayar full of personal belongings, photographs and biographies on posters show a clear change in representation of state upon the statesman

while the War of Independence Museum principally exhibiting collective situation of the country grounded on war memories and modest atmosphere of the 1st Assembly Building.

From a different angle, although the military coups brought about fluctuating atmosphere in the country, the conversions of the 1st and 2nd Assemblies into museums correspond a more grounded era of the state in comparison with the Early Republican Period of Turkey. Looking back on the inauguration years of these assemblies, that period was a quite difficult, deprived and limited which prioritized urgent institutionalizations in the urban context. Thus, in the first quarter of the 20th century, the primary issues of the state consisted of immediate establishments of the assemblies, ministries and governmental offices to provide well organization of the establishment of the new, democratic Turkish Republic.

Then, the passing time resulted in consolidation of the state and the improving governmental procedures enabled government to enrich public initiations besides political progress. Especially after the inauguration of the 3rd Assembly Building, the public improvements accelerated. Thus, the openings of the Independence War Museum and the Museum of Republic were interpreted amongst these initiations paced for the commemoration of the Turkish state in the urban context within the former parliament buildings of the Republic.

Hence, the conversions of the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings into museums can be discussed from different perspectives regarding the ongoing agenda of their era as assemblies and as museums within political, economic and socio-cultural frameworks. On the one hand, the War of Independence Museum stands as a modest witness of the pioneer steps of the new, democratic state; the Museum of Republic represents a more stable and grounded symbol of the Turkish Republic via its architectural characteristics and interior atmosphere proper to the epoch's well-organized, developing and modernizing state policy in national and international stages.

Contemporarily, in the urban context, these buildings have been keeping alive the memories of the Turkish state including various types of material, original documents, photographs, battle munitions and personal belongings of the era. In this way, the War of Independence Museum and the Museum of Republic illuminate a new way of memorialization to declare, to evoke and to represent the long-lived existence of the Turkish Republic by generating critical thresholds in the heart of the capital, today.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this study, the active role of the assembly buildings of Turkey is inquired within a holistic point of view, which constitute a critical discursive ground in understanding changing dynamics of the Turkish national identity represented in the various contexts of Anatolia. Through the thematic interpretations on *concretization, commemoration* and *imagery construction* of the Republic, the collective memory discourse is particularly investigated upon the three assemblies of the state and existing literary approaches are re-interpreted from a different angle. Accordingly, placing the assembly buildings at the center as case studies resulted in a novel perspective on Nora's *memory spaces* by integrating official state buildings into the field which is widely exemplified upon public spaces of societies such as libraries, museums and archives. Thus, the thematic lense illuminated a new spot in *memory space* discussion and provided fruitful foundations to construct an inclusive perspective on the assembly buildings of Turkey.

Hence, this study proposes an integrated perspective on the assembly buildings of Turkey by handling all the parliaments of the state from the Early Republican Period. In this way, the holistic approach to these assemblies generated an illuminative field which was unearthed by continuously following the changing dynamics of the national identity construction of the Turkish Republic grounding on the assembly buildings as active participants of the process. Thus, the multi-layered angle of this study based on two main axes as conducting a historical inquiry into the Republican period and as re-interpreting discursive formations of nationalism specific to the Turkish state from the establishment years until 1980s when the 1st and 2nd Assemly Buildings were converted into museums as another specific centerline of the study. Accordingly, each move to the new parliament resulted in a new re-production phase of the national identity upon physical, collective and imagery representations of the Republic.

In order to constitute an integrative inquiry, the historical perspective of this study particularly focuses on the mid-1800s to the late 1900s, when significant political and socio-cultural ruptures consecutively occurred and resulted in a grandiose change in centuries old tradition prevalent on the territory. Accordingly, the longstanding monarchy

gave place to a new state organization based on democracy. Day by day, the hegemony of the Ottoman Empire weakened as a result of a comprehensive questioning of ongoing administrative system and political circumstances of the Anatolian lands. The establishment of the Turkish Republic in the first quarter of the 20th century generated a completely new state which brought about extensive transformations in every level of the country.

Naturally, such a grand change did not occur in a flash but, the Turkish state conducted a well-defined ideological strategy to construct independent national identities. Therefore, every step paced in the Early Republican Period carried special meanings and intentions to compose an overall Turkish identity embodied in social, cultural and governmental contexts of Turkey. Amongst these multi-layered reformation process of the Anatolian land toward being the homeland of the Turkish Republic, built environment of the country, collective events shared by masses and their representational circulations on media became significant mediums of the government to declare new manner of the state. Thus, the governmental operations displayed activity on physical, collective and published constructions of the new Republican regime.

During the Early Republican Period, the built environment of the country became one of the most striking representations of the state in national and international stages to declare and propagate independent national character of the country via physical artefacts. Accordingly, the assembly buildings took critical position in this process by actively integrating to their surrounding Republican constructions. Thus, throughout the study, the assembly buildings of Turkey are handled as inseparable parts of their urban context which have been continuously evolving in nationalist concerns. From this perspective, these buildings allocate special meanings on memories as concrete representations of the state in the built environment which has been continuously discussed within national architecture discourses of the era.

However, the iconic stances of the assembly buildings of Turkey did not limited to their physical existences in the urban context. These buildings also participated to the construction of the Republic and its nationals via their active uses in collective events and their extensive usage on media as visual materials of the government. Accordingly, on the one hand, the architectural assets of the assembly buildings generate critical spaces to recognize new, national identity of Turkey, their active use by public and their prominence on published media allocate an invaluable place for the construction of the Turkish national identity.

In order to understand their critical position, the assembly buildings are handled within the frameworks of collective memory and national architecture discourses by proposing a holistic perspective fed from historical research, discursive inquiry, archival evidence and memoirs of the Early Republican Period. Therefore, this study is fed from qualitative research methodology with a constructivist approach on the grounds of primary and secondary sources and visual materials which are interpreted through content and discourse analysis methodologies. Accordingly, all kind of material evidence including photographs, maps, documentaries, newspapers, official state documents, postcards and memoirs constitute the backbone of this study to elaborate the assembly buildings of Turkey within their dynamic circumstances during the Early Republican Period. Hence, the archival findings illuminated unnoticed roles of these buildings by placing them into an inclusive research environment.

In order to compose an overall understanding on critical position of these buildings in representing Turkish nationalism and keeping memories of the state, the discussion is constructed upon *concretization, commemoration* and *imagery construction* of the Republic by covering the three assemblies at the center.

Firstly, in *concretization* of the Republic, this study particularly focuses on the physical characteristics of the assembly buildings by placing these artefacts into the ongoing architectural discussions of their era. Accordingly, the built environment of the country, especially of Ankara, became one of the most striking representations of the state to concretely represent stable and durable character of the newly establishing Republic. Concordantly, the assembly buildings also located in that rapidly developing discursive environment of the capital, which was supposed to be a modern and reformist showcase of the government in worldwide stages.

Locating at the heart of the capital, the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings of Turkey generated an integrative representation in the built environment of Ulus where have been stayed in use from the history onwards. On the one hand, the fluctuant political atmosphere of the era, the limited economic conditions and inadequate technical proficiency resulted in acute solutions for constructing these new state seats, on the other hand, the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings emerge as embodiments of collectively shared values in the urban structure, which are concretely repesenting a threshold between the Ottomoan tradition and newly establishing democratic regime in the 1920s.

In 1930s, the improving state organization resulted in a critical disengagement from the Ottoman influences and the built environment of the country became a discursive

platform which majorly constructed upon the nationalism concerns of the state. Accordingly, various professionals in design field asserted that national character of the Turkish Republic had to be created and constructed by its nationals with the use of local materials in construction. However, the ongoing technical inadequacies in construction technology resulted in co-working with foreign architects for a while. Furthermore, international design competitions were held in order to combine new construction technologies and to integrate novelties into nationalist design principles of the Turkish Republic. Indeed, these interactions resulted in a grand development in construction site while new techniques were applied in production of Republican artefacts with nationalist interpretations and local concerns.

Thus, the construction of the 3rd Assembly Building corresponds such a fruitful atmosphere, which began with an international competition held in 1937. By using specific iconic references to the historical Turkish states and prioritizing local materials, the 3rd Assembly carries physical representations of nationalist tendencies in architectural design principles. Especially, the common usage of local supplies materializes rich environment and natural sources of the country. On the one hand, the building was supposed to represent durable and stable existence of the Turkish Republic with its grandiose scale, on the other hand, organization of closed and open spaces correspond a well-thought design process which would be planned for several official or public events conducted with masses in future.

In a larger perspective, the 3rd Assembly Building locates in the Ministries Quarter where a great number of governmental buildings were allocated in Çankaya. Thus, the construction of the 3rd Assembly created a new administrative neighborhood in the capital in place of Ulus. In this way, the architectural stance of the building generates a new and monumental representation in the urban structure by concretely symbolizing the firm character of the Turkish Republic. Thus, it is revealed that the construction of the 3rd Assembly Building produces a new concretization of the state within a continuously developing built environment of Çankaya by replacing administrative focal character of the Ulus Square.

Secondly, in *commemoration* of the Republic, the collective uses of the assembly buildings of Turkey are studied to understand how these buildings actively participated to the public events of the state as memory spaces. Thus, this approach is grounded on two main perspectives firstly by analyzing national days of the Republic and secondly, focusing on daily life uses of the buildings. In this way, it is aimed to find critical place

of the assemblies in the memories of through their uses on special days, celebrations, ceremonies or solely in ordinary days of the life. By asking how the assemblies keep the memories of the Republic in collective occasions, the buildings are interpreted within their urban context, not only as governmental cores but also as social spaces for the nation.

When the 1st Assembly was inaugurated in 1920, the building was an acute solution for the newly establishing state which was already under the influences of war years, limited economic conditions and fluctuant political atmosphere. Thus, the building generally witnessed to immediate official meetings, agreements or war victories of the era which were major steps in establishment of the Turkish Republic. Following its opening, the building became an inseparable part of collective celebrations conducted in the Ulus Square as centuries old center of the city. During these ceremonies, the Square and the 1st Assembly were ornamented with flags and triumphal arches in order to create a collective stage for the masses sharing nationalist belonging in the urban context. After the declaration of the Republic and the end of the Independence War, the 2nd Assembly corresponds a more resident and peaceful environment of the new state in the same vicinty. Accordingly, the building was also used for bairam celebrations and anniversaries of battles.

Thus, the inauguration ceremonies, religious meetings and public events were amongst important collective activities of the Republic which were conducted in the courtyards of the 1st and 2nd Assemblies in the Early Republican Period. In their immediate vicinity, the Ulus Square houses these buildings by crowds in ornaments, flags and arches as representations of national solidarity and belonging in the urban scale. Accordingly, in the special days of the Republic, the 1st and 2nd Assemblies become active participators of the national identity construction of Turkey via their collective uses by all people of the capital including statesmen, religious men, soldiers and civils.

In addition to the national days, this study revealed that the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings become inseparable parts of daily life in Ankara as a result of their central location at Ulus. Under the light of archival evidence expressing everyday life of these buildings, a continuous crowd can be seen in the gardens of the assemblies. The frequent use of the buildings may also be understood from the memoirs of people who actively used these areas during their work-days. Due to the bus stops in front of the buildings, the gardens of the 1st and 2nd Assemblies have continuously used by people to spend their time after work. In a similar way, the children of the time narrate that they frequently visit these buildings to see gardens and pools as popular public spaces of the city. Importantly,

the sea-shell shaped concert area of the 2nd Assembly is also mentioned in memoirs as a significant area used for public concerts and orchestral activities. Therefore, the 1st and 2nd Assemblies have special meaning in the memories of the era as widely used public spaces where continuously used not only by the statesmen but also the civil people living or working around Ulus.

The 3rd Assembly Building shows a more official collective use in comparison to the 1st and 2nd Assemblies of Turkey. Moreover, the inauguration of the building corresponds a more stable and firm stance of the state which have also various Republican artefacts in the urban context have been using to keep alive the memories of the state. Especially, the Hippodrome became one of the major spaces in the urban context by housing thousands of people during the celebrations after its opening in the 10th Anniversary of the Republic. At the same time, the devastating loss of Atatürk became another significant rupture in the ceremonial days of the state by carving a special niche for people to visit his eternal tomb before passing towards the Hippodrome. While public meetings were held at the Hippodrome, the 3rd Assembly Building majorly used as an official reception area for the statesmen. During these formal meetings, the Honorary Square of the 3rd Assembly became an iconic stage for the ceremonies with the flying Turkish flag, monumental building and the Atatürk Monument as the landmark of the campus.

In this respect, the archival evidence illuminated neglected aspects and usages of the assembly buildings through their participation into the public events of the Republic while keeping and recollecting memories of the state. Besides their collective uses on national days, the findings revealed that the 1st and 2nd Assemblies have also actively participated to daily life as a result of their central location in Ulus. On the other side, the 3rd Assembly produced a more official boundary in the urban context by widely housing official receptions in the complex. Thus, the holistic inquiry on the assemblies of Turkey showed that each of these buildings produced specific urban environments in accordance with their public uses in the city.

Thirdly in the *imagery construction* of the Republic, it is aimed to find answers how the assembly buildings of Turkey were used in visual materials in daily life circulation as representations of the state. In this respect, newspapers and periodicals of the Early Republican Period become major archival evidence to understand critical role of the assemblies as symbols of the government on published media. Besides their architectural stances in the urban context and collective uses by public, the imagery

representations of the assembly buildings are of crucial position by diffusing everyday life through the mass media tools of the era. Therefore, the special roles of the assemblies in the memories of the time are questioned upon published material which have comprehensive effect by operating nationwide scale.

Regarding the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings, these parliaments become active actors of the newly establishing Turkish Republic which has been passing through struggling war years and limited economical possibilities during the Early Republican Period. In accordance with these circumstances, newspapers and periodicals in the 1920s, generally focused on war news and ongoing difficulties in every level of life. Following the end of wars and establishment of the Republic, headlines and major topics on media began to be focused around victory news and future aims of the state. Then, the national day celebrations and anniversaries became collectively shared values of the Turkish nation in order to remember and keep alive difficult years of the government. Thus, in order to construct a powerful memorialization, the assembly buildings of the time have frequently given on cover pages. Additionally, articles about the war times and establishment process of the Republic have also used to strengthen national belonging and enthusiasm in countrywide.

Moreover, photographs from the council halls of the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings are of great importance in the imagery representations of the state. Frequently these expressions are consisted of political leaders' speeches or inauguration ceremonies of the assemblies while the buildings housing deputies came from all over the country. Especially on national days, a wide coverage is given to the celebrations in Ankara including a detailed program of the ceremony, visited buildings in the urban context and photographs from the assemblies during the reception. In the following years, participation of the Hippodrome and Anıtkabir to the ceremonies have also represented in the news as significant visiting points for the public. Also, as a result of rapidly developing industrial technology and the built environment of the state, the assembly buildings began to be supported with images of new Republican artefacts, factories, trains and airplanes on the cover pages.

Following the multi-party system in the 1940s, a breaking point was occurred in the imagery constructions of the Republic and in representations of the assemblies on mass media. As a result of fluctuant political atmosphere of the era and new party organizations in the assembly, newspapers began to give wide coverage to the new political figures of the state. Thus, the ongoing symbolization of the Republic which was

consisted of parliament buildings, political leaders, Republican artefacts and national symbols have enlarged with the use of new party logos and politicians on cover pages.

In 1961, when the 3rd Assembly Building was inaugurated, the opening ceremony and the speeches of leaders have given on media with various photographs from the inner and outer spaces of the building. Additionally, competition process, the long construction years and technical details have frequently narrated in articles to construct an overall recognition of the last and contemporary parliament of the Turkish Republic. In this way, beginning from its first design steps to the inauguration, the 3rd Assembly Building have always stayed on media as an iconic symbol of continuously developing Turkish state from the 1930s.

On the other hand, as a continuation from the former assemblies, celebrations on national days in Ankara are of great coverage on media by showing photographs from the 3rd Assembly Building, Hippodrome and Anıtkabir as key visiting points of the day. Especially, the official reception at the Honorary Square of the building was frequently used on newspapers by introducing the program of the day and participants from national and international organizations. Specific to the 3rd Assembly, the consolidated multi-party system and military coups also supported the frequent use of the building on media. Regarding continuous debates, establishment of oppositional groups and parties, the 3rd Assembly remained on agenda as a significant symbol of the Turkish state which have been witnessing a complex political atmosphere.

Thus, the archival evidence revealed that each assembly building produced its authentic representation upon the mass media tools. Concordantly with developing and changing administrative perspective of the state, the symbolization of the Republic transformed within the frameworks of ongoing agenda. In this way, the assembly buildings of Turkey have continuously placed in media tools while political ruptures, novelties, discussions and reforms occurred. Therefore, this study illuminated that the dominant visibility of the assembly buildings changed in time, due to the ongoing developments in construction technology, political transformations and continuously discussed nationalism concerns of the state. The existing representation of the Republic upon the assemblies began to be supported by new national symbols such as leaders, parties, logos, industrial reforms and Republican artefacts of the state especially after the 1940s.

Thus, the continuously developing built environment has also occupied an important position by actively participating to the representation of the Republic in the

urban context. Accordingly, the role of the assembly buildings as memory spaces is handled within their urban structure, instead of handling these buildings as individual artefacts. By placing the assemblies at the core of the discussion, the vital importance of their surrounding Republican buildings kept in mind to compose an overall perspective of the national identity construction of Turkey. Within this framework, urban transformations were conducted by constructing new public buildings and institutions in order to declare and propagate new Turkey while Ankara became the showcase of the Republic as the capital. This approach revealed a changing memory map in the urban context, which has synchronously transformed within the continuously developing built environment of the city (Figure 114).

Up to the opening of the 2nd Assembly Building in 1924, the Hakimiyet-i Milli Square (contemporary Ulus Square) and the 1st Assembly actively participated to the ceremonial days of the country as the main stage of the newly establishing Republican manner. Accordingly, the square and the parliament building of the time were ornamented with flags and arches in order to be used in the parade and celebrations. Following the opening of the 2nd Assembly, the ceremonial movement was elongated towards the new parliament of the time. By using the temporarily constructed tribunes in front of the building, the 2nd Assembly became a Republican stage for the ceremonies.

In 1928, Ankara Palas was opened as one of the most important Republican building to house the meetings of the foreign diplomats, statesmen and to the balls especially in the Republic Day. In this way, the celebrations continued in Ankara Palas as a significant physical representation of the new, modern Republican manner of the country. In 1933, on the 10th Anniversary of the Republic, the celebrations and ceremonies were conducted at the Hippodrome with a great participation of people, schools and political figures of the era in the international stage. Accordingly, ceremonies began at the Ulus Square with public enthusiasm and marching towards Station Boulevard (grey dotted line on the map) and passing by the 1st Assembly Building. Then, in order to realize official receptions, the 2nd Assembly was used by the politicans and the parade continued toward the Hippodrome. From that time, the scouts, students accompanied to the military parade at the Hippodrome.
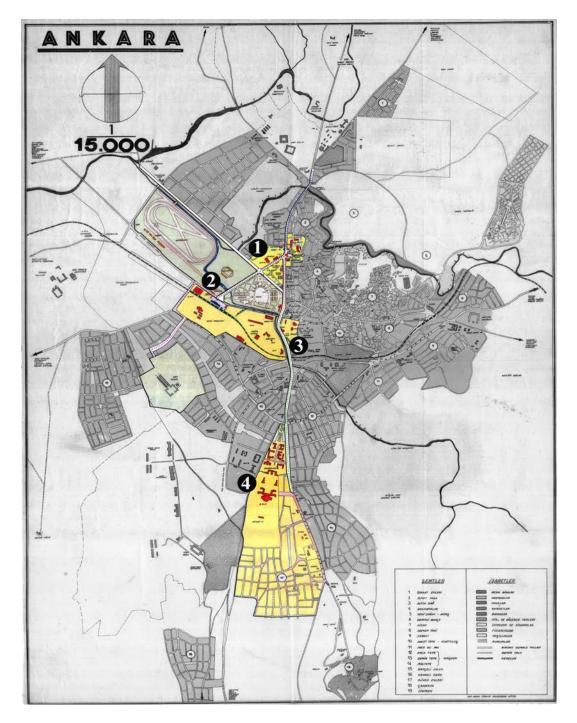
Figure 114: Ankara map, 1950. [1. Ulus Square including the 1st and 3nd Assembly Buildings 2. Hippodrome 3. The Ethnographic Museum 4. The Ministries Quarter and the 3rd Assembly Building] (Source: Koç University VEKAM Library and Archive - Ankara Map and Plan Archive, ID No: H156.)

After the decease of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1938, the Ethnographic Museum was used as the temporary tomb for the founder of the Republic until 1953, when Anıtkabir was completed as his eternal burial chamber. Thus, up to the Anıtkabir, the Ethnographic Museum was visited on all national days before beginning to the

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ceremonies and parades. Accordingly, the ceremonial map changes with participation of the Banks Street to express gratidues to Atatürk. Then, the ceremony was continued in Ulus Square by following the existing tradition on the Station Boulevard from the Ulus Square to the Hippodrome. In 1953, the visiting tradition to the Ethnographic Museum was replaced by Anıtkabir with the opening of the area as the permanent tomb of Atatürk.

Thus, from the opening of the Hippodrome in 1930s, a change in the commemorative tradition in Ankara is revealed regarding festival spaces, visited buildings in parades and main celebration areas. The parade in front of the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings with tribunes located in the garden of the buildings changed in practive by transforming assemblies into official reception areas used by political leaders of the time before their participation to the Hippodrome. In this way, the publicity of the assembly buildings on national days decreased, however, their governmental focal character remained unchanged by housing political receptions with leaders, ambassadors and diplomatic groups. In a similar way, the desease of Atatürk and use of the Ethnographic Museum as the temporary tomb and Anıtkabir as permanent place transformed the route of ceremonies and the use of the assemblies in the urban scale. Especially on national days, the tomb of Atatürk is visited as the eternal symbol of the Republic. Accordingly, the public ceremonies in Hippodrome began after the visiting Atatürk by everyone from 1938 and continued with an official reception in the 2nd Assembly Building of Turkey until 1961 when the third and contemporary assembly was inaugurated.

From this perspective, the importance of handling the assembly buildings within their urban context is illuminated and the changing representation of these buildings is discussed regarding the ongoing agenda of the time, reforms in the built environment and ruptures in the time. In other words, the Ulus Square at the junction of Banks Street and Station Boulevard become the core of the concrete representation of the new national identitiy by housing significant Republican buildings on two sides. From this perspective, while constructing and keeping memories of the Republic, the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings take part cooperatively with the other Republican artefacts in the urban context during their concretization, commemoration and imagery construction of Turkish identity.

As a significant complementary perspective for this study, the 1st and 2nd Assembly Buildings were converted into the War of Independence Museum and Museum of Republic in 1981. In this way, these buildings were regained into the social life of the

city by keeping and exhibiting the memories of the Early Republican Period of Turkey. Importantly, their conversions correspond a critical period of the country, which witnessed two military coups in the last two decades. Thus their opening as museums may be interpreted as an ideological move to remember struggling years of the country and its rise after comprehensive political fractures.

Majorly, these museums are preserved as they were in the 1920s. In this way, an unmediated remembrance is created in buildings to experience how they worked as iconic representations of the newly establishing Republic in their era. By originally preserving interior spaces, these buildings generate a frozen stage for memorialization of the state via historical furniture, office equipment and council halls with desks and loggias. Additionally, glass boxes are used in the museums to exhibit significant state documents, military and industrial objects of the time or personal belongings of the political figures. Moreover, descriptive posters are used in both museums to narrate history of the Turkish Republic. As fundamental supportive actors in these remembrance, the paintings of the Turkish artists are hung on the walls including scenes from battles, assemblies and war times of the Republic in order to strengthen commemoration in these museum spaces.

Under the light of these interpretations, this study revealed that the representation tools, symbols, images and rituals of the Republic have continuously remodeled in evolving political and socio-cultural contexts of Turkey. During this process, the involvement of the assembly buildings has also transformed in changing balances of the state. Concordantly, each rupture occurred in the political direction of the country synchronously resulted in a change in the new perception of the assembly building which left traces in the collective memory of the era through its physical, collective and imagery representations. Thus, new ways of representation and remembrance of the state are fabricated in each assembly building and the Republican identities are continuously re-generated in the contemporary parliament of the era.

From this perspective, the construction of a national identity in the Turkish Republic shows a clear interaction with the assembly buildings of the state. Under the light of archival evidence, memoirs and literary sources, representative roles of the assemblies evolve in accordance with the ongoing circumstances of the country. Thus, the 1st Assembly Building of Turkey is widely matched with the struggle for the independence in the early 1920s and, the building is imprinted on the memories as the concrete symbol of the freedom, independence and sovereignty. In a parallel vein, the representative formation of the 1st Assembly is highly associated to the war memories,

victories, new laws and treaties of the state while the first steps of a democratic regime were taken.

On the other side, the 2ⁿᵈ Assembly Building corresponds statification process of Turkey which was constructed upon reforms, principles and modernization steps in every layer of the government. Thus, the building is associated with a formal state organization in the memories by officially declaring and applying the new rules of the Turkish Republic. Similarly, the collective use of the building which widely housed to the anniversaries of victories and celebrations on national days points out a more grounded state organization represented in the urban context. Specific to the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ Assemblies, the buildings are re-called as the War of Independence Museum and the Museum of Republic in 1981 by bearing the prominent memories of their era via their new functions in keeping and exhibiting the memories of the state.

Then, the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building generates a specific rupture in the collective memory of the Republic and identified with the consolidated Turkish state in national and international stages. Accordingly, the changing dynamics of the political regime and especially the multi-party system put the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building forward as the monumental expression of the Turkish Republic which symbolizes steady stance of the country. From its inauguration in 1961 until today, the building has stayed in use as the contemporary assembly of the Turkish Republic while continuing to keep memories of the state. Thus, each assembly building initiates a specific period while new representations of Republican identities are continually produced upon ongoing agenda of the era. Correlatively, the autonomous representations of the assemblies are highly affected from their specific circumstances particularly resulted in ruptures occurred in the political and socio-cultural structures of the state.

From a different point of view, this study revealed that the immediate vicinities of the assembly buildings are also significant factors which cooperatively worked with the other urban artefacts while a Republican ideal was built in the city. Due to their central location in the Ulus Square, the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ Assemblies become active participators of daily life besides their governmental stances in Ankara. However, the 3ʳᵈ Assembly Building allocates a new neighborhood in Çankaya and changes the ongoing visibility of the former assemblies in the urban context. Accordingly, the inauguration of the 3ʳᵈ Assembly resulted in creation of a new administrative core in the Ministries Quarter and takes the precedence over Ulus.

In 1981, the balance in the urban context changed again due to the openings of the 1st and 2nd Assemblies as the Independence War Museum and the Museum of Republic. In this way, the faded central role and public visibility of the former assemblies are regained by their new functions completely serving as public spaces of the state. On the one hand, the changing use of the former assemblies reproduce new memories of the Republic by serving as living memory spaces in the urban structure, on the other hand, these building frozen their former representations as assemblies within their new exhibitory operations.

Within a broader perspective, in this study, the specific ruptures determined in the political and socio-cultural contexts of Anatolia illuminated an inclusive view on changing dynamics of the land and provided a fruitful ground to place the assembly buildings into their meaningful discursive formations. Accordingly, the Constitutional Eras, declaration of the Republic, inauguration of the assemblies, multi-party system and military coups become significant breaking points for this study to construct an epochal understanding on the assembly buildings which have been continuously evolving into their specific contexts. Therefore, these public changes in Anatolia generated comprehensive transformations in every level of life and thus, certain spaces in the urban structure were ideologically produced to symbolize specific concerns of the era. In order to construct a collective sharing in society, the Turkish state actively integrated Republican artefacts into everyday life of the nation.

In this rapid development, the assembly buildings of Turkey, became significant parts and memory spaces of the Republic to memorialize publicly shared values in concretely embodied spaces in the urban context. By disseminating into the lives via their architectural stances, public uses or published circulations, the assemblies become inseparable actors to construct a Republican ideal. From this perspective, in this study, the assembly buildings of Turkey are fundamentally placed and interpreted within their surroundings by proposing that the collective memory of the Turkish state is a multi-layered whole which has been continuously regenerating in evolving urban structures under the influences of ongoing political, economic and socio-cultural contexts.

Thus, this study showed that amongst numerous Republican artefacts, the assembly buildings of Turkey emerge as powerful participants of this governmental operations by effectively integrating into various mediums of the Republic through their concretizations in the urban context as architectural symbols of the state, through their public use in certain days of the nation such as celebrations or ceremonies, and through

their daily life circulation via published media tools of the era. In this way, it is revealed that these buildings cooperatively participated to the construction of a new Republican memory by producing changing representations of the state which were continuously transformed in accordance with the ongoing circumstances.

Hence, the holistic investigation of the three assembly buildings of Turkey generated a continual tracking on the representations of the Republic by specifically focusing on the assemblies as active participants of the grand transformation of the Anatolia. The consecutive inquisition on the assembly buildings of Turkey in a body provided a multi-layered platform to join fragmentary parts of the Republican memory into a whole. Therefore, the holistic perspective of this study illuminated that the assembly buildings of Turkey play a critical role in state operations as memory spaces of the Republic by producing various alterations, breakings, fading and prominences during the long life story of the Anatolian lands.

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