AGAINST STYLE: RE-READING "NEW ARCHITECTURE" IN EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD IN TURKEY (1931-1940)

A Thesis Submitted to
The Graduate School of Engineering and Sciences of
İzmir Institute of Technology
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Architecture

by
Bilgen DÜNDAR

September 2011
İZMİR

We approve the thesis of **Bilgen DÜNDAR**

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Şebnem YÜCEL
Supervisor

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Erdem ERTEN
Co-Supervisor

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Fehmi DOĞAN
Committee Member

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Adile AVAR
Committee Member

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Ufuk ERSOY
Committee Member

_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Özlem ARITAN
Committee Member

16 September 2011

_____   _____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Serdar KALE   **Prof. Dr. Sedat AKKURT**
Head of the Department of Architecture   Dean of the Graduate School of
                                                                     Engineering and Sciences

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

AGAINST STYLE: RE-READING "NEW ARCHITECTURE" IN EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD IN TURKEY (1931-1940)

This dissertation is intended as a contribution to the understanding of modernization in the early Republican period (ERP) architecture, namely including the neglected attitudes. It criticizes the stylistic periodizations such as "National Style" and "International Style" and rigid classifications such as classifications of Sedad Hakkı Eldem only as the forerunner of national architecture and Seyfi Arkan only as the forerunner of the international architecture in Turkey. This study aims to transcend these reified categories by presenting the varieties and contradictory approaches that existed in architectural theory and practice.

This dissertation aims to develop a new reading of the ERP architecture by questioning the categories that were constructed by the first generation of architectural historians who produced their texts between 1973 and 1983. The main aim of this dissertation is to show simultaneous existence of different modernities in the ERP architecture. By revealing different understandings of new architecture in architectural theory, architectural pedagogy and architectural practice, this dissertation focuses on the heterogeneity of the architectural milieu.

The first generation of architectural historians constructed the ERP architecture with Euro-centric set of theories, and with conventions such as categorizations and stylistic periodizations. They also read that period's architecture within the frame of the nation-building process. In their texts, the architecture followed a linear and progressive modernization process, paralleling the nation-building process. By tracing the different understandings of modern architecture in architectural theory and tracing different tendencies of architects in architectural practice, this dissertation aims to question not only the categorizations and stylistic periodizations, but also this linear and progressive modernization ideal.

ÖZET

STİLE KARŞI: TÜRKİYE'DE ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİ'NDE "YENİ MİMARLIK" IN YENİDEN OKUNMASI (1931-1940)

Bu tez gözardı edilmiş tavırları analiz ederek erken cumhuriyet dönemindeki modernleşme anlayışına bir katkı koymayı amaçlar. Çalışma "Milli Stil" ve "Uluslarası Stil" gibi stil temelli dönemleştirmeleri ve Sedad Hakkı Eldem'i sadece milli mimarlığın öncüsü olarak ve Seyfi Arkan'ı da sadece Uluslarası Stil'in Türkiye'deki öncüsü olarak sınıflandıran katı sınıflandırmaları eleştirir. Bu çalışma mimarlık teorisi ve mimarlık pratiğindeki çeşitlikleri ve çelişkili yaklaşımları ortaya koyarak böyle "şeyleştirilen" kategorileri aşmayı amaçlar.

Bu tez metinlerini 1973 ve 1983 arasında üretmiş olan ilk kuşak mimarlık tarihçilerinin söylemlerini sorgulayarak, erken cumhuriyet dönemi mimarlığına dair yeni bir okuma geliştirmeyi amaçlar. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı erken cumhuriyet döneminde aynı anda var olan farklı moderniteleri ortaya koymaktır. Yeni mimarlığın mimarlık teorisinde, mimarlık eğitiminde ve mimarlık pratiğindeki farklı anlayışlarını ortaya çıkararak, erken cumhuriyet dönemi mimarlık ortamının heterojenliği üzerine odaklanır.

İlk kuşak mimarlık tarihçileri erken cumhuriyet dönemi mimarlığını Avrupa-merkezli teoriler ile ve kategorileştirme ile stil temelli dönemleştirmeler aracılığı ile kurmuşlardır. Bu dönem mimarlığını ulus-devlet kurma süreci çerçevesinde okumuşlardır. Tarihçilerin metinlerinde mimarlık, ulus-devlet kurma sürecine paralel olarak lineer ve ilerlemeci bir modernleşme sürecinin içinde yer alır. Bu çalışma, erken cumhuriyet dönemi mimarlık ortamındaki farklı anlayışların, farklı eğilimlerin, farklı tavırların izini sürerek sadece tarihçilerin kurgulamış olduğu kategorileri ve stil temelli dönemleştirmeleri değil, bu lineer ve ilerlemeci modernleşme idealini de sorgulamayı amaçlar.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this dissertation is to show the varieties in modernity which were prevalent simultaneously in the early Republican period (ERP) architectural milieu and to object the evaluation of the architecture of that period as a homogenous unity. This study focuses on the period approximately between 1931 and 1940, while tracing some trajectories in architectural texts before 1931. It mainly concentrates on the writings and products in *Mimar/Arkitekt* which was the only architectural periodical of Republican elites between 1931 and 1940.[1] In particular, by means of analyzing the texts and the buildings published in *Arkitekt*, the stereotypical representations of ERP architecture which have been constructed by architectural historians of 1970s and 1980s desired to be avoided. Between the years 1973 and 1983, the historians Üstün Alsaç, Metin Sözen, Mete Tapan, İnci Aslanoğlu[2] established the theoretical groundwork of ERP architecture. This study questions the construction of modern Turkish architecture basing on the mentioned historians' discourses.

The historians who produced their texts between 1973 and 1983 could be accepted as the first generation of architectural historians of modern Turkish architecture. They introduced the basic descriptions and definitions. The documents produced by them formed the basis of the architectural history courses on modern Turkey and as a result, they are still effective in the architectural discourse in Turkey. They constructed ERP architectural theory and practice based on Eurocentric readings and conventions derived from stylistic periodizations.

The periods in these historians' documents are precisely titled and dated. Generally, the periods between 1930-40 and 1940-50 were built in common by all the

---

[1] This periodical was published in the name of *Mimar* from 1931 to 1935. After that year the name was changed as *Arkitekt* because of the revolution in language.

[2] Bülent Özer, "Rejyonalizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme" (*An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Turkish Contemporary Architecture*) (PhD diss., Istanbul Technic University, Istanbul, 1963); Üstün Alsaç, "Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi" (*The Evolution of Architectural Thought in the Republican Period*) (PhD diss., Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, Trabzon, 1976); İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* (The Early Republican Period Architecture) (Ankara: ODTÜ Yayınları, 1980); Metin Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı 1923-1983* (Republican Period Turkish Architecture 1923-1983) (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1984).

historians. The period between 1931 and 1940 was defined as a term where the tendency leans mostly to the West. Also, samples of international architecture produced in Europe were underlined. The dates which take place between 1940 and 50 were named as second national architectural period and were evaluated within the framework of Sedad Hakki Eldem's works and the traditional Turkish architecture. This dissertation deals with the period of time between 1931 (is the year considered as a start due to the first copy of periodical *Arkitekt* issued in 1931) and 1940 to question this "rigid" classification. Although the homogeneous milieu the historians built, this study reveals the conflicts of the ERP architecture through various international and traditional examples.

One of the means that these historians employed was to constitute the architecture of ERP as an immediate reflection of the nation-building process. In their writings, the Eurocentric conceptualizations of modernization, modernity, and modernism[3] in architecture were employed and they were discussed and explained in relation to the nation-building process in Turkey.[4] The Eurocentric understanding of modern was gathered by the historians as "an exclusively European category that non-Western others could import, adopt, and perhaps resist to but not reproduce from within."[5] Additionally, the concept of modernization as a linear and progressive process that non-Western others should follow the same way with the West was understood

---

[3] There are a few concepts in history which is very fruitful in terms of engendering transformations in the practical milieu and referencing different meanings like "modern." The plurality of the concept modern at the same time has created the plurality of its derivations such as modernization, modernity, modernism. Modern and its derivations have spread and transformed through the whole history from the middle ages to today. These are all historical constructions. We can also say that these are active concepts, for example "the concept of modernism was itself a part of making history, not simply a *post facto* creation." Arnfinn Bo-Rygg, "What Modernism Was," in *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the Modern in Architecture and the City*, eds. Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen, 24 (New York: Routledge, 2004).

[4] The relationship between nationalism and modernism has been argued by historians and social scientists. For Marx, Engels, Lenin and their follower nations and nationalism were intrinsic to the development of the modern capitalist era. And similarly for Durkheim, the idea of nation emerged for "the need of cohesion and reintegration after all the dislocations and strains of modernisation." In fact, nationalism, nation-state and nation were the cultural products that emerged as "the product of a self-distillation process occurring at the intersection point of different historical powers" around the end of the eighteenth century. However after this self-generating process, nationalism became a model. As Edward Said aptly put it: "Nationalism originated in Europe as a modern phenomenon, and that European experience provided a model for its diffusion throughout the world [...]"Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, (London and New York: Routledge Press, 1998); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006); Edward Said, *Şarkiyatçılık: Batının Şark Anlayışları*, trans. B. Ünler (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2001).

[5] Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 8.

again with the same attitude. Similarly, the foundation of the nation was read as a process where a linear, progressive modernization was put into practice.

The initial constitution of the discipline of architectural history in Turkey was naturally based on Eurocentric theories. These historians were educated in a period when there was no critical aspect of these theories in Turkey and naturally their reading of Turkish modern architecture reflected the Eurocentric assumptions on the "modern" in architecture. These assumptions are the elevated role of the traditional in the creation of a regional modern for the non-Europeans and the originality of the European modern versus the imitative nature of the Eastern modern and, etc. of the first generation of architectural historians' readings ignored the self-generated modernization process that had taken place since the Tulip Era (*Lale Devri*). The different enunciations of modernity in architecture since the late 18th century was ignored as well and their readings was thus reduced to the search for an existence of a European modern architectural vocabulary in buildings. In their research the time of "modern" started with the foundation of the Republic and thus, the history of modernization only made sense as a natural consequence of the modern nation-building process.

Architectural practice includes the knowledge of past experiences and the self-generated modernization and this was the case of the modern architecture in Turkey.[6] Furthermore, pedagogical backgrounds of the architects who produced the buildings of the Republic were varied. Different educational and practical paths that these architects followed were reflected in numerous tendencies in the architecture of ERP. In fact, it may be said that the nation-building process provided a milieu that the various tendencies or different pursuit for new architecture had chances to appear simultaneously. This provided visual diversity in the architectural milieu. However, the reading of that period's architecture only within the context of nation-building process collapsed the multiple histories into a single and official History.

---

[6] Tanyeli, in his book *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000*, claims that "People who were unaware of contemporary design and building construction services were educated wıth the help of conscious elite bureaucracy. As a result, There is no possibility to write the history of discipline of architecture in Turkey as a process." He explaines the reason of it, while he traces the reasons that Vedat Tek could not placed in the architectural milieu of Ankara: "During early 1920s in Ankara, the building production was operated by pre-capitalist notion of economy practiced in the 16th century Ottoman world. It seems that thıs method fell behınd the formal production system in Istanbul where the commitment mechanism emerged wıth the Tanzimat when compared. They had no rational tools to determine the amount and validity of construction expenses. [...] It is also interesting that they did not spent anythıng for design projects." Thus, Tanyeli's first claim based on the fact that Republican elites did not have the knowledge of mechanisms of architectural practice. Uğur Tanyeli, "Vedat Tek (1873-1942)," *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000* (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007): 111.

Historians read the architecture of ERP through the irreconcilable binaries such as east/west, old/new, backward/forward, national/international. To evaluate that period's architecture with these dichotomies caused the formation of a rigid categorization of architects and architectural products. Unfortunately, Seyfi Arkan was classified as a forerunner of International style in Turkey despite his other approaches. Similarly, Eldem was called as a forerunner of national architecture in Turkey without regarding his other works. Not only was each architect classified as follower of a single architectural tendency, but also their products that did not fit into such categorizations were excluded. This creates a problematic understanding of that period's architecture. Therefore, a historiography that treats modern architecture with regard to its complexities, contradictions and discontinuities are needed.

There were variations in historians' constructions of that period, even though it is little. Likewise, there were slight differences in their evaluation of the buildings. In these evaluations, categorizations are observed clearly. For example, in the historians' texts, among Arkan's buildings and projects, only the ones which employed an international formal vocabulary were included in the category. His studies and buildings that show the traces of neo-classical and regional architectures were omitted deliberately to create a single story or ERP architecture. While Arkan's buildings were presented as the representative of international currents in the country, Eldem' buildings were presented as the representatives of the internalization of modern architecture through regional/vernacular. However, the works of both architects were more varied than their stereotypical representations. In other words, the assessments of the works of architects should go beyond these rigid categories which were mainly based on formal appearances.

This dissertation aims to contribute to the understanding of modernization in the ERP architecture extensively. It includes the neglected attitudes when compared to the approaches that covered the international movements employing its formal vocabulary. This study concentrates on the architectural theory, education and practice to understand that period's architecture by exploring various approaches.

In this research, the analysis of architectural products published in *Arkitekt* is realized in two main parts. While the first part focuses on residential architecture of ERP, the other focuses mainly on competition entries and some public buildings. The first generation of architectural historians presented the residential architecture between 1930 and 1940 mostly as "cubist" tendency that employ an international formal

vocabulary. Similarly, the works were also named as "the International style" or "rationalist-functionalist architecture." However, especially when we analyze the texts written in ERP, we can see that cubist tendencies were criticized seriously by some architects like Behçet Ünsal. In the first generation of historians' works, the term International Style was used related to the works dated before 1932 when Philip Johnson and Henry-Russel Hitchcock named the style. Moreover, the first generation of historians identified the notion of rationalization with cubism and International style. However, we can see that ERP architects objected to be a follower of any existing style, rather they wanted to create their own. In Ünsal's words "their aim was not cubism, but rationalization." Their understanding of rationalization was independent from any stylistic applications and it did not have any formal rules.

Besides residential architecture, this study analyzes competitions and some of the public buildings, which received less attention from the historians. The competitions opened in ERP were important in terms of understanding different tendencies in the architectural milieu. Especially, the texts written by the architects to explain their projects gave important information for their main principles of design. The competitions and some of the public buildings produced between 1930 and 1940 showed different attitudes towards a new architecture. The notion of rationalization also displayed itself in the public buildings with unadorned surfaces and economical design. However, modernization of public buildings was different from the modernization of residential architecture because the impacts of classicism were more explicit in the public buildings. On the other hand, the architects started to question some of the principles of new architecture in public buildings. In this context, this dissertation focuses on context, massing, façade treatment, spatial layout and corresponding plan in public buildings.

This study is divided into five chapters, which are organized thematically and each chapter is arranged chronologically. Chapter 2 includes a discourse analysis which questions the historiography of modern Turkish architecture. The problems in the first generation of architectural historians' texts will be discussed in this chapter, too. Since the categories and stylistic periodizations which the historians created will be questioned throughout this dissertation, their way of constructing ERP architecture became important. Especially, the categories such as national and international, and the stylistic periods as the First National Style and the Second National Style and their definitions of architecture between 1930 and 1940 will be discussed.

Chapter 3 traces the theoretical construction of the "new" in the architecture of ERP. The first generation of historians mostly constructed that period's architecture in the context of instrumentalization in the service of nation-state. This dissertation accepts the power of architecture to represent the new face of the Republic, and also acknowledges the existence of some of the products such as People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) constructed and disseminated as the new face of the Republic. Therefore, section 3.1 discusses the revolutionary mission of architecture in the cultural policy of the new Republic. In addition, Europe was not the only model which the first generation of architectural historians addressed to produce modernism in architecture in Turkey. In this context, this dissertation reveals the different understandings of "new architecture" in Turkey. Section 3.2 focuses on selected examples as the signs of new architecture from out of central Europe, selected texts translated in *Arkitekt* which included the criticism of new architecture. The theoretical background of new architecture in Turkey is also discussed through the architects' and architectural historians' articles in *Arkitekt*. In section 3.3, not only the general understanding of new architecture, but also the historians' assessments on "modern architecture" are discussed with a focus on "the old Turkish house" and "cubism in architecture."

Chapter 4 "non-stylistic architectural pedagogies in ERP" traces the different pedagogies of architects in the Academy of Fine-Arts. The categories produced by the historians about the practice of the ERP architecture appeared clearly in their evaluations of architectural pedagogy. According to them while Vedat Bey and Mongeri applied Beaux-arts architectural pedagogy, Egli introduced the principles of Germanocentric European modernism in 1930s. In these evaluations, the educational method of Vedat Bey and Mongeri were reduced only to façade design and Egli's education method was limited with the formal vocabularies of the modern architecture. However, these three architects, especially Vedat Bey and Egli searched for modern architecture with different conceptual tools, objecting these restricted conceptualizations.

Chapter 5 traces the different approaches in architectural practice prevalent in that period. This chapter explores the understandings of rationalism by the ERP architects and historians. I would like to point out that the main target of them was not to practice/design with cubism or any style, but rationalization in architecture. Rationalization in different executions is given in this chapter. The revitalization of old Turkish house was also the concern of that period's architects so the interpretations of

the Turkish house are discussed within the frame of rationalization. On the other hand, chapter 6 traces the omissions in the first generation of architectural historians' discourses. Competitions and some public buildings are the main focus of this chapter, since they are the neglected points. Chapter 6 exhibits these different approaches in terms of context, massing, façade treatment, spatial layout and corresponding plan. This dissertation ends with a discussion on the implications of different modernities in the ERP architecture, as well as the historiography on modern architecture in Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

THE CONSTRUCTION OF
EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD ARCHITECTURE
IN BETWEEN 1973 AND 1983

First academic studies on the history of architecture of the early Republican period (ERP) in Turkey were written in 1970s. These works are as follows: *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*[7] (50 Years of Turkish Architecture) by Metin Sözen and Mete Tapan, *Türkiye'de Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi*[8] (The Evolution of Architectural Concept in Republican Period) by Üstün Alsaç, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*[9] (Early Republican Period Architecture) by İnci Aslanoğlu, and *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı 1923-1983*[10] (Republican Period Turkish Architecture between 1923 and 1983) by Metin Sözen. The first book mentioned above by Sözen and Tapan called *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*, published in 1973, could be regarded as the first document in this field. The next study in 1976 as given above is Alsaç's doctoral dissertation at Karadeniz Technical University. This should be considered not only one of the earliest studies observed, but also it made remarkable impact on the studies of ERP architecture. Also, Aslanoğlu's *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* which still bases a ground for many studies in terms of its archival resources was published in 1980. The last book in this category is Sözen's *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı 1923-1983* was published in 1984. Due to the foundation of the theoretical grounds, I would like to refer to these figures as the first generation of architectural historians. Moreover, there was a seminal text produced by Bülent Özer as a doctoral dissertation titled *Rejyonalizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine*

---

[7] Metin Sözen and Mete Tapan, *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi* (Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973).

[8] Üstün Alsaç, "Tükiye'de Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki Evrimi" (PhD diss., Karadeniz Technic University, Trabzon, 1976).

[9] İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* (Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, 1980).

[10] Metin Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı (1923-1983)* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1984).

Bir Deneme[11] (An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Turkish Contemporary Architecture) completed at Istanbul Technical University in 1963. Although Özer does not accept the content as a historical study of Turkish modern architecture, Özer's text should be considered as an antecedent of the mentioned works above in terms of introduction of the basic concepts and definitions of ERP architecture.[12]

The first generation of architectural historians analyzed ERP architecture within the frames of the nation-building process. They especially evaluated the first examples of Turkish modern architecture through the reflections of Republican ideology both in theory and practice. As Alsaç stated:

> The republican period of the Turkish society is the time for alterations. In other words, republic means various changes in social and cultural life. Turkish society had altered the political life, economic structure, legal system, attire, language, calendar, hour; briefly, life style completely. Naturally, all of these transformations had a vast impact in architecture.[13]

Similarly, Sözen remarked that Republican elites' demand is to create a brand new architecture following these changes:

> The architectural medium during the era of the establishment of Turkish Republic had been formed with the evaluation of the opportunities existed. And, this era was also inspired by the motives of conceived national consciousness. By the end of the national architecture period, fundamental changes in politics, economics and in social and cultural areas had been applied. Thus, a suitable milieu for architecture was in need.[14]

Architecture made an appeal in the first generation of architectural historians' discourses mostly as an instrument of the elites to represent and disseminate the novelties. As for architectural services nationwide, Alsaç differentiated the ERP from former periods with this dissemination policy.

---

[11] Bülent Özer, "Rejyonalizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme" (PhD diss, Istanbul Technic University, Istanbul, 1963).

[12] Tanyeli examines Turkish architectural historiography in terms of three main fields of discourse. One of them emerged in the late nineteenth century which is fundamentally related to national political ideology. The aim of this architectural history is the classification of the field of architectural sovereignty. The second one, produced in İstanbul Technical University especially under the influence of Doğan Kuban, is an architectural history which could be called positivist. The last one is Özer's architectural history. Özer constitutes architectural history in terms of its own epistemology and reproduces as architectural history integrated with modernist historiography. The significant reason for its description as a threshold of Turkish modern architectural historiography is his struggle to get Turkey together with modernity in a cognitive aspect. Uğur Tanyeli, "Türkiye'de Sanat Tarihi Eğitimi ve Sorunları," *Sanat Dünyamız* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 70.

[13] Alsaç, "Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki Evrimi," 89.

[14] Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı (1923-1983)*, 167.

The most significant concept that the new government had brought with itself was the widespread architectural services in Turkey. […] since the Tulip Era, modernization with its architectural products had remained only in the borders of the capital, Istanbul. These services were hardly applied in the other parts of Anatolia. […] the new regime was able to carry out the dissemination in the field of architecture. […] contemporary trends in architecture were taken to various districts through official buildings.[15]

The first generation constructed modernization process via changes in the two cities only: Istanbul and Ankara. While Istanbul appeared as a cosmopolitan, multicultural, and a multi-centered city; Ankara rose as a city of bureaucracy, state officials, and central authority. Neglecting Istanbul on the way of modernization because of its chaotic structure, the historians defined Ankara as a bare ground to construct the new capital of the Republic. Through their definitions they created a modern and also an ideal city with Ankara. However, when the requirements of architectural practice emerged, the situation was far from the ideal. Vedat Bey, an eminent figure in the field of education and architecture, experienced the difficulties in Ankara, and showed the difference between these two cities in terms of architecture.[16]

The first generation of architectural historians employed irreconcilable binaries as a tool to construct ERP's architecture and its social context. They constructed Ankara and Istanbul in their works as opposed to each other. While they described Ankara as new, international and universal, they described Istanbul as old, imperial and regional. It may be said that the historians were confined in dichotomies such as old/new, national/international, regional/universal. For example, in republican elites' periodicals such as *Kadro* and *Ülkü*, the features or the requirements of the new way of life were highlighted based on the dichotomies. While the new features that referred to social structure of modern, civilized and secular nation-state in the western sense were praised, the traditional properties which based on religious Ottoman social structure were vehemently criticized.

As a result, the basic dichotomies reduced the complexities to which Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu refers as "the disappearance of many historical stories."[17] These stories

---

[15] Alsaç, *Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki* Evrimi, 60.

[16] Vedad Bey had trouble with bureaucracy in Ankara in the context of taking his remuneration. Afife Batur, ed., *M. VedatTek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003); Uğur Tanyeli, "Vedad Tek (1873-1942)," in *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000*, 108-117 (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007).

[17] Gülsüm Nalbantoğlu, "Silent Interruptions:Urban Encounters with Rural Turkey," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Ed. Sibel Bozdogan and Reşat Kasaba, 159 (London: University of Washington Press, 1997).

were the outcome of a self-generated modernization process, which had been maintained since *Lale Devri* (the Tulip Era). Sibel Bozdoğan traces the self-generated modernization process in architecture, and she points out how the Ottoman bureaucrats and intellectuals had experienced changes in their lifestyles since the end of the 19th century:

> The transformation of upper-class domestic culture and family life along European models predated the Westernizing reforms of the Kemalist republic by at least half a century. European (and more specifically French) culture, table manners, tastes, and bourgeois decorum had penetrated the houses of Istanbul's commercial and bureaucratic elite from the *Tanzimat* reforms of 1839 onward.[18]

She concludes that "Modernized–that is, Westernized– lifestyles and small nuclear families did not appear suddenly with the republican reforms; the reforms merely coincided with societal changes already under way in Turkey."[19] Although the self-generated modernization process was developed in ERP, the historians adopted the modernization discourse of the republican elites.

One important point in the ERP's modernization discourse was the internalization of modernity. First generation of architectural historians also centered their discourses on the question concerning the internalization of Western concepts. For example, Alsaç discusses the internalization of modern architecture through the ERP discussions on the development of classical Turkish music in Western norms. He attaches a quote from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk:

> The music we perform in our country is not Turkish. It is Byzantine. Only the shepherds play our national music in the countryside. However, approximately four centuries are needed to improve the level of our music to the western standards. It could be too long to wait for. That is why; we are trying to transfer the western music.[20]

And Alsaç explained the term "transfer" as follows:

> Through the words he uttered for music, Atatürk also determined how the revolution in the field of arts would take place. This would realize by learning the subject from the west world, as well. Therefore, […] we should comprehend the word "transfer" in Atatürk's remark in this sense. This does not mean that transference as it is or imitation but it is learning the contemporary methods and cultivating the national values accordingly.[21]

---

[18] Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 193.

[19] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 195.

[20] Alsaç, "Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki Evrimi," 53.

[21] Alsaç, "Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki Evrimi," 53.

Alsaç explained this internalization process in architectural milieu with "surveying the West consciously." According to him, before the period 1930-1940, "there is no conscious follow up of the west in architecture." In the context of internalization of external values, Sözen and Tapan criticized the works of Seyfi Arkan and Bekir İhsan Ünal as in the following terms:

> […] Parallel with the international improvements, Turkish architects like Bekir İhsan Ünal and Seyfi Arkan, whose professional attitudes were completely different, had acted in contemporary way with an international wit. Yet, lacking scientific approach in the manner with the aim of displaying some architectural elements from the west in their works was still a repetitious copy of the West.[22]

It is seen in the quote above, while these historians praised the internalization of Western elements, they criticized imitating them. Appreciation of the modern West enabled the Turkish elite to be dependent on Eurocentric theories of modernization. These theories described modern as "an exclusively European category that non-Western others could import, adopt, or perhaps resist to but not reproduce from within," and modernization as a linear and progressive process that should be followed by the non-Western others.[23] The Eurocentric theories could be seen in the first generation historians' evaluations of "new architecture." They focused on the developments in the European architectural milieu and they named the new architecture as International Style,[24] and Bauhaus,[25] together with Cubist architecture.[26] The situation was as Aslanoğlu stated:

> The leading […] European countries (France, Holland, Germany) reached the level of construction technology till 30ies and meanwhile, their economic and socio-cultural medium developed their own architecture after a long term progress. Turkey who had completely different economic and socio-cultural circumstances in those years, imported this achieved notion of modern architecture apart from the modernization process of the West.[27]

---

[22] Sözen and Tapan, *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*, 196-197.

[23] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building*, 8.

[24] Aslanoğlu explained the elements which are employed in International Style as flat roof, open plan, linear horizontal windows, large openings, cubic masses, and asymmetrical organizations. Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, 40. Referencing Le Corbusier's purist-cubist architecture, she expanded the definition of new architecture. She described the cubist architecture encompassed the notion of form follows function, redundant of ornament, openness in material usage, rescuing art and architecture from the influences of tradition. Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı,* 2.

[25] Alsaç, "Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki Evrimi," 27.

[26] Cubist architecture (*Kübik Mimari*) was term used during the ERP.

[27] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı,* 40.

Alsaç also attention to the same topic as follows:

> When the Turkish Republic was established, she had been in the process of modernization for over two centuries. The new regime did not put an end to this process but accelerated and supported it radically. As it is known, the revolutions fulfilled by Atatürk targeted to create a modern Turkish nation like the ones in the west. Parallel to this procedure, Turkish architecture, also continued its progress in the sense of modernization; in conclusion, inspired and affected from the west in terms of methods and forms, Turkish architecture could take its place in contemporary western architecture.[28]

Moreover, in their texts we see that first generation of architectural historians accepted the "new" architecture in Europe as homogenous and they reduced it to the works of Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, and Walter Gropius. Considering all, they evaluated new Turkish architecture with its relevance to European architectural milieu where they also neglected complexities, diversities, and contradictions.

In fact, when primary source, as a publication, *Arkitekt* is analyzed, it may be seen that architectural milieu was not only nurtured from the central Europe, but also especially from Russia where different modern genre had been developed since turn of the century.[29] The samples selected from the foreign periodicals, the trips architects made, and the texts that were translated in *Arkitekt* show that the architects followed the developments concerning the new architecture in different countries. Despite the rich milieu of ERP, the first generation avoided seeing it so the diversities and complexities of the ERP architecture were failed to be represented by them. They also classified it within strict categories, reducing the architectural discourse/practice of the period further. These categories were also based on the contrasts such as old versus new, national versus international, regional versus universal.

The First National Style was a category in the first generation historians' discourses. These historians defined architecture of this style in which Ottoman and Seljuk formal vocabularies were employed. While the contemporaries of ERP had named this architecture National Architecture Renaissance, the historians preferred to underline the notion of nationalism in their categorization. Generally, they discussed the period through Vedad and Kemalettin Bey's works. In the case of their works and

---

[28] Alsaç, *Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki* Evrimi, 120.

[29] Not only the architects and artists but also for example mayor of Izmir, Behçet Uz, also visited Russia. Izmir International Fair was constructed in 1937, and the influences of Russia in site plan of the Fair and in formal vocabulary of some buildings such as parachute tower which shows constructionist attitude could be observed self-evidently. Muammer Tansu, "1937 İzmir Fuarı," *Arkitekt* (December, 1937): 325-329.

especially Vedad Bey's pedagogical method, the First National Style was criticized in a negative way. As Aslanoğlu points out:

> During1920s, there were no architects among the Turks who positioned themselves distant to the national style. It could be both due to the support of the government for the national forms and being secluded from the west. Although a functioning action in art and architecture in various European countries was in progress with a rational attitude to the social problems instead of ornamentation or artificiality, Turkish architects were in conflict with the new environment where the revolutions took place because of their dependency to the past and determination to perpetuate it.[30]

Furthermore, while Özer criticized Vedad and Kemalettin Bey vehemently for creating the First National Style,[31] Sözen criticized their attitudes in terms of reducing architecture to decorative arts.[32] Similarly, historians evaluated their works as façade design, only. However, this categorization obstructed the visibility of differences, complexities, and varieties in that period's architecture. Since this categorization was based on appearances, the architectural qualities and novelties which they brought to Turkish architectural milieu could not be unfolded.

The first generation of architectural historians described the architecture of the years between 1930 and 1940 as turned its way only through the central-German architecture in Europe. It was discussed in the context of Cubism, the International Style, and rational-functionalist architecture. Similarly, they also described the years between 1940 and 1950 as a period that the Second National Style was put into practice. In these historians' texts, Arkan was as a forerunner of the former period, and Sedad Hakkı Eldem appeared as a forerunner of the latter period. Both of them were important and prolific architects of ERP. The exclusive attitude of the historians was obvious in classification of the works of these two. Arkan's work was classified under the category of the "International Style" and he was presented as an architect who selected his formal apparatus from an internationally popular vocabulary only. On the other hand, Eldem's work was classified under the category of the second national style, so he was mainly praised for selecting formal apparatus from a regionally specific vocabulary. For example, Arkan's buildings which contained a neo-classical vocabulary were not mentioned in historians' texts. Only Sözen and Tapan in their text in 1973 mentioned

---

[30] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı,* 13.

[31] Özer, *Rejyonalizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme*, 44.

[32] Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı (1923-1983),* 106.

his Çemberlitaş Palace, Tahran Embassy, İzmit *Halkevi* (People's House) and Adana *Halkevi* in the footnotes. On the other hand, Arkan's Kozlu Kömür-iş workers' site, Florya Summer Residence for Atatürk, İller Bank and Üçler apartment block which employed an international vocabulary of architecture were included in their texts with images.

Similarly though the historians presented Eldem as "the architect of all periods," they selected the products which were regional (i.e. Aegean and Marmara Regions) and therefore, national vocabulary, as well. The historians mostly-named Eldem equivalent to the Second National Style. Only Aslanoğlu remarked Eldem's Satie Storage and Bayan Firdevs House as the characteristic examples of purist-cubist architecture, rather than indicating Arkan's or Ünal's houses as examples.[33] To reduce the multi-directional structure of architectural milieu to only one direction, and similarly to reduce the architects' tendencies to mostly one tendency created a misunderstanding of ERP architecture. Actually, just as the internationally oriented tendencies between 1930 and 1940 were only one of the developments during that period of time, so were nationally oriented tendencies between 1940 and 1950.

The first generation of architectural historians evaluated the ERP architects and their works all the same, repeatedly without any distinction. In fact, some of them are still in use today. For example, Sibel Bozdoğan was confounded at Arkan's proposal for the *Kamutay* competition in 1938 in terms of its monumental, symmetrical, and axial features: "Even a modernist architect like Seyfi Arkan, designer of many 'cubic' buildings of the New Architecture, produced an enormous classical building approached by monumental stairs and marked by an oversized statue of Atatürk."[34] Because Arkan has been treated by the historians as the architect who created modern products of that period, his *Kamutay* proposal was evaluated as an unexpected design. However, as mentioned above, Arkan produced buildings before 1938, which carried formal vocabulary of the classicism such as Çemberlitaş Palace, İzmit *Halkevi*, Adana *Halkevi*, etc.[35] To sum up, the categorizations of historians for architectural works were stricter than their categorizations for the periods.

---

[33] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, 41.

[34] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation-Building*, 281-282.

[35] Sözen and Tapan, *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*, 196.

In spite of rigid classifications in the first generation of architectural historians' texts and their effect, architectural diversity could be seldom recognized in their texts, in different periods. For example, in relation to the architecture of the 1930s and 1940s Sözen said that it was difficult to find a visual unity in the architecture of that period, especially in comparison to the First National Style.[36] Similarly referring to the same period Alsaç claimed that:

> Turkish architects did not forget the efficiency of the regional characteristics on architecture while improving the rational-functionalist opinions. As seeking accuracy, economy and relevancy in the usage of the materials, architecture was formed in accordance with the function and convenience to the environment. They were aware of the fact that function and convenience had close relationships with regional conditions.[37]

Moreover, Alsaç admitted that real modernization would only be grasped if the transformation process of the accommodation culture was understood.

> Residential architecture is a type of architecture which has reached a specific synthesis within the former Ottoman-Turkish architecture. In Republican period, it keeps its anonymous architectural features in which non-architects act intuitively. During the modernization process, this reflected the alterations more than any other architectural functions such as education, health, management, etc. Those were created as a result of deliberate architectural activities.[38]

Alsaç's quote is important in terms of his acceptance of self-generating modernization process. In spite of accepting the declaration of the Republic as the "turning point,"[39] he believed in the importance of micro processes to understand the modernization process in architecture.

All in all, the categories and Euro-centric theories which the first generation of architectural historians depended were clear. As mentioned above, constructing the ERP's "new" architecture with the categories and Eurocentric theories, these historians

---

[36] Sözen, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı, 177.

[37] "Türk mimarları rasyonel-fonksiyoncu düşünceyi geliştirirlerken bir yandan da bölgesel özelliklerin mimarlık üstündeki etkinliğini unutmuş değillerdi. Onlar mimarlıkta ekonomiklik, malzemenin doğru ve yerinde kullanılması, fonksiyona uygun biçimlenme, çevreye uygunluk gibi nitelikler ararlarken bunların bölgesel koşullarla sıkı ilişkisi olduğunu biliyorlardı." Alsaç, *Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki* Evrimi, 30.

[38] "Konut mimarlığı daha önceki Osmanlı-Türk mimarlığı içinde kendine özgü bir senteze ulaşmış bir mimarlıktır. Cumhuriyet döneminde, konut mimarlığı mimar olmayanların da etkili bir biçimde eylemde bulundukları anonim mimarlık niteliklerini korumaktadır. Böyle olması da bilinçli mimarlık eylemleri sonucu oluşturulan, örneğin eğitim, sağlık, yönetim, v.b. gibi öteki mimarlık fonksiyonlarından ayrılmasına, değişmeleri daha belirgin bir şekilde yansıtabilmesine yol açmaktadır. "Alsaç, *Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki Evrimi*, 149.

[39] Alsaç, *Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki* Evrimi, 18.

reduced complexities and diversities of that period's architectural theory and practice. They drew a picture of homogenous architectural milieu of ERP. And according to the historians, architects of the time were nurtured only from Europe while constructing new architecture. Actually, there were two different modernization processes as self-generated and nation building in ERP. In the same way, the architecture of that period included the traces of different modernization processes. Thus, in order to understand ERP architecture with all of its complexities, diversities and contradictions, these theories and categories were in need to be surpassed.

CHAPTER 3

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE "NEW"
IN EARLY REPUBLICAN ARCHITECTURE

The first generation of architectural historians showed that the ERP architectural theory and practice were only based on the developments took place in Germanocentric European architecture. However, in the *Arkitekt*, we witness a visual diversity in the selected examples from different countries. Similarly, in popular publications such as *Muhit, Yedigün, Yenigün, Modern Türkiye Mecmuası*, and *İnkılap,* we see a wide range of examples from colonial American homes and German *heimatstyle* cottages to Mediterranean-style villas. They were defined as "modern, healthy, functional, and beautiful homes."[40] In *Arkitekt*, there were also selected texts from the central European architects. These texts were important due to the criticism they conveyed of the new architecture, and the diversities in theoretical underpinnings of it. In section 3.2, the examples and translations given from different countries, are analyzed to show the heterogeneities and diversities to understand the new architecture.

From the beginning the architects sought to find the synthesis of national and international values to constitute the new architecture in Turkey. There were different proposals in ERP to constitute a new architecture. They struggled to describe distinctive features of it. As a result, there were varieties in theoretical underpinnings of new architecture in Turkey. In section 3.3, architects' various theories are analyzed. In this section, the definition of Turkish house and concept of Cubism are also discussed. The first generation of historians classified the attempts to revitalize Turkish vernacular architecture mostly between 1940 and 1950 and the tendencies which followed Cubism were referenced to the earlier decade. Despite the given dates, revitalization of Turkish vernacular architecture could also be encountered between 1930 and 1940. Therefore in this section, different theoretical underpinnings of new architecture between 1930 and 1940 will be studied by criticizing the classifications of the historians.

---

[40] Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 204-205.

3.1. The Revolutionary Mission of Architecture in the Cultural Policy of the New Republic

At the beginning of 1930s, not "modern," but "new" was accepted as the adjective to qualify contemporary architecture in Turkey. The concept 'new' was valid in architectural discourse not only in its political overtones but also the interactions of the architects between Turkey and Germany. In her introduction to *Adolf Behne: The Modern Functional Building,* R. H. Bletter explains the preference of the concept "new" instead of "modern" in Germany. She states that "*neu* seems to have implied change and the progressivism associated with the new movement more clearly than the term 'modern'. The latter seems almost to have been perceived as a neutral chronological marker synonymous with contemporary."[41] The notions of change and progress were crucial features of Republican modernization as well. The policy-makers of the developing nation-state aimed a new life for the young Republic. Therefore, the concept 'new' was also appropriate for the Republican period architecture, just like its new language, new history, and new way of life.

Republican modernization was a project conceived and implemented by the elite. The ideals of the republic would be embraced by the society while transformation in everyday life and culture was taking place. The Republican elite accepted themselves as "conscious avant-gardes,"[42] taken from the military vocabulary used as advance guard or vanguard. Çağlar Keyder defines this way of modernization as "modernization-from-above," practised by Republican elites, opposing to "modernization as a self-generating societal process, which had been realized eventually without being the central power."[43] In Turkey, while the self-generated modernization process had been continuous, by the declaration of the Republic a different phase of modernization was put into practice, which could be named as nation-building process.[44]

---

[41] Rosemarie Haag Bletter, Introduction, *Adolf Behne: The Modern Functional Building* (Santa Monica: the Getty Research Institute, 1996), 3.

[42] Anonymous, *Kadro* 1 (January 1932): 3.

[43] Çağlar Keyder, "Whither the Project of Modernity? Turkey in the 1990s," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 39 (London: University of Washington Press, 1997).

[44] Keyder, "Whither the Project of Modernity?"; Şerif Mardin, "Batıcılık," in *Türk Modernleşmesi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992); Reşat Kasaba, "Kemalist Certainties and Modern Ambiguities," in

According to Şerif Mardin, this phase differed from other phases in that it lacked micro structures of the society that were formed by identity processes, the non-institutional basis of religion, and personal histories. He described the three communication loops of the hegemonic class-society: first, the state machine; second, cultural institutions; and third, the complex scheme of language as discourse. To him, in the Republican modernization, loop one is constant, loop two is taken over from a foreign culture, and loop three is missing.[45] Mardin described the non-institutional basis of religion, ethnicity, and different identity structures as not only micro-structures of society but also as "cement of the society."[46] Therefore, Republican elites needed to find a new source to constitute new micro-structures of the society. It was "culture" for the Republican elite. Culture was employed as a tool for this penetration. Different kind of visual media such as painting, sculpture and architecture was the important tools of Republican modernization in terms of creating a new collective consciousness. Although Mardin claimed that the second loop which referred to cultural institutions was imported from a foreign culture; from the beginning Republican elites struggled to produce new cultural products which belonged to the nation.

The constitution of nationalistic collective consciousness was Republican elites' main concern. It was generally explained in relation to the foundation of Turkish collective autonomy. Anthony D. Smith points out that "the foundation of collective autonomy must always be sought in the unity and distinctiveness of the community;" and he added that, " its distinctiveness or individuality in turn is gauged by the quantity and quality of elements that are peculiarly 'its own', which belong to, and are attributes of, that community and no other."[47] However, in Turkey the foundation of collective autonomy was not based on the distinctiveness of Turkish culture. The Republican elites found the roots of Turkish culture during pre-islamic period as shaman traditions from Asian steps and hitite version of them in Asia Minor. This led the elites to draw

---

Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (London: University of Washington Press, 1997).

[45] Şerif Mardin, "Projects as Methodology: Some Thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science" in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, eds. Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 66 (London: University of Washington Press, 1997).

[46] Mardin, "Projects as Methodology," 70.

[47] Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (London and New York: Routledge Press, 1998), 44.

parallelism between the fundamentals of Western and original Turkish culture. In fact, the roots establised Turkish culture were not so different from the ones in the western culture. History, language, education, and mainly cultural mechanisms were employed to constitute the Turkish culture, and they were also treated as elements to cement the community.[48] The Turkish Historical Society (1931), the Turkish Language Society (1932), and People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) were founded and instrumentalized to build this new national consciousness as a result of the will to employ history, language, and a focused cultural heritage.

The Turkish Historical Society aimed to construct the republican Turkish history through the research on Turks. At first, the researchers criticized the ottoman historians for depending their notions of history on Islam, and then they carried on their evaluations with the Tanzimat historians who depended on the western culture. Through this, the society claimed that "Turks are not those who have lived as nomads throughout the history; or the ones unable to reach the civilized standards as primitive communities. However, they had established the civilizations in the history of man and have been carrying the torch of civilization since ancient times."[49] In the Society of Turkish historians, they did not only discuss the Ottoman historians' notion of history seriously, but also European historians'. Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, the chairman of the Society, explained this in the following terms:

> Most of the European historians, not all of them, construct the events and build the history to prove their point of view suitable to a certain purpose consciously or unconsciously. They seem to forget the happenings improper to them or they illustrate them blurred and exaggerate the ones which are compatible with their goals.[50]

---

[48] For Ernst Gellner, in the new urban setting, language and culture replaced the village and tribal structures of role relationships as the cement of society. And he also explains the usage of culture as follows: "Nations have not existed from eternity, only to be awakened by the call of the nationalists. But cultures have always existed, and nationalism uses their raw material." Ernst Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publication, 2006).

[49] "Türkler eski ve orta kurunlarda ancak göçebe ve müstevil olarak yaşayan ve yüksek medeniyet seviyesine erişemeyen ikinci derecede insanlardan olmayıp, beşer tarihinde ilk medeniyeti kuran ve ta en eski zamanlardan beri muhtelif devirlerde medeniyet meşalesini ellerinde taşıyan insanlardır." Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, "Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi," *Ülkü* (January, 1933): 26.

[50] "Avrupalı müverrihler, haydi hepsi demiyelim, çoğu şuurlu bir surette veya tahteşşuurlarının tesiri altında, muayyen bir gayeye müteveccih nazariyelerinin ispatı maksadiyle vakıaları terkip, tarihi inşa ederler; nazariyelerine uygun olmıyan vakıaları unutmuş görünürler; yahut çok silik gösterirler; maksatlarına uygun vakıaları ise abartırlar, şişirirler." Akçuraoğlu, "Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi," 28.

Although the historians who were the members of this Society criticized the pragmatic usage of history in the West, they did exactly the same. While explaining the modernization process that was put into practice by the elites, Anthony D. Smith explained it as follows: "The rediscovery, authentication and correct interpretation of a unique ethnic past become the focus of nationalist labors," and he added that "the rediscovery of the ethnic past furnishes vital memories, values, symbols and myths, without which nationalism would be powerless."[51] In fact, Ziya Gökalp, who was one of the intellectual predecessors of Kemalism, described these values as the components of culture without which civilization becomes merely a matter of "mechanical imitation."[52] He believed that the roots of Turkish culture can be found in the pre-Islamic past of the Turks and in the history of the actual institutions of Islam.[53] In fact, the ethnic base did not cover the theoretical framework of the sheriat. Thus, according to Gökalp, Turkish ethos doesn't cover the Ottoman cultural values. The Republican elites followed Gökalp in terms of neglecting Ottoman culture while constructing the new history thesis of the Republic.[54]

Contrary to these developments, there was an exception in the world of architecture. Among the works of Ottoman Imperial Architects, there was a rediscovery of Ottoman values especially mimar Sinan's. In ERP, Sinan's architecture was elevated into a mythological status, though his works had clear formal references to Islamic and Ottoman architecture. His architecture was evaluated as simple and modern in essence, discussed without pictures in the architectural periodical of the ERP, the *Arkitekt*. Besides their attempts to constitute the collective consciousness through architecture, the republican elites also tried to prove that Turks produced prolific architects and invaluable architectural heritage in history.

The spread of the principles of Republic throughout the whole country enabled the constitution of collective consciousness. "Towards the People" and "Going to the

---

[51] Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 44.

[52] Niyazi Berkes, Introduction, *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp* (1959, Greenwood Press, 1981), 23.

[53] Ziya Gökalp, "Culture and Civilization," in *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization*: *Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, ed. Niyazi Berkes (1959, Greenwood Press, 1981).

[54] According to Berkes, Ziya Gökalp remains as the best intellectual formulator of the main trends of the Turkish Republic: Westernism, democracy, political and economic independence, and secularism.

People" were the main slogans of that period.[55] The Republican elite construed the "public" or the "people" as the peasantry, not the bourgeois, or the aristocratic minority. Developing the village and the peasant was the important part of the Cultural Revolution.[56] According to Republican elites "public" referred to the peasants whose population was ten million in those years, nearly seventy percent of the population.[57] Especially the articles in the periodical, *Ülkü*, focused on the education of the public. One of the important articles in this context was "Garp Memleketlerinde Halk Terbiyesi" (Education of the People in Western Countries).[58] In this article, the public education policies of the countries in the West were analyzed and the tools used for the education of the public were pointed out. The community houses that we call *Halkevleri* included the mentioned tools such as schools, libraries, films, radio, sports, music, fine-arts, etc. According to Göle, "Turkish nationalism was backed by the discourse on populism instead of the originality of national cultural works."[59]

The discourse on populism had extensive educational policy, and in this context *halkevleri* became very important media. Their buildings included agencies such as Turkish Historical Society and Turkish Language Society. First of all, it means the principles and their expressions as revolution ethics and discipline. Secondly, the mentioned values move from top to bottom as penetrating from the elites to the younger generation, the inhabitants of the city and the villagers."[60] Their mission was to adapt "original"[61] principles of the revolutions to the community. Actually, it was exactly the

---

[55] Nilüfer Göle, *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 62.

[56] Mehmet Saffet, "Kültür İnkılabımız," *Ülkü* (June 1933): 353.

[57] Nusret Kemal, "Halkçılık," *Ülkü* (May 1933): 186. In fact, this separation constituted a tension between elites and the peasants. Yakup Kadri accused the elites for this tension. In fact, the goals of the elites did not create a tension between them and the peasants, however, as Nusret Kemal explained in other essay, the elites wanted to combine city with the rural in terms of culture and civilization. In this article, he also criticized the Western executions in terms of giving the cities priority. Nusret Kemal, "Köy Seferberliğine Doğru," *Ülkü* (June 1933): 356.

[58] R. Ş. "Garp Memleketlerinde Halk Terbiyesi," *Ülkü* (January 1933): 295-306.

[59] Göle, *The Forbidden Modern*, 62. This populism was the distinctive feature of the Kemalist nationalism which distinguished it from preceding modernization struggles.

[60] "İnkılabın derinleşmesi demek, her şeyden evvel, inkılap prensiplerinin ve onların ifadesi olan inkılap ahlak ve disiplininin, ileri kadronun dimağından genç neslin, şehir halkının ve köylünün dimağına inmesi ve yerleşmesi demektir." Anonymous, *Kadro* 1 (January 1932): 3.

[61] Anonymous, *Kadro 1* (January 1932): 3.

modernization spreading from the elites which caused reaction and resistance among the people in streets. *Halkevleri* were the spatial instruments of spreading this policy which, at the same time, intended to break the resistance for alterations.

Halkevleri were an important part of the development plan of the new republic besides the railway station and the public buildings such as governmental offices, post office, schools. The new model for city centers comprise of these buildings located around a square called *Cumhuriyet Meydanı* with a Gazi statue in the middle of it. Development plan policy was executed along the line of the railway stationS.[62] Thus, the tension between this line, modern, and its hinterland, traditional, referred to the tension between the elite and the rest of the public. Literally, *Halkevleri* were located on that spot to break the tension. They were the attraction points where different functions were organized for the education of the community. Therefore, *Halkevleri* were the places where the principals of Republic were imposed to the public.[63]

Almost majority of *Halkevleri* had neo-classical forms in terms of morphological features. This morphological choice was a result of the desire to display the resemblences with classicism of the West. Although Republican elites focused on the pre-Islamic past of the Turks, after 1938 ancient Greek and Roman references as original sources of Turkish culture started to to be adopted. However, in the documents about Turkish culture written before 1938, some authors like Yakup Kadri and Yahya Kemal indicated Greek and Roman culture as the original sources of the native culture.[64] The neo-classical form of the public buildings especially seems to be related to this opinion. Thus, architecture was not only used as a tool to represent the state, but also to reflect the visual impact of the Western civilization. Based on positivist/rationalist methodology, classical architecture which neglects ethnic, regional, historical and spatial referents seems to be convenient for the republican elite.[65] Therefore, Republican elites determined not only the societies as the important parts of a top-to-down modernization, but also the forms of public buildings. The grammar of

---

[62] İhsan Bilgin, "Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet'in İmarı," *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998).

[63] Neşe G. Yeşilkaya, "Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık" (İletişim Yayınları, Istanbul: 1999).

[64] Öndin, "Cumhuriyetin Kültür Politikası ve Sanat," 146.

[65] Bülent Tanju, "1908-1946 Türkiye Mimarlığının Kavramsal Çerçevesi" (PhD diss., Istanbul Technic University, Istanbul, 1999).

classical architecture was adopted to lay a base especially for public buildings in this new era.[66]

Moreover, the topic of the national art was discussed within the context of artistic perfection. The general tendency was that "The work of art is national considering its spirit and it interprets a movement and a revolution with its soul. Art is paralysed when specific subjects are imposed."[67] It was also believed that each product produced in Turkey was the product of the revolution, and artists reacted to the symbolism, which represented the features of revolution directly.[68] There were people who opposed to this view. According to Burhan Belge "beautiful" products are not the ones stuck in the frame of the revolution but liberation of art would support gusto to create.[69] He also added that if this would not take place, art would resist revolution. In 1937, the survey "The Plastic Arts and Turkey" in *AR* raised a question: "What kind of ways and precautions have to be taken for the new art to penetrate into our national culture?" The responses to this question concentrated on only one answer: It was adequate to produce beautiful products to create national art.[70] The artists and authors of the time believed that their goal was to reach an artistic perfection.

In the survey, there were dicussions about a crisis in art. The question related to the problem was "Today in Turkey, there is a crisis in art. Besides the gossips causing the doubt of existence of a national literature, in our country there is anarchy in values and measurements for the plastic arts. What do you think about the anarchy and the unfavourable attitude for picture and sculpture?"[71] It is interesting that the responses did have the tone of anxiety like the question itself. The writers such as Reşad Nuri Darago,

---

[66] The general attitudes of foreign architects of that period were also neo-classical. They sometimes were criticized by Turkish architects not producing modern buildings. Maybe, why they were invited to Turkey was related with matching their architectural manners with the new Republic's culture policy.

[67] "Sanat eseri ruhu itibarile millidir ve gene ruhu itibarile bir cereyanı, bir inkılabı tercüme eder. Ona muayen mevzular empoze etmek sanatı felce uğratır." Nurullah Berk, "Sanat ve Devlet," *AR* (Aralık 1937): 2.

[68] Anonymous, "Dördüncü İnkılap Resim Sergisi," *AR* (Aralık 1937): 5.

[69] Anonymous, "Dördüncü İnkılap Resim Sergisi," 6.

[70] "Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye," *AR* (January 1937): 4.

[71] "Bugün Türkiye'de bir sanat buhranı vardır. Bir milli edebiyatın mevcudiyetinden bile şüphe ettiren dedikoduların yanında, plastik sanatlar bakımından memleketimizde tam bir kıymet ve ölçü anarşisi vardır. Resim ve heykeltraşlığın bizdeki bu revaçsızlığı ve anarşisi karşısında ne düşünüyorsunuz?" "Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye," *AR* (January 1937): 4.

Hasan Ali Yücel, Vedat Nedim Tör, and Burhan Belge evaluated this crisis not as a crisis in art, but a crisis of new foundation (Belge), or a crisis of adaptation to a new culture (Darago). When the answers are analysed, it is noticed that they accepted this "chaos"[72] normal. On the other hand, this chaos was also commented as a crisis of the artists, especially by Tör and Yücel. According to these figures, the problem was not the duality of the old versus the new. The real problem was the lack of the respected authorities in art besides the other fields.[73]

In Turkey, in 1930s the artists and authors also discussed the role of the state. It could have been the cause of certain discussions in some countries, too like Germany, Italy and Russia where art was used for political purposes. In the survey called "Plastic Arts and Turkey," the third question was on the state's involvement in arts: "Are you a fan of nationalization of art in our country considering social progress in Turkey? Does this principle accepted by some states maintaining various regimes generate meaningful results in our country?"[74] Majority of the responses submitted their worry that nationalization could cause harm to the individuality of the artist. It was also clear that they had a tendency to interpret nationalization as a process which will broaden the horizons of the artists through building exhibition spaces, improving the conditions of the Academy of Fine Arts, opening new academies in different cities, etc.[75] In fact, certain authorities like Yücel, the minister of education, pointed out that the state should constitute an appropriate milieu to help improve the individuality of the artist, rather than oppress it. Analyzing the examples from Germany, Italy and Russia, Nurullah Berk drew the attention to the collectivist structures of in these countries. He believed that the reality of the art was different from the reality of politics. According to him, the reality of art should be understood within its own structure. He was also skeptical about collectivist art, because he believed that art is essentially based on the individuality of artists.[76]

---

[72] "Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye," *AR* (January 1937): 4.

[73] "Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye," 4.

[74] "Türkiye'nin sosyal gidişlerini nazarı itibare alarak, bizde sanatın devletleştirilmesine taraftar mısınız? Muhtelif rejimler içinde yaşayan devletlerin kabul ettiği bu prensip bizde müfid neticeler verebilir mi?" "Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye," *AR* (January 1937): 4.

[75] Burhan Belge, "Anket," *AR* (June 1937): 12.

[76] Nurullah Berk, "Sanat ve Devlet," *AR* (December 1937): 2.

When all of these are taken into account, nearly all of the discussions in the survey, named 'The Plastic Arts and Turkey', were related to the debate on collectivity and individuality. Though some writers supported collectivity for fine arts, the general tendency was on the side of freedom and individuality that were believed to be indispensable for creativity. As for artists, individualism was precondition to create and it had a priority. Compared to architects, individualistic approach of artists were obviously inevitable.

3.2. Diversities in Understanding and Describing New Architecture: *Arkitekt*

Despite the existence of very fruitful milieu in art and architecture, there was only one architectural periodical in the ERP. The *Mimar/Arkitekt* is a primary source for all studies on the architecture of Republican period. It was the single periodical until 1941 when *Yapı* started to be published. This periodical was published under the name *Mimar* between 1931 and 1935. After 1935, the name was changed into *Arkitekt*,[77] and it was carried on under this title from 1936 to 1980 till the periodical was closed down. Zeki Sayar, the head editor of this periodical, explained this change as follows:

> A note came to us from the directorate – general of the press named as 'Matnuat Umum Müdürlüğü' in those days. They told us to change the name of the magazine because the name is Arabic. Therefore, we pondered over it and called the magazine as 'construction'. However, it didn't fit the meaning of architect […] looked at the table in the office and saw five foreign magazines there. Their names were in different languages and they were from various countries; they were all named as Architect, Architecture, *Arkitekt* and so on. Alas, why are we trying to find a name? This is the name of the magazines published in various places on the world. We cannot call it architecte due to our alphabet. Germans called it Architect. There is a finish magazine, it says *Arkkitehti* so finally, and we named the magazine *Arkitekt*.[78]

The editors of *Arkitekt* wanted to introduce Turkish modern architecture abroad with the translated parts, and so the name *Arkitekt* was more convenient than the name *Mimar*.

---

[77] Because of the revolution in language, the name was changed.

[78] "Basın Umum Müdürlüğü'nden ki, o vakit adı Matnuat Umum Müdürlüğü idi, bize bir yazı geldi. Dediler ki; 'derginizin ismini değiştirin, çünkü Arapçadır'. Biz de düşündük, taşındık; 'Yapı' dedik. Ama Yapı, Mimar'ı karşılamıyor. […] Baktım, büronun üzerinde beş tane yabancı dergi var, hepsinin ismi muhtalif dillerde, muhtalif memleketlerden gelmiş; hepsinin ismi architect, architecture, architekt filan. Yahu dedim biz ne uğraşıyoruz? Dünyanın her yerinde çıkan mecmuaların ismi bu. Ama biz de Architecte diyemezdik, çünkü alfabemiz müsait değildi, Almanlar Architekt diyordu. Bir Finlandiya mecmuası vardır, o da Arkkitehti yazıyordu, biz de tuttuk, Arkitekt adını verdik." Uğur Tanyeli, "Profesyoneller: Zeki Sayar (1905-2001)," *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000* (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007), 140.

The editors of *Arkitekt* were Sayar and Abidin Mortaş among the graduates of 1928 from the Academy of Fine Arts, and Abdullah Ziya (Kozanoğlu) one of the graduates of 1929. In 1932, one year after the publication of *Mimar*, Kozanoğlu left the periodical to move to Adana.[79] Mortaş also left in 1941, and the following year Sayar published *Arkitekt* alone until 1980 but he did not describe himself "alone." According to him, the *Arkitekt* was anonymous and many architects helped him publish it, including Haluk Togay, Naci İ. Meltem, and Behçet Ünsal.[80]

Although Sayar worked as an architect, he mainly dedicated himself to the periodical, *Arkitekt,* in his professional life. According to Uğur Tanyeli, Sayar's attitude was typical in the late Ottoman and ERP. During those days, it was usual to publish a periodical with a little capital but with professional knowledge along with determination.[81] Sayar's determined attitude introduced the new architecture to the Turkish architectural milieu and furthermore, he put an end to the bias about architecture as a decorative art. Sayar explained the profession of architecture as follows:

> People of the republic had been unaware of architecture as a science and art except the elites. As a result we were exerting effort for our rights but that was not adequate because we had problems particularly with bureaucracy. They had no idea what we were after and what architecture meant. They identified architects as decorators in those days. All architectural works were in the hands of construction engineers. […] Architecture was not recognized in our country so it led us to publish *Arkitekt* owing to the requirements in the field.[82]

The *Mimar/Arkitekt* was an important medium that the general tendencies in the architectural milieu of ERP could be followed from. In this dissertation, too, evaluations of the architectural milieu of that period were benefited from this periodical. The selected examples from different countries, translations, the buildings, the competitions and the texts published in *Arkitekt* have built the primary sources of this study. In this

---

[79] Tanyeli, "Profesyoneller: Zeki Sayar (1905-2001)," 139.

[80] Tanyeli, "Profesyoneller: Zeki Sayar," 139.

[81] Tanyeli, "Profesyoneller: Zeki Sayar (1905-2001)," 141.

[82] "Gene de halkın hiç haberi yoktu mimardan, yüksek tabaka biraz haberdardı. İşte, biz kendi çapımızda ufak tefek çalışıyorduk ama, yeterli değildi. Bilhassa resmi dairelerde sıkıntı çekiyorduk. Daha ziyade bürokratlarla problemlerimiz vardı. Tanımıyorlardı bizi. Bütün mimarlık işleri, yapı işleri mühendislerin elindeydi. Bürokratlar bize iş vermek istemiyorlardı, çünkü gerçekten tanımıyorlardı. Mimarları daha ziyade decorator gibi görüyorlardı o günlerde. […] Memlekette mimarlığın tanınmaması, bizi Arkitekt'i yayımlamaya sevketti bir bakıma. Tanyeli, "Profesyoneller: Zeki Sayar (1905-2001)," 139.

part, the chosen examples and translations from the architect will be discussed and analyzed.

3.2.1. The Articles on "New Architecture"

Since 1960, ERP architecture (according to some historians, it is between 1930 and 1940, and for the others, it is between 1930 and 1938) has been regarded as the imitation of the "International Style," "Cubism" or a turn to Germanocentric European architecture.[83] The first generation of historians treated the Germanocentric modern architecture as homogenous, mentioned in Chapter 2. However, in *Arkitekt*, it is possible to encounter many examples out of Germanocentric architecture such as architecture from Holland (Figure. 3.1), Eastern Europe (Figure 3.2), Russia (Figure 3.3), and Belgium (Figure 3.4). They construed "new architecture" in a dissimilar way. The articles and especially the examples in *Arkitekt* show that Turkish architects wanted to follow different paths in their work. Besides the variety of examples, we can also come across with this demand in the critical review of Celal Esat's (Arseven) book "New Architecture" (*Yeni Mimari*), published in 1931. The anonymous author of the review criticized Arseven's book for excluding "other architectural attitudes" and being "nonscientific."[84] The examples from different countries illustrated in *Arkitekt* show that architects struggled to understand developments in various countries. Hence, to ERP architects the New Architecture could be esteemed as heterogeneous.

Figure.3.1. Gerrit Rietveld, Holland, 1924.
(Source: *Mimar* March, 1931: 86)

---

[83] Özer, "Rejyonalizm ve Üniversalizm Üzerine Bir Deneme;" Sözen and Tapan, *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*; Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı*; Alsaç, "Türkiye'deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi."

[84] Anonymous, "Bibliyografi: Yeni Mimari," *Mimar* (December, 1931): 391.
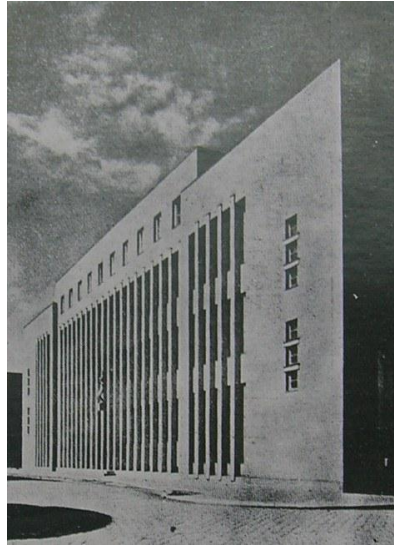
Figure 3.2. Architects H. Stieghagen and H. Kastinger, Office Building in Vienna.
(Source: *Mimar* July, 1931: 269)
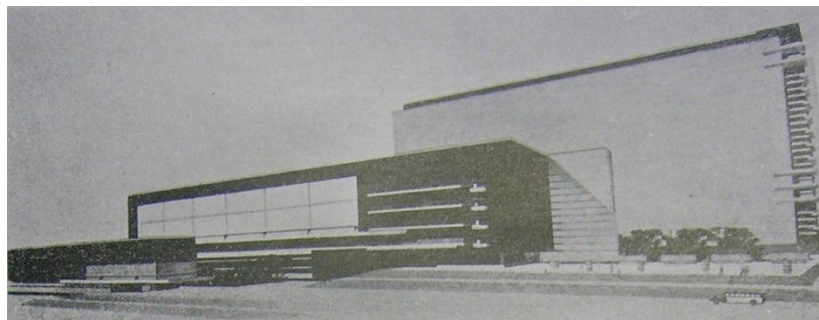
Figure 3.3. Architects W. Fridman and D. Markow, Lenin Library.
(Source: *Mimar* January, 1932: 43)

Figure 3.4. Architect H. Hosle, Belgium, 1926.
(Source: *Mimar* March, 1932: 37)

Certainly, in *Arkitekt* there were texts that introduced the principles of the "New Architecture" in central Europe, especially in Germany and Austria. For example, explaining standardization as the result of industrialization, architect Zeki Selah presented building as an "accommodation machine."[85] It was the exact translation of Le Corbusier's motto: "the house is a machine to live in." In Selah's article, he accepted standardization and dwelling as the necessities of the new era without questioning them. On the other hand, Samih Saim indicated five points as the new features of the new architecture which were "terrace, pilotis, ribbon windows, color, and electricity power (*terasa, direkler üzerinde inşaat, pencere, renk, ve elektrik kudreti*).[86] He illustrated these properties through Walter Gropius's and Le Corbusier's buildings. Saim's principles reminded us of Le Corbusier's five points in architecture as pilotis, free plan, free façade, ribbon window, roof garden. Out of the five different points mentioned above by both architects, Saim explained the new architecture covering only the terrace, pilotis and ribbon windows. In addition to this, Saim described them with references to the past examples rather than presenting them as totally new ideas. For instance, in his article, the dominancy of horizontality was provided in façades by building a terrace. What the striking point in his interpretation is the representation of horizontality as the target of all the periods from Gothic to the twentieth century.[87] Similarly, he explained 'construction on posts' via residential areas in 'Cities on Lakes' as he pronounced in his article.[88] Apart from these, Saim focused on color and illumination with electiricty. He concentrated on the application of different colors to increase the impact of different masses.[89] Even though, the new architecture was presented as unadorned white surfaces by the first generation of historians. The concept of colour was prominent for Saim.

There is obscurity in Saim's articles in the context of cutting off the bonds with the past, especially. While he was explaining the characteristics of new architecture with reference to architectural heritage, he praised Le Corbusier's "revolutionary" attitude in urbanism. Furthermore, he criticized the improvements in the city plan of

---

[85] Zeki Selah, "İnşaatta Standard," *Mimar* (January, 1931): 10.

[86] Samih Saim, "Yeni Unsurlar," *Mimar* (April, 1931): 133-140.

[87] Saim, "Yeni Unsurlar," 135.

[88] Saim, "Yeni Unsurlar," 137.

[89] Saim, "Yeni Unsurlar," 139.

New York. Saim agreed with Le Corbusier as quoted from him: "Working like a practitioner in a laboratory, I assumed myself on an imaginary land, avoiding every groundless concern. My aim was to establish main principles of modern urbanism as constructıng a theoretical building" and he commented on this quotation as follows: "that means Le Corbusier doesn't think of a measure to reform cities of the time. He is more of a non conformist rather than a restorer."[90] Referencing Le Corbusier's revolutionary attitude, Saim seems to imply that the revolution in architecture demanded to build a new Turkish architecture. Thus, Selah and Saim's articles revealed that the developments in Germanocentric architecture were traced in ERP not only in the architectural practice, but also in the architectural terminology. While some of the concepts and principles were introduced without hesitation, some of them were commented, changed, and adapted in Turkish architectural milieu.

Besides these texts which focused on European architecture, there were also texts that emphasized the importance of new Russian architecture.[91] Architect and the critic B. O. Celal, who criticized New Architecture severely from time to time, praised the architecture in Russia:

> Recently, the massive construction forms that have been developed in the West may be understood disparate and fresh generation has been born in the art of architecture. Yet, regarding this as a conviction and approval in art is somewhat a haste and arrogant. Today in Russia, more powerful and urgent needs of a strong conventional reform are being supplied.[92]

In his article, 1932, "New Russian Architecture," architect Abidin paid attention to Russian architecture, as well. Discussing the role of the Revolution in 1917 for the development of the modern architecture in Russia, Abidin explained Russian architects' reactions to the change. These alterations took place in grounds such as, new facilities of the new way of life, development of villages, urban planning and housing. While

---

[90] "Tıpkı laboratuarında çalışan bir pratisyen gibi hareket ederek her türlü hasbi endişelerden uzak kendimi hayali bir arazi dahilinde farz ettim. Gayem nazari bir bina kurarak modern urbanizmin esas prensiplerini tesbit etmekti," "Demek ki Corbusier bugünkü şehirler üzerinde hiç bir ıslahi tedbir düşünmüyor. O bir ıslahatçı, reformist olmaktan ziyade inkılapçıdır."Samih Saim, "Lö Korbüziye'nin Muasır Şehri," *Mimar* (February, 1931): 44.

[91] Dr. Mortell, "Sovyet Rusyada Mesken Meselesi," trans. Fikret Mualla, *Mimar* (July, 1931): 239-240; Mimar Abidin "Yeni Rus Mimarisi," *Mimar* (February, 1932): 43-45; Burhan Arif, "Sovyet Memleketlerinde Gördüklerimiz," *Arkitekt* (May-June 1937): 169-171.

[92] "Filvaki bugün Garpta inkişaf etmekte olan kütlevi konstrüksiyon şekillleri mimari sanatında bambaşka ve taze bir neslin doğduğu zehabini verebilir. Fakat bunu indi bir kanaat ve kısa bir görüşle sanat namına kabul etmek biraz fazla acele biraz da fazla kotbinlik olur. Bugün Rusyada kuvvetli içtimai bir inkılabın çok daha kuvvetli ve acil ihtiyaçları temin ediliyor." B. O. Celal, "San'at," *Mimar* (March, 1932): 80.

acknowledging the success of the Russian architecture in finding appropriate solutions for the housing problems, Abidin said that: "Despite the fact that housing is the main subject in the world, the bases of social needs and different dwelling standards should be investigated in Russia."[93] Through this remark, Abidin seems to imply that Turkish architects should also think of the local conditions, and they should create their own new architecture accordingly.

Not only the architectural works in Russia, but also the architectural works in Yugoslavia,[94] Holland, and Poland were discussed by the writers and the architects. The article in 1931, in *Arkitekt* "New Architecture in Holland" described W. M. Dudok's Hilversum Municipality Building. (Figure 3.5). Although the article expectedly focused on the equilibrium between different masses, verticality and horizontality, it emphasized a reconciliation of modern and traditional values. Describing towers of the municipality buildings as a traditional feature, the article stated that "adjacent to the building, the tower as a traditional sign of the municipal structures rises magisterially. The tower was built by taking the old traditions into consideration and adapting them to modern architecture."[95] In this article, the usage of yellow brick was highlighted and thinking of the building with its context was presented among the distinctive characteristics of Dutch architecture.[96] Thus, what is revealed in this article is that the success of a building was based on a combination of local conditions and traditional motives with modern methods in the construction of the building. Five years after the publication of this article, in 1936, Mortaş criticized some of the new buildings in Poland for neglecting reconciliation of the native values or traditions with the modern ones.[97] Although there are five years between these two articles mentioned above, the examples from Holland and Poland display the similar struggle in Turkey while producing our"new" architecture. Thus, ERP architects tried to understand the tendencies that were

---

[93] "Mesken bahsi bütün dünyada günün meselesi halinde olmakla beraber, Rusyada içtimai ihtiyaç esasları başka bir ikamet standardı etüt edilmek gerekiyordu." Mimar Abidin "Yeni Rus Mimarisi," *Mimar* (February, 1932): 43.

[94] Anonymous, "Yugoslavya'da Yeni Mimari," *Mimar* (July, 1931): 306-307.

[95] "Binanın üzerinde belediye binaları mimarisinin ananevi bir rumuzu olan kule hakim bir surette yükselmektedir. Kule eski ananeye sadık kalınarak ve modern mimariye tevafuk eden bir şekilde inşa edilmiştir." Anonymous, "Hollanda'da Yeni Mimari: Hilversum Belediye Binası," *Mimar* (December, 1931): 375.

[96] Anonymous, "Hollanda'da Yeni Mimari," 375.

[97] Abidin Mortaş, "Polonya'da Yeni Mimari," *Arkitekt* (February, 1936): 60-61.

followed in the architectural practices of the other countries rather than a search for a model to import Turkey.
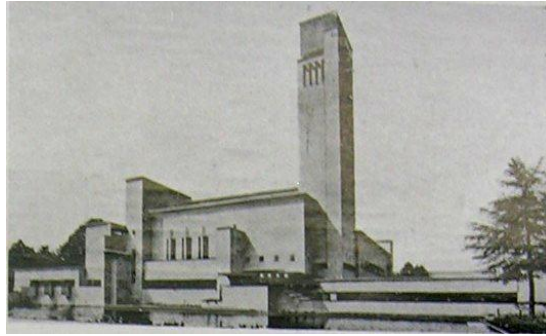
Figure 3.5. W. M. Dudok, Hilversum Municipality Building.
(Source: *Mimar* December, 1931: 375)

3.2.2. Translations

The translations of foreign architects' or architectural historians' texts in the periodical *Arkitekt* also give us a reason to think that the only architectural focus was not only on the international character of the European architecture. The translation of Adolf Behne's "*Yeni Mimaride Milli ve Beynelmilel Vasıflar*" (National and International properties of the New Architecture) was important because of the criticism of internationality of "New Architecture" in it.[98] This text was translated in 1931 when the international character of architecture was emphasized by the first generation of historians. However, Behne, was questioning the international character of the "new art of construction" and its formalism in Germany where the new architecture was being developed. According to him, internationality did not only belong to the "New Architecture." Moreover, further in his criticism, he pointed out the national character of avant-garde movements:

> Isn't this new style in painting more national when compared to impressionism which precedes it? Certainly […] the common features of impressionism were more than the common properties in the new art. Although mutuaL impacts and relationships were not limited at all, impressionism was revealed in the forms of Futurism more like Italian, Cubism more like French,

---

[98] Adolf Behne, "Yeni Mimaride Milli ve Beynelmilel Vasıflar," trans. Ahmet Adnan, *Mimar* (November, 1931): 331-334.

expressionism more like German. Afterwards, constructivism became a more Russian movement.[99]

He also gave architectural examples which criticized eclecticism and formalism. These are H. P. Berlage's Post Office, August Perret's apartment block in Franklin Street, Otto Wagner's Post Office, and Peter Behrens's Turbine Factory. Behne described them as native to their respective countries and emphasized their national character. This article was important because it not only criticized the "New Architecture," but also underlined a search for a character. It points out that the international character of modern architecture will inevitably give way to national or geographical character when it meets local conditions.

The same year, the French modernist architect and one of the founders of CIAM (International Congress of Modern Architecture) André Lurçat's article "*Bugünkü Mimari Telakkiler*" (Architectural Considerations of Today) was translated by Saim.[100] Lurçat pointed out the new opportunities in architecture by the help of new technique. To him, the impacts of mass of the new buildings were totally different from the forms that used to be built. However, he did also assert that the new building techniques developed in different periods also caused changes in the masses.[101] Thus, like other periods in architectural history, twentieth century was also a period when new features were developed. He even claimed that the new developments reminded us the real features of architecture which had been forgotten. These were "volume, plane, dimension, and light."[102] He did not refuse architectural heritage of the past, and he had already found these four universal principles of architecture in the 'new architecture'. For that reason, the buildings which showed different morphological features could take place in his text to explain the same principle. Giving a shape to different forms and applying sculpture on façades were accepted as ornamentation opposed by modernist

---

[99] "Şu yeni resim sanatı, kendisine tekaddüm eden impresyonizm ile mukayese edilince acaba daha nasyonel değil midir? Şüphesiz. […] impresyonizmin müşterek vasıfları bu yeni resim sanatında oldugundan çok daha fazla idi. Mütekabil tesirleri ve mütekabil münasebetleri hiç de az olmamakla beraber impresyonizmin futurism şeklinde tecellisi daha ziyade İtalyan, kübizm şeklinde tecellisi daha ziyade Fransız ve ekspresyonizm şeklinde tecellisi ise daha ziyade Alman malı gibi kaldı. Sonra da konstrüktivizm daha ziyade bir Rus cereyanı halini aldı." Behne, "Yeni Mimaride Milli ve Beynelmilel Vasıflar," 331.

[100] André Lurçat, "Bugünkü Mimari Telakkiler," trans. Samih Saim, *Mimar* (1931): 87.

[101] Lurçat, "Bugünkü Mimari Telakkiler," 87.

[102] Lurçat, "Bugünkü Mimari Telakkiler," 88.

architects but ornamentation was still valid in Lurçat's concept of architecturE. The examples given in the text also included these features on the façades of Zeno Palace in Venice, Bibar Mosque which reflected the past. Additionally, the other examples were given as G. Rietveld's house and Walter Gropius's house that represented modern and simple structures. To sum up, Lurçat explained thefour features of architecture as volume, plane, dimension, and light both through old palaces and mosques and modern buildings.

In 1932 Theo van Doesburg's article "İspanya Mimarisinde Yeni Tecsimat" (The New Organizations in Spanish Architecture) appeared in the pages of *Arkitekt*.[103] In this, Doesburg evaluated the circumstances of Spanish architecture by indicating the fact that not any country could escape from the penetration of the 'modern' form in architecture. He wrote about the devotion to traditions in Latin countries which obstruct new developments in comparison to non-traditionalist Americans, and he asserted the need to get rid of traditions.[104] He praised the new generation who struggled with traditions and the architects who gave priority to function rather than form.

Five years after the publication of Doesburg's article, M. W. Dudok's article titled "Contemporary City Planning and Architecture" (Zamanımızda Şehircilik ve Mimari) was translated into Turkish.[105] Dudok opposed to doesburg about the priority of function. According to Dudok, function could not be the main feature of an architectural product. Moreover, he criticized the priority of technique and structure over other features of an architectural product.To him, priority for function, technique, and structure engendered to produce similar accepted forms, and this tendency was not different from imitation of the past. He wrote that 'consideration of purpose, location, material, and economic aspects should give way to architectural forms to separate rather than to resemble."[106]

In 1938, Walter Gropius's article "Mimari ve Tezyinat" (Architecture and Ornamentation) was published.[107] In that article, although he criticised the employment

---

[103] Theo Van Doesburg, "İspanya Mimarisinde Yeni Tecsimat," Trans. Ahmet Adnan, *Mimar* (June, 1932): 183-185.

[104] Doesburg, "İspanya Mimarisinde Yeni Tecsimat," 183.

[105] M. W. Dudok, "Zamanımızda Şehircilik ve Mimari," *Arkitekt* (January, 1937): 16-18.

[106] "Gaye, muhit, malzeme, iktisadi cihetlerin mülahazası mimari şekilleri müşabekete değil, ayrılığa sevketmelidir." Dudok, "Zamanımızda Şehircilik ve Mimari," 18.

[107] Walter Gropius, "Mimari ve Tezyinat," Trans. Orhan Emre, *Arkitekt* (May-June, 1938): 173.

of ornamentation and architectural forms of the past periods, Gropius discussed the constitution of a new ornamentation which would be the product of the community. However, he wrote that it was hard to create new ornamentation that satisfied everybody, due to the constant changes in minds.[108] On the other hand, in modern architecture there were some efforts to develop new ornamentation with material prosperity and the texture. To avoid the ornamentation of the past, he proposed an orientation to nature when conventions seemed meaningless.[109] He comleted his article like a slogan: "Let's consider the future without wearing the clothes of old times that misled us again and again. Towards advanced traditions! Ornamentation is dead! Long live ornamentation!"[110]

Criticizing the new architecture from different pointS of view, these five articles translated between 1931 and 1938 sought the different methods to constitute new architecture. The publications of these articles in *Arkitekt* in 1930s were important because of the criticism of new architecture and the grounds where new architecture was discussed.[111] Behne's article focused on the subject of nationality and internationality in new architecture which had been discussed from the beginning, in the Turkish architectural milieu. These concepts were constructed as binary oppositions in the architectural historiography of first generation. However, in ERP architecture each discussion had a certain contact with the reconciliation of national and international values for the new Turkish architecture. Therefore, Behne's article might have fed the discussions, due to the fact that the nationality and internationality were not constructed

---

[108] Gropius, "Mimari ve Tezyinat," 173.

[109] Gropius, "Mimari ve Tezyinat," 173.

[110] "Kendimizi aldatan, eski devirlerin elbisesini tekrar tekrar giyinmekten sarfınazar ederek istikbale bakalım. İleri ananeye doğru! Tezyinat öldü! Çok yaşasın tezyinat!" Gropius, "Mimari ve Tezyinat," 173.

[111] For the last years of the 1920s and first years of the 1930s, there were complexities and contradictions in the architectural milieu, especially in Germany. Unlike the canonic architectural history texts such as Sigfried Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture* and Nikolaus Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, which constructed modern architecture in the context of specific architects, or as a style, there were no strict rules which determined the new architecture. Architectural practice and theory sought to find the ways of new architecture. There was visual diversity in architectural milieu on the way of new architecture at those years, and "International Style" which was coined in 1932 by Hitchcock and Philip Johnson denotes "only one line of development." Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, trans. Ronald Taylor, Elsie Callander, and Antony Wood, 364 (1985. New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994).

as a duality, there.[112] According to Behne, as mentioned above, the international character of modern architecture depended on its national or geographical character. The local conditions of the production confronted are signiicant to create both national and international characters for modern construction.

When it comes to Lurçat, he searched the features of universal architecture not basing on only one style or the architecture of the 20th century. The examples he gave split into two parts: the pioneers' works of modern architecture and the old constructions which covered mosques and palaces. As mentioned above, it is interesting that he explained the features of new architecture AS volume, plane, dimension, and light by the help of mosques and palaces. It may be evaluated that exceeding formal appearances, Lurçat seems to search for the features of a universal architecture where he would constitute a base. Besides the struggle mentioned, Turkish architects dealt with the foundation of the discipline of architecture. This article could be accepted as a contribution to their researches. Behne's and Lurçat's articles show that in 1930s, in *Arkitekt* there were texts that led architects to seek a new Turkish architecture which would not imitate anything known as a model or neglect any national and local values.

Tradition was another subject in these translations. Exemplifying the developments in new architecture which took place in Spain, Doesburg discussed the notion of tradition. Unlike Behne, Doesburg criticized the tendencies based on tradition and he believed in getting rid of tradition to form new architecture in Spain. The importance of the translation of this article was twofold. Firstly, it showed a struggle of a different country settling the new architecture. Secondly, discussing the notion of tradition for new architecture, this article claimed a different idea of tradition contrary to Behne's views. While Behne treated the tradition as distinctive feature of the nations, Doesburg treated it as an obstacle on the way of new architecture. The publications of the articles which represented different opinions on the same subject were important.

Dudok's article published in 1937 had similar tones with Behne's in that Dudok supported the notion of local conditions to constitute new architecture. Like Behne, Dudok accepted local conditions as distinctive features of architectural products comprised of place, goal, material, and economic conditions. In this article, Dudok implied that new architecture should be different for various geographies. He seems to

---

[112] In 1931, one month after Behne's article was published in Arkitekt, Burhan Arif wrote an article that discussed Behne's opinions on new architecture and nationalism. Burhan Arif, "Yeni Mimaride Milli ve Beynelmilel Vasıflar," *Mimar* (December, 1931): 331.

be bothered by the usage of similar accepted forms in different contexts. His focus on local conditions was important for Turkish architects, because of the fact that from the beginning they struggled for modern Turkish architecture.

On balance, the translated texts covered criticism of the "New Architecture" in different ways. It also means that the "New Architecture" was not presented as "ideal," or homogenous in the periodical *Arkitekt*. As we will see in section 3.3, there are Turkish writers and architects who shared similar ideas with the writers of these texts.

3.3. Theoretical Variety Regarding New Architecture

In the architectural discourse of ERP, there were two main notions which shaped the new architecture. One was "the revitalization of conventions" in the field of architecture. The other was "manufacturing a new tradition" which cut the relationships with the architectural heritage of the past. While some of the predecessors of the former supported the ideas of new architecture in the Germanocentric Europe, some of them rejected the ideas and means of new architecture radically. On the other hand, the latter totally supported the new architecture both in theoretical background and formal vocabulary. Although they seem to be entirely different from each other, these two notions intersected at certain points as a result of a desire to create an architecture that belonged to Turkey.

The notion of "revitalization of conventions" was not witnessed at once in the ERP. However, from the beginning of the 1930s, it brought a new way of looking at discussions on new architecture in Turkey. The fundamentals of this were the same with the fundamentals of the Turkish Historical Society. It aimed to prove that the roots of Turkish culture were like those of Western culture. Similarly, the forerunners of "revitalization of conventions" claimed that fundamentals of Turkish architecture were the same with the "new architecture." Some writers even insisted that Turkish architecture led and enlightened Western architecture and its theoretical background. As Behçet and Bedrettin asserted: "the old Turkish architecture which pioneered European thought and architecture would be eternal even the time went by and the thoughts

varied."[113] This was based on the fact that the the pioneers of this notion believed that Turkish vernacular architecture had already contained the values of "New Architecture." These values had appeared in Turkish vernacular architecture as purity, modular logic and clarity, before the new architecture made an appeal in the West. However, this subject might have been a reaction to the evaluations that the new architecture did not belong to us.[114]

In the articles published from 1930 to 1940 in *Arkitekt*, the notion of "revitalization of conventions" in architecture was discussed in two ways: One of them was through Turkish vernacular architecture and the other was grounded on the classical Ottoman architecture. They form a basis for the novelties in ERP architecture. The former which focused on Turkish vernacular architecture approved of the notions and implementations of "new architecture. The forerunners of this tendency had emphasized the pure and clear expressions of old Turkish architecture, parallel with the simple, bare and unadorned lines of the new architecture. For instance, architect Şevki said: "Turkish architecture owes its name neither to lancet arch nor to Kütahya pottery. The simplest lines, the purest colors, the clearest and the most sincere organizations and constructions are the basis of the native architecture."[115] Similarly, in an anonymous article describing Arif Hikmet's old Turkish café, the writer praised the old architecture and its honest, pure, harmonious structure as an answer to the needs of the time.[116]

Supporting revitalization of Turkish vernacular architecture, Architects Behçet and Bedrettin sustained their architectural discourse in their articles between 1933 and 1934. Their thoughts oscillated between local vernacular architecture, and "New Architecture" which led contradictions in their notes. For example, they sometimes suggested analyzing Turkish vernacular architecture, and sometimes terminating the

---

[113] "Bugünün Avrupalı düşünüşüne ve mimarlığına bir önayak ve menba teşkil eden eski Türk mimarlığının kıymeti fikirler ve zamanlar değişse de ebedi kalacaktır." Behçet and Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda," Arkitekt (July, 1934): 215.

[114] At that years Turkish rhetoric was also eclipsed by East-West dichotomy. It was the reaction to architectural discourse in central Europe which described the new architecture as belonging to them.

[115] "Türk mimarisi türklüğünü ne sivri kemere, ne Kütahya çinisine medyun değildir. En sade çizgiler, en saf renkler, en sarih ve samimi tertip ve inşa bu memleket mimarisinin esasıdır." Architect Şevki "I…" *Mimar* (January 1931): 12.

[116] Anonymous, "Eski Bir Türk Kahvesi," *Mimar* (February 1931): 60. The evaluation of architect Sinan as a "modern" architect because of pure and clear expression of his architecture also shows this way of thought. Burhan Arif, "Mimar Sinan ve Yeni San'at," *Mimar* (April 1931): 111.

relationship with the past sharply. As they were explaining the necessity of modern Turkish architecture, the necessity of reform in architecture was discussed.

> Glorious Turkish nation didn't consider modernizing fez but accepted hat while clothing was reformed. During the reform of the alphabet they didn't consider renovating the old letters with a number of symbols. They adopted the Latin characters. Today's Turkish architects left vaulted, flowered, tiled forms. They are advancing on a new and logical path.[117]

Additionally, in all of their articles Behçet and Bedrettin emphasized the importance of the relationship between the building and its environS. They supported the notions of "New Architecture" such as simple and bare expressions without ornamentation, responding to the needs, opening the inner space to the outer space, or vice versa. According to Behçet and Bedrettin, "modern and national building is a beautiful building selected among many studies that are serious, sensible and suitable to the environment."[118]

B. O. Celal, on the other hand, was a sympathizer of "revitalization of conventions" through Ottoman architecture. His articles appeared in the pages of the *Arkitekt* in 1932, before Behçet and Bedrettin produced their texts on new architecture. He also believed in the power of old Turkish architecture to constitute the new Turkish architecture like architects Behçet and Bedrettin. However, his "old Turkish architecture" referred to Ottoman architecture, rather than Turkish vernacular architecture. Furthermore, unlike Behçet and Bedrettin, he did not accept Germanocentric "New Architecture" as an art. According to him, "What we see is not a new-born art, but a way that the technique of construction advances rapidly on its own."[119] B.O. Celal evaluated "New Architecture" in the West as "degenerated, weak and scrawny descendants of previous art authorities."[120] And he described the new architecture in Europe as "the dwarf of Egyptian, Indian, Turkish, Greek and Roman

---

[117] "Yüce Türk milleti kıyafette inkılab yaparken fesi asrileştirmeği düşünmedi, şapkayı kabul etti. Harf inkılabı yaparken birtakım işaretlerle eskiyi yenileştirmeği düşünmedi. Latin harflerini aldı. Bugünün Türk mimarları da kubbeli, çiçekli, çinili şekilleri bıraktılar. Yeni ve mantıki bir yol üzerinde yürüyorlar. "Architect Behçet and Bedrettin, "Türk İnkılap Mimarisi," *Arkitekt* (9-10, 1933): 265.

[118] "Modern ve milli bina; muhite uygun, ciddi ve makul birçok etütler arasından seçilmiş en güzel binadır." Behçet and Bedrettin, "Türk İnkılap Mimarisi," 266.

[119] "Gördüklerimiz yeni doğmuş bir sanat değil konstrüksiyon tekniğinin kendi başına hızla aldığı bir yoldur." B. O. Celal, "Sanat," *Mimar* (March 1932): 86.

[120] "Eski sanat nesillerinin dejenere olmuş, cılız, sıska ahfadı."Celal, "Sanat," 86.

art."[121] Celal could be accepted as the representative of those who resisted new architecture in ERP. His articles were the sole examples which praised the classical Ottoman architecture in *Arkitekt*. Celal was the only one who was criticized by the editors of the *Arkitekt* because of his leadership to younger generation of architects to study ottoman architecture.[122] At the same time, there was no evidence whether the editors of *Arkitekt* selected the articles to publish. If they did, the reason to publish Celal's articles must have been his faith for the necessity of creating new architecture in Turkey despite his keen support for Ottoman architecture.

Both of these different tendencies which led "revitalization of conventions" in architecture and attempted to prove the power of the old Turkish architecture to constitute new Turkish architecture had common features. The writers, even those who evaluated the new architecture as the deformation of old art, believed in the necessity of producing a new Turkish architecture. Their relationship with the past was not formal in creating the new, in other words they did not want to imitate architecture of the past. The writers who were the supporters of "revitalization of conventions" believed in getting rid of the predominance of formalism and fashion. To constitute the new architecture proportion, order, and clear expression were essential under the guidance of rationality, rather than material, form or style. Architects Behçet and Bedrettin explained it as follows: "our buildings cannot be far from modernism because we cannot produce a flat roof or because we cannot make an iron window or beacause concrete, stone and wood are used."[123]

---

[121] Celal, "Sanat," 86. The adjective dwarf reminds us "the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns" which started in the early Middle Ages. Bernard of Chartres used the same simile as "the dwarf standing on the shoulders of a giant." However, there is a distinction between two similes, which Bernard pointed out that "we see more and farther than our predecessors, not because we have keener vision of greater height, but because we are lifted up and borne aloft on their gigantic stature," while Celal despised it. [Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1977. Rev. Ed. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987; 1999), 15.] Of course these two interpretations cannot be compared, but the striking point of this condition is that in the modernization process, even in different contexts to face with the "old" values and try to locate the "new" ones become crucial.

[122] B. O. Celal, "Büyük İnkılab Önünde Milli Mimari Meselesi," *Arkitekt* (May, 1933): 163-164. The objection is mainly because of the fact that the periodical Arkitekt was the Republican elites' architectural periodical, and old architecture which referenced to the Ottoman architecture could not be accepted by them.

[123] "Düz çatı yapamıyoruz diye, betonarme veya taş, ahşap kullanıldı, yahut demir pencere yapamıyoruz diye; eserimiz modern olmaktan uzaklaşmış değildir." Behçet and Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda," 215. Although Behçet and Bedrettin made this statement, in another text, they made contradictory explanations which may be read as formalist and material-based attitude. They claimed that "Need and necessity require a new shape and a new shape requires new material and technique." (İhtiyaç

In the forerunners' discourse, the features of old architecture appeared as an answer to requirements. It may be interpreted that vernacular architecture was not accepted as "old" virtually. In fact, the most striking point of their discourse was theIR concepts of old and new in the evaluation of architecture. Their ideas were not grounded on the duality of new versus old, or the superiority of one over the other. Behçet and Bedrettin stated that "we do not know which one is superior in terms of value and soul. There is no new or old architecture, but there are civilized and primitive solutions."[124]Similarly, B. O. Celal, the supporter of the classical Ottoman architecture, pointed out that the problem was not this duality, but the lack of genius architects. According to him:

> Great geniuses […] drag all old and new elements and techniques with them and start working with their own imagination and manipulation. […] they pay attention neither to the dominancy of straight lines claimed new nor the dominancy of curvilinear forms called old or the dominancy of measurements."[125]

All in all, the forerunners of "revitalization of conventions" seem to go beyond the reified categories which were produced by dominant ideology of that period such as old versus new, national versus international, backward versus forward.

The "revitalization of conventions" included contradictions, heterogeneities, and non-stylistic tendencies in architecture. On the other hand, the second notion which shaped new architecture in Turkey proposed a harmonious unity was the "manufacturing of a new tradition" in architecture. For some, the new architecture was to be a natural consequence of a country which was on the verge of defining a new language, and producing a new history. The general conclusion among those who favored the new over the old was that the new was "realist architecture." According to Saim:

---

ve zaruret yeni bir şekil ister, yeni şekil için de yeni malzeme ve teknik lazımdır.) Architects Behçet and Bedrettin, "Kimlere Mimar Diyoruz?" 200.

[124] "Kıymet ve ruh itibarile hangisi üstündür, bilmiyoruz. Eski ve yeni mimarlık yoktur, fakat medeni ve daha iptidai çareler vardır." Architects Behçet and Bedrettin, "Yeni ve Eski Mimarlık," Arkitekt (June, 1934): 176.

[125] "Büyük dehalar, […] eski ve yeni bütün elemanlarını, tekniğini beraberinde sürükler ve onları kendi muhayyilesine bileğine nam ederek işe başlar. […] Şimdi iddia edilen düz hatların, ne eski addedilen münhai hatların, ne de arşın ve endazenin hakimiyetine kıymet verir." B. O. Celal, "Sanat," Arkitekt (March, 1932): 80. Similarly, in the realm of fine arts, Hasan Ali Yücel and Vedat Nedim Tör also described the crisis as not the duality of old and new, but the crisis of artist in the context of lack of respected art authorities.

The idea that an architect is a decorative artisan who garnishes the façade has killed architecture. European architects perceived this reality. They introduced the job description and work of an architect. […] Modern architecture is the real one. […] This is needed for us, too. Turkish architects have to work to define what a genuine architect is.[126]

Realism in architecture sometimes referred to "needs of the age and social tastes," and sometimes referred to "truth."[127] For instance, Saim read truth in architecture in the context of function: "Today a house expresses what it functions."[128] However, Behçet Ünsal read it with reference to the use of the material. He emphasized the importance of using proper materials for the purpose.[129]

Besides "realism," "freedom" in architecture was also their concern. Freedom was generally discussed from the aspect of the developments in construction techniques and materials.[130] For example, explaining some points from Otto Zucker, construction engineer, Architect Abidin remarked as follows: "Engineering of today progressed to a certain extend that it could provide freedom to the architect. Both the difficulties about the opportunity of construction and financial problems could be handled."[131] Only Saim evaluated freedom in architecture as liberation from the principles of the composition of the past, such as symmetry.

General mass of the dwelling which was composed of volumes that the present dimensions determined is more different than the usual ones. The plastic expression which is completely distant from the construction slavery that we have been dependent is totally new. Liberty that science provided to the contemporary artist enabled him to be in absolute independence. The sole point of action in composition was symmetry that had been strict widespread principle […] now the house is more natural and honest with its asymmetrical organization.[132]

---

[126] Mimar evin dışını süsleyen bir dekoratif sanatkardır düşüncesi mimarlığı öldürüyordu. Avrupalı mimarlar bu hakikati sezdiler. Ortaya hakiki mimarın tarifini ve eserini koydular. […] Modern mimari hakiki mimari idi. […] Bu ihtiyaç bugün bizde de duyuluyor. Türk mimarları hakiki mimarı meydana koymaya çalışmalıdırlar "Binanın İçinde Mimar," *Mimar* (January, 1931): 14.

[127] "Asrın ihtiyaçları ve içtimai zevkleri." Ziya, "Yeni Sanat," 98.

[128] "Günümüzde ev ne iş görüyor ise onu ifade ediyor."Samih Saim, "Bugünkü Mimari Telakkiler," *Arkitekt* (March, 1931): 87.

[129] Behçet Ünsal, "Mimarlıkta Gerçeklik," *Arkitekt* (April, 1935): 118.

[130] Abidin, "İnşaat ve Mimari," *Mimar* (April, 1931): 172; Behçet Ünsal, "Zamanımız Mimarlığının Morfolojik Analizi," *Arkitekt* (July 1937): 201.

[131] "Mimara büyük bir serbesti verilebilecek kadar bugünün mühendisliğinin tarakki ettiği, inşaat imkanlarının her zorluğu, hem de en iktisadi bir şekilde iktiham edebilecek kadar geniş hudutlar dahilinde arttığı." Abidin, "İnşaat ve Mimari," 172.

[132] "Bugünkü ebadın tayin ettiği hacimlerle terekküp eden meskenin umumi kitlesi şimdiye kadar alıştığımız şekillerden çok başka, şimdiye kadar bağlı kaldığımız inşai esaretlerden tamamen münezzeh plastik ifadesi büsbütün yenidir. […] Fennin bahş ettiği büyük hürriyet bugünün sanatkarına serbestiyette bir az daha derinleşmesini temin etti. Bugüne kadar mutlak bir kaide olarak cari olan (tenazur-symetrie)

Parallel to the notion of freedom, the notion of "invention" could be found in these texts. According to Sami, "the foundation of the new architecture is invention and concept."[133] The notion of invention was discussed within the framework of originality. The notion of "creativity" also appeared in the discussions, too.[134] In fact, Behçet Ünsal and Abdullah Ziya defined creativity as opposed to the notion of imitation. According to Ünsal "Each artist who executes his creativity could construct nice buildings in places where solutions are impossible […] it is required to be able to invent."[135]

In fact, the concepts creativity and invention and in general "freedom in architecture" are related to the notion of individuality. However, the architects' interpretations on freedom in architecture did not include the individuality of the artist. Freedom was presented within the context of technical opportunities of the time, and creativity was explained as opposed to imitation, not as a personal choice of the artist. Although they used the sub- concepts of individuality, they did not mean the individuality of the artist. It may be explained by the dominant ideology of that period that the individualistic attitudes were criticized by Republican elites. In the modernization project of the Republic, while state and community were appreciated, individuality was supressed. Thus, concealment of individuality could be commented as the effect of the dominant ideology in architectural milieu. In this context, pioneers of 'manufacturing of a new tradition' seem to approach more to the conventionalist tendencies than individualist ones. Ziya's explanation on new architecture shows this tendency clearly. Believing in the emergence of a new architecture, he wrote: "Today a new art is born. The art and architecture of 20th century will be formed, just as the architectures of Egypt, Greece and Turkey because people's contacts are not limited within a few thousand kilometers."[136] He searched for the new conventionalist art and architecture by comparing new architecture to Greek, Egyptian, and Turkish

---

kompozisiyonda yegane hareket noktası idi. […] Şimdi ise ev tenazürsüz mimarisile daha çok tabi, daha çok doğru sözlüdür." Saim, "Bugünkü Mimari Telakkiler," 87.

[133] "Yeni mimarinin esası icat ve fikirdir." Sami, "Binanın İçinde Mimar," 14.

[134] Sami, "Binanın İçinde Mimar," 14.

[135] "Yaratma kudretini işletmiş her artist çarelerin bile meydan vermediği her yerde güzel yapı kurabilirler […] icat edebilmek lazımdır." Ünsal, "Mimarlıkta Gerçeklik," 118.

[136] "Bugün yeni bir sanat doğuyor. Asrımızda insanların teması bir kaç bin kilometrelik mesafeler dahilinde mahsur kalmadığından, tıpkı Mısır, Yunan, Türk mimari sanatı gibi bir yirminci asır sanatı ve mimarisi meydana gelecektir." Ziya, "Yeni Sanat," 98.

architecture. Remarking "twentieth century art and architecture" Ziya did not mention the new architectures of different countries, rather he seemed to propose only one style that dominated all architectural milieus of 20th century throughout the world.

In their articles we could not find any attempt to search for a reconciliation of the present and the past. They only used the images from the old architecture to break the resistance towards the new architecture. The references to the past were met in *Arkitekt* from the Greek and Roman architecture. For example, while describing *Siedlung* in Germany, Burhan Arif explained the organization of those buildings using the streets of Rome.[137]

"Revitalization of conventions" and "manufacturing a new tradition" appeared as different approaches to mould modernity in Turkish architectural discourse from 1930 to 1940. These approaches could be compared according to three points which are the notion of individuality, the relationship between old and new, and the notion of style or visual unity. Because of the desire to revitalize the pre-modern conventions, the forerunners of "revitalization of conventions" are expected to be dependent to conventions more than the forerunners of "manufacturing a new tradition." However, these three points appeared in their discourses contrary to pre-modern way of thinking.The individuality of an architect was important, rather than the traditions for the pioneers of 'revitalization of conventions'. In their discourses the relationship between old and new was not attributed as duality, to them the quality of a work was indispensible, rather than the old or the new values that it possessed. Finally, they did not try to constitute a new style, but they dealt with creating the quality products which at the same time belonged to Turkey. On the other hand, in the forerunners' articles of manufacturing a new tradition, the search for a new style was obvious. In the process of this search, the superiority of the new over the old and dominancy of conventionalist attitudes rather than individualistic ones emerged. Seen from this point of view, the Turkish supporters of Germanocentric architecture were at the same time manufacturers of a new tradition in Turkish architecture. While they were trying to abolish the conventions which referenced to Ottoman and Islamic architecture, they were also searching for new conventions. The notions of revitalization of Turkish vernacular architecture, and manufacturing a new tradition found their responses in architectural practice broadly. While the former covered discussions on "old Turkish house," the

---

[137] Burhan Arif, "Yeni Şehirlerin İnkişafı ve Siedlung'lar," *Mimar* (July-August, 1932): 216.

latter included the discussions on Cubism in the ERP architecture. For that reason, in sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, what the old Turkish house meant for the contemporaries of the time, and how "cubism" was discussed in the architectural milieu will be explained.

3.3.1. Definition of the "Old Turkish House"

In the ERP architectural milieu, the architects struggled to produce modern architecture without losing their own national values. The writings on modernization at that period usually included a discussion on how to compromise national with international values. Indeed, desire to compromise them was not limited in the architectural milieu and it was the result of the discussions on culture and civilization which covered all domains of social life. Ziya Gökalp was the important figure in terms of questioning how the Turks should adopt Western civilization. Niyazi Berkes describes the recurrent theme in Gökalp's writings as the question of "what the Turks as a nation and Islam as their religion would look like under the conditions of contemporary civilization."[138]

Culture and civilization in Gökalp's discourse was not constructed as phenomena against each other, but they are the complementary properties of social reality. In his words: "A civilization becomes a harmonious unity only when it is incorporated into the social culture."[139] Opposing the creation of a series of dichotomies such as new and old and dating them back to the period of *Tanzimat* (literally reorganization) he did not make a sharp distinction between them. He described the areas of convergence and divergence between culture and civilization. Convergence was "due to the fact that both culture and civilization cover religious, moral, legal, intellectual, aesthetic, economic, linguistic, and technological spheres of social life." On the other hand, to him while culture was national, civilization was international; civilization was created by "men's conscious action" and was a "rational product," but the elements of culture were not "creations of conscious individual actions." Furthermore, while civilization was "the sum total of the concepts and techniques

---

[138] Niyazi Berkes, "Introduction," Ziya Gökalp: *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, ed. and trans. Niyazi Berkes, 13 (London: Georger Allen and Unwin, 1959).

[139] Ziya Gökalp, "Culture and Civilization," in *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, ed. And trans. Niyazi Berkes, 108 (London: Georger Allen and Unwin, 1959).

developed according to certain methods and transmitted from nation to nation," culture was composed of "sentiments which cannot be developed artificially and cannot be transmitted from nation to nation."[140] He came to the conclusion that without a cultural basis, civilization becomes merely "a matter of mechanical imitation." According to him, "a full-fledged national culture could come into existence only when its raw material, still on an ethnic and folkloric level, was worked with the fresh techniques of civilization to which many nations had contributed."[141] He believed in the necessity to discover the original basis of Turkish culture, and to "uncover culture in order to reach civilization."[142]

In 1924, İsmail Hakkı (Baltacıoğlu), an important writer of ERP, produced his seminal works on modernization process of Turkey. He asserted that imitation of the past without considering conditions of the time could not help constitute Turkish national architecture.[143] Usage of technological developments only, without discovering the cultural traits of Turkish architecture couldn't establish Turkish national architecture, either. Referring to Turkish national architecture, Hakkı pointed out that it was only created by composition (*terkip*), rather than the synthetic combination of culture and civilization. Like Gökalp, İsmail Hakkı did not see the national and international values as irreconcilable; on the other hand, he looked for a new ground to combine culture and civilization. According to him, this unity which was a result of specific formulation in each work of art was also the source of its originality. And, of course, new and original work of art was not independent from the past:

> Bergson, the philosopher of creative evolution but not the philosopher of gradual and mechanical evolution, says that any evolution cannot be detached from the past […]. Thus, the renewal of art is possible when it is added to the past. As a matter of fact, new and original products appear through the inspiration of the old art are met in today's architectural history […]. This means that there is nothing new in art.[144]

---

[140] Gökalp, "Culture and Civilization," 106.

[141] Berkes, "Introduction," 28.

[142] Berkes, "Introduction," 30.

[143] İsmail Hakkı, "Milli Mimarimiz," in *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, ed. Bülent Tanju, 57 (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007).

[144] "Tedrici ve mihaniki tekamülün değil, yaratıcı tekamülün feylosofu olan Bergson bile hiç bir tekamülün mazisinden müstağni kalamıyacağını, […] söylüyor. O halde sanatte de teceddüt halin maziye katlanması fiiliyle beraber olması lazım geliyor. Nitekim bugün mimarinin tarihinde yeni ve orijinal eserlerin eski sanatlerden istifade ederek vücude geldiği görülüyor. […] Bu mana ile sanatte yeni yoktur." İsmail Hakkı, "Milli Mimarimiz," 57.

As mentioned above, the elites believed in the reconciliation of culture and civilization. Like Gökalp, they turned towards the pre-Islamic past to discover "the original basis of Turkish culture." As a result of this, The Turkish Historical Society and the Turkish Language Society were founded with this spirit. Objecting to the notion of civilization pertaining only to the West, the Turkish Historical Society studied the Turkish roots of Anatolia intensively. With these studies, the Society declared the Turkish roots of Sumerians and Hittities who had given birth to the roots of Western civilization. Thus, revealing the similar bases of Turkish culture with Western civilization, they struggled to acquire a place in the Western historiography. Similarly, this attitude manifested itself in the articles between 1930 and 1940 in *Arkitekt*. As mentioned above, there were some articles that attempted to show that the fundamental principles of Turkish vernacular architecture and the "New Architecture" were alike.[145]

Among the architectural documents of that period, there was also an important text in which the author, Celal Esat [Arseven], was against the classification of Turkish art within the framework of orientalist construction of the Western architectural historiography.[146] The author Arseven criticized the place of Turkish art under the category of Islamic art in his article, dated 1928. Although he accepted the impacts of Islamic art into Turkish art, he refused to place Turkish art as a sub-category of Islamic art due to different interpretations of some elements dedicated to Turks. Arseven also struggled for the separation of Turkish art from the Islamic art.[147] He was not alone in this combat. The eminent figures Like Gökalp and almost all the Republican elites focused on cutting off the bonds of the theocratic conception of nationality.

In the architectural milieu, Gökalp's idea to "uncover the culture" was followed in order to reach new architecture. It caused some of the writers and architects to explore Turkish vernacular architecture. Turkish vernacular architecture was independent from the Islamic art and it was the product of the common people, not

---

[145] For example, Behçet and Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda," Arkitekt (July, 1934): 215.

[146] Celal Esat, "Mukaddime," in *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, ed. Bülent Tanju, 73-81 (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007).

[147] İsmail Hakkı praised Celal Esat "being one of the people who understood brilliance of national art and in terms of claiming nobility and reality of Turkish architecture even before the Turkism movement." (milli sanatımızın dehasını en iyi anlayanlardan biri olduğu ve Türk mimarisinin asalet ve asliyetini Türkçülük cereyanından bile evvel iddia etmesi açısından.). Saying "before the Turkism," İsmail Hakkı seems to reference Celal Esat's book *Constantinople. De Byzance a Stamboul* (Constantinople: From Byzantine to Istanbul), which was published in French in 1909, and in Turkish as Eski Istanbul in 1912.

aristocracy. In addition, Turkish house could be a source to show the simplicity in Turkish architecture. These three reasons given above helped Turkish vernacular architecture and particularly the concept of Turkish house to fulfill the expectations of the Republic's cultural policy. In fact, regarding the vernacular architecture as the source of the new architecture was not idiosyncratic to improve the modern architecture of Turkey. However, some European countries such as Germany, there were long discussions and a sustained pursuit on vernacular architecture in the context of revitalization of German culture.

Around 1900, German architects engaged in a search for an architectural style appropriate for the new Germany to satisfy the expectations of a united society.[148] In 1908 the important book "*Um 1800*" (Around 1800) was published by Paul Mebes. This book emphasized the eighteenth century "as the last moment that architecture and the crafts had been set within a unified culture and a living tradition."[149] The significance of this book comes from its focus on everyday architecture where the traditional principles were depended upon. Moreover, Stanford Anderson explains the significance of this book as follows: "It was important, then, that the style *Um 1800* had not been solely the creation of epochal monuments by great masters. On the contrary, the test of its genuineness and its reality was the familiar environment of the bourgeois towns and city sector—the creation of the frame of everyday life."[150] It is clear from the quotation that everyday and vernacular architecture had the potential to constitute living tradition around 1800.

It is certain that the impacts from Germany and the consistency with the Republican cultural policy, the revivification of Turkish house was accepted as a tool to constitute the Turkish new architecture with the help of some architects and writers. For instance in 1933 Behçet and Bedrettin stated:

> The architecture of the Turkish Revolution will be different from the old Ottoman architecture. That architecture had been in the history history with its domes, plastered windows, forms and life. There is no return on the road of progress. Halting means staying behind. Our experience over the years has shown us that old elements, Seljuk and Ottoman motifs are now worthless. […] Those who want to narrate us something about the past would indicate that there is the architecture of ordinary people instead of the architectural forms of that period […] or

---

[148] Stanford Anderson, "The Legacy of German Neoclassicism and Biedermeier," *Assemblage* 15 (August, 1991): 63.

[149] Anderson, The Legacy of German Neoclassicism and Biedermeier, 68.

[150] Anderson, The Legacy of German Neoclassicism and Biedermeier, 68.

circulating the rumour of Architect Sinan's fame. Why aren't these taken into account? Since the Turkish spirit is more plain and simple in (ordinary) modest works, this ethos would be easier to understand and explain.[151]

Their critical assessments about old Ottoman architecture may be understood, because their objections were shared by most of the architects during that period. However, Behçet and Bedrettin criticized Sinan's architecture when some writers represented his architecture Turkish with pure and simple properties. Like Gökalp and İsmail Hakkı, they struggled to find the ways of the reconciliation between the two worlds: National and international. They associated "emotional, creative and intuitive aspects" which could be found in regional architecture with the national. And they associated "technical and material aspects" of architecture with the civilization, international. "Suitable to the region (national) (*muhite uygun* (*milli*)) without imitating or repeating the past" was their main goal to achieve Turkish architecture.[152] In this context, being regional and national were regarded the same. It seems that what brings the two authors, Behçet and Bedrettin, to Turkish vernacular architecture are the regional/national aspects of it, besides the simplicity of their structures.

The ancestors of architectural works are their regions. A work of art is born and lives in its region. [...] Only regional works will create national architecture. Regional art is both rational and national. [...] There is no place for tradition or old forms in rational architecture. [...] National architecture is not an art of tradition or ornamentation. National architecture cannot be achieved by collecting and adding, it can only be created.[153]

---

[151] "Türk inkılap mimarlığı eski Osmanlı mimarlığından başka bir varlık olacaktır. O mimarinin kubbesi, alçılı penceresi, bütün bir şekil ve hayatı ile bir tarih olmuştur. Terraki yolunda geri dönmek yoktur. Durmak bile gerilemek demektir. Eski elemanlar Selçuk ve Osmanlı motifleri; ötedenberi yapılan tecrübelerden sonra bugünkü zaman için değersiz oldukları görülüyor. [...] Bize geçmişten bir şeyler anlatmak isteyenler; artık Sinan'ın ağızdan ağıza dolaşan kulak dolgunluğu şöhreti yerine, o devir mimarisinin şekliyatı yerine, [...] bir de halk mimarisi vardır. Bunlar neden hesaba katılmıyor? Küçük eserlerdeki Türk ruhu daha sade ve basit olduğundan anlatması ve anlaması daha kolaydır."Behçet and Bedrettin, "Türk İnkılap Mimarisi," *Arkitekt* (August, 1933): 265.

[152] "Türk inkılap mimarlığı eski Osmanlı mimarlığından başka bir varlık olacaktır. O mimarinin kubbesi, alçılı penceresi, bütün bir şekil ve hayatı ile bir tarih olmuştur. Terraki yolunda geri dönmek yoktur. Durmak bile gerilemek demektir. Eski elemanlar Selçuk ve Osmanlı motifleri; ötedenberi yapılan tecrübelerden sonra bugünkü zaman için değersiz oldukları görülüyor. [...] Bize geçmişten bir şeyler anlatmak isteyenler; artık Sinan'ın ağızdan ağıza dolaşan kulak dolgunluğu şöhreti yerine, o devir mimarisinin şekliyatı yerine, [...] bir de halk mimarisi vardır. Bunlar neden hesaba katılmıyor? Küçük eserlerdeki Türk ruhu daha sade ve basit olduğundan anlatması ve anlaması daha kolaydır."Behçet and Bedrettin, "Türk İnkılap Mimarisi," *Arkitekt* (August, 1933): 265.

[153] "Mimari eserlerin anası muhittir. Sanat eseri o muhitte doğar o muhitte yaşar. [...] Milli mimariyi doğuracak mahalli eserlerdir. Mahalli olan sanat hem rasyonel hem de milli olur. Yalnız milli duygular milli hisler kulaktan kulağa çekilmiş ve sıkı sıkı bir inatla ezberlenmi bir gönül sahifesi değildir. Rasyonel mimarlıkta ananenin ve eski şekillerin yeri yoktur [...] Milli mimarlık anane ve motif sanatı değildir. Milli mimarlık toplama ve ekleme ile yapılmaz, sadece yaratılır. " Behçet ve Bedrettin, "Mimarlık ve Türklük," Arkitekt (January, 1934): 18, 20.

In Behçet and Bedrettin's discourse, tradition seems to refer to Ottoman architectural tradition, rather than Turkish vernacular architecture. However, Sibel Bozdoğan's comment on the expression above, i.e. "the national art is not an art of tradition" causes inconsistency in Behçet and Bedrettin's discourse. That is to say, she thinks that they lead architects to Turkish vernacular architecture despite their words on traditions and national art.[154] On the other hand I think, the notion of tradition emerged in Behçet and Bedrettin's article with reference to the Ottoman architectural tradition. Besides, the important sociologist Niyazi Berkes explains the culture and civilization in Gökalp's discourse as follows: "Civilization refers to modes of action composed of the **traditions** which are created by different ethnic groups and transmitted from one to another," but he also added, "Culture is composed of the **mores** of a particular nation and, consequently, is unique and *sui generis.*"[155] Thus according to the supporters of Turkish vernacular architecture, while modern architecture was in progress, Turkish vernacular architecture was represented as the "mores" of Turkish architectural culture and the Ottoman architecture was represented as the traditions of Ottoman civilization. While the monumental Ottoman architecture was accepted as obsolete and frozen; the Turkish house was still alive and had validity to construct the new architecture in Turkey. Turkish house was praised as authentically Turkish because of having been built by ordinary people, not by the professional architects.

3.3.2. "Cubism" in the Early Republican Period

The years between 1930 and 40 were described as a period when "Cubism," "the International Style," or "rationalist-functionalist architecture" emerged in Turkish architectural milieu by the first generation of architectural historians. In their discourses, Turkish modern architecture was generally evaluated according to its relevance to European architectural modernism. In these texts, European architectural milieu was mostly defined homogenous. However, for the late 1920s and the early 1930s, there

---

[154] Sibel Bozdoğan, "Nationalizing the Modern," *Modernism and Nation Building*: *Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001): 250.

[155] Berkes, "Introduction," 23.

were varieties and contradictions in the architectural milieu, especially in Germany.[156] Unlike the first generation of historians' constructions of Germanocentric modern architecture as a style, during those years there were no strict rules producing the new architecture in Europe. For architects, modern architecture was beyond the style. Architectural theory and practice sought to find the ways to realize new architecture. There was a visual diversity in the architectural practice while the new architecture was in process. In addition, in 1932, "International Style" was given as a title by Hitchcock and Philip Johnson. It displayed complexities and contradictions and it was evaluated as "only one line of development."[157]

In Turkey during 1930s, there was confusion in the architectural milieu. However, in the histories of the first generation it was presented as homogenous. In their discourses not only the developments in the European new architecture, but also different tendencies in Turkish architectural milieu were reduced to cubic architecture, or the "International Style." The name cubic architecture was often used for the foreign architects' works in Ankara, and it referred to architecture with unadorned surfaces, and flat roofs during the first years of the Republic. Contrary to the positive connotations of the cubic, it was substituted by the negative interpretations in the mid-1930s. The final point in the critical judgement about the cubist architecture appears as rejection of it. In 1935, Behçet Ünsal stated that "due to their structures cement and iron (concrete) are compatible with cornered and cubic shapes. The word 'cubic' was left from this concept and a misunderstood word. The goal of the new architecture is not cubism but rationalism."[158]

The relationship between cubism and modern architecture is a lingering argument among the architectural historians and theorists. Although it is unclear exactly what kind of influence cubism had on modern architecture, architectural discourse of modern architecture always covered cubism. Beatriz Colomina explains the relationship between cubism and architecture "that is not there and is always there" with the

---

[156] Rosemarie Haag Bletter, Introduction, Adolf Behne: *The Modern Functional Building*, trans. Michael Robinson (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Research Institute, 1996).

[157] Hanno-Walter Kruft, *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, trans. Ronald Taylor, Elsie Callander, and Antony Wood (1985. New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 364.

[158] "Çimento ve demir (beton) bünyesi icabı köşeli ve mikap şekillere uygun gibidir. Kübik kelimesi buradan kalma yanlış anlaşılmış bir kelimedir. Yeni mimarlığın amacı cubisme değil Rationalismedir." Behçet Ünsal, "Mimarlıkta Gerçeklik," *Arkitekt* (1935): 118.

expression "architecture in cubism." She points out that "[...] cubism is already architectural, if not too architectural; it deals with questions of space-time, cubes, inside-outside, and so on."[159] It is difficult to find any history of modern architecture that omits cubism. And furthermore, when cubism happened to come on the scene in architectural discourse, it was usually a way to discuss Le Corbusier's work. Peter Collins, for example, says: "Cubism, in fact, was only of direct importance to architecture because it was developed by Le Corbusier into 'Purism': a type of painting which, by its interpenetration of contours, suggested what Giedion has called 'the interpenetrations of inner and outer space'."[160] However, Colomina warns us that

> [...] Le Corbusier explicitly departed from cubism repeatedly describing cubism as 'too decorative', 'too chaotic', 'the troubled art of a troubled epoch', 'individualistic', 'romantic', 'uncertain of its way', 'ornamental', 'obscure', 'extremely confused', 'nothing other than anarchy'," and she added that "against the chaos of cubism, Corbusier would offer 'order', 'hierarchy', 'rigor', 'the laws of structure and composition', 'efficiency', 'precision', 'standards', 'universal values', 'the right angle'.[161]

When the new features of modern architecture was discussed in architectural writings, the name Le Corbusier was usually pronounced although the main figure of the new architecture was not represented only by him in *Arkitekt*.[162] In these writings instead of the term 'cubism', the expression of rationality was employed. The concepts Le Corbusier offered were the concepts of modern rationality and according to Colomina the concepts imply that "the disorder of cubism would be tamed by modern rationality."[163] The basic principles behind the new architecture mentioned in *Arkitekt* through Le Corbusier's work were the features of Purism, rather than the features of Cubism. Therefore, in those articles, the principles behind the new architecture corresponded to rationality of Purism, rather than irrationality of Cubism. The emergence of the principles of the new architecture was explained by the necessity of controlling irrationality in architecture.

---

[159] Beatriz Colomina, "Where Are We?," in *Architecture and Cubism*, 148 (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997).

[160] Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), 279.

[161] Colomina, "Where Are We?" 149.

[162] Samih Saim, "Lö Korbüziye'nin Muasır Şehri," *Mimar* (February,1931): 44-48; Samih Saim, "Yeni Unsurlar," *Mimar* (April, 1931): 133-140; Behçet and Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta İnkılap," *Mimar* (July, 1933): 245-247; Behçet Ünsal, "Mimarlıkta Gerçeklik," *Mimar* (April, 1935): 116-120.

[163] Colomina, "Where Are We?" 149.

Accepting science as the ground for civilization, İsmail Hakkı in his article dated 1929, "*Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk Ananesi*" (Cubism in Architecture and Turkish Tradition) defined the process of substitution of irrational values with rational values as *riyazileşme* (*matematikselleşme*) mathematical intelligence. He explained the dominance of the geometric masses in Cubism with *riyazileşme* by claiming the following: "First of all, a contemporary man is the one who owns geometrical intellect. The tendency came out: to avoid straight, illogical lines, shapes and masses/ forms."[164] What Hakkı misapprehended was to describe the rationalization of irrational values as inherent in cubism. However, as mentioned above, cubism was described especially by Le Corbusier as opposed to rationality.

Thus, the term cubism included different connotations which might be in conflict with each other. "Early uses of the term 'cubist architecture' implied architecture of cubic (i.e.; boxline or crystalline) forms [...]."[165] However, the distinctive property of a cubist painting was a transformation in perception. Colomina stated that "while clearly identifying modernity with a transformation of perception, they [Le Corbusier and Ozenfant] do not trace this transformation to changes in artistic forms of representation, but to the conditions of perception in metropolitan life."[166] And the transformation of perception is described by the movement of the people in the structure to gather with the concept of time. Colomina has aptly put it: "The point of view of modern architecture is never fixed, as it is in baroque architecture or as in the model of *camera obscura*, but is always in motion, as in film, or in the city."[167]

However, in the ERP, the term "cubism" used to refer only the architecture of cubic masses which was the early usage of the term in the West. Thus, the external appearance became dominant with this understanding of "cubic," rather than the spatial organization. It was also the reason that the writers such as Ünsal seriously criticized executions of cubic architecture in Turkey. He said that "Our cubic constructions do not

---

[164] "Muasır insan her şeyden evvel hendese zekasını taşıyan insandır. Ortaya çıkan eğilim: düz, mantıki olmayan çizgilerden, şekillerden ve cisimlerden kaçmaktır." İsmail Hakkı, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi," *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, ed. Bülent Tanju (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007): 126.

[165] Paul Overy, "The Cell in the City," in *Architecture and Cubism,* 117 (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997).

[166] Colomina, "Where Are We?" 152.

[167] Colomina, "Where Are We?" 157.

resemble the ones keeping up with the social change of the new world or being equal with its structures. Our cubic construction is a caricature that we all scoff. It is the result of a simple commercial anxiety. These constructions generally do not have plans."[168] Ünsal took the readers for a walk in a successful example of modern house. Afterwords, He underlined the functional necessities, relationships between inner and outer spaces, between house and its surroundings, and between house and the nature through the roof terraces and open spaces.

The developments in European architectural milieu were explained mainly under the name of "new architecture" and seldom "modern architecture" in *Arkitekt* as mentioned in section 3.2. On the other hand, the expression "cubism" appeared in *Arkitekt,* with negative connotations of the word in three articles only. For example, Celal in 1932 recounted new architecture in a negative way using interesting similes as follows:

> Recently there appeared some trends that have been on the tail of classicism divinely named as art nouveau, modern and cubism. Taste has been disguising itself through the faces of the mentioned trends. art nouveau is a reminiscence of geriatric and ridicuolus delight. Modern trend reminds us both the visage of spoiled children and inappropriate expression of the senile youth. Moreover, the fashion called cubism is seen in the form of a businessman with a plain taste, a tough emotion, a banal automation and an unnecessary materialism.[169]

For Celal, cubism was disguised as "a businessman with a plain taste, a tough emotion, a banal automation and an unnecessary materialism." He seems to evaluate it as reductionist and insensitive. Indeed, Celal's interpretation is not astonishing, because HE criticized not only the cubism but also new architecture as "degenerated, weak and scrawny descendants of old art generations."[170] While Celal was criticizing new architecture in the West, Ünsal who was the supporter of the new architecture in the West criticized also the executions of cubism in Turkey severely. Ünsal did not accept them even as architectural products. According to him, cubic building in Turkey was

---

[168] Bizim kübik yapılarımız yeni dünyanın sosyal değişimine ayak uyduran ve ona müvazi giden yapılarına benzemez. Bu hepimizin dudak büktüğü bizim kübik yapı bir karikatürdür. Basit bir ticaret kaygusunun neticesidir. Bu yapıların ekseriya planları yoktur." Behçet Ünsal, "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor," *Arkitekt* (1939): 42.

[169] Asrın klasikler mabadi arnuvo, modern, kübizm ve ilah isimleri altında kostüm değiştiren zevki menşurun müteahhit vecheleri gibi bir veçhesi tipik salhurdelerin ihtiyar ve komik zevklerini, başka bir vechesi şımarık çocukların heveslerini diğer bir cephesi vaktinden evvel bunamış genç uzviyetlerin rabıtsız, münasebetsiz ifadelerini andırır. Bazı vecheleri de iş adamı vasfını almış yalın kat bir zevk, mukavva bir his, bayağı bir makineleşme, lüzumsuz bir maddecilik şeklidir. B. O. Celal, "Sanatta Snobizm," *Mimar* (July-August 1932): 194.

[170] Celal, "San'at," *Mimar* (March, 1932): 86.

"unreasonable," "weird," and "unplanned."[171] Because of possessed negative connotations of the word cubic, Ünsal preferred to use the word "modern" for "the products that are rational and appropriate to the circumstances of the day."[172]

There was an important text that accepted new architecture equal to cubism. It was İsmail Hakkı's "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk Ananesi," (Cubism in Architecture and Turkish Tradition) published in 1929. In this article, he tried to prove that Cubism was a movement convenient to be followed by Turkish architects because of the reference to genuine and simple architecture. Although Hakkı stood up for cubism passionately, he did not describe cubism as a style which had taken its final form. He explained it as follows: "[…] it is not fair to admit the trend of cubism as a realized, materialized, precise and completed letter in its final form. Therefore, like the applications of Cubism, its studies reveal naturally the hesitations, extravagancies, and individualities pertaining to the developing generations."[173]

According to him, Cubism was in the process of maturity, and for that reason he did not recommend any formal principle about cubism such as ribbon window, pilotis, except for the usage of basic geometric volumes. He described the hallmarks of cubism as threefold. One of them was "abolition of conventions." The other was "the dominancy of geometric masses" (hendese katıların and the last one was "abolition of ornament."[174] Bülent Tanju finds contradictions in these features. According to him, while Hakkı firstly introduced the existence of conventions as a problem, he declared the two conventions of cubism in place of the other two properties.[175]

However, when İsmail Hakkı's text and other texts on "new architecture" are compared, it may be seen that Hakkı's notion of "cubism" was more flexible than the others in terms of morphological correspondence to cubism. Reinforced concrete

---

[171] Ünsal, "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor," 60.

[172] Ünsal, "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor," 60.

[173] […] Kübizm ceryanı tamamile hakikatlaşmış, cesetlenmiş, tam ve son biçimini almış bir mektup olarak kabul etmek doğru değildir. Onun için Kübizmin hayatı gibi tetkikleri de henuz tekamülünü yapmakta olan uzviyetlere mahsus olan tereddütleri, taşkınlıkları ve inhisarcılıkları göstermesi tabiidir." İsmail Hakkı, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi," 117.

[174] İsmail Hakkı, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi," 118.

[175] Bülent Tanju, ed. *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960* (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007).

enabled infinite opportunities of articulation in cubism where an architect felt free to create:

> Such aprosperity in composition has never been granted to any history or any school of that time but to these concrete buildings. […] Pylons, heads and arcs are not the only conventional forms. The concrete technique which meets the functions enables the realizations of eternal geometrical masses and faces and infinite meanings behind them. […] The early architect had two forms. He had sought the beauty of Doric or Corinthian column capitals. However, the new architect is looking for the beauty in the relationship between any geometrical forms.[176]

According to İsmail Hakkı, the usage of reinforced concrete increased the formal opportunities of architects. Yet, to Ünsal, utilizing reinforced concrete limited the possibilities of architects because of the compositions of right angles and straight lines.

In 1935, his critical assessment about cubic architecture appeared in *Arkitekt*. As mentioned above, he implied his oppositions to dominancy of the material in practice."[177] He thought even with the usage of materials such as "local tile, wood, rough stone," the new architecture could be created satisfactorily. Also, he objected to the stylistic understanding of new architecture by uttering: "The goal of new architecture is not Cubism." Similarly, in his article in 1937 "Zamanımız Mimarlığının Morfolojik Analizi," (The Morphological Analysis of Contemporary Architecture) Ünsal repeated his non-stylistic understanding of both new architecture and architecture in general. He asserted that

> At the end of the First World War, various ecol members started to reproduce among artists in the West. Even today, there are various artists such as Cubist, Dadaist, Surrealist, Futurist, Rationalist, and Purist in picture, poem and music. Whatever it is, art is a spirit. And architecture added a purpose to this spirit and also architecture had thought a service for a function.[178]

Sibel Bozdoğan pointed out that "by the end of the 1930s […] Turkish architects deemphasized the stylistic dimension of modernism, focusing instead on its rationality

---

[176] "Şimdiye kadar hiç bir tarihe ve hiç bir mektebe müyesser olmayan bir terkip zenginliği beton yapılar için müyesser olmuştur. […] Direkler, başlıklar, kemerler ahdi şekillerden ibaret kalmıyor, betonarme teknikile plan ihtiyacına tabi olarak namütenahi (sonsuz) hendese katıları ve bu katılarda namütenahi hendese yüzleri ve bu yüzlerde namütenahi manaların tecellisi mümkün olur. […] Eski mimarın elinde iki şekil vardı. Eski mimar Dorik yahut Korintiyen başlığının güzelliğini arardı. Yeni mimar herhangi bir hendese şeklinin herhangi bir hendese şekli ile olan münasebetindeki güzel ifadeyi arıyor." İsmail Hakkı, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi," 129.

[177] Behçet Ünsal, "Mimarlıkta Gerçeklik," *Arkitekt* (1935): 118.

[178] I. Genel savaş sonunda Batı elinde artistler arasında muhtelif ekol mensupları türemeye başladı. Bugün bile resimde, şiirde, müzikte […] Kübist, Dadaist, Sürrealist, Fütürist, Rasyonalist, Pürist… gibi bir çok artistler çeşidi vardır. Her ne olursa olsun sanat bir manadır. Ve mimarlık bu manaya bir maksat katmış, bir fonksiyona hizmeti de düşünmüştür. Behçet Ünsal," Zamanımız Mimarlığının Morfolojik Analizi," *Arkitekt* (1937): 201.

and, by extension, its inevitable compatibility with the Turkish quest for national expression."[179] However, not only at the end of the 1930s, but also in the early years of the 1930s, there were many texts that opposed to stylistic understanding of new architecture. The main discussion point of the writers who produced texts on Turkish new architecture between 1930 and 1940 was how Turkish new architecture would appear under the new circumstances. As mentioned in section 3.2, while some of them focused on vernacular architecture which was accepted as a reference to culture, some of them believed in tracing the progress in architecture of central Europe. The different sources they showed in their articles to produce new architecture of Turkey did not cover the imitation of sources mentioned. They only struggled to constitute new architecture which belongs to Turkey with the values of culture and civilization. Especially while indicating old Turkish architecture as a source for the creation of a new architecture, the writers did not build a relationship with the source morphologically. For instance, in 1932 Celal wrote that architecture was firstly variation and proportion, prior to style and ornament.[180] The writers believed in the escape from the predominance of formalism and fashion. It was certain that not material, form, or style, but proportion, order, pure and clear expression, and in general rationality were their main grounds to constitute the new architecture.

In 1933, architects Behçet and Bedrettin criticized the stylistic and ornament-based education of the Academy of Fine arts seriously.[181] They believed in dominancy of ideas and principles, instead of supremacy of external appearance. Because of this belief they opposed to the usage of adjectives such as old and new. They also criticized the attitudes that treated new architecture as a style. To them, the features of new architecture were only the "means" to produce new building.[182] They said that "an architect gathering all of these does not produce a composition" and they added that "good work is the one descending to the simplicity, not far away from the logic, suitable to its region and bearing an idea of invention."[183] Thus, their understanding of

---

[179] Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation* Building, 239.

[180] B. O. Celal, "Sanat," *Mimar* (May, 1932): 130.

[181] Architects Behçet and Bedrettin, "Kimlere Mimar Diyoruz?" Arkitekt (June, 1933): 199.

[182] Architects Behçet and Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda," *Arkitekt* (1934): 214.

[183] Bunların hepsini biraraya toplayan mimar, bir kompozisyon yapmış değildir," "iyi eser, basitliğe inen, mantıktan uzaklaşmayan, yerine uygun ve bir icat fikri taşıyan eserdir." Architects Behçet and Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda," 213.

architecture did not refer mainly to the morphological features of buildings. While they defined the Renaissance architecture as a style which had strict principles, they defined new architecture as providing freedom to architects in design. They asserted that "twentieth century does not have such a style. In this sense, many new elements deceived some of the new architects. They give shape chaoticly in their choice and expressions, they create amateur works, sometimes they are even ridicuolus."[184] In 1934, without using the term cubism, Behçet and Bedrettin criticized the applications of new architecture in Turkey. According to them, "today's architect is the one who emancipated from the rules of the fashion and the forms and acquires the logical and local original forms."[185]

In 1936, Mortaş also implied that the existence of the principles of new architecture was not adequate to qualify a building "modern." He underlined that "modern architecture is not only made up of horizontal windows, plain fronts and wide terraces, they are a means of psychological and sociological needs in terms of most reliable and aesthetical ways."[186] He also implied that the social and psychological needs changed the emergence of new architecture in various countryies. He emphasized the fact: "new architecture shows different forms and characteristics according to the climate, traditions, and way of living and perception in every country."[187]

This explanation reminds us of national character of new architecture in Adolf Behne's article called "Yeni Mimaride Milli ve Beynelmilel Vasıflar" national and international features in the new architecture. It was translated and published in 1931 in *Arkitekt*. Contrary to internationality of new architecture, Mortaş pointed out that "merely material and technical cooperation cannot be a basis to the thesis of

---

[184] Yirminci asır böyle bir stile sahip değildir. Bu itibarla birçok yeni elemanlar bazı mimarları aldatıyor. İntihap ve ifadelerinde karmakarışık şekiller veriyorlar, acemi eserler meydana çıkarıyorlar, hatta bazen gülünç oluyorlar." Architects Behçet and Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda," 214.

[185] "Günümüzün mimarı, modanın ve şekillerin hükümlerinden kurtulup makul ve mahalli orijinal şekiller elde edendir." Architects Behçet and Bedrettin, "Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda," 214.

[186] "Modern mimarinin, ufki pencereler, düz satıhlar ve geniş teraslardan ibaret olmadığı, psikolojik ve sosyolojik ihtiyaçların en mantıki ve estetik bakımından en olgun bir hal vasıtası olduğu." Abidin Mortaş, "Evlerimiz," *Arkitekt* (1936): 24.

[187] "Yeni mimarinin her memlekette iklim, adetler, yaşayış ve insanlığı anlayış şartlarına göre başka şekiller ve hususiyetler gösterdiği [...]" Mortaş, "Evlerimiz," 27.

international architecture."[188] He supported his argument with the examples of housing projects from different countries and he commented as follows: "Each example bears obviously the traces of the life style, climate and conventions of the country they belong to" and he added: "It is unlikely that a German family could be at ease in a Japanese villa. A British cannot live in a Hungarian house."[189]

Nationality slightly rises its spirit even in Hakkı's article dated 1929 called "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi'" which could be accepted as a powerful supporter of cubism. As mentioned above, Hakkı established a direct relationship between new architecture and cubism. In other words, cubism meant new architecture for him and he portrayed cubism as the sole path which should be followed by Turkish architects. According to Bozdoğan, the year when the article by Hakki was published, in 1929, the term cubism had positive connotations. Despite these positive attitudes towards cubism, Hakki found it necessary to integrate Turkish character with cubism during the process of transformation of the society. Suggesting the abolition of old "mores," he believed in the necessity of building "new tradition":

> It is agreable to be eager to have convention but why should it be valid to drag it throughout the history? A national convention cannot be formed by preserving the old one. Conventions are the values that can be found after a long search. Hence, the duty of Turkish artists shouldn't be clenching on to the past due to the anxiety of loosing the Turkish identity. […] On the contrary, the target should be advancing and creating a new tradition.[190]

Hakkı struggled to create a new ground for Turkish architecture which was "in the phase of pause and fluctuation."[191] He underlined that our architecture would not lose its Turkish character with cubism:

> Our cities won't lose their native characteristics by following the path of Cubism, similar to the changes in our women who don't lose their national characteristics with their European clothes on them. Because taste, or art is not a rational matter that we can capture or find out through

---

[188] Yalnız malzeme ve teknik beraberliği arsıulusal bir mimarlık iddiasına esas olamaz." Mortaş, "Evlerimiz," 27.

[189] "Her misal bulunduğu memleketin yaşayış, iklim ve adetlerinin izlerini aşikar surette üzerinde taşıyor," "bir Alman ailesini, bir Japon villasında rahat ettirtmek imkanı yoktur. Bir İngiliz bir Macar evinde oturamaz." Mortaş, "Evlerimiz," 24.

[190] "Bir an'ana sahip olmayı istemek eyi fakat an'anayi bütün tarihde sürüklemek niçin doğru olsun?.. Milli bir an'ana eski an'anayi saklayarak vücuda gelmez. An'analar araya araya bulunan kıymetlerdir. O halde Türk sanatkarlarının vazifesi 'Türk kaybolacak!' diye vehmedüp de maziye yapışmak, ve mazinin ölü adetlerini bırakmak değil, bilakis ileriye atılmak, yeni an'aneyi yaratmaktır." Hakkı, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi," 135.

[191] Hakkı, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi," 134.

meditating. It derives from the needs and tendencies of the century. A new style emerges from itself alone.[192]

He also spoke about cubism as a direct result of modernization. According to him, "Cubism is not a discovery. It is an indispensible result of the needs that have been squeezing European countries for a century."[193] He believed that cubism would find its own way eventually in Turkey. As mentioned above, he did not describe cubism as a style which took its final form and he suggested the architects of that period participating the process of cubism with their interpretations of new architecture.

The criticisms of "new architecture," "modern architecture" or "cubism" generally focused on the morphological evaluations. ERP architects struggled to constitute their own modern architecture. Beyond the formal vocabulary of the new architecture, they searched for the features that could be distinctive for new Turkish architecture. In fact, their non-stylistic approach in architecture showed itself in the usage of the term 'Cubism'.

As mentioned above, in the professional architectural journal, the term appeared only in three articles but with negative connotations. It may be commented that the term cubism was used deliberately by the architects of the period. On the other hand, the term "cubic house" was widespread in popular publications such as *Muhit, Yedigün, Yenigün, Modern Türkiye Mecmuası,* and *İnkılap.* After analyzing the examples from these publications, Bozdoğan states that: "'cubic', however, was by no means the only style promoted in these popular publications. It was only one among a wide range of examples, from colonial American homes and German *heimatstyle* cottages to 'Mediterranean-style villas' with arcade verandahs and loggias, all featured as 'modern, healthy, functional, and beautiful homes'," and she concluded that "collectively these examples suggest that in the late 1920s and early 1930s, it was not so much architectural style but more the connotations of modern, Western-style living that were promoted with these model homes."[194]

---

[192] "Nasıl kadınlarımız Avrupa kıyafetini kabul etmekle giyinmek hususundaki milli hususiyetlerini kaybetmiyorlarsa; şehirlerimiz de Kübizm nevine girmekle Türklüklerini kaybetmeyeceklerdir. Çünkü bir zevk, bir sanat zorla tutulacak veya düşünmekle bulunacak akli bir mevzu değildir. O, devrin ihtiyaçlarına ve temayüllerine göre kendi kendine hasil olur. Yeni bir üslup ancak kendi kendine vücut bulur." Hakkı, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi," 135.

[193] "Kübizm bir keşif değildir. Bir asırdan beri Avrupa cemiyetlerini sıkıştırmakta olan yeni ihtiyaçların zaruri bir neticesidir." Hakkı, "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi," 135.

[194] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation* Building, 204-205.

The categorization of the architecture between 1930 and 1940 as the architecture produced only by the impact and the imitation of cubism was dissolved. Besides, the dissolution can be traced through the related examples and various explanations above. In fact, the architectural milieu of that period included different tendencies simultaneously. As a matter of fact in ERP, the discussions on cubism showed that the criticism about it was emerged basing on the executions of cubism in Turkey. Thus, the first generation of architectural historians' category grounded on the homogenous architectural milieu of ERP became problematic.

CHAPTER 4

DIFFERENT ARCHITECTURAL PEDAGOGIES IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The first generation of architectural historians, 1970-80, had classified architectural education of ERP while they had been categorizing architectural practice of it. While the first generation of historians was criticizing the architectural education based on Ottoman-Islamic high tradition, they complimented the architectural curriculum based on German-central European modernism.

Metin Sözen and İnci Aslanoğlu emphasized that in the early years of the Republic when the First National Style was on the agenda in Turkey; there were novelties in the architecture of European countries.[195] Sözen explained these developments as follows: "In those years, in Europe, architects have been alienated from designing façade or ornamentation, parallel to the improvements in the communities they have been working on reflecting the developing technology on architecture while concentrating on the functional values."[196] In this quotation, it is clear that function, technology, social developments were not taken into consideration by the followers of the First National Style. Also Aslanoğlu claimed that contrary to the developments in Europe based on European rationality, 'Turkish architects fell into contradictions with the revitalization of the past."[197] Implying their method as irrational, Aslanoğlu might not have endorsed the way that architects followed in the First National Style. Bülent Özer and Üstün Alsaç agreed with Aslanoğlu in that they named architectural works of the First National Style as "subjectivist." In his text of 1963, Özer

---

[195] Metin Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı 1923*-1983 (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1984), 29; İnci Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1980), 13.

[196] "Artık mimarlar cephe düzenlemekten, yoğun bezemecilikten uzaklaşmakta, toplumsal gelişmelere koşut, işlevsel değerlere ağırlık vererek, gelişen teknolojinin mimarlığa yansıtılabilmesine çalışılmaktadır." Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı 1923-1983,* 29.

[197] Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, 13.

defined these works as "subjectivist products grounded on so-called nationalist and neo-classical ideas."[198] In 1973, following the way Özer paved, Alsaç indicated that

> Since the architects of this period were sensitive and the demands of the community were included, the architects tended to approach architecture from the formal point of view. And this blocked them to use, modern construction technics and new building materials which led them to reach new spatial and functional solutions to a large extend.[199]

Seen from this vantage point, the first generation of architectural historians reduced the First National Style only to façade design, derived from a Seljuk and Ottoman architectural vocabulary to create a national architectural language. As Sibel Bozdoğan has aptly put it:

> Historians of Turkish modern architecture [...] have tended to approach Ottoman revivalism with the biases of a doctrinaire modernism that took shape in the 1930s. From this perspective, modern architecture was identified with the formal canons of Modern Movement, and Ottoman revivalism was seen as modern architecture's academic, stylistic, anachronistic 'other' that had to be left behind in order to capture the zeitgeist of the modern age.[200]

Therefore, the First National Style was a category that was created homogenously by the historians to define "new architecture" against it. Additionally, architectural education of that period based on Beaux-Arts architectural pedagogy was represented directly as a reflection of the architectural practice. The first generation of architectural historians emphasized the prolific architects of that period as instructors of the time.[201] In this chapter, the historians' categories on architectural pedagogy in ERP will be analyzed.

The only school of architecture in the country until 1944 was the Academy of Fine Arts (*Sanayii Nefise Mektebi Alisi*) which was constituted in 1883. The academy was initially established in 1883 as the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi Alisi* (Royal School of

---

[198] "Bülent Özer, "Rejyonalizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme" (PhD diss., Istanbul Technical University, İstanbul, 1963), 51.

[199] "Bu dönem mimarlarının duygusal olmaları toplumun istekleri de katılınca, onların mimarlığa biçimsel bir açıdan yaklaşmalarına yol açmış, yeni gelişmeye başlayan yapı malzemelerinini konstrüksiyon yöntemlerinin getirebileceği yeni mekansal ve fonksiyonel çözüm olanaklarını geniş ölçüde kullanabilmelerini engellemiştir." Üstün Alsaç, "Tükiye'de Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki Evrimi" (PhD diss., Karadeniz Technical University, Trabzon, 1976), 20.

[200] Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001), 20.

[201] Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı 1923-1983,* 28.

Fine Arts), modeled after the French *Beaux-Arts* system.[202] From 1908 to 1930 two eminent studio teachers Vedad Bey and Guilio Mongeri (he resigned in 1928) were in charge. When we look at the statistics, we can see that the number of graduates was 5 in 1927, 24 in 1928, 11 in 1929, 4 in 1930 and 6 in 1931.[203] Thus, especially the graduates of 1928 (Abidin Mortaş, Burhan Arif, Seyfi Arkan, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Şevki Balmumcu, Zeki Sayar), and 1929 (Aptullah Ziya) were the architects who later became the prominent figures of the ERP architecture. Thus, that period's architects' pedagogical background was based on Vedad Bey's and Mongeri's educational methods.

In 1926, under the new director Namık İsmail Bey, the name of the Academy was changed into modern Turkish, *Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi* (the Academy of Fine Arts). Not only the name, but also the curriculum was changed to get rid of the old content. Namık İsmail invited the leading German modernist Hans Poelzig and the Swiss architect Ernst Arnold Egli to prepare the new curriculum of the Academy.[204] While Poelzig postponed his arrival until his untimely death in 1936, Egli had been working at the Ministry of Education in Ankara since 1927. Egli accepted to reform the old curriculum and he was appointed as a professor to the Academy in 1930.

In 1936, Bruno Taut was appointed as the head of the architectural section of the Academy, and till his sudden death, he played a crucial role in architectural education in Turkey. After his death in 1938, Eldem who was Egli and Taut's assistant was the leading figure in studio courses. Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, Egli's assistant, and one of the initiators of the National Architecture Seminar (1933) appeared in the pages of the *Arkitekt* as one of the studio teachers as well. In addition to these authorities, Arkan was an important figure in architectural education. He was a professor at the Academy and was appointed to the city-planning section.

---

[202] Sibel Bozdoğan, "Against Style: Bruno Taut's Pedagogical Program in Turkey, 1936-1938," in *The Education of the Architect: Historiography, Urbanism, and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge,* ed. M. Pollack, 169 (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1997).

[203] Anonmymous, "Akademinin Ellinci Senesi," *Arkitekt* (Şubat, 1932): 55.

[204] Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect" (PdD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989).

4.1. Between Classicism and Modernism: Vedad Tek

In the Academy of Fine Arts, as mentioned above, between 1908 and 1926 when the curriculum was changed, two instructors Vedad Bey (Tek) and Giulio Mongeri had crucial roles in the education of architects and after 1930 their students became prominent names of the ERP. While Vedad Bey attended *École des Beaux-Arts*, Mongeri attended Accademia *di Brera* in Milan at the end of the 19th century.[205] Arif Hikmet (Koyunoğlu) who started his education in Academy in 1908 described the architectural program in the Mongeri studio as follows:

> At school, the first class was preparatory. In this class, the constructional and ornamental elements in classical architectural styles were being drawn. In the first grade, Application projects of basic parts of buildings were studied to learn where and how the construction equipment and ornamentation, introduced at the prep class, would be used. In the second class, all kinds of building plans and projects in Greek, Greco-Roman and other classical styles were performed and light and shadow arrangements in the form of monochrome lava were expressed. In the third year, they studied building projects in Renaissance style and the facades of these were colored with water color and a meaningful tableau was painted. In the last class, the survey of Ottoman-Turkish architecture projects and some historic Turkish architecture works were analyzed and drawn.[206]

Besides, Behçet Ünsal who was the prominent architect of ERP describes Vedad Bey's method as "non-stylistic" and "constructionist."[207] Vedad Bey was not only a studio teacher, but also he was teaching the course of Building Information (*Bina Bilgisi*). Ünsal recounted this course as follows:

---

[205] In archival documents, there are no evidence that Vedad Bey completed Beaux-Art education. There is a document that was signed by Prof. Moyaux, which was probably presented as a certificate in Turkey. Afife Batur, "Eğitim: Paris-İstanbul Hattı," in *M. VedadTek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, ed. A. Batur, 59 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003). Uğur Tanyeli, "Giulio Mongeri (1873-1953)," *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000* (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007), 374.

[206] "Mektepte ilk sınıf hazırlayıcı (Preperatuar) idi. Bu sınıfta, klasik mimari stillerindeki inşai ve tezyini parçaların desen halinde resimleri yapılırdı. Sene sonunda buradan Mimari birinci sınıfa başlanırdı. Bu sınıfta, evvelce öğrenilen inşaat aksamın, tezyinatın nerede ve nasıl kullanılacağını öğrenmek üzere basit bina kısımlarının tatbikat plan ve projelerine çalışılırdı. İkinci sınıfta Grek, Greko-Romen ve diğer klasik tarzlarda türlü bina plan ve projeleri yapılır ve tek renk lavi şeklinde ışık ve gölge tertibatı yapılmaya başlanırdı. Üçüncü sene Rönesans stilinde bina projelerine çalışılır ve bunların cepheleri suluboya ile renklendirilerek birer anlamlı tablo haline konulurdu. Dördüncü sınıfta Osmanlı-Türk mimarisi projeleri ve bazı eski kıymetli Türk mimari eserlerinin rölöveleri yaptırılırdı." Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, "Anılar," in *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Mimar Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu: Anılar, Yazılar, Mektuplar, Belgeler*, ed. Hasan Kuruyazıcı, 90 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008).

[207] "[…] mesela, çatı deresinin kenar detayını isterdi." In the 1991 interview with Uğur Tanyeli, Ünsal mentioned his Academy years. In fact, according to Tanyeli he did not mention his teachers enthusiastically. Uğur Tanyeli, "Behçet Ünsal (1912-2006)," in *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000* (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007), 309.

For instance, there was a lesson called 'Ebniye or Mebani'   today it is named Building Information. Vedad Bey was instructing it. Schools, apartments were mentioned there as we do it today; but prior to these he talked about 'orders'   such as proportions. Afterwards, he skipped to sculpture, ceramics, monuments and so on […] he used to say, in Ottoman *Erkam ve muadelat ile nisbetler tayin edilemez!*" In Turkish: proportions cannot be solved or found with the numbers.[208]

Although the first generation of architectural historians classified Vedad Bey's work in the First National Style, one of his students described his genre as non-stylistic. Apart from this, Ünsal's evaluation of Vedad Bey as "constructionist" also means that his architecture and his education methods could not be reduced to façade design.

The academic curriculum of Vedad Bey was severely criticized in the early 1930s. In this context, only the names Celal Esad Arseven, a professor of architectural history at the Academy, and Ünsal could be encountered in the works of first generation. Arseven defined the academic curriculum as follows: "For some 40 or 50 years, students have wasted time drawing Greek temples, the column capitals of Parthenon, and the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian order."[209] Similarly, Ünsal asserted that the Mongeri studio architecture was understood as "the art of façade design" only.[210] However, Ünsal was not Mongeri's student; he attended Vedad Bey's and Egli's studios because Mongeri had resigned before.[211] Therefore, Ünsal was unable to make his criticism about Mongeri's educational method. A prominent architectural historian of today Uğur Tanyeli reacts to those kinds of evaluations in a moderate tone:

It could not be pronounced that neither of the studio teachers (Mongeri and Vedad Bey) in both fields (architectural practice and teaching at studio) was getting their students to design façades. It is obvious from the products of those both architects that they considered, *'parte organica'* (as Boito calls) seriously-not with a modernist approaches naturally.[212]

---

[208] "Mesela, Ebniye dersi vardı, Mebani Bilgisi, bugün sizin Bina Bilgisi dediğiniz. O derse Vedad Bey gelirdi. Bugünkü gibi mekteplerden, apartmanlardan bahsediyordu; ama, ondan evvel 'ordr' lardan sözediyordu, mesela nisbetleri anlatıyordu. Oradan heykele, vazoya, abideye, her şeye giriyordu. […] onun meşhur bir sözü vardı Osmanlıca: 'Erkam ve muadelat ile nisbetler tayin edilemez!' Yani rakamlar ve denklemlerle proporsiyonlar çözülemez, bulunamaz." Tanyeli, "Behçet Ünsal," 309.

[209] Celal Esad Arseven, *Yeni Mimari* (İstanbul: Agah Sabri Kütüphanesi, 1931), 11.

[210] Behçet Ünsal, "Forum: Mimarlığımız 1923-50," *Mimarlık* (February, 1973): 35.

[211] Uğur Tanyeli, "Behçet Ünsal," 310.

[212] Her iki alanda da [mimari pratik ve stüdyo hocalığı] ve her iki atölye hocası için de [Mongeri and Vedad Bey] 'sadece cephe' tasarlattıkları söylenemez. Her iki mimarın da Boito'nun deyişiyle 'parte organica'yı –doğal olarak Modernist olmayan bir yaklaşımla- ciddiye aldıkları ürettikleri yapılardan bellidir. Tanyeli, "Giulio Mongeri (1873-1953)," 375. Camillo Boito (1836-1914) was an architect who championed the study of medieval art in Italy. According to Boito, a contemporary style would be born of the symbiotic relationship between the *parte organica*, the structure, the materials, the work's disposition according to function, and *parte simbolica*, the aesthetic considerations of decoration. Terry Kirk, *The Architecture of Modern Italy: The Challenge of Tradition (1750-1900)* (New York: Princeton University Press, 2005).

Another historian of today, Sibel Bozdoğan warns the reader against similar evaluations like Ünsal's as follows: "the negative assessments of the pre-reform years at the academy are largely informed by the modernist biases of the republican architectural culture, rather than by any thorough historical research on the pedagogical programs of Vedad Bey and Mongeri."[213] Thus, to reduce their architecture and pedagogical method to only the façade design is related to modernist biases of republican architectural culture that neglected the architectural heritage that is Islamic and Ottoman architecture. Tanyeli carries on as follows: "The thesis of the Early republican intellectuals was to start from scratch which means they did not believe that existing cultural heritage could establish a new world rather than rejecting it."[214] To sum up, reduction of both Vedad Bey's and Mongeri's works and educational methods could go back to the Republican years. Their works had been evaluated negatively in those years and also continued to be evaluated negatively in the first generation of architectural historians' works between 1970s and 1980s.

The first generation labeled Vedad Bey's architecture as the products of the First National Style, and they criticized him in terms of preventing the development of modern architecture in Turkey. Similarly, Bozdoğan implied that Vedad Bey's students struggled to cut off the relations with this neoclassical architecture to create a "new" architecture of the republic: "Having started their education under Vedad Bey and Mongeri and having experienced the changes after Egli's appointment, they were the first generation to rebel against the teachings of the former and to abandon Ottoman revivalism."[215] Although this generation is recognized with the struggle for the "New Architecture," their works show the traces of classical architecture. (Çemberlitaş Palace, Tahran Embassy, etc.) I think, an accurate account of the subject is still does not exist because it was the Republican elites who decided to end Vedad Bey's duty in the Academy of Fine Arts.[216] In those days, there was a tendency to appreciate foreign cultures especially European ones. Therefore, ERP elites seek legal grounds to invite

---

[213] Bozdoğan, "Against Style," 190.

[214] Tanyeli, "Behçet Ünsal," 308.

[215] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* 158.

[216] Afife Batur, "Tarih-i Mimari ve Fenn-i Mimari," in *M. Vedad Tek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, ed. A. Batur, 233 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003).

European figures to Turkey. Their claim was as follows: "They are here to teach Turks what they did not know. Even, Early Republican governance had to invite the foreign architects due to the fact that Turkish architects neither had satisfactory info nor adequate experience" Tanyeli has aptly put it: "Vedad Bey's career is in contradiction with this theory. He constructed complex, enormous, technical public buildings. Even though he was experienced, he was alienated from the circle of architects and the academicians deliberately."[217]

Vedad Bey's architecture can also be evaluated as "modern" in the sense of his usage of different techniques of articulation and spatial qualities of his buildings. In 1937, Vedad Bey expounded that "I prefer modern Turkish architecture in my works. It is required that this should not be tampered with Seljuk style. For example, New Post Office and Public Department Administration. The latter is İstanbul High School for boys now."[218] He seems to be bothered with the evaluations of his work as historicist. According to another contemporary architectural historian, Afife Batur: "Vedad did not use the historical forms eclectically, he wanted to get involved in the history as it flows in its order. He wanted to stand apart from European historicists and especially from the orientalist approaches."[219] In fact, Vedad Bey produced his work in the atmosphere that the dissolution of classical principles can be observed. Therefore, we cannot read his architecture only in reference to the morphology. We can see the traces of Beaux-art educational system in his architecture; but it is the fact that Vedad Bey was an architect of changing period and his work included complexities of that process.[220]

Vedad Bey struggled to construct Turkish architecture based on essential principles of architecture. He brought together his *Beaux-Arts* pedagogical background with the architectural heritage of this geography. While his contemporaries in the West

---

[217] Uğur Tanyeli, "Vedad Tek (1873-1942)," in *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000,* 109 (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007).

[218] "Ben eserlerimde modern Türk mimarisini tercih ederim. Bunu Selçuk üslubile karıştırmamak lazımdır. Misal isterseniz, Yeni Postane birincisi, Düyun-u Umumiye, yani şimdiki İstanbul Erkek Lisesi ikincisidir." Kandemir, "Mimar Vedad Tek," *Yedigün* (205, 1937): 16.

[219] Afife Batur, "Son Olmaması Özlenen Bir Sonsöz," in *M. VedadTek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, ed. A. Batur, 316 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003).

[220] In the 19th century there was a crisis in all areas. The problems of modernization increased, and destruction of the old values which constituted the social order that demanded to create new values in order to construct modern life. A base was needed. Architecture was also in the middle of this crisis, and arguments took place in different fields, but the common target was to constitute the architecture of the new age. The debates on space, form, ornament, and style which also included constructing the nations' own styles were the main concern of the last decades of the 19th century- architects and philosophers.

used Greek and Roman architectural forms, he employed formal vocabulary of Ottoman and Seljuk architecture. If his work were only evaluated in terms of appearance and his understanding of site layout, his architecture could be criticized.[221] However, at the same time, he created the spaces that had no previous example in Turkish architectural heritage. Employing technological advantages, he created modern spaces in his Post Office, which had similar spatial qualities with Otto Wagner's Post Office. Despite the substantial criticism about Vedad Bey, technical properties of his Post Office were more advanced than the public buildings that were constructed by foreign architects in ERP.

Although some examples might be found to evaluate Vedad Bey's architectural practice, there are no documents to evaluate his teaching methods. Contents of art and architectural history, architectural theory courses, and architectural studio which Vedad Bey taught in the Academy of Fine Arts are vague. Historian Bülent Tanju examined the architectural education that Vedad Bey received in *Académie des Beaux-Arts.* The architectural education he took in *Beaux-Arts* might affect his architectural pedagogy he applied in the Academy of Fine Arts. According to the documents from the family archive, Vedad Bey was in Beaux-Arts between 1894 and 1898 when Edmond-Jean-Baptiste was the professor in the *Académie*. He determined not only the studio contents, but also the contents of the theory and history courses. After 1894, Baptiste's assistant Julien Guadet settled the annual competition issues and programs, and he was in charge of theory and history courses.[222] Tanju, made a list of Vedad Bey's books and meanwhile he found across Guadet's book *Eléménts et Théorie de l'Architecture* (1902) as the only theoretical text in his library.[223] He suggested that the existence of this book in his library was a sign of Vedad Bey's continuing architectural studies after coming back to Istanbul. Through this, he found that Vedad Bey was following Guadet's architectural approach. In Turkey, Tanju explains Guadet's approach as follows:

---

[221] In 1973, the editors of the *Mimarlık* which is the journal of Turkish Chamber of Architects prepared a special issue on the architecture in Turkey between 1923 and 1950. Zeki Sayar, Kemali Söylemezoğlu, Behçet Ünsal, Naci Meltem, Rebii Gordon and S. Sonad answered the questions that was asked them by the editors. Answering the question on education Behçet Ünsal evaluated Vedad Bey's education method. According to him the site plan was altogether unnecessary for Vedad Bey, and he preached the students that "if you make a good design, it will fit any site." Forum: Mimarlığımız 1923-1950, *Mimarlık* (February, 1973): 35.

[222] Bülent Tanju, "Bir Osmanlı'nın Mimar Olarak Portresi: Vedad Tek," in *M. Vedad Tek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, ed. A. Batur, 249 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003).

[223] Tanju, "Bir Osmanlı'nın Mimar Olarak Portresi," 249.

Guadet, Henri Labrouste's student, is a Supporter of 19th century rationalist French architecture. The basic concept of this design comprehension is composition. [...] Contrary to the general prejudice, at the turn of the century, Beaux-Arts architectural pedagogy is not "façade ornamentation or decoration,"whereas façade design is the secondary problem of architecture according to Guadet. Composition meant to combine the known and the categorized architectural elements in an integrated organizations. Guadet defined the known architectural practice as small constructive-functional architectural elements and compositional elements. Wall, opening, door, vault, roof, etc. were defined as small constructive-functional elements. When it comes to compositional elements, functional volumes such as room, entrance, staircase, etc. were categorized. [...] His focus was the abstract theory of how the architectural elements could be composed. On this abstract level, historical architectural elements were the cumulative knowledge to be analyzed in terms of principals of composition rather than a copy of a material.[224]

Vedad Bey's buildings are the extensions of his pedagogical background. According to him to design means to create different compositions employing different techniques of articulation and new technological advances. Approval of it enables us to see that his architecture and pedagogical method that he applied in the Academy of Fine Arts could not be neglected or evaluated as an obstacle against the development of modern architecture in Turkey. On the contrary he shed light on modern architecture in Turkey, not only with his buildings but also with his pedagogical method.

4.2. Between Modernism and Vernacular: Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut, Sedad Hakkı Eldem

In 1926, the name of the Academy was changed into *Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi* (the Academy of Fine Arts). Not only the name, but also the curriculum was changed to get rid of the classical content.[225] In an anonymous article, the change was described as follows:

In the school of architecture, you cannot see the classical working style that was carried on from the old anymore. The student performs his projects under the guidance of many financial, local, scientific and constructive records as if he was working in a real office [...] The student is not obliged to copy and resemble the classical works. The student is a real architect. He sees and studies Roman, Greek, Egyptian and ancient Turkish architecture in architectural history course. He does not ignore them. But he does not devote his time for these; he does not have to apply their measures, construction methods and styles. The student is a seeker of science techniques in every Turkish architect's attempt to establish a way and to create the new Turkish architecture.[226]

---

[224] Tanju, "Bir Osmanlı'nın Mimar Olarak Portresi," 248.

[225] Anonmymous, "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi: Mimari Şubesinde Talebe Nasıl Çalışıyor?" *Arkitekt* (Ocak 1931): 25-26.

[226] Mimari mektebinde artık eskiden beri devam eden klasik çalışma tarzını göremezsiniz. Talebe hayatta çalışıyormuş gibi projelerini iktisadi, mahalli, ilmi ve inşai bir çok kayıtların tesiri altında yapar. [...] Talebe klasik eserleri kopya etmeğe, onlara benzeteceğim diye uğraşmaya mecbur değildir. Talebe hakiki bir mimardır. Roma, Yunan, Mısır ve kadim Türk mimarisini mimari tarihi dersinde görür ve çalışır. Onları ihmal etmez. Fakat onlara nefsini de vakfetmez, onların ölçülerini, inşaat usüllerini, istillerini

The architectural curriculum organised by foreign professors was radically redesigned by replacing the Beaux-Arts model with a German-central European modernism. Ernst Egli played a seminal role in this process. He was praised especially by Celal Esad Arseven (1875-1971)[227] in terms of bringing new architecture to Turkey. Egli's buildings were generally characterized with the term "cubic."[228] His buildings show that his notion of modernity in architecture did not only include formal newness; but also the change in understanding the notion of space. He explored the potentials of the open plan in some of his residential buildings.[229]

Although Arseven evaluated his architecture within the context of cubist architecture, his texts and his searches focused on regional architecture. In 1930 article "Architectural Location," he searched for modern architecture that is especially belonged to the *muhit* (location).[230] Egli did not deny the necessity of "civilization" and "international architecture," but he claimed that this technically and scientifically oriented architecture needed to be complemented with local features. Otherwise, the "so-called modern" houses in Ankara "copied European villas" would not have anything to do either with modern architecture or with their regions.[231] In the same article, Egli showed Anatolian house as an address to find ways of a new architecture in Turkey. Believing the necessity of analysis of Turkish house, Egli initiated the National Architecture Seminar in 1933 with his assistants Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Arif Hikmet (Holtay). This seminar was mostly attributed to Eldem only by Sözen, Tapan, and

tatbike mecbur değildir. Talebe yeni bir Türk mimarisi yapmağa çalışan müstakbel Türk mimarının kendine yol arayan, ilim ve teknik arayıcısıdır. Anonmymous, "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi," 25.

[227] Celal Esad Arseven was an important figure in the early republican period. He created many products in different realms. He was an art and architectural historian, amateur artist, photographer, film maker, and even musician. Besides these different fields of interest, according to Tanyeli, Arseven had a crucial role in the history of modernization of visuality. Uğur Tanyeli, "Celal Esad Arseven (1875-1971)," *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000* (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007), 232.

[228] Arseven gave Egli's buildings a substantial place in his seminal book "Yeni Mimari." In daily discussions, Egli's and Holzmeister's institutional buildings of Ankara were described as "Viennese cubic architecture."

[229] In his 1936 Fual Bulca house, "the entrance floor is composed of spaces without fixed and solid walls in between. The living, dining rooms, and special sitting corners flow into each other, creating a sense of openness. The framing of rooms as pictures to be viewed from other rooms and occasional level differences in the interior perspectives suggest a sophisticated understanding of space." Esra Akcan, "Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2005)*,* 310.

[230] Ernst Egli, "Mimari Muhit," *Türk Yurdu* 4-24, no. 30-224, (1930): 32-36.

[231] Egli, "Mimari Muhit," 35.

Aslanoğlu.[232] It is interesting that although these historians quoted from Ünsal about National Architecture Seminar as "he [Egli] is the one who provides National Architecture Seminar that would be held in the Academy of Fine Arts," they equated Eldem's name with it.[233]

Arseven said that Egli introduced the principles of rational design, functional plan, and modern construction techniques to studio. Ünsal indicated that Egli "was a young teacher who understood what the contemporary architecture was. Egli was predicting functional architecture, he was a good planner, he was not a fan of style." However he added that "he was advising a local architecture; therefore, he thought that old Turkish architecture should be examined scientifically."[234] Probably non-stylistic attitude of Egli promoted a search for essential components of the Turkish vernacular architecture. The architectural components that create spaces were also among Egli's concern. In his article of 1941 "Turkish House," the translation of his lecture to Swiss audience, he explained the evolution of Turkish, Roman, Greek, and lower Saxon houses.[235] Comparing these different houses, he pointed out that Turkish house is composed of three primary architectural elements which are wall, garden and pavilion. According to him, although all of these houses established a boundary on the ground, unlike others, the Turks enclosed the zone and separated these boundaries with a wall, and placed a garden inside.[236] To grasp the spatial organization of vernacular Turkish architecture was Egli's main concern instead of its formal articulation.

---

[232] Metin Sözen and Mete Tapan, *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi* (İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973), 195; Sözen, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı 1923-1983,* 176; Aslanoğlu, *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, 47.

[233] Because Egli left Turkey in 1940 and Eldem had important place in architectural milieu especially after 1940 with particularly his manifesto like writings which based on the output of the Turkish house studies, the attribution of the work of Eldem could be understood. His dominancy in the architectural milieu was shown itself even in 1980's architectural history writings. After he left Turkey, Egli continued giving lectures on Turkish architecture. In his lectures at ETH on Turkish architecture, he employed his findings from National Architecture Seminar. "In his class on 'Turkish Architecture: History and Present', he reiterated his theory on the archetypal farm-house and its evouolution into German, Greek, Latin, Saxon and Turkish residential typologies." Esra Akcan, "Modernity in Translation*,*" 425.

[234] "Ama mahalli bir mimariyi öğütlüyordu; bunun için eski Türk mimarisinin ilmi bir şekilde araştırılmasını gerekli buluyordu." "çağdaş mimarinin ne olduğunu anlayan araştırmacı genç bir hoca idi. Egli fonksiyonel mimariyi öngörüyordu; iyi bir plancı idi, stil taraflısı değildi," Behçet Ünsal, "Forum: Mimarlığımız 1923-1950," *Mimarlık* (February 1973): 38.

[235] Ernst Egli, "Türk Evi," trans. Cemal Köprülü, *Ülkü* (May, 1941): 195-209.

[236] Egli, "Türk Evi," 205.

In an anonymous article published in 1931, one of the projects that were prepared in Egli studio was presented as a referent of the change in Academy. This project contains characteristic features of the new architecture that are flat roof, rounded balconies, horizontal band windows, and unornamented surfaces (Figure 4.1). Although the building has new features, the site layout shows classical manner with its monumental organization. The sloping site is organized by the student Edip Hikmet as if it was independent from the mass organization. Though the open area is organized asymmetrically, the staircase rising towards the building unceasingly creates the monumental effect. The continuous high garden walls supported this effect. In fact, this project did not establish a relationship between inner and outer spaces. It represented the morphological features of the new architecture.
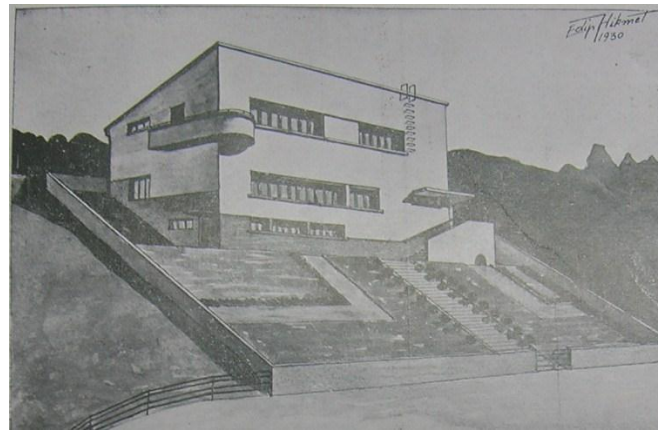
Figure 4.1. Edip Hikmet, Student project from the Egli's studio.
(Source: *Mimar* January, 1931: 25)

Egli gave different design projects such as library, hotel, hospital, dormitory, embassy, municipality (*şarbaylık*) and public-square. Although it has been said that Egli introduced new architecture to the country, the emergence of responses to his method seems to take time. Some of the projects produced by Egli's guidance still held classical features both morphologically and spatially (Figure 4.2). Thus, it could not be easily asserted that the conceptual shift in spatial planning that Egli introduced brought radical conversion into modern as soon as expected. Despite this, it is also possible to say that Egli introduced his architectural students to different design methods. Furthermore, his non-stylistic attitude reflected to his students might have created an appropriate ground to reveal different architectural tendencies.
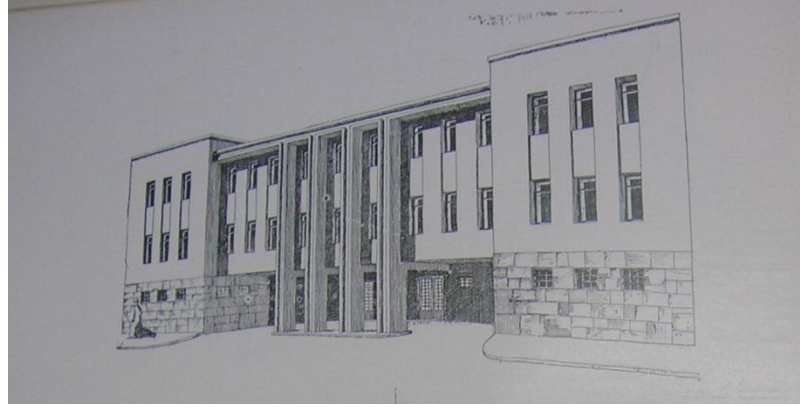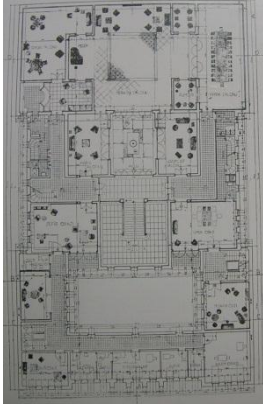
Figure 4.2. Sedat, Student project from the Egli's studio
(Source: *Mimar* September, October, 1934: 255)

Not only Egli, but also Bruno Taut, who was invited to Turkey in 1936, was an important foreign instructor in the history of the Academy. During that time, he was highly critical of the internationalist attitude in architecture. As Gülsüm Baydar demonstrated: "When he arrived at Istanbul in 1936, Taut was neither the expressionist architect of the 1910s nor the hard-core functionalist of the late 1920s. His architectural personality could best be explained as the integration of the two into a contextual philosophy."[237] In the Academy's brochure, Bruno Taut'S appointment as the head of the architecture in the Academy of Fine Arts in 1936 was celebrated in the following terms:

> Under the direction of the prominent and experienced German architect Professor Taut, the students of architecture are preparing to combat the nondescript style, totally devoid of identity, that is invading Istanbul, Ankara, and other cities of the nation under the rubric of 'modern' […] there is no doubt that the new Turkish architecture will be born out of this combat.[238]

The letter which Taut wrote to his Japanese friends had also similar tones with this text. Taut wrote that he "remains faithful fighting against" the architectural approach that "named as cubic" in Turkey.[239] It is interesting that while Egli was celebrated for bringing "new architecture" or "modern architecture to Turkey, Taut was celebrated to "combat the non-descript style" which also referred to the applications of new architecture in Turkey. However, Taut was searching for a new architecture that

---

[237] Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect," 94.

[238] *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi*, (Istanbul, 1937). Quoted in Bozdoğan, "Against Style: Bruno Taut's Pedagogical Program in Turkey, 1936-1938," 163.

[239] Akcan, "Modernity in Translation," 717.

belonged to the pattern of the "region," rather than searching for a new architecture that was a "slavish imitation of foreign styles."[240]

Taut mainly criticized the generalization of Modern architecture as a style all over the world in his book *Mimari Bilgisi* (Lectures in Architecture), first published in Turkish in 1938.[241] According to him "The world is increasingly getting uniform and homogenous," and "modern architecture is fortifying his uniformity."[242] He was disturbed that the late 1930s architectural tendencies reduced architecture only to technical subjects and function.

> Today's latest architectural theories, […] claimed that the architecture stemmed from real basis beneficial for the practical life completely it means that it came from technique, construction and function. These words may be required in a period which people try to get rid of the continuously changing dresses of various historical styles. […] But these were also the theories again dealing with only the external costume of the architecture.[243]

Taut sees technique, construction, and function as the instruments that should be applied and employed by the concept of proportion. Although he admitted that they are the main principles of architecture at the same time hallmarks of architecture, he maintains the opinion that "architecture is the art of proportion."[244] And he added that

> Technique can provide solidity to the building to protect against the unfavorable weather conditions, construction and resistance that enables the building to stand against the natural forces. It is the function that offers an opportunity for men to live in and use the space with content along with all the qualities which lead to use the building pleasantly.[245]

---

[240] Bruno Taut, *Houses and People of Japan* (1937, Tokyo: Sanseido Co. Ltd., 1958), 263.

[241] The book was important to understand Taut's thought in architecture in those years, because the Turkish version was the only copy until 1977 when the German version *Architekturlehre* was published. Akcan states that because the German version was published without figures, the Turkish version could be accepted only copy that expresses Taut's precise intentions. Akcan, "Modernity in Translation," 726.

[242] "Dünya gittikçe üniformalaşıyor, birörnekleşiyor […] Modern mimari cereyanı bu üniformalaşmayı kuvvetlendiriyor." Bruno Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, trans. Adnan Kolatan (İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yayınları, 1938), 45.

[243] "Bugünün son mimari nazariyeleri, […] mimarinin tamamen, pratik hayatta faideli olan real esaslara dayanarak ortaya çıktığını, yani teknikten, konstrüksiyondan ve fonksiyondan doğduğunu iddia ettiler. Bu sözler, muhtelif tarihi üslupların moda gibi değişen kostümlerinden kurtulmak istenildiği bir zamanda belki lazım gelmiştir. […] Fakat bunlar da gene mimarinin sadece harici kostümü ile uğraşan nazariyelerdi." Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 16-17.

[244] Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 24.

[245] "Teknik, bir binaya onu havanın tesirlerine karşı koruyan sağlamlığı; konstrüksiyon, binanın tabii kuvvetlere karşı dayanması için lazım olan mukavemeti verir. Bina içinde oturulmasına ve binanın kullanılmasına hoş, gönül ferahlatıcı bir hal temin eden bütün vasıfları veren şey de fonksiyondur." Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 4-5.

Taut did not oppose to universality in architecture, on the contrary, he searched for the universal principles of architecture in his book *Mimari Bilgisi*. As universal principles of architecture, technique, construction, function and proportion are the inferences from the examples of Greek Temple, Gothic Cathedral, Turkish Mosque and Japanese House. What the striking point in Taut's discourse is that universality in architecture could be realized only in relation to the region. He explains it as follows: "Forms that are inspired by the features like climate, air and nature that give architecture universal characteristics are shaped by technique. The more these forms are suitable to nature, light and air of the building the more they are universal.[246] At the same time he distinguishes "universality" and "straight internationality."[247] He describes straight internationality in the context of technique: "When the technique is dominant over the architecture, it provides the house to be built anywhere but with no connections to the environment […] like devices of the mechanical world. Hence a house with proper and contemporary technics can be convenient anywhere."[248] And he is against that kind of universality. What Taut criticized seriously in modern architecture is the universality mentioned here that terminates all local differences. Rather than dominancy of technique over the architecture, he proposed it to be in the service of architecture.

> When the technique is in the service of architecture, it helps construct the house in accordance with climate. It plays a significant role in giving an identity to the house and making it appropriate to the country and the geography. In other words, building the house with the colors where it belongs called localcolorit.[249]

In *Mimari Bilgisi*, Taut construed the literal meanings of terms and concepts, and he gave new tones for them. The terms such as technique, climate, and proportion in Taut's discourse have connotations, and they have more meaning than their technical

---

[246] "Mimariye üniversel karakterini yani iklime, havaya, tabiata uyan hususiyetini veren şekiller teknik tarafından vücude getirilir. Bu şekiller binanın bulunduğu yerin tabiatına, ışığına, havasına ne kadar uygun olurlarsa o nisbette üniverseldirler." Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 92.

[247] Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 86.

[248] "Teknik mimariye hakim bulunduğu zaman, evi onun her yerde kullanılabilir bir hale gelmesini mümkün kılar. […] şeklini hiç değiştirmeden dünyanın her yerinde kullanılabilen makinelere benziyen bir neticeye varılır," Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 85.

[249] "Teknik, mimarinin hizmetkarı olduğu zaman, evi iklime uygun yapar. Bazı hallerde evin karakterini veren de kendisi olduğu gibi evin, bulunduğu memlekete veya civara has olan, bir benlik almasında yani bir kelime ile localkolorit denilen mahalli bir renk göstermesinde büyük bir rol oynar." Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 85.

and physical correspondences. For example, the technique could be formed by climatic conditions specific to the region. It is not independent from the design process, and it is not only a technique that includes merely application. Similarly, climate does not only mean weather conditions of the region in Taut's discourse. According to Taut climate as "a part of nature" has universal character and at the same time as it is "specific to the area," climate has local character.[250] Thus, for Taut climate is a ground that the different ways of non-Eurocentric universal architecture could be achieved. The term proportion is also seen in his discourse as an inclusive concept, rather than as ratio of dimensions. Therefore, it could not be reduced to geometrical ratio. Proportion is a constitutive concept that organizes and determines all processes. He explains the role of the proportion in a design process as follows:

> In order to display live proportions when a building is completed, vital elements should be provided at the beginning of the work. Hence, proportion doesn't turn up as a requirement of art here or there during the work of an architect. Architecture consists of building material and the technique suitable to the material and the help of the construction. That is to say, choosing building material and processing it is a matter of proportion. We can use the same words for the function more vigorously. Building should be suitable to the purpose. In spite of this, expectations from the architect have been more than the utility of the building. It is expected that the new building should not be only functional but also should lead to better standards and opportunities. In practice, this means: architect's study on the proportions should start while planning the project in mind.[251]

Taut assigned a housing project for the employees of the Ministry of State Monopolies in Ankara to the senior class of 1937 as the graduation project.[252] It was a very comprehensive problem and the students were expected to produce site plan, 1/50 plans of six different house types, detailed specifications for all materials and calculations of cost per square foot of construction, laborers, and infrastructure (roads, retaining and garden walls; installing water, electricity, and gas lines; plumbing and sewage system). Taut indicates that the problems were about the design not the

---

[250] Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 85.

[251] "Bir binanın ikmal edildiği zaman tam manasile canlı proporsiyonlar gösterebilmesi için, bu hususta icab eden esası, daha işe başlarken temin etmek lazım gelir. Bundan anlaşılacağı üzere, proporsiyon, mimarın mesaisinin cereyanı içinde, şu veya bu noktada, bir sanat icabı olarak çıkıyor değildir. Mimari, inşaat malzemesinin ve o malzemeye tevafuk eden teknik ve konstrüksiyonun yardımı ile meydana gelir. Demek oluyor ki inşaat malzemesinin intihabı ve onun işlenmesi de bir proporsiyon meselesidir. Fonksiyon için aynı şeyi daha kuvvetli söyleyebiliriz. Bina maksada uygun bulunmalıdır. Buna rağmen, mimardan, binanın alelade faideliğinden çok daha fazla şeyler beklenir. Yeni yapılacak binanın sade kullanmaya yarar olmasını değil aynı zamanda daha iyi, daha güzel bir hayata imkan vermesini isterler. Bunun ise tatbikatta tazammun ettiği mana; mimarın proporsiyon üzerindeki çalışmalarına daha yeni binanın program yapılırken başlanması […] lazım geliyor demektir." Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 30-31.

[252] Anonymous, "Tip ve Sıra Evler," *Arkitekt* (August, 1937): 211-217.

technical ones that could be solved by the engineers. The concept of "proportion," as mentioned above included these technical processes as well. Thus, from the beginning the architect could not only operate all processes but he had the opportunity to determine and design the processes as a whole. Bozdoğan explains Taut's attitude basing on his experience in Berlin working for GEHAG where "students were also asked to calculate and tabulate the annual rent and the conditions of financing for each type, exploring the feasibility of their proposals."[253] Therefore, Taut treated architecture as a work that included application process and technical subjects rather than an art object. For that reason he gave students a real design problem. Taut did not only want conceptual searches for houses that were specific to Ankara from his students, but also he wanted them to have the knowledge of applications of the houses. Bozdoğan describes Taut's legacy in Turkish architectural culture as "Taut the modernist who taught rational, functional design to Turkish students, and 'Taut the regionalist' who had a deep reverence for Ottoman architecture and vernacular traditions."[254] However, Taut's importance in architectural culture of the ERP should be based on his struggle for the non-European modern architecture which could be achieved by integration of these two identifications. He searched for the architecture that belonged to Turkey, rather than belonged anywhere on earth.

After Taut's appointment to Egli's position in 1936, and especially after untimely death of Taut in 1938, Eldem became a leading figure in the department of architecture. Like Egli and Taut, Eldem was also searching for new architecture that belonged to the region. His search was based on the belief that Turkish house had been intrinsically modern. National Architecture Seminar which was initiated under Egli's responsibility was a series of studies that attempted to reveal modern features of Turkish house. After Egli's departure from the Academy, this seminar was conducted by Eldem. This was a research project, held with the students that sought to explore and document the vernacular houses in Istanbul and all over Anatolia. The program of the National Architecture Seminar was written in 1934 as follows:

> The main goal of the Seminar is to put the student in close contact with Turkish architecture. In order to achieve this goal, historical or current artworks of Turkish architecture will be examined. Depending on the student's capacity and motivation, different methods will be pursued. For this reason, the pedagogical program is very flexible:

---

[253] Bozdoğan, "Against Style," 177.

[254] Bozdoğan, "Against Style," 163.

> The students will be asked to prepare the following four requirements in the first year.
> 1. The diagrams for the characteristics of existing houses
> 2. The measured drawings of details
> 3. The measured drawings of ensemble
> 4. An urban study that addresses how many existing valuable or invaluable houses should be taken into consideration in case of a new construction.
> In the second year, the students are expected to work on a thesis about a subject of their choice. Every year the seminar will organize a site trip to a location at the professor's discretion at least for a week.[255]

With these studies, they represented the examples of Turkish vernacular architecture with Cartesian representation techniques. These studies were an attempt to represent them under the rationalized schemes. By these studies and his own studies on Turkish houses that dated back to his school years, Eldem searched for what exactly the architectural characteristics of Turkish houses were. In *Seminar*, Eldem and his students worked on the houses located in different geographical and climatic conditions. After translating them to rationalized schemes, Eldem grouped and classified them, which will be scrutinized in section 5.3.1. He tried to reach a conclusion while searching the essential components of vernacular architecture through classification system. Therefore, unlike Taut, for Eldem the spatial organization is more important than the climatic and specific features of the area. Thus, like Egli, Eldem was looking for the Turkish house archetype, and this archetype had already included the features of new architecture before the new architecture developed in the West.

In architectural history texts, as mentioned above, Eldem mostly appeared in the context of regional architecture and National Architecture Seminar. However, just like his architectural work, which did not only include the projects that he employed vernacular vocabulary, his teaching could not be reduced to the National Architecture Seminar. The graduation project of 1940 is important in terms of showing his different method. Eldem and Arif Hikmet Holtay as the professors of architectural department

---

[255] "Seminerin başlıca vazifesi, talebeyi Turk mimarisile sıkı bir temasa koymaktır.
Bunun için Türk mimarisinin şimdiye kadar yetiştirmiş olduğu, veya yetiştirmekte olduğu eserler etüt edilecektir. Her talebenin istidadma ve hevesine göre muhtelif yollar uzerinde çalışılacaktır. Bunun için tedrisat gayet serbesttir.
1 senelik devamda talebeden 4 vazife istenecektir
1. Mevcut binalardan karakter krokileri
2. Detay rölöveleri
3. Ensemble rölöveleri
4. Mevcut kıymetli veya kıymetsiz binalarin, yeni inşaattan nasıl ve ne dereceye kadar nazarı itibara alınacakları hakkında şehircilik etütleri.
2nci senede her talebe, kendi tanzim ettiği bir bahis hakkında tez şeklinde bir etüt yapacaktir. Seminer her sene, muallimin tayin edeceği yere, asgari bir haftalık bir müddet için seyahat yapacaktır." Akcan, "Modernity in Translation*,"* 412. (Document taken from Edhem Eldem).

and Seyfi Arkan as the professor of the city planning department constructed design problem for the graduation project of 1940. As indicated in the article about this project, it was determined as an organization of expansion plan of Konya-Aksaray.[256] The aim of this design problem was constructed as follows:

> 1. To get the students to think three dimensionally, to consider the relationship between nature and architecture and in practice, to conceive the building not as a single unit but as the part of a whole.
> 2. To assure that the students consider all scales pursuing the details from single buildings to the blocks in the district, from residential area to the public places like squares, people's houses, banks, post offices, sport centers, etc..
> 3. To imbue the students with the necessity of the consideration of all essential problems related to architecture such as the consideration of building blocks together with, educational areas like schools and play grounds, all recreational areas with sport centers. Also the need to examine every project with a consideration of city blocks, the details of the project and the preparation of the detailed estimates of costs and ferroconcrete calculations.[257]

Like the graduation project of 1937, this design problem is also important in terms of transcending the limits of architectural project. The instructors constituted a ground which gave students the opportunity to think on different scales. The modern construction of the discipline of architecture included the design in different scales.[258] For example, the architect could form a city as well as a chair. In this context, this design problem could be noted as a subject who encompassed the requirements of modern design.

It is interesting that this mentioned problem was given in 1940, rather than early years of 1930s. In the architectural milieu of the ERP, these kinds of projects which included squares, houses, schools, banks that were represented as new faces of the Republic were performed programmatically from the beginning of the 1930s on

---

[256] Anonymous, "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yüksek Mimari Şubesi Diploma Projeleri," *Arkitekt* (March-April 1940): 55-68.

[257] "1. Talebelerin hacimli (üç bulutlu) düşünmelerini, mimari ile tabiatın alakasını ve tatbikatta binayı tek başına olmayıp heyeti umumiyenin bir cüz'ü olarak tasavvur etmelerini temin etmek; 2. Detayın münferit binaya, münferit binanın mahalle içinde bloklara ve bütün ikamet mahallelerinin resmi meydan, halkevi, banka, postane, spor sahaları gibi umumi inşaata nazaran mikyaslarının nazarı itibare alınmasını temin; 3. Bugün Türkiye'de mevcut mimariye müteallik bütün problemlerin göz önünde bulundurulması lüzumunu idari merkezler; mektep, çocuk bahçeleri gibi terbiyevi müesseseler; kullanılan yeşil saha olarak her türlü spor sahaları; evleriyle beraber yapı adalarının teşkili, bir evin detaylariyle beraber keşif ve betonarme hesabatı gibi esasları nazarı itibare alarak projenin etüd edilmesi lüzumunu talebeye telkin etmek." Anonymous, "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yüksek Mimari Şubesi Diploma Projeleri," 58.

[258] At the turn of the century, the reactions of avant-gardes to professionalization started to increase, and avant-garde movements destructed not only the demarcation line between professions, but also they struggled to destruct the demarcation line between the art and the public. Especially design became the general category that included design in different scales.

gradually. On the other hand, this kind of project as a design problem in the Academy appeared in 1940. Before this project, the design problems which were given to students in Academy were limited with only one building. It is possible to put forward that the conceptual framework and formulation of this kind of design problem could be developed in those years, so this project was given in 1940. Therefore, this project and Taut's graduation project of 1937 became crucial works that questioned the borders of the discipline of architecture. As a result of this, the methods of instructors should be confirmed as radical as Egli's method in the history of the Academy.

There were other names in the Academy during that period but their roles were not mentioned in the first generation of architectural historians' texts. For example, the article of 1940 on graduation project says, Arif Hikmet was another studio teacher in the architectural department. However, the instructor role of him could not be met in the historiography of Turkish modern architecture. His name has not been mentioned in the National Architecture Seminar, either. However, Arif Hikmet was Egli's other assistant besides Eldem, and he joined Egli and Eldem to teach the National Architecture Seminar after his graduation from Stuttgart Technical University.[259] another name mentioned in the graduation project of 1940 was Arkan as an instructor. He was giving urbanization course in the Academy. His role in the mentioned project was remained unknown. It seems that they could have worked together on this project in order to constitute design problem, though.

In the Academy of Fine-Arts, the instructors even foreign ones, did not get rid of the relationships with the past experiments of Turkish architecture. The regional aspects and especially climate were taken into consideration, and they saw these features that were specific to this geography primary to create Turkish modern architecture. Particularly Vedad Bey, Egli and Taut's non-stylistic and non-formalist tendencies also engendered a visual diversity both in design projects in the Academy, and indirectly in architectural milieu of ERP.

---

[259] Egli talks about Arif Hikmet's contribution in his diary. Akcan, "Modernity in Translation," 418.

4.3. Seyfi Arkan's Struggle in the Academy

In an anonymous article in *Arkitekt*, published in 1931 the struggle of Necati Bey, (Deputy of Education) was mentioned in terms of employing foreign architects in the Academy, and also sending graduates to the foreign countries.[260] However, this exchange of scholars was not the hallmark of ERP because in 1892, nine years after the foundation of the school, sending the graduates to the foreign countries especially to Paris had already started in the Academy.[261] Thus, the relationship with the "West" on the platform of art and architecture did not begin with the establishment of the Turkish Republic. In fact, after graduating from The Academy of Fine Arts, most of Vedad Bey's students went to foreign countries such as Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, mostly *Technische Hochscule* was preferred as a system. Seyfi Arkan, Emin Onat, and Arif Hikmet Holtay were some of the figures educated abroad. Other graduates usually gained their experience through inspecting modern buildings during their short travels abroad and short term training periods in Europe. For example, Sedat Hakkı Eldem's travels to Paris and Berlin between 1929 and 1930 and his study at Hans Poelzig's in Berlin and also Aptullah Ziya's visit to Italy between in 1932-33 could be noted.[262]

Arkan, too, worked with Hans Poelzig both at Charlottenburg Technical University and at the Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin from 1930 to 1933. In Germany, Arkan experienced a different kind of pedagogical approach with Poelzig. his experience was important as indicated below: "Poelzig saw the workshops as being the central teaching medium in his school."[263] The idea of setting up teaching workshops was born in 1895 in Breslau, but this method had already been applied in England. Nevertheless, it was a new attitude in teaching for Germany, and Poelzig started to apply this method in 1900 so Bauhaus in Weimar was one of the last, rather than one of the first experiments in this way.[264] Moreover, two concepts named "individual

---

[260] Anonmymous, "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi: Mimari Şubesinde Talebe Nasıl Çalışıyor?," *Arkitekt* (Ocak 1931): 25-26.

[261] Anonmymous, "Akademinin Ellinci Senesi," *Arkitekt* (Şubat, 1932): 55.

[262] Bozdoğan, "Yeni Mimari," 155.

[263] Julius Posener, *Hans Poelzig: Reflections on His Life and Work* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992), xii.

[264] Posener, *Hans Poelzig*, xii. Bozdoğan implies that the educational background of Turkish architects also precluded the rise of the artistic avant-garde in Turkey. "None of the young Turkish architects who

creativity" and "extraordinary expression" were emphasized in Poelzig's non-formalist approach.[265] According to Posener, "Poelzig did not seek the creation of a style attached to his personality, or to educate his students as his literal followers."[266] And he comments about this as follows: "It is possible to speak of the 'Mies School' or the 'Tessenow School', but there was no 'Poelzig School'."[267] As a result, Poelzig's creative, free, and individual approach seems to help Arkan find his own way to constitute his architecture. Because of this, Arkan's architecture resembles neither Vedad Tek's products, nor Hans Poelzig's. It could be pronounced as unique.

After his return to Turkey, Arkan was appointed to the department of architecture to give the course on urbanism, but not the design studios of the Academy. The reason of these appointments was explained with Eldem's dominancy at school by the contemporaries.[268] One of the architects of the time, Kemali Söylemezoğlu had given the account of the negative affair between Eldem and Arkan as follows:

> Seyfi Bey had no supporters, 'pistons', as Sedad Bey had. As far as i remember, Celal Esat Arseven wrote in one of his newspaper articles that 'a star was born'when Sedad Bey came back home from Europe. On his return, significant duties in the Academy weren't assigned to Seyfi Bey. In those years, Celal Esad Arseven was lecturing on the urbanism, in the academy; he hadn't studied urbanism at all but he was teaching it. Jansen had made Ankara's master plan during that time; he took advantage of it and gave courses accordingly, with the help of Ankara's construction plan. Seyfi Bey was teaching the same subject with him as an assistant.[269]

---

constituted a self-proclaimed modernist elite in Turkey had actually been educated in the Bauhaus or was a member of CIAM during the interwar period."[264] Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* 155. However, as we mentioned above, although Poelzig's architecture was located outside the Bauhaus circle, his educational method seems to be located in the hearth of the modern architecture in terms of his non-stylistic method. The main reason for the lack of artistic avant-garde, according to her, was based on the fact that "central to the artistic and architectural culture of the early republic was the notion of 'positive liberty', the idea that art and architecture had to have a larger social function and ideology above and beyond individualistic experiments." Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building,* 150.

[265] Posener, *Hans Poelzig*, 26.

[266] Posener, *Hans Poelzig*, xiii.

[267] Posener, *Hans Poelzig*, xii.

[268] Uğur Tanyeli, "Seyfi Arkan (1904-1966)," in *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000* (İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007), 118-129.

[269] […] Seyfi Bey'in Sedad Bey gibi pistonları yoktu. Hatta çok iyi hatırlıyorum, Sedad Bey Avrupa'dan döndüğü vakit Celal Esat Arseven 'Bir Yıldız Doğdu' diye bir makale yazmıştı gazetelerden birinde. Seyfi Bey'e Avrupa dönüşünde Akademi'de mühim vazifeler verilmedi. Celal Esad Arseven o yıllarda Akademi'de uydurma bir şehircilik dersi verirdi; şehircilik eğitimi görmemişti, ama verirdi. Jansen o yıllarda Ankara'nın imar planını yapmıştı, o plandan istifade ederek bir şeyler anlatırdı. Seyfi Bey de onun yanında ders verirdi. U. Tanyeli, ed., "Anılarda Seyfi Arkan ve Dünyası," *Arredamento Dekorasyon 35* (March 1992): 96.

Arkan's individual struggle in the architectural milieu could be observed as soon as he came to Turkey from Berlin. According to Tanyeli, Arkan's architectural preference which based on modernist and European attitude caused his exclusion from the architectural milieu.[270] Until 1938, his modernist attitude was supported especially by Atatürk,[271] however after his death, Arkan's role in the architectural milieu started to decline. Although he produced many buildings after 1940, his buildings, except one project, were not published in *Arkitekt*. Probably because Eldem's dominancy was not limited by the Academy; he was also an authority in the architectural media. Furthermore, the tension between Eldem and Arkan was observed self-evidently by their students.

When we consider Arkan's pedagogical background, his contributions to the next generations' education could have been more because he played a seminal role in the architectural milieu of the ERP with his distinctive products, indeed. His understanding of modernity did not show itself only in formal vocabulary, but also in spatial organization; which will be scrutinized in chapter 4 and chapter 5. Questioning the limits of the space, Arkan created modern spaces that included different spatial qualities. Additionally, his buildings belonged to their region. He established a relationship with the site spatially as will be displayed in chapter 5. Thus, if Arkan were a design studio instructor, his way of design would transfer to the next generations, and undoubtedly. A new point of view to the notion of design would be brought. It is unfortunate that personal conflicts in this field had caused the blockage in the improvements of Turkish architecture.

To sum up, the period mentioned was loaded with dilemmas. Adopted tendencies in Turkey plied between the French and the German pedagogies. From 1924 to 1940 Architectural pedagogy passed through different phases. There were different methods of education which were put into practice by important architects. The change in architectural curriculum applied after 1930 was celebrated. Substitution of the model curriculum based on the French Beaux-Arts with the model rooted from German-central European modernism was accepted as a threshold in the history of architectural

---

[270] Uğur Tanyeli, "Seyfi Arkan," 118-129.

[271] Arkan made two proposals of Kubilay monuments for reacting anti-Atatürk rebellion in Berlin and Arkan's designs were only reactions against this rebellion from the architectural milieu. This reaction paved the way of Arkan for becoming state-architect. To 1938, he designed many important buildings for Atatürk such as The Ministry of Foreign Affairs Residence, Florya Summer House, Makbule Atadan Residence, etc.

pedagogy. Biases on Vedad Bey's and his contemporaries' works and education methods were also repeated in the first generation of architectural historians' texts. Their works were demonstrated as obstacles while new architecture was in progress. In chapter 5, Vedad Bey's and Mongeri's students' works will be scrutinized.

CHAPTER 5

INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF RATIONALIZATION: THE RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE

The era between 1930 and 1940 was described by the first generation of architectural historians as a period that the international tendencies appeared in the architectural milieu of Turkey. They described these international tendencies in stylistic terms such as Cubism and International Style, and they wrote the history of the modern architecture in Turkey with relevance to European architectural modernism. However, as mentioned in chapter 3, there were different tendencies in the architectural milieu in the development process of new architecture. Theoretical discussions on new architecture also included diversity, and there were also varieties in the architectural practice not only from the point of visual diversity, but also from the point of design principles and spatial organizations. This chapter traces the rationalism in architectural practice of that period without associating it with any style, because ERP architects did not discuss new architecture relating to style. For that reason, rationalism could also be appeared in the discussions on the revitalization of old Turkish house. In this chapter, Contrary to architectural historians' discussions, non-stylistic understanding of rationalism will be questioned. The traces of rationalism could be followed with the concepts of discipline, standardization, type, minimalism and ornament in ERP architecture.

5.1. Rationalization of the Vernacular

5.1.1. To Reconcile the "Vernacular" with the "Modern"

The first generation of architectural historians presented Eldem as the forerunner of the national architecture. They highlighted his works produced between 1940 and 1950 mostly, rather than analyzing his previous ones. However, when the articles in *Arkitekt* published between 1930 and 1940 are analyzed, we can find the revitalization

of Turkish vernacular architecture in Eldem's works. His notion of vernacular architecture was discussed in the context of reconciliation of national and international values, ERP architects' one of the major concern. This reconciliation was discussed in Eldem's works not only with the concepts of national and international, but also with the concepts of old and new along with culture and civilization. While the concepts of national, old and culture were referring to "vernacular;" the concepts of international, new and civilization referred to "modern." Eldem was evaluated as the only one who achieved the reconciliation of vernacular and modern in ERP.

Eldem questioned the urbanization of İstanbul in the first article of the *Mimar*, "İstanbul and Urbanism."[272] In this article, he did not only criticize the cities which were totally reconstructed by new tendencies like Berlin, but also he criticized the conservative attitudes like Venice. He proposed reconciliation of old and new for the reconstruction of İstanbul, by remarking: "it is clear that these both [Berlin and Venice] construction policies are not good. It is more proper to prefer a non-exaggerated style between these two policies."[273] Although Eldem criticized destruction of the old civil architecture, he did not define the problem in the reconstruction process of Istanbul as a conflict between the old and the new. According to him, "the value of these building does not depend on their getting old, but their existence as amazing art samples of Turks."[274]

The articles on buildings in *Arkitekt* generally had descriptive character. However, in some of the articles where Eldem's projects were discussed the reconciliation of old and new was the subject. In these discussions the concept of old generally referred to national and cultural values of Turks which did not include traces of Ottoman or Seljuk culture. National and cultural values which were observed in Eldem's buildings were mentioned in these articles referring to Turkish vernacular architecture. One of the articles praised Eldem's houses due to the presence of both national qualities and contemporary amenities.[275] Presenting Eldem as a role model for

---

[272] Sedad Hakkı, "İstanbul ve Şehircilik," *Mimar* (January, 1931): 1-4.

[273] "Bu her iki imar siyasetinin [Berlin and Venice] iyi olmadığı ve ikisinin arasında, mübalagasız bir tarzın tercihi daha doğru olduğu aşikardır." Sedad Hakkı, "İstanbul ve Şehircilik," 2.

[274] "Bu binaların kıymetleri eskiliklerinde değil, nefis birer Türk sanat numuneleri olmalarındadır." Sedad Hakkı, "İstanbul ve Şehircilik," 2.

[275] Anonymous, "Evlerimizin İçi," *Mimar* (July, 1931): 235.

young Turkish architects, the writer described these buildings genuine and convenient to Turkish life style.[276] The images selected in this article also showed the demand to combine the two mentioned values. In the example of Figure 5.1, inspite of the rational and modular planning of space, placing sedir and kilim and the different textures display a traditional appearance. The presentation technique employed by Eldem also supported the traditional character of space. On the other hand, in another image (Figure 5.2) used in the same article shows a different character. In this image, the free column in the middle of the space and the horizontal effect of glass openings allow the space to show its modern character. Apart from the presentation technique displayed before, he employed a different one which had also important role for the character "modern." Especially, the profiles of the glass openings with white colour and thin lines enabled a powerful horizontal effect of the space.
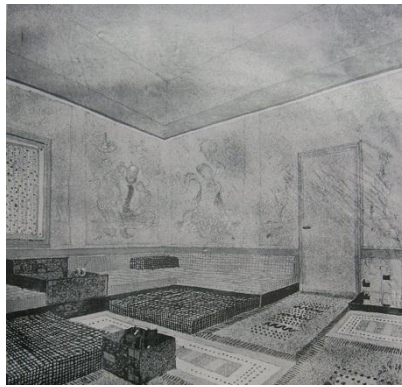
Figure 5.1. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, An inner space study for Turkish House.
(Source: *Mimar* July, 1931: 235)
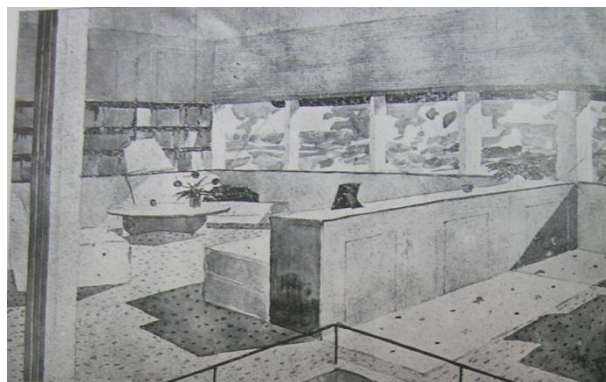
Figure 5.2. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Another inner space study for Turkish House.
(Source: *Mimar* July, 1931: 235)

---

[276] Anonymous, "Evlerimizin İçi," 235.

A similar attitude may be observed in Eldem's another house design.[277] The house planned near water was also simple in the plan (Figure 5.3a) but its hipped roof and vertical casement windows reflected thoroughly traditional appearance (Figure 5.3b). The perspective of Inner space also supports this view. The usage of curtains and casement windows emphasized the windows one by one, rather than projecting large glass openings (Figure 5.4). The explanatory notes about this house included only the functional descriptions of it. There was no interpretation about plan and façade organizations and spatial qualities.
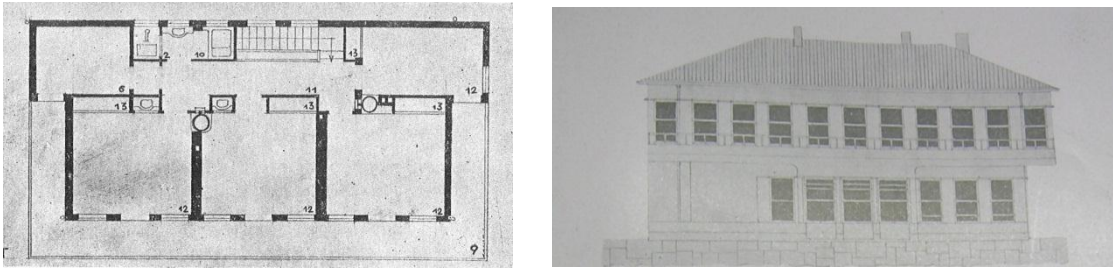
Figure 5.3.a) Sedad Hakkı Eldem, A Waterfront House, plan b) A Waterfront House, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, façade. (Source: *Mimar* March, 1931: 82)
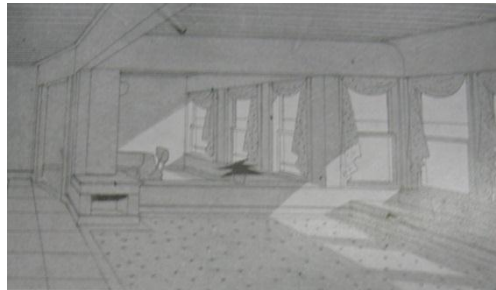
Figure 5.4. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, A Waterfront House, Perspective from inner space. (Source: *Mimar* March, 1931: 82)

Among Eldem's projects and buildings, the house proposal by the seaside was also explained in the context of Turkish vernacular architecture.[278] This example was the most celebrated one in the articles of *Arkitekt* dated 1933 in terms of covering national and universal values. The writer of the article claimed that reconciliation of

---

[277] Anonymous, "Boğaziçi'nde Bir Yalı," *Mimar* (March, 1931): 81-84.

[278] Anonymous, "Bir Villa Projesi," *Arkitekt* (February, 1933): 50-52.

these values was accomplished in the project. The project was organized around the idea of a central *sofa* (hall) (Figure 5.5a). Like Eldem's previously mentioned projects this one formed a relationship between inner and outer spaces by means of a semi-open space. Especially the flexibilty of the plan is observed in the perspective (Figure 5.5b). The notes about this project embodied interesting information which backed up Eldem's attitude. In general, sizes lacking the economical usage of the place in Turkish vernacular architecture were criticized through examples. However, in the last project mentioned above the author praised Eldem's attitude for taming the notion of vernacular architecture for the requirements of the day. The author explained the vernacular architecture as follows: "These buildings [the examples of Turkish civil architecture] were accomodations constructed with wide windows and located in the middle of large areas surrounded by the walls with the waste of money" and he added that "Sedad Hakkı, formed his plans by taking the vernacular architecture of the old period into consideration and adapting it up to date. Therefore, this work could be considered in a tamed form."[279] Rationalization of Turkish vernacular architecture was described by the writer as the taming of it. On the other hand, in order to prevent the criticism that might define this project as an imitation of Turkish vernacular architecture, the autor insisted on new features in this project. He called this building "original" as an example of new Turkish architecture. [280]
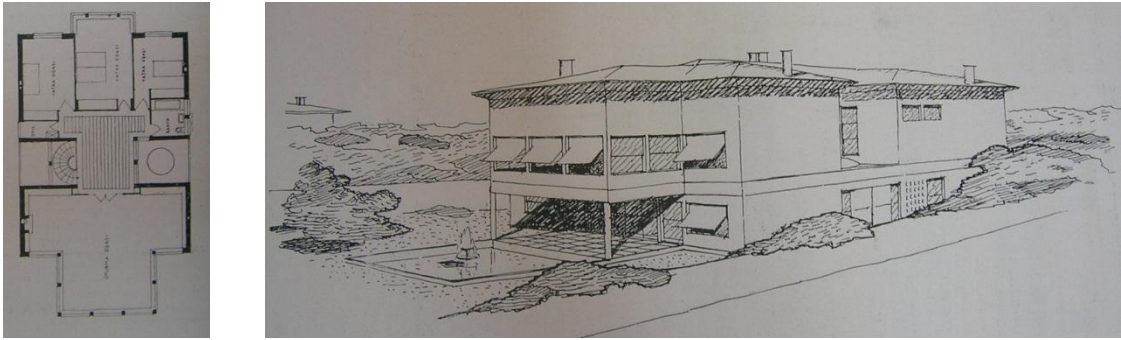
Figure 5.5.a) Sedad Hakkı Eldem, A Residence, plan. b) Sedad Hakkı Eldem, A Residence, perspective. (Source: *Mimar* 2, 1933: 50).

---

[279] "Bu binalar düşünülmeden sarfedilen paralar ile, daima geniş, bol etrafı duvarlarla tahdit edilmiş duvarlar ortasına, geniş mesahalarda, ve büyük açıklıklı pencereli ikametgahlardır," and he added that "Sedad Hakkı, geçen bu devrin sivil mimarisini göz önünde tutarak, ve biraz da günümüze uydurarak bu planları vücuda getirmiştir. Bunun için bu eser terbiyevi mahiyettedir."Anonymous, "Bir Villa Projesi," 50.

[280] Anonymous, "Bir Villa Projesi," 51.

Not only in 1933 but also in 1938, Eldem's works were celebrated as holding Turkish character. For example, Eldem's seafront residence in Beylerbeyi was described through similarities with the examples of Turkish vernacular architecture. Besides, the houses that had been constructed fifty or sixty years ago with its wide eaves, colonnades, and wooden shutters resembled this work of Eldem.[281] Criticizing buildings which had been constructed without character, the writer praised Eldem's residence as follows: "The experiments on giving the identity of our old houses in the new ones instead of the constructions built recently without an identity causes us to be hopeful."[282] In fact, this evaluation implied Eldem's accomplishment in the context of reconciliation of old and new. In the same year, Eldem's Prof. Ahmet Ağaoğlu residence was also discussed from the point of character. Eldem produced his building on the foundations of the old mansion and employed the same materials for the new one. The author states that the usage of old mansion's materials played important roles to honour this building as "Turkish:"

> We should state that the architect benefited from the old, prevalent materials in order to give the authentic Turkish character to the interior and exterior parts of the building. The harmony in the lines of the circular hall, niches built in the walls that resembled the old Turkish cells, the circular plan of the stairs and its thin railings are comprised of new and modern lines that remind us of the old.[283]

In this text the writer praised this building with its old and new features, Like in the example of the seafront residence in Beylerbeyi,

> The oval hall in the middle, the altitude of the height of the floor, the interior design of the hall and the lines of other components express that it is possible to apply the old Turkish style to the contemporary buildings successfully. Externally the building with its wide eaves, proportioned solid and void surfaces give the impression of a new building but possessing Turkish spirit. [284]

---

[281] Anonymous, "Beylerbeyi'nde Bir Yalı," *Arkitekt* (August, 1938): 213-217.

[282] "Son zamanlara kadar yapılan ve hiç bir karakteri olmayan binalar yerine, yeni evlerimize esasen eskiden pek bariz bir surette mevcut olan mimari karakterimizi vermek için yapılan bu gibi denemeler bize ümit vermektedir." Anonymous, "Beylerbeyi'nde Bir Yalı," 213.

[283] "Mimar binanın gerek dahili ve gerek harici mimarisine eski Türk karakterini vermek için adeta bu eski malzemenin mevcudiyetinden istifade etmiş diyebiliriz. Yuvarlak salonun içindeki hatlardaki ahenk, duvarlar içinde yapılan eski Türk hücrelerine benzeyen nişler, merdivenin dairevi planı, ince parmaklığı, eskiyi andıran yeni ve modern hatlardan teşekkül ediyor." Anonymous, "Beylerbeyi'nde Bir Yalı," 213.

[284] "Ortadaki oval salon, kat irtifaının yüksekliği, salonun iç mimarisi ve diğer inşaat aksamındaki hatlar, bize eski Türk tarzının muvaffakiyetle, bugünkü binalarımızda tatbik edilmesi kabil olacağını ifade etmektedir. Haricen bina bize geniş saçakları, nisbetli boş ve dolu satıhları ile yeni, fakat Türk karakteri olan bir bina tesiri yapmaktadır." Anonymous, "Beylerbeyi'nde Bir Yalı," 214-215.

While Eldem made horizontal effect primary on the façade treatments by means of the proportioned solid and void surfaces, he created vertical effect in internal organization of the spaces (Figure 5.6). In other words, the windows of oval living space give horizontal effect from the outside because of the fact that the profiles of the windows are perceived whole and horizontal when the proportions of solid surfaces are wider than the openings. However, the same windows are perceived as vertical partitions from the inner sight by the help of the vertical arrangements of wide doors (Figure 5.7). Eldem seems to employ vertical elements to be perceived higher than the real height indoors. On the other hand, the elliptic living space was protruded like a bay-window. What the striking point in this extension is that not the limited part of the living space treated like a bay-window, but the whole space extending outside (Figure 5.8).
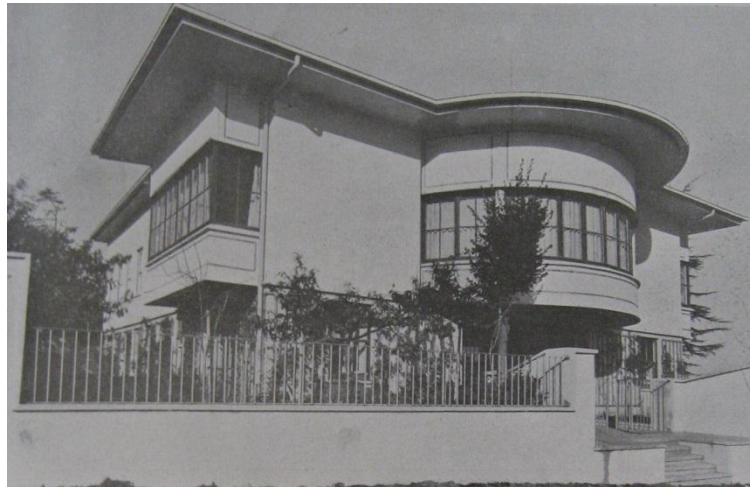
Figure 5.6. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Ahmet Ağaoğlu Residence.
(Source: *Arkitekt*(October, November, 1938: 279)
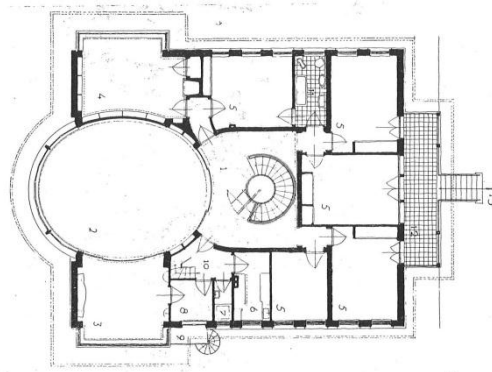
Figure 5.7. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Ahmet Ağaoğlu Residence, plan.
(Source: *Arkitekt* October, November, 1938: 278)
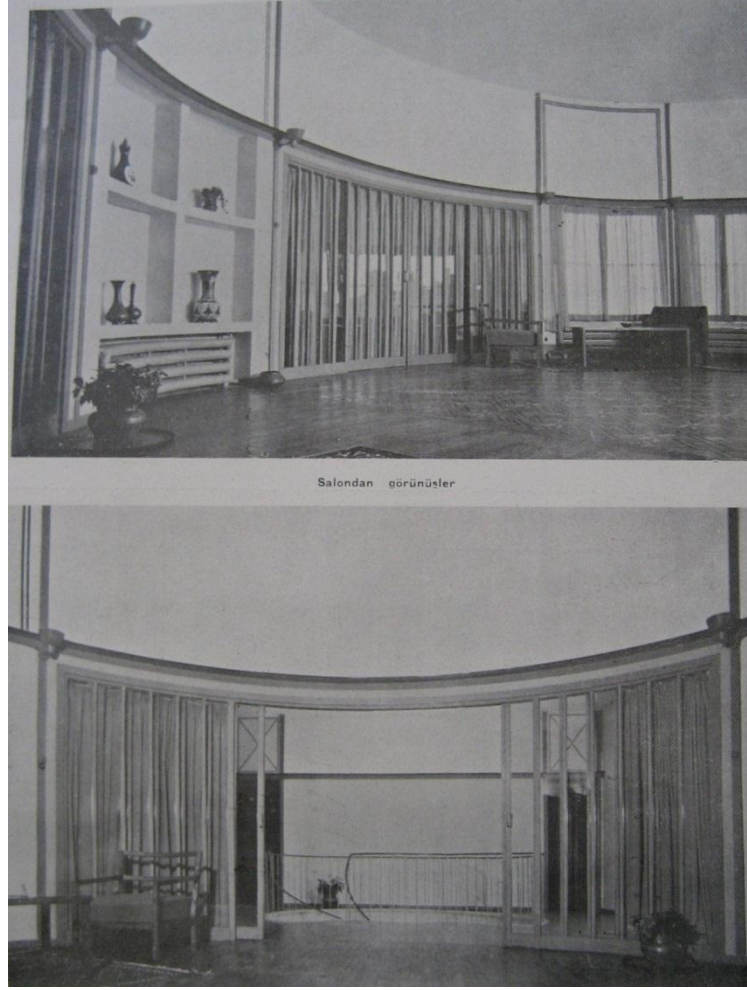
Figure 5.8. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Ahmet Ağaoğlu Residence, Photographs from inner space
(Source: *Arkitekt* (October, November, 1938: 280)

There were many architects who interpreted Turkish vernacular architecture for the new circumstances. Not only Eldem, but also Arif Hikmet and architect Zühtü used some of the elements of Turkish vernacular architecture. In his residential building, Arif Hikmet employed hipped roof which mainly gave the building a traditional appearance (Figure 5.9a). This roof covered semi-open spaces and terraces. In this example, it could be observed that semi-open spaces which present various characteristics surrounded the building (Figure 5.9b). In the case of architect Zühtü's Işık apartment block in Koska, different interpretation of bay window in the classical scheme of the building can be encountered. Zühtü construed bay window as an extension of the inner space not a morphological imitation (Figure 5.10).
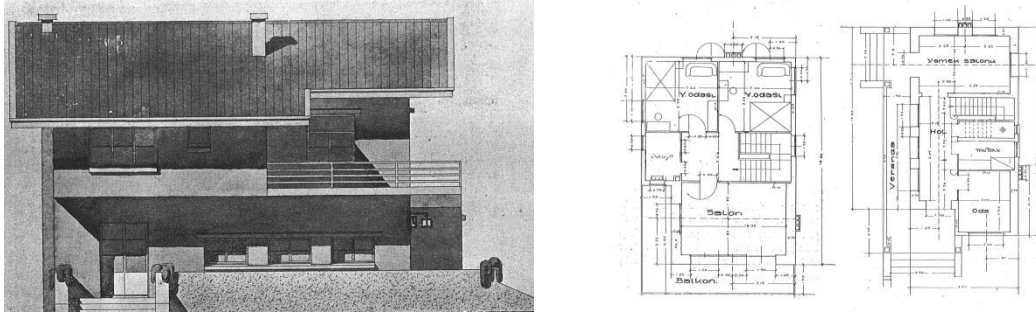
Figure 5.9.a) Arif Hikmet, Housing project, façade b) Arif Hikmet, Housing project, plans.
(Source: *Mimar* April, 1932: 117-118)

Figure 5.10. Architect Zühtü, Işık Apartment Block.
(Source: *Mimar* February, 1932: 38)

It is hard to classify Arif Hikmet (Holtay)'s works from 1933 due to his experiments formally. He did not only contribute to the sense of traditional characters of space for the present circumstances (Figure 5.11), but also he searched for different attitudes which represented the new Turkish architecture. For example, in his suggestion for an architect's residence, the contrast between transparency and the opacity which did not exist before was a new attempt for Holtay (Figure 5.12). The extension of the living space like bay window and the relationship between transparency of the living space and the walls underneath may be esteemed as a novelty of the façade treatment in Turkish vernacular architecture. However, the living space not partially extended outside, but as a whole. It gives an impression of a bay-window, similar to Eldem's Prof Ahmet Ağaoğlu residence. Holtay improved the relationship between inside and outside in Turkish vernacular architecture through the connections among the living space, the terrace and the outside. In addition, the descriptive notes on this project gave

information about the transparency of the doors of the inner spaces. Thus, the concept of transparency was not limited with the façade treatment; it had a role to form the boundaries of each space. Besides the concept of transparency, the flat roof supported the modern look of this building.
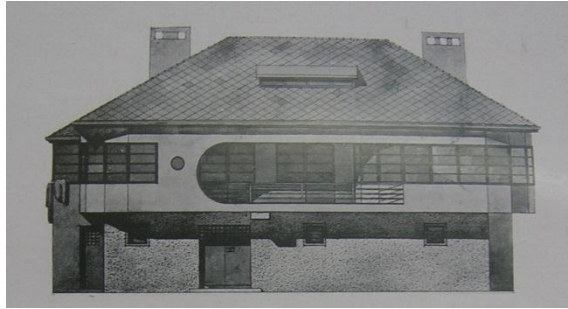
Figure 5.11. Arif Hikmet, Housing project.
(Source: *Mimar* January 1933: 15)

Figure 5.12. Arif Hikmet, Housing project
(Source: *Mimar* April, 1933: 109)

In 1935, Abidin Mortaş produced a small house project planned to be built in Ankara. This was a two-storey villa and it had a hipped roof which gave this building a traditional appearance (Figure 5.13a).The outstanding spot in this project is the definition of the terrace functioning as entrance called *taşlık* (stone-paved courtyard). Although this place was a private space in Turkish vernacular architecture, the architect construed it as a semi-private space by defining it *taşlik*-entrance.[285] (Figure 5.13b). I think, the architect seems to compel himself to express Turkish character for his building. The reason of the usage of the hipped roof and the vertical casement windows could also be explained in the context of his will. This evidence can be interpreted that

---

[285] Anonymous, "Küçük ev projesi," *Arkitekt* (May 1935): 149.

Holtay, like other architects of that period, wanted to achieve the reconciliation of the Turkish vernacular architecture with the new architecture.
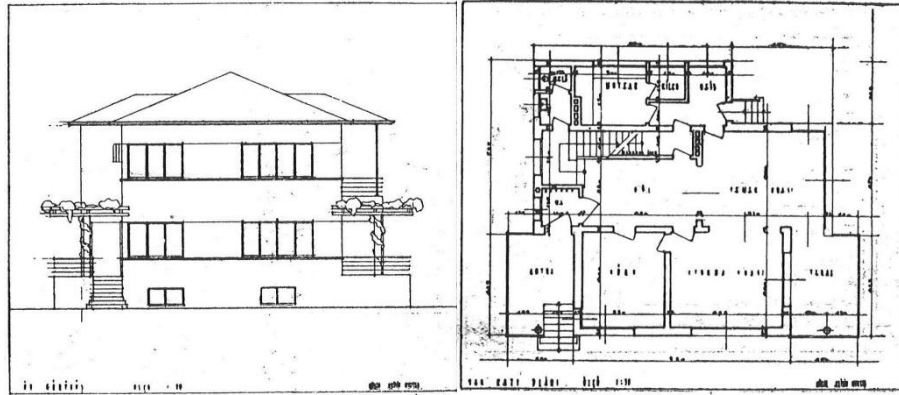
Figure 5.13.a) Abidin Mortaş, Housing project, façade b) Abidin Mortaş, Housing project, plan
(Source: *Arkitekt* May 1935): 149.

In 1937, Sabri Oran designed a seaside residence with traditional characteristics (Figure 5.14a). Spreading the components on the site, this villa created its own open space. It was cut off from the street through the service rooms. The L-shape organization of the masses was common in those years especially in People's Houses projects. The architect established different relations between the inner and outer spaces (Figure 5.14b). While the living space established the relationship through the openings, the bedrooms established the relationship with the private courtyard. Unlike living space and bedrooms, the boundaries of service rooms are generally closed to the open space. There is only one opening on the façade of the service rooms and they establish a relationship with the open space by the terrace. The diversity of spatial relations provides richness in this project. The private courtyard in front of the bedrooms and the hipped roofs give this building a traditional face. The flexible relations between spaces and the transparency of the boundaries could be evaluated as "modern" in this villa. The architect seems to combine these traditional and modern spatial qualities together.
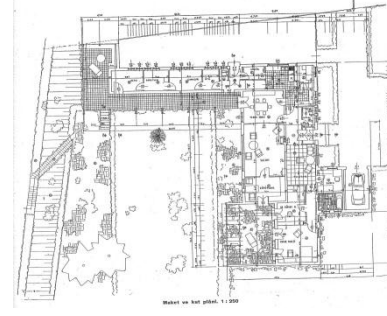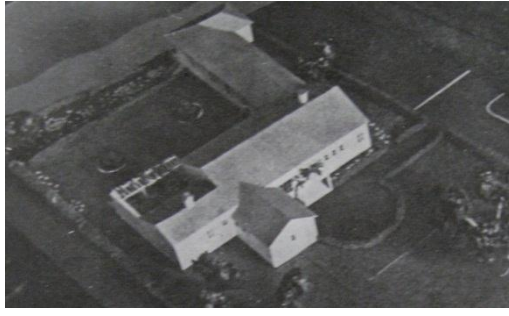
Figure 5.14.a) Sabri Oran, Housing project b) Sabri Oran, Housing project, plan.
(Source: *Arkitekt* September 1937: 241-243)

In 1939, Bedri Uçar produced a seaside residence which also possessed traditional features in terms of massive hipped roof and vertical casement windows. It was a central project and Uçar named the centrally located space as hall rather than *sofa*. The inner spaces were surrounded by semi open spaces on the shore (Figure 5.15a). Although the semi open spaces had continuity, the description of them changed. While the semi open space located in front of the living space was created by standing back from the alignment of the mass above, the other semi open space in a square shape was defined by pergola (Figure 5.15b).
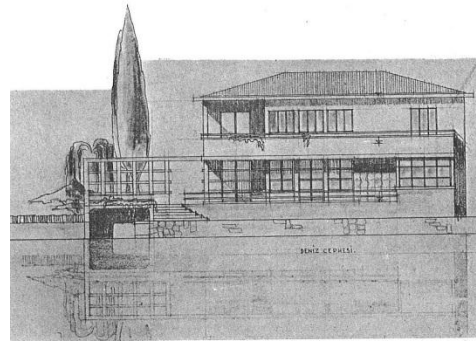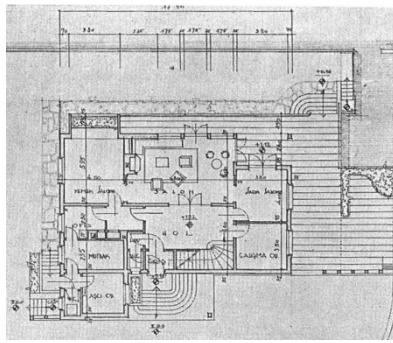
Figure 5.15.a) Bedri Uçar, Housing project, plan b) Bedri Uçar, Housing project, façade.
(Source: *Arkitekt* Nov-Dec 1939: 250-251)

In fact, the works of different architects in the context of interpretation or rationalization of Turkish vernacular architecture varied especially from the point of formulation of the open spaces and semi-open spaces. As mentioned in section 3.3, the writers such as Behçet and Bedrettin, Şevki, Holtay, Burhan Arif praised old Turkish architecture owing to their plain, honest, and simple properties. In fact, they did not explain in detail what features made old architecture plain and simple. When we view

the above mentioned examples, the flexible relationship between inner and outer spaceS in Turkish vernacular architecture were focused on by the architects. The examples of Oran, Uçar, Mortaş, Holtay are like the referents of the interpretations of this relationship. At the same time, I think, this flexible relationship enables them to establish a link between the old and the new.

5.1.2. Spatial Interpretations of the Old Turkish House

Among the architects who interpreted Turkish vernacular architecture in a rationalized scheme, Eldem and Seyfi Arkan were distinguished. Although the other figures mentioned above attempted to accomplish spatial relations with the Turkish house, most of the time these relationss were established morphologically. While Eldem designed his buildings employing vernacular vocabulary, Arkan fused the vocabulary of Turkish vernacular architecture with new architecture through abstracting the fetaures and spaces of vernacular architecture. The relationships they established with Turkish vernacular architecture were important attempts to constitute Turkish modern architecture.

5.1.2.1. Taming the Vernacular

In 1933 Behçet and Bedrettin addressed Turkish vernacular architecture as the source of the new architecture in Turkey. The same year, Ernst Egli and his assistant Eldem initiated the National Architecture Seminar (*Milli Mimari Semineri*) at the Academy of Fine Arts. Egli arrived in Turkey in 1927 and started working at the Ministry of Education in Ankara. In three years, he was also appointed as a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul as mentioned in chapter 4. Egli was a supporter of regionalism as seen in his article dated 1930, titled "Mimari Muhit" (Architectural Location).[286] Like Behçet and Bedrettin, Egli underlined the regional concerns to produce nations' own architectureS. Believing in the necessity of international architecture, he asserted that architecture oriented by technique and science had to be complemented with regional concerns. Egli stated that the authenticity of the product

---

[286] Ernst Egli, "Mimari Muhit," *Tiirk Yurdu* 4-24, no.30-224 (1930): 35.

was based on regional factors. Indeed, it seems that regional factors were equal to national values for Egli. Like many Turkish architects and writers, Egli also suggested that the "old Anatolian house" could guide a new movement of modern architecture in Turkey.

> The old Anatolian house is introverted. It has shaded terraces, cooling fountains, and a roof open to the sky with stars […]. It protects itself from the street and dust. A house like this, but one that is designed with modern means for a modern life can be a model for the contemporary and modern houses in Anatolian cities.[287]

The reason Egli showed the Turkish house as an inspiration of new architecture in Turkey could be that Turkish house had a flexible character due to the direct relationship with the nature. According to him, the climatic conditions had caused this relationship.

> The distinguishing characteristic of the Turkish house that is still pertinent today is the randomly scattered pavilions within the area reserved for the house. The garden is defined with exact boundaries, but the boundaries between the house and the garden are fluid, changing and variable, unlike the solid walls of the European house, which creates an absolute separation between the warm and dry inside, and the cold and windy outside. [288]

Eldem criticized the executions of cubic architecture in Turkey in terms of destructing the relationship between the building and the garden, so the nature. To Egli, this relationship, the openness to the nature, had made the Turkish house flexible. "The allegedly European life style, the fascination with the cubic house, and alienation from the garden and nature, have deteriorated our residential culture like a deadly disease, and caused the present condition."[289] Eldem was also bothered with the demolition of Turkish vernacular architectural examples in Istanbul.

> Old houses are being pulled down continually and replaced by new products of constantly foreign conception totally. Fires, wars and disasters of all kinds have altered old towns beyond recognition […] We must admit that our new building programs are unfortunately responsible for most of the damages done to the Turkish town and house […] The reason for this regrettable state of affairs cannot, in all honesty, be ascribed merely to the changing conditions of life. [290]

Eldem pointed out in 1933 that the demolition of the Amca Hüseyin Paşa Yalı (waterfront house) "reminded" them "of the necessity to record the old examples of

---

[287] Egli, "Mimari Muhit," 36.

[288] Ernst Egli, 'Türk Evi," trans. Cemal Köprülü, *Ülkü* (May 1941): 205.

[289] Sedad Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* (Istanbul: ITU MimarlıkF akultesi Atolyesi, 1955).

[290] Sedad Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, 12.

Turkish vernacular architecture."[291] National Architecture Seminar was initiated by Egli in 1933 with his assistants Eldem and Arif Hikmet Holtay, as mentioned chapter 4. This was a research project, held with the students that sought to explore and document the vernacular houses in Istanbul and all over Anatolia.

With these studies, they transformed the examples of Turkish vernacular architecture to Cartesian representation techniques in plan and section drawings. These studies were an attempt to represent them under the rationalized schemes. We can claim that Eldem and his students transformed the "**mores"** to the "**tradition**," and they enabled to pass to this tradition over the next generations through rationalized ways. In addition, the examples of Turkish vernacular architecture were transferred by not inherent structures, but reduced, organized and rationalized methods. Thus, besides the rationalized representation of the Turkish houses, the description of them belonging to the specific geography also demonstrated his conscious attempt to create a tradition. this can be analyzed in Eric Hobsbawm's notion of "invented traditions."[292]

Eldem searched for common points in Turkish vernacular houses. Although the houses were spread into different geographies; according to him, the houses shared the "same conception in plan."[293] His evaluations of these houses on organization principle were based on spatial differences, rather than formal characteristics. In his studies, he focused on the resemblance of the function of *sofa* to a street or square in a city.

> After comparing the rooms of former 'dwellings" with individual houses, it is difficult not to establish a connection between the *sofa* and the street or square. Just like individual houses, the rooms open to the *sofa*. The *sofa* can either be like a street closed on one or both sides; or it may at times be placed in the very middle of the house like a public square. It is in this that the Turkish house differs most greatly from the West European house [...] As well as being a passage, the sofa is the space where the whole household gets together and organizes weddings and feasts.[294]

---

[291] Sedat Hakkı [Eldem], "Amca Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı," *Arkitekt* (December, 1933): 377.

[292] Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[293] Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, 12.

[294] "Oda veya 'hane'leri ayrı evlere benzettikten sonra, sofayı, sokak veya meydanlarla ilgilendirmemek kabil degildir. Odalar, evler gibi sofa üzerine açılır, sofa da, bir veya iki tarafı kapalı bir sokak durumunda olabildiği gibi, ortada, yani bir meydan vaziyetinde de bulunabilir. İşte Türk evini Batı Avrupa evinden en fazla ayıran cihet [...]. Sofa bir geçit olmakla beraber aynı zamanda bütün ev halkının toplandığı, düğün ve eglenceler tertip ettigi bir yerdir." Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, 16.

To conclude, *sofa* as an organization element has flexible character with regard to the combination of different functions together and the main meeting point. His interpretations of *sofa* could be found in Eldem's three projects designed for different regions.

The flexibility of plans and spatial richness were encountered in these three projects for different circumstances. The first proposal of one of the houses was for a detached one in a rural area. The mass had traditional features in terms of hipped roof, vertical casement windows and symmetrical planning (Figure 5.16a) However, the plan solution gave variety to spaces in terms of the relations with each other and with the outer space. In plan organization, there was a rectangular geometry that was located in the centre of the project which included both service spaces and *sofa* (Figure 5.16b). Every space established a connection with the sofa whereas the *sofa* displayed variety on the point of each connection. While the private spaces gave small openings to sofa, the shared spaces like dining room happened to be the extension of it. As the *sofa* opened itself into the garden, the façade formed itself more transparently. Besides the relationships of the main spaces with the sofa, each one opened itself to outside through various openings. To sum up, the flexibility and richness of spaces obtained from their different relationships with each other and the outer space.[295]
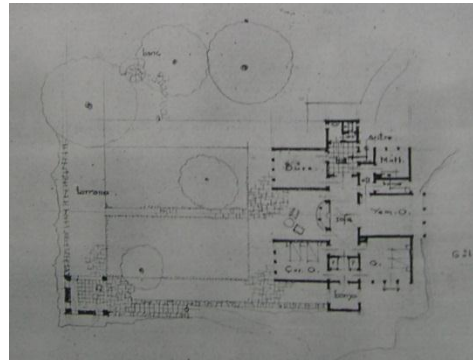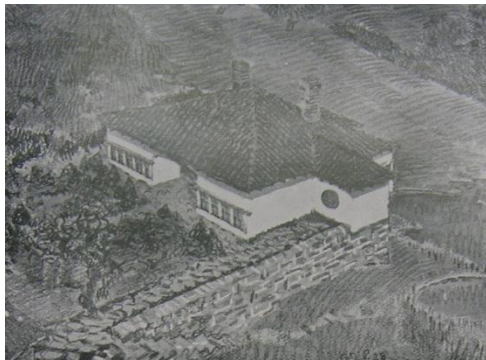
Figure 5.16.a) Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Housing Project, perspective   b) Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Housing Project, plan (Source: *Mimar* July, 1931: 301-303)

In the second proposal, *sofa* was also planned in a flexible way. It was sometimes extended and became a place to sit down and relax, sometimes changed its form as an entrance for living spaces and sometimes altered its direction and became a

---

[295] Anonymous, "Villa Projeleri," *Mimar* (July, 1931): 301.

terrace or a staircase (Figure 5.17a). Although the mass had strict geometry, the spatial character which sofa created made inner spaces flexible (Figure 5.17b). The sofa seems to be in a state of perpetual motion, more than being a static center.
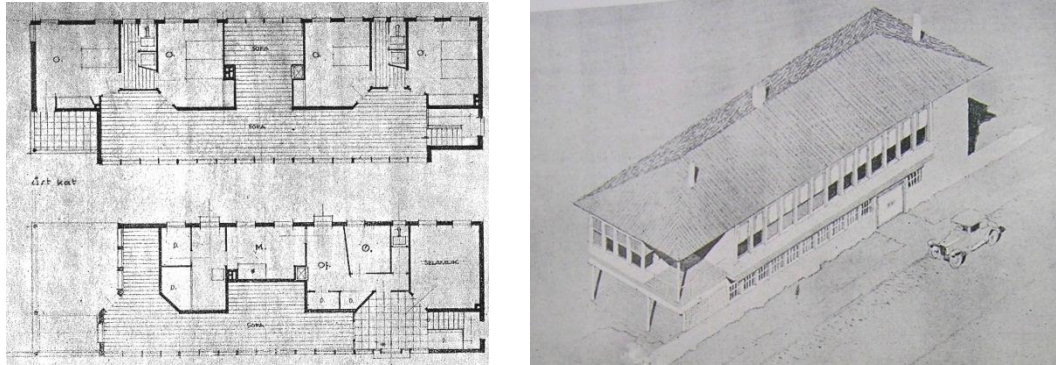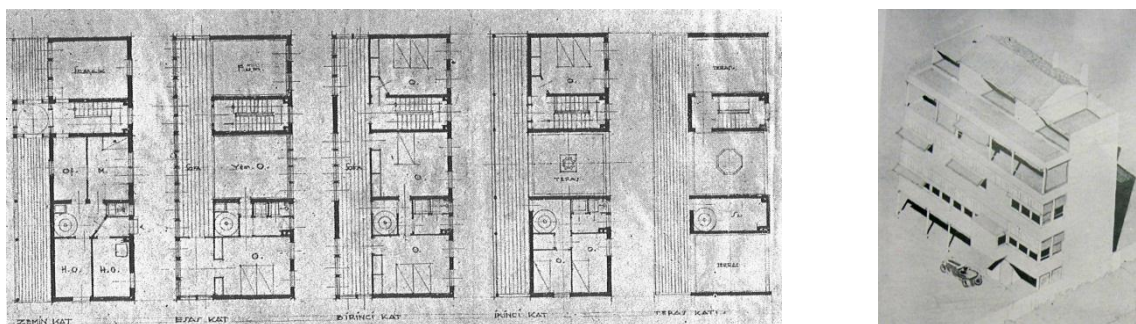

Figure 5.17.a) Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Second proposal of housing project, plan b) Eldem's Second proposal of housing project, perspective (Source: *Mimar* July, 1931: 304)

The third proposal was for residential building in hot weather conditions like Adana or Konya as underlined in the article.[296] In this project, *sofa* was simple in outline and had linear geometry (Figure 5.18a). Although sofa seems to show similar characteristics with all boundaries in the plan organization, the façade treatment of it changed on each floor. The order of windows and the proportion of openings altered from one floor to the others (Figure 5.18b). The *sofa* had a characteristic of semi-open space to maintain air circulation, Rather than being a closed space. In these three projects we can observe the interpretation of the idea of sofa by Eldem.

Figure 5.18.a) Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Third proposal of housing project, plans b) Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Third proposal of housing project, perspective (Source: *Mimar* July 1931: 305)

---

[296] Anonymous, "Villa Projeleri," *Mimar* (July, 1931): 301.

Eldem tried to prove the modernity of the Turkish house by insisting on his view that "Turkish House" was inherently modern. "Modular and exposed structural framework with infill, low horizontal lines, unmediated relation with nature, being raised on the ground."[297] Eldem proposed the universality of Turkish house and its similarity with examples of the modern architecture movement. Through this, he tried to deal with the "dilemma of being modern without 'being absorbed' or 'colonized by European culture."[298] While Eldem searched for the characteristics of the Turkish house, he made an important analysis. He included the distinction between service spaces and served spaces, more than the separate spaces for men and women. The small service spaces were always on the ground floor that was practically empty, while the spaces for living were placed on the first floor. This approach was precedent of the modern *pilotis* to Eldem.[299] He executed this idea in his projects with the same spatial relations in terms of constructing service spaces on the ground floor. However, there were interesting projects by Arkan who construed this relationship differently. There is a little archival evidence to understand Arkan's notion of Turkish house. On the other hand, his projects which will be analyzed can present some traces to understand his interpretation of Turkish house.

5.1.2.2. The Integration of Turkish House with the Modern

In 1934, Arkan's proposal of a residence for Ankara was published in *Arkitekt*. Arkan declared that this was one of the studies on Turkish house produced when he was in Berlin, the period between 1930 and 1933.[300] At first glance, the residence seems to establish a relationship with "Turkish House" only with the usage of stone as local material and the proportions of windows (Figure 5.19). However, one can find the spatial relations Arkan deduced from Turkish house when investigated intensively. For example, Arkan separated the service spaces from the living spaces. Unlike Eldem,

---

[297] Esra Akcan, *Modernity in Translation,* 371.

[298] Akcan, *Modernity in Translation*, 372.

[299] Sedad Eldem, "Anciennes Maisons d'Ankara," La Turquie Kemaliste (June 1935): 10-12. Quoted from Esra Akcan, Modernity in Translation, 437.

[300] Seyfettin Nasih, "Ev Projesi," *Mimar* (January, 1934): 16.

Arkan did not separate them with different levels; rather he designed them on the ground floor. While he placed the kitchen and the bathroom behind the staircase directly related to the living spaces, he located the secondary service spaces such as storage, garage, and servant rooms in a seperate mass. In fact, it may be said that Arkan construed the features of Turkish house in conditions of the time. He did not only separate the service spaces from the living spaces, but also he separated service spaces into two which were primary and secondary. While the secondary service spaces constructed a direct relationship with the street level, the main mass which included the living spaces and primary service spaces was elevated from the ground. The crucial point in Arkan's designs was the definition of the open space between two different service spaces. The open space he created could be a spot where some other spaces could find a chance to open their boundaries towards it. As a result, this open space could be acknowledged as the part of the closed spaces more than appreciating it as a garden.

The organization of the masses formed the open space by disconnecting it from the street. Arkan did not say anything about the organization of the masses; he only said that in this project, "During the recent modern movements, obtaining the perspectives needed for interior design has been studied."[301] This explanation found its response in flexible plan solution. Rather than constituting spaces through closed sections, Arkan used walls for certain surfaces adequate to divide spaces from each other. The main spatial separator was the staircase. Consequently, the internal organization of the plan did not hold any clear traces from the Turkish house. However, spatially Arkan gave a new meaning to the open space which bore the vernacular feeling of privacy. His understanding of national architecture seems to refer only to the locality which reflected itself in the usage of material in majority. Despite this, I maintain that especially the definition of open space made by the separation of service spaces shows the traces of his analysis of Turkish house spatially.

---

[301] "Son modern cereyanlarda dahili mimari için lazım olan perspektiflerin teminine çalışılmıştır." Seyfettin Nasih, "Ev Projesi," 16.
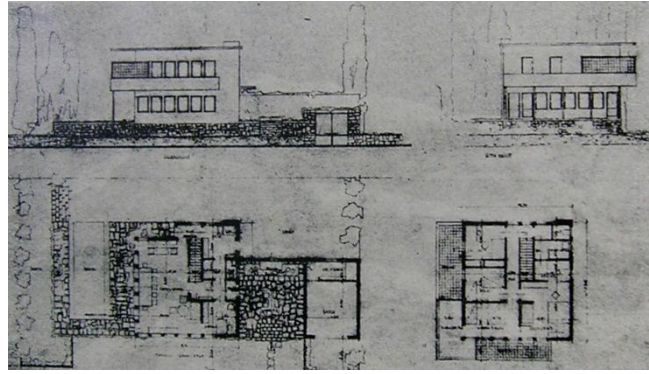
Figure 5.19. Seyfi Arkan, Study for Turkish house in Berlin, plans
(Source: Seyfettin Nasih, "Ev Projesi," *Mimar* January 1934: 16)

The formation of private open space by means of two masses was common in some of Arkan's housing projects. In one of his seaside housing projects published in Arkitekt in 1933,[302] there were also two different blocks one of which included the living spaces and primary service spaces, while the other one included garage and guest room (Figure 5.20a). Similar to the proposal for Ankara, the internal organization of the main mass had a flexible character in this project. The wholeness of the space was also achieved by erasing the closed sections. The transition from one space to the other was realized without interruption in some points which provided the fluency among spaces. In this project, the definition of the open space differentiated from the first project with regard to the definition of its boundaries. While in the first project Arkan employed a wall to combine two masses and also to separate open space from the street, in this project Arkan used a collonade. In fact, because the level of the garden was elevated from the street for about 3 metres, the privacy was kept. Thus, the usage of collonade did not harm the privacy of the open space. On the other hand, collonade was also used mainly to combine different masses visually and functionally. As seen in façade treatment, the rhythm which started with the glass openings of the main mass continued with the pillars of collonade (Figure 5.20b). The open space was not limited to only the space located between the two masses, but the surroundings of the main mass was also used as an open space which covered the entrance from the street level. Different levels, different textures as ground material, pool and collonade helped form this open space. Like the internal organization of the main mass, the organization of open space also included fluency. In the text, the open space was praised with regard to creation of the entrance and the quarter to sit and relax. In addition, the function of the colonnade was

---

[302] Seyfettin Nasih, "Deniz Kenarında Bir Küçük Villa Projesi," *Mimar* (December, 1933): 383.

explained as a shade providing shelter from the sun. Unlike the first project, private garden (*taşlik*) was not formed by the space between the two masses. Arkan created it among the walls with a slice of opening under the roof.
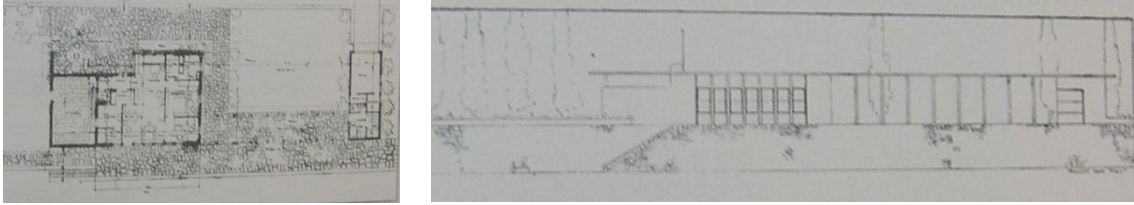

Figure 5.20.a) Seyfi Arkan, Seaside Housing Project, plan b) Seyfi Arkan, Seaside Housing Project, façade (Source: *Mimar* December, 1933: 383)

Arkan had designed another seaside project as a student in Germany, published in *Arkitekt* dated 1933.[303] It included two masses to limit the open space. In this project, the second mass was a boathouse. In fact, I believe that Arkan wanted to locate one mass detached from the main one to determine the open space. It was not important for him whether it was a boathouse, a garage or a guest house. There were two important points in this project. The former was the definition of the open space. Unlike his two projects mentioned above, in this project the L-shape organization of the main mass led to the formation of two different open spaces (Figure 5.21). In other words, the main mass split the open space into two. This organization of the open space gave opportunity to reach inside through different points. The latter was the spatial organization of the main mass. In plan solutions, the space for circulation which went beyond the limit of a standard corridor constituted the spine where other spaces were organized. When it was larger, the staircase or living spaces were encountered; when it was narrower, the service spaces emerged alongside of it. Thus, it had a flexible character in terms of originating other spaces from itself. It resembles Eldem's interpretation of *sofa* as flexible element which organized whole spaces. In Arkan's project this main space included a gallery void perceived in the section drawing clearly. This void enabled the space to look two-storey higher and on the upper level it became a transparent corner to sit and relax from which the sea view could be observed. The flexibility of this project in terms of spatial qualities and its expression in the simple cubic mass with bare flat surfaces made it novel for that period's architectural milieu. It

---

[303] Seyfettin Nasih, "Deniz Kenarında Bir Malikane," *Mimar* (April, 1933): 111-112.

is interesting that the gallery space was explained in the notes of this project as the feature of Turkish houses. The writer identified the gallery space as follows:

> A view with the floor of the upper part corridor left as an open balcony partially, and the lower part facing the colorful windows and flowery entrance was built. This concept had been prevalent in the plans of old Turkish houses. Also, it was a powerfull achievement inspired by the architectural richness obtained by the relationships among the floors. [304]

The striking point in this explanation is that the relationship between Arkan's house and old Turkish house was laid based on the spatial quality and relationships, more than the usage of materials or proportions of openings.
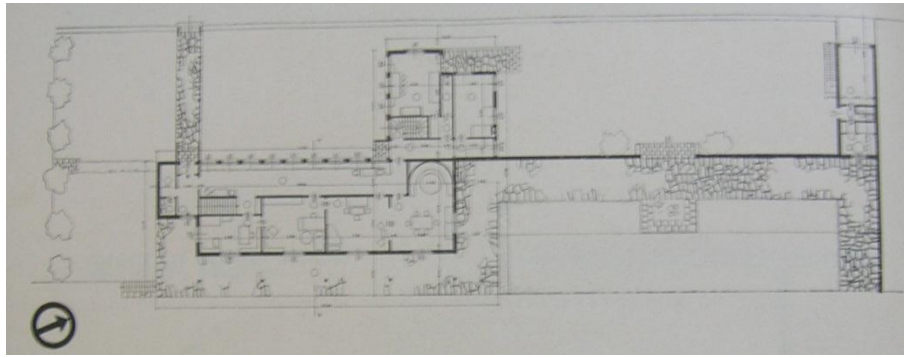
Figure 5.21. Seyfi Arkan, Seaside Housing Project, plan
(Source: *Mimar* April, 1933: 112)

Arkan's attempts in residential architecture continued in 1935 with different spatial arrangements.[305] This one constructed in Ankara also included two different masses (Figure 5.22). Like one of the studies on Turkish house (in this text, Arkan first housing project), the open space between the main mass and subsidiary mass was very small, and it became only a service entrance space. The two above mentioned seaside projects were different, though. As seen in the first project, the open space was created by separating the primary and the secondary service spaces. The living parts and bedrooms were separated from this small open space by service rooms. In addition, the organization of the spaces and their relationships with outside also differed from his other residential projects. In this project, the spaces established their relationships with

---

[304] "Üst kısım koridor döşemesi kısmen açık bir balkon olarak bırakılmış alt katı renkli pencereleri ve çiçekli medhali gören bir menazır vücude getirilmiştir. Bu talekki, eski Türk evlerimizin planlarında mevcut ve katlar ile irtifalarda yapılan tadilat ile vücude getirilen mimari zenginliklerden mülhem olmuş kuvvetli bir kazançtır." Seyfettin Nasih, "Deniz Kenarında Bir Malikane Projesi," Arkitekt (April, 1933): 111.

[305] Seyfi Erkan, "Villa Projesi," *Arkitekt* (April, 1935): 114-115.

the outer space by only winter gardens which framed the three facades of the building in various shapes (Figure 5.23). The distinctive feature of this project was these winter gardens. While the first winter garden projected itself through the outer space like a closed balcony, the second one followed the line of the canopy and united with the entrance space. At the same time, it constituted a terrace in front of it. The third one was located on the border of the building and extended its limits through the inner space as the part of the corridor. Living space was located in the middle of the project and it provided its sole contact with the outer space through one of its walls. On the other hand, the dining room had potential to contact with the outer space by its two surfaces. The dining room also opened itself through outer space only on one façade. Other three facades were solid. It is interesting, because Arkan preferred constituting the relationships of the spaces with the outer space through winter gardens. They even had a potential to establish different relationship with the outer space, like the dining room mentioned above. The winter gardens were projected onto the façade totally transparent, and there were little openings on the façade except for the winter gardens. Climate and lack of view could be an explanation for the limited size of the open space created by the two different masses and the relationship of the spaces with outside by winter gardens. Moreover, although the winter gardens were located on the ground floor, they might be seen as an abstraction of the bay window as a transition between the main space and the outer space.
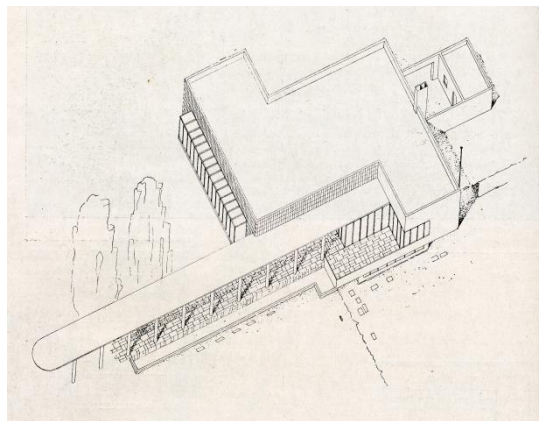
Figure 5.22. Seyfi Arkan, Housing Project in Ankara, perspective.
(Source: *Arkitekt* April, 1935: 114)
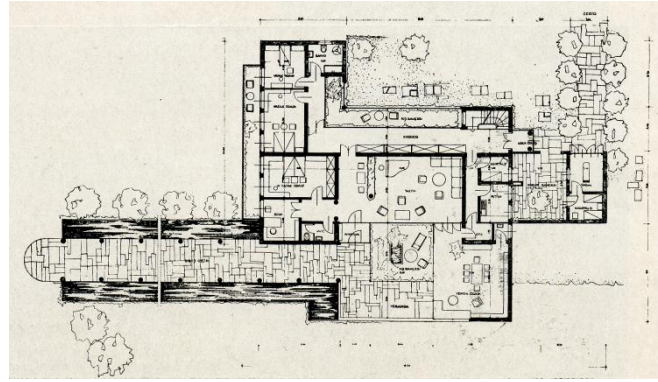
Figure 5.23. Seyfi Arkan, Housing Project in Ankara, plan.
(Source: *Arkitekt* April, 1935: 115)

Arkan's other residential project in Ankara was produced also in 1935, the first proposal for Makbule Atadan's residence, Atatürk's sister. In this project, Arkan's experiments could be observed. For example, there was a smaller mass located as the extension of the main mass. And similarly, the usage of collonade ended with a mass resembled the collonade that was designed in one of his seaside projects, dated 1933. While the mass was solid in the project of 1933, the mass was treated totally transparent in this project (Figure 5.24a). And also, the definition of the open space with the organization of different masses was encountered in this project (Figure 5.24b). Unlike the previous projects, this smaller mass was not like an addition, but it was an extension of the main mass. However, in plan solution the relationship between the main mass and the smaller mass was the same in terms of opening itself from one façade. The organization of plan included two different formations one of which was the private spaces and the other was semi-private spaces (Figure 5.25). Bedrooms as the private spaces did not contact with the living space directly. This distinction was made by the solid walls and the organization of the mass. Although the living space extended its limits through the private spaces, the organization of its surfaces differed when they met the private spaces. For example, the wall of the living room became solid to cut the relationship between the study room and living space. Likewise, the large bedroom was separated from the living space by the sewing room also detached from the living space by two solid walls. Furthermore, two-storey high living space had flexible characteristics. It had sub-spaces, one of which was defined by level difference, the other was defined by a winter garden, and the last one established its relationship with the living room by a mezzanine. This project was presented in the article as satisfying

the needs of comfort and modern life style.[306] During the construction in 1936, this project was changed with its dimensions and proportions.[307] (Figure 5.26).
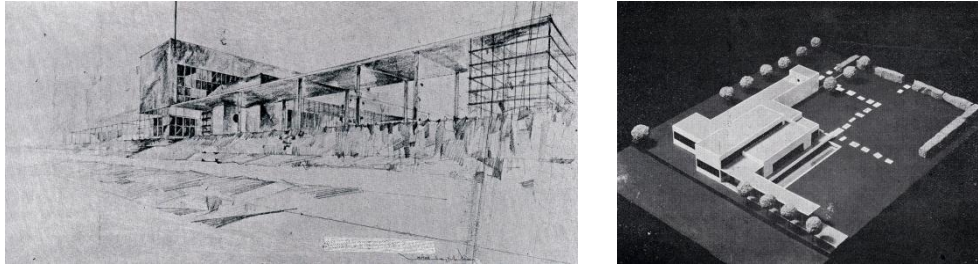

Figure 5.24.a) Seyfi Arkan, Residence for Makbule Atadan, perspective   b) Residence for Makbule Atadan, Seyfi Arkan, model (Source: Arkitekt June, 1935)
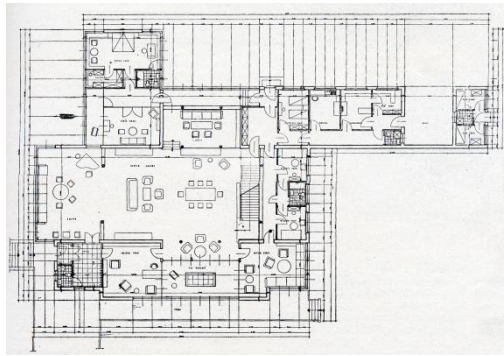

Figure 5.25. Seyfi Arkan, Residence for Makbule Atadan, plan
(Source: Arkitekt June, 1935: 169)

Figure 5.26. Seyfi Arkan, Residence for Makbule Atadan, perspective from inner space
(Source: Arkitekt July, 1936: 183)

---

[306] Seyfettin Arkan, "Villa Projesi," *Mimar* (June, 1935): 167.

[307] Seyfi Arkan, "Çankaya'da Bir Villa," *Arkitekt* (July, 1936): 179-186.

All in all, it can be said that Arkan's residential projects included varieties with relationships between the spaces and gripping definitions of the open spaces. As mentioned above, in his residential project which he described as one of the studies of Turkish house, Arkan created a private open space between the two masses including the service spaces at the same time. In his other four residential projects, the open space between the two masses also existed. However, the character of it changed from one project to the other. While in the first project the open space was constituted as private, in the other two projects, published in 1933, Arkan interpreted the boundaries in different ways. In the second project at the seaside, the open space between the two masses became larger than the first one, and its boundaries were formed more flexible because of the visual connection with the environment. In addition, unlike the first project, the primary service spaces were not located in a way to support the open space. Rather, Arkan constructed *taşlık* (the stone-paved courtyard) different from the open space and he located kitchen and bathroom nearby it. Additionally, different from other projects, He treated *taşlık* as a closed balcony. Thus, the open space between the two masses became the open space of the living spaces and the bedrooms, more than the open space of the service spots. In this context, the characteristics of open spaces of the two projects differed from each other.

Arkan's third project, the seaside housing project also included open space between the two masses. The open space of this project is like the combination of the open spaces of the first and the second projects. As for the flexibility of the boundaries on one side, the open space in the first and the second projects are alike. This flexibility is significant because of the visual relation with the surrounding. The open space of this project is not limited with the open space between the two masses. There is another open space defined by the organization of the main mass. As mentioned above, the location and the formation of the main mass split the open space into two, and this provides privacy for the open space located between the two masses, automatically.

In his residential projects, published in 1935, Arkan repeats the formation of open space of the first project. It is small and surrounded by the walls and the two masses. It was constituted as an open space of the service spaces as the kitchen and the laundry. The expression "Turkish house" was pronounced by Arkan in the first project. Although there is no archival evidence to understand Arkan's analysis precisely, his studies on Turkish house give some hints. The analysis show that Arkan mainly established the relationship between Turkish house and his study in the formation and

function of open space, rather than the usage of local material, the proportions of openings and the internal organization of spaces. Like Eldem, he seems to separate the service spaces and the spaces served. Eldem divided these spaces on different levels whereas Arkan built it on the same level with alternate manners in masses. As seen in the analysis, Arkan repeated the arrangement of open space in his other four projects. Particularly, Makbule Atadan's house has been evaluated as an example which employed international formal vocabulary, and in that sense as an example of International Style. It is true that in this project Arkan established a flexible plan organization. However among his projects, in the first one which Arkan described as one of the Turkish house studies, he created similar spatial relations with Atadan's house. Therefore, Arkan focused neither on "International Style" only nor on the rationalization of Turkish house without a change. Like the architects of that period, Arkan was also in search of the reconciliation of national and international values in architecture.

5.2. Rationalization with respect to Standardization: The Notion of Type

Although the discussions on standardization and type were encountered rarely in *Arkitekt*, there were many projects constituted through the notion of type in ERP architecture. As a result of the concern for an economical design, the notion of type emerged mostly as standardization. For example, there were the officials' houses, sites of the working class and rural projects considering the notion of type.

Throughout the history, the notion of type has been construed sometimes co-terminous with origin (Quatremere de Quincy), sometimes with character (Boullee, Ledoux, and Vaudoyer), sometimes with model (J. N. L. Durand). However, its law-like being and its inherent conflict with individuality remained the same in its several understandings. Indeed, the notion of type includes a process of reduction, abstraction inherently and it was determined by shared norms.

During the early twentieth century, the notion of type was used within the frame oF standardization. In this context, the notion of *typisierung* (development of types) was encountered in Germany. The notion of *typisierung* emerged as one side of the debate on type and individuality in *Deutscher Werkbund,* founded in Munich in 1907. In recent historiography, there are historians who read type in the context of cultural milieu in

Germany at the turn of the century. For example, according to Stanford Anderson *Typisierung* did not mean standardization deliberately. To him, *Typisierung* was not understood primarily as standardization imposed by the conditions of modern production, but as "**conventionalization**."[308] The theoretical underpinning of this conventionalization was "the reconquest of a harmonious culture"[309] as the expression of a common quest for the renewal of a unified German culture.

Fredric Schwartz also reads type through the discussions on culture versus civilization in Germany. To him, "the type was simply a synonym for an object with style."[310] Muthesius, who was an architect and the first figure to formulate the *Werkbund*'s programme, explained the goal of *Typisierung* in 1914 debate which was equal to the object of style: "Architecture, and with it the whole area of the Werkbund's activities, is pushing towards *Typisierung*, and only through *Typisierung* can it recover that universal significance which was characteristic of it in times of harmonious culture."[311]

In Turkey, in spite of the fact that the notion of type was comprehended as standardization, there was a diverse approach on type during ERP. For instance, Sedad Hakkı Eldem interpreted "type" as parallel to the *Typisierung*. In other words to Eldem, type was a tool to revitalize the tradition and create a harmonious unity alongwith the circumstances of the time. Not his buildings, but his notes on type coincided with the discussions on **culture, style** and **visual unity,** like the discussions of *Typisierung* in Germany.

5.2.1. The Notion of Type as "Conventionalization"

Eldem's studies on Turkish houses in National Architecture Seminar have been evaluated generally as a desire to create a Turkish house type. In Eldem's architecture

---

[308] Stanford Anderson, "The Deutcher *Werkbund* – the 1914 Debate: Herman Muthesius and Henry van de Velde," *Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought,* eds. Ben Farmer and Hentie Louw, (London: Routledge, 1992), 466.

[309] Schwartz, *The Werkbund*, 14.

[310] Schwartz, *The Werkbund*, 122.

[311] Hermann Muthesius and Henry Van de Velde, "*Werkbund* Thesis and Antitheses," *On 20th-Century Architecture*, ed. Ulrich Conrads, (London: Lund Humphries, 1970), 28.

Turkish house becomes a potentially modern-type and Bozdoğan explains a notion of type in Eldem's works as follows:

> […] the idealized Turkish house, abstracted from hundreds of individual examples, draws Eldem close to a notion of type as the logic of form derived from reason and use—just as it was to the Enlightenment theorist Quatremere de Quincy. At the same time, from these measured drawings of numerous examples, he produces a matrix of all possible plan types—all possible variations of houses classified according to the shape and location of the hall or sofa. Here, type becomes a compositional device, a methodological and conceptual tool prescribing design—in the sense that another Enlightenment theorist Jean Nicholas Durand had employed it.[312]

Thus, there are two levels in Eldem's notion of type underlined by Bozdoğan. First is the type as "an ideal" and the other as "an operational a-priori form which design can proceed."[313]

In 1916, Bruno Czolbe's definitions of standardization and type were clear explanations of how he understood these two terms. According to him, the reduction can take place at various levels: "A normalization or standardization of individual parts, a standardization of groups of parts, and a standardization of finished products."[314] Eldem's analysIs of Turkish houses covered all of these levels of standardization. While Eldem classified the doors, the windows, the ceilings and the other details, he also exhibited typological consciousness in plan which could be evaluated as "standardization of a finished product." Besides the two levels of standardization Bozdoğan highlighted, there was another level of standardization in Eldem's notion of type. It could be described through Czolbe's last category as he stated: "standardization not at the level of the part but at the level of the finished products."[315] This level of standardization, in other words, this notion of type appeared in Eldem's architecture as a way of **"anonymity."** Bülent Tanju reads Eldem's notion of anonymity as a classical attitude. At first glance, Eldem's anonymity seems to be a classical attitude in terms of nostalgia to visual unity of classical architecture. Yet, his method to realize this visual unity controlled the architectural milieu. His method could be accepted as a modern phenomenon in terms of organizing all the apparatus/instruments and processes of architectural production. Eldem's notion of type also resembles *typisierung* in that his

---

[312] Sibel Bozdoğan, "The Turkish House Reappraised," *Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey*, (London, Singapore: Butterworth Architecture, 1987), 45.

[313] Bozdoğan, "The Turkish House Reappraised," 45.

[314] Frederic J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996), 125.

[315] Schwartz, *The Werkbund*, 125.

concept of anonymity controlled the architectural milieu. Meanwhile visual unity and desire to revitalize harmonious culture were targeted.

The features of *Typisierung* could be encountered in Eldem's architectural texts starting from 1926, but not in his works of architecture. Hence, there is a disaccord between his writings and his products. While his writings aimed unity and anonymity from the beginning; his products included different characters and showed themselves as works of art, more than anonymous products. Besides the steady nature of his writings, the products gave variety in morphology and spatial qualities. In National Architecture Seminar, he focused on finding out the Turkish type of housing. Although his studies for the Seminar on old Turkish houses covered the common properties of them, his buildings do not bare the concept of type as "finished products." He employed the features of Turkish house as unique and not repetitive.

The concepts such as norm, organization, system, unity, anonymity and type as the method of constituting an architectural style are displayed in Eldem's writings. Except for anonymity and type, these concepts that Eldem used had been developed during the period of the Enlightenment in Europe. The process of the Enlightenment was born in order to constitute a system and a unity for the sake of substitutiON OF unknown with the known. It constituted a system that involved reducing all entities to inanimate objects. As a result, a classification system was built. Its ideal was already the system from which all and everything follows. Norm, organization, unity were the ways through which the sytem could be created. These concepts were also discussed in Werkbund related with the *typisierung*.

Starting from his early writings, Eldem thought to develop a program which should be supported by the state. In his text, dated 1926, "Renovation of Ankara" he recommended a comprehensive development program by criticizing individual workS of foreign architects. He believed that this program could only be fulfilled by the support of the state, like the other novelties: "Everything of the nation and the public was changed according to the new life and idealism. However, nothing about reconstruction was performed. […] *Dictature* [an idea of imposition, rather than a regime] could be applied."[316] In his 1940 article, which read like a manifesto, "Yerli

---

[316] "Milletin, memleketin her şeyi yeni hayata göre, yeni idealizme göre tecdid edildi, değiştirildi. Yalnız imar hususunda bir şey yapılmadı.[…] *Dictature* yapılabilirdi." Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: II. Ankara'nın Yenilenmesi ve Mimaride Yerlilerin Rolü, Ankara, 1926" *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju and Uğur Tanyeli (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008): 152.

Mimariye Doğru" (Towards a Regional Architecture), he also repeated his totalitarian demand. According to him, powerful regimes could only produce a national architecture:

> It is necessary to acquire a national style by preventing the foreign impacts, harmful imitation and various views. **The state should determine the opinions and intentions on construction program and certain style**. Orders ought to be given to the institutions that get the buildings constructed or controlled after the principles are determined precisely. [317]

Although Eldem declared the need for producing a national architecture program clearly in 1940, he put this program into words when he was in Munich In 1929. This program included usage of local material, local labor and standardization. He suggested the Office of Building and Housing (*Bina ve İskan Ofisi*) which would be constructed for "rationalization and standardization of styles [*usül*] of vernacular houses."[318] This office would consist of three departments which would be an office to develop types of building forms (*bina formlarının tipleştirilmesi bürosu*), an office to examine building materials (yapı malzemelerinin etüdü bürosu) and an office to train the native labourers (yerli amele eğitimi bürosu)."[319] Eldem's program was a complete program that covered the construction/development of the whole country. He formulated this as a program which will be presented to the government. In fact, this program could be achieved only by the power of the state. He stated that: "This is such a wide program that it can be regarded as a reform of a modest housing. This is the system that should be performed all over the country, even in places where the materials of construction required being imported."[320]

---

[317] "[…] ecnebi tesirlerine meydan vermemek ve muzır (zararlı) bir taklitçiliğe mani olmak, muhtelif noktai nazarların vücut bulmasına sebebiyet vermiyerek milli bir üslubun doğmasını temin için devletin yapı program ve muayyen bir üslup hakkındaki fikir ve tasavvurlarını tespit etmesi lazımdır. Prensipler kat'i olarak tesbit edildikten sonra da yapı yaptıran veya kontrol eden müesseselere bu prensipler dairesinde direktifler verilmelidir." Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Yerli Mimariye Doğru," *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, ed. Bülent Tanju (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007): 288.

[318] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XXXVII. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Seyahati, Berlin, 1929," *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, Eds. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008): 179.

[319] Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XXXVII. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Seyahati, Berlin, 1929," 179.

[320] "Bu o kadar geniş bir programdır ki, Türkiye'de mütevazi konutun bir reformu sayılabilir. Memleketin her yerinde, hatta hükümetin bugüne kadar sahip çıktığı modele göre inşaat yapılacak olsa inşaat malzemesinin ithal edilmesi lazım gelecek bölgelerde de kullanılması gereken bir sistem bu." Sedad

Eldem proposed a system that would control the architectural practice, and mostly the formal appearance of the building. According to him, formal unity would constitute the style. In his text, dated 1929, he said that: "[…], the unity of styles is always good and creates a great deal of harmony. The similar windows and the cover of the roofs in every little building would provide the unity of the styles."[321] In Eldem's discourse, formal unity was not only related with the components of the house, but also related with the harmony among workers during construction process. Eldem explained it in his article, dated 1940, "Yerli Mimariye Doğru" as follows: "In the works of old constructions, the collaboration and the harmony between the architect and the workers are no longer exist today. […] In the past, the construction was completed in the same quality and style due to the same technical communication among various labourers and craftsmen, and also the same method and the manner they use.[322] For Eldem, the usage of local material and convenience to the climate are also determiners of national style. He emphasized the importance of material illustrating face stone as mainly specific to Italian architecture and brick as typical Dutch. He added that "that is to say, although the material doesn't have an impact on the style directly, it affects the elements used for the style, so the style is affected indirectly."[323]

Although Eldem seems to notice the climate and regional properties, he neglected some examples considering regional characteristics when he formed his classification system. He made the analysis of the examples of Turkish houses built in Adana which had flat roofs but he did not place them in his classification system. Eldem

Hakkı Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XXXV. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Berlin, 1929," *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008): 171.

[321] "Zira üslup birliği her zaman iyidir ve büyük bir ahenk yaratır. Üslup birliğini ise, hemen bütün küçük yapılarda aynı olacak olan pencereler ve çatı örtüleri sağlayacaktır." Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne," 174.

[322] "Eski yapı işlerinde mimardan en küçük ustaya kadar mevcut bulunan anlaşma ve armoni bugün yoktur. […] Eskiden aynı binanın muhtelif işçi ve sanatkarları aynı fenni lisanı konuştuklarından yani aynı çalışma tarzı ve şekli kullandıklarından binanın her tarafı aynı kalite ve üslupta meydana çıkar, […]."Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Yerli Mimariye Doğru," *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, ed. Bülent Tanju, 295 (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007).

[323] "Demek ki malzeme stil üzerine doğrudan doğruya değil ise de, stilin kullanıldığı elemanlar üzerine tesir ettiğinden bilvasıta stil üzerine de etki eder." Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Milli Mimari Meselesi," *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, ed. Bülent Tanju, 270 (İstanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007).

seems to accept them as "abnormal" in terms of having potential to destruct visual unity.

Eldem separated civil architecture and monumental architecture. The former one which was a reference to the living culture should be anonymous and need to be in unity. The latter one could include the individualistic tendencies of the architect. In 1929, when he was in Berlin he wrote his ideas on differences between civil architecture and monumental architecture, which would not change in the future:

> Civil and monumental architectures were always hand in hand. Now they have to know each other. While civil architecture should be controlled strictly, the monumental architecture can proceed on its own path. Monumental architecture is more (…) to the art, but the civil architecture should be an expression of economy so that it can be an architecture where people are able to involve in. [324]

As understood from the quotation, he praised commonality that can be found in vernacular architecture but he criticized individuality practised in this field. In the same text, he said that "civil remains Anonymous."[325] In his other text, dated 1929 written in Paris, he described the house and the anonymity that exhibited itself in this text as a repetitive object. "A house should be a product which does not release any efforts or any artistic worries. All the materials such as wood, concrete and stone can be content with their modest and dignified functions. The work should be completely natural, without holding any artistic claim, like a tennis court or a suitcase."[326] His metaphor of a house as a tennis court or a suitcase was the final point in Eldem's notion of anonymity in terms of reification of house. The reification shows itself in the idea of

---

[324] "Sivil ve monumental mimari (…) hep elele yürümüşlerdir. Şimdi artık birbirlerini bilmek zorundalar. Monumental mimari, sivil mimari sıkı kontrol altında tutulmak zorunda iken, kendi yoluna gidebilir. Monumental mimari sanatla daha fazla (…) dır, halbuki sivil mimarinin iktisadın bir ifadesi olması lazımdır ki halkın yer aldığı bir mimari olabilsin. Monumental binalar her zaman daha az ya da daha çok artistik cihet ya da kişiliklerin ifadesi olarak kalacaklardır." Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XXXVII. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Berlin, 1929," *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, Eds. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008): 176.

[325] "Sivil anonim kalır." Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XXXVII. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Berlin, 1929," *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, Eds. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008): 159.

[326] "Bir ev, hiçbir gayreti, hiçbir sanat kaygusunu ele vermeyen bir ürün olmalıdır. Ahşaptan, betondan, taştan, mesela, zira bütün bu malzemeler kendi mütevazi ve vakur işleriyle yetinmekte. Eser tamamen tabii olmalı, hiç bir sanat iddiası taşımadan bir tenis kortu veya bavul gibi." Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XVI. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Paris, 1929," *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, Eds. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008): 159.

house which could be located anywhere and enabled mass production as a repetitive object.

In Germany, between 1929 and 1930, Eldem was gradually interested in the institutional role of an architect and to him "the architects should be anonymous and forget their individual ego."[327] In those years he wrote a science-fiction novel named "Architecture without Architects."It seems that vernacular architecture affected not only his attitude, but also his concept about the role of an architect. His notion of anonymity centered upon the understanding of construction and manners of an architect. When he evaluated 19th century Ottoman civil architecture, he underlined the dominancy of Armenian and Greek foremen, rather than architects in constructions. He thought that the existence of those foremen prevented individualistic tendencies in architectural practice:

> Architectural and construction works are in the hands of master builders and their views and concepts are squeezed within a narrow frame and principles. Architecture became characterless or rather anonymous with the loss of individuality. On the contrary, thanks to all of these the profession and art of architecture were able to remain out of all the pretencious and eccentric enterprises.[328]

In fact, Eldem also maintained that the foremen enabled the continuity in architecture by preventing individualistic tendencies. His notion of anonymity included "continuity" in itself. Particularly, he concentrated on the transition of features of Turkish architectural tradition to the next generations in his evaluations of 19th century Ottoman architecture. He even enlargened his concept of continuity through the product which had traditional features and a potential to respond to the requirements of the day. In his text written in 1928, he exemplified the car models. He implied that a new model, the follower of the old ones, depended on the traditions. That was more appropriate to the circumstances of the time, rather than producing a brand-new model. He pointed out that "Which car (case) is the most suitable for its period? A Voisin's or a Delahaye's mixture bodywork of plane and submarine, or; a Studebaker's or Lincoln's bodywork that holds the traditions of old car manufacturers?"[329] Besides in architecture, To Eldem

---

[327] Akcan, "Modernity in Translation," 367.

[328] "Mimarlık ve yapı işleri kalfaların elindedir ve görüşleri, anlayışları da bu dar çerçeve ve kalıp içine sığdırılmıştır. Mimarlık her türlü benlik iddiasını yitirerek, kişiliksiz, daha doğrusu anonim olmuştur. Fakat bu sayededir ki, mimarlık meslek ve sanatı, her türlü özenti ve eksantrik teşebbüslerin dışında kalabilmiştir." Sedat Hakkı Eldem, "Elli Yıllık Cumhuriyet Mimarlığı," *Mimarlık* (121-122, 1973): 5.

[329] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: VI. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Guethary, 1928," *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, eds. Edhem

continuity could be realized by interpreting and modernizing the "Turkish House." His intention was not an imitation of Turkish House, but to explore the "Turkish way of building (*Bauweise*)." in Eldem's diary, wrote in 1930, in Germany that "the architects should not search for a 'Turkish style' but a 'Turkish way of building' that would be suitable to the life styles and climate of the country."[330] He explained his desire as follows: "not to create a style; on the contrary, to find out a style within the architectural experience."[331]

We can also see Eldem's support for the evolutionary process of style formation in his documents. At the beginning of his journey to Europe in August 1928, Eldem wrote in his diary as follows:

> Every epoch has an architecture that characterizes it. Yet to make this characterization possible, this epoch should have already formed a 'character'. What represents such an epoch? A certain time that begins with a new event... under the influence of these changes, art takes on a new appearance... Art realizes that what it produces is outmoded and no longer belongs to the times. Therefore its costume changes (but only the costume, the essential character of this outmoded art stays the same and can only change after a long development, which comes after a familiarization with these 'novelties'. It manifests itself slowly after being adapted to the new lives of people, without even being realized, because this change happens by itself **without the will of the artist**).[332]

According to Werkbund members, the strong bound between the style and the form in terms of visual consistency was the sign of An integrated culture. To find out the "common root" seems to be the most crucial thing for Georg Simmel, who was also the member of the Werkbund, from the point of constituting a style. Style was equaL to "abstraction of form" not only for Simmel but also for Wilhelm Worringer, an important German art historian. He used the concept "essence" which meant to discover the mentioned "common root." It reminds us the main feature of type which is "will to

Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008): 155.

[330] Akcan, "Modernity in Translation," 365.

[331] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XXXVII. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Berlin, 1929," *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, Eds. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008): 177. "bir Türk üslubu yapmak için değil, bilakis tecrübe edilmiş bir mimari içinde üslup bulmak için (...)."

[332] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: V. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Font-Romeu, 1928," *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, Eds. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli, (İstanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008): 154.

origin." Indeed, omission of the term "individuality" provided the improvement of their understandings of style towards the type through "abstraction" and "essence."

> A stylized rose is supposed to represent the general character of a rose, the style of a rose, not the individual reality of a specific rose. Different artists attempt to achieve this through quite different constructions […]. But the meaning of each is nonetheless not to make the rose perceptible, but rather its law of formation, the root of its form, which is universally active as the unifying force in all the multiplicity of its forms.[333]

In fact, from the beginning Eldem's Turkish house studies included the search for the essence of Turkish house. The common root that lay behind it for Eldem was a *sofa* which organized all components of a house, and this essence was a tool to create a unity in the architectural milieu. To sum up, although Eldem looked for a visual unity in the architecture of the past, the methods he applied were modern. He was working with the concepts of the Enlightenment produced in the process of modernization. His instruments were to create a system and an organization in each phase of architectural practices. He was after anonymity and a style through the instruments that the modernization process introduced to the architectural practice. Therefore, his concept of type resembled particularly the *typisierung*. His notions of type and standardization were not only related to economical design or production of a building. To him, type was a tool to create an anonymous architecture and to control the architectural practice. Eldem is a unique figure in ERP due to the discourse on type he produced. The architects apart from him considered the concept of type within the framework of economical design only.

5.2.2. The Notion of Type Regarding Economical Design

In the immediate postwar years, all countries found themselves facing with the identical problems such as building houses with small budgets. The goal was to design the houses for the poorest section of the community, so that they could afford to live in. It was necessary to adopt a different attitude and abandon traditional methods of constructing as well as living habits. A new approach could be possible only by satisfying some conditions:

---

[333] Simmel, "The Problem of Style," 64.

On the one hand, the rationalization of the ground plan and the concentration of the practical basic functions so as to allow for the largest possible family living room and, on the other hand, the design of furniture that was functional in relation to the use to which it would be put and the amount of space available. In addition, it was indispensable that an attempt should be made to reduce building costs by using appropriate new methods (the creation of norms, the standardization of the individual elements, and the rationalization of their assembly.[334]

Thus, the norms, standardization and in general rationalization were the tools of architects to reduce the cost of constructing.

Discussions regarding these issues, i.e. economical design took place in the pages of *Arkitekt* from 1931. The term standardization is firstly encountered in the pages of *Arkitekt* in 1931 by Zeki Selah's article "İnşaatta Standart" (Standardization in Construction).[335] According to him "the construction of today is İndustrialized construction," and he explained the effects of the industrialization in the world of architecture as "mass production" and "standardization." He did not only underline the standardization of materials, but he also emphasized idealized plan types which would be constituted basing on rationality.[336] In the documents between 1931 and 1940, standardization and the notion of type were generally accepted as the necessities of the economy in design and construction. Moreover, economical design was mainly discussed in relation to row houses. Highlighting standardized and organized construction, Zeki Selah and Burhan Arif introduced *Siedlung* projects from Germany to Turkish architects. In 1931, Selah accepted row houses as a reform in modern architecture.[337] He described row houses as "the construction of little apartment blocks which were the products of idealized plans."[338] Similarly in 1932, praising construction policy in Berlin and Frankfurt a.m., Arif presented them as the success of European city

---

[334] Hans Eckstein, "Finding the Norm and Standard, Constructing for the Existenzminimum—The Werkbund and New Tasks in the Social State," *The Werkbund: Studies in the History and Ideology of the Deutscher Werkbund 1907-1933*, ed. Lucius Burckhardt, trans. Pearl Sanders (United Kingdom: The Design Council, 1980), 81.

[335] Zeki Selah, "İnşaatta Standart," *Arkitekt* (January 1931): 10-11.

[336] "Bugünkü inşaat sanayileştirilmiş inşaattır,"Selah, "İnşaatta Standart," p. 11. At the same year, although Selah advocated the standardization and the idea of type, he also warned the architects for constructing schools basing on the same plan-type.[336] He criticized the executions of same plan type of school in every land in terms of not appropriate to the physical environment. Similarly in 1936 he repeated his thought on type projects in the case of government buildings. Zeki Selah, "Mektep İnşaatında Plan-Tip'in Mahzurları," *Arkitekt* (April, 1931): 124-125.

[337] Zeki Selah, "Müşterek İkametgahlar," *Mimar* (March, 1931): 97.

[338] "İdealize edilmiş planların mahsülü ufak apartmanların birarada inşa edilmesi." Selah, "Müşterek İkametgahlar," 97.

planning after the First World War.[339] In 1935, he emphasized the profit by comparing the conventional constructions with the row houses.

There were housing projects with different types between 1931 and 1940. Eldem's little housing projects were the first type of them that took place in the pages of the *Mimar*.[340] Eldem designed four different types which mainly differentiated from each other. He organized the location of the spaces and their relations in the four projects similarly (Figure 5.27). However, he planned entrance space and the staircase differently in each one with various levels (Figure 5.28). As a result, the façade design was affected and the mass of the row houses were changed. In the text explaining these projects, he criticized proliferation of apartment blocks in İstanbul. Eldem was for the idea that life in a vernacular house was as contemporary as life in an apartment flat. [341] He gave examples from England and Germany and added that in Europe, apartment blocks were constructed for the poor. He proposed the revitalization of the Turkish house which he described it as "intimate and private like English house," instead of apartment flats.[342] However, in these projects Eldem did not build any relationship with Turkish house spatially. In addition, these projects, row houses, were not like the Samples he gave from England and Germany, which were detached houses.
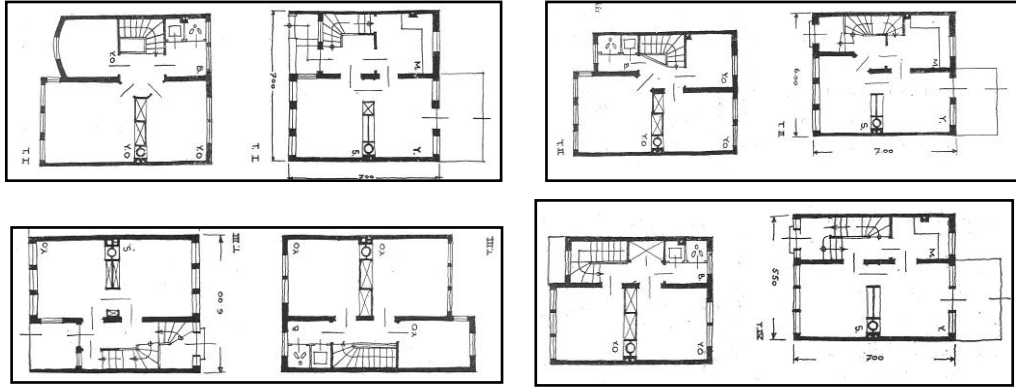
Figure 5.27. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Housing Projects, plans
(Source: *Mimar* April, 1931: 141-144)

---

[339] Burhan Arif, "Yeni Şehirlerin İnkişafı ve Siedlung'lar," *Mimar*, (July-August,1932): 213.

[340] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Küçük Ev Projeleri," *Mimar*, (April, 1931): 141-144.

[341] Eldem, "Küçük Ev Projeleri," 141.

[342] Eldem, "Küçük Ev Projeleri," 142.
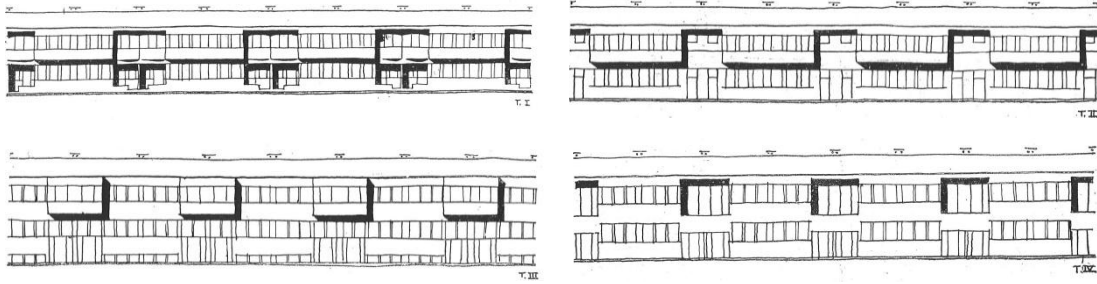
Figure 5.28. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Housing Projects, façades.
(Source: *Mimar*, April, 1931: 141-144)

In 1935, A. Sabri designed row houses which made up of five houses. In the article of this project, it is said that the customer wanted to build a five-storey apartment block. Since the building was near Sultan Ahmet and Ayasofya Mosques, it would be inappropriate to the site with its height, twenty-meterS. For that reason, as the writer said, the row houses were preferred to be built rather than the apartment block.[343] Eldem explained the reason of preferring row houses rather than the apartment block with the similarity to Turkish house but A. Sabri explained it with its environs. It is interesting that Eldem and Sabri who designed row houses did not mainly say anything financialwise about the row-houses, how profitable in construction they would be. Sabri explained the economy in design while forming spaces in optimum size and circulation spaces minimally, rather than focusing on standardization and the notion of type.[344]

Another row-house project was designed by Seyfi Arkan in Adana, in 1939. As the part of the development plan of Adana, Arkan designed affordable houses consisted of three different types of plans[345] (Figure 5.29). The common feature of these three types is organization of the spaces. Arkan grouped the similar spaces and designed a void between them which served as a little corridor. In addition, sliding one block of spaces from the line of other blocks, Arkan composed semi-open spaces one of which was used as an entrance space and the other was used as a terrace. Three types were originated from this organization which provided flexibility in design (Figure 5.30). Arranging the voids in these mass organizations, Arkan did not only break the wall-effect of the row houses, but also he provided spatial diversities. Without sacrificing the spatial quality, Arkan designed spaces minimum in size.

---

[343] A. Sabri, "Sıra Evler," *Arkitekt* (June, 1935): 170.

[344] Sabri, "Sıra Evler," 170.

[345] Seyfi Arkan, "Adanada Ucuz Evler Mahallesi," *Arkitekt* (January-February, 1939): 33-36.
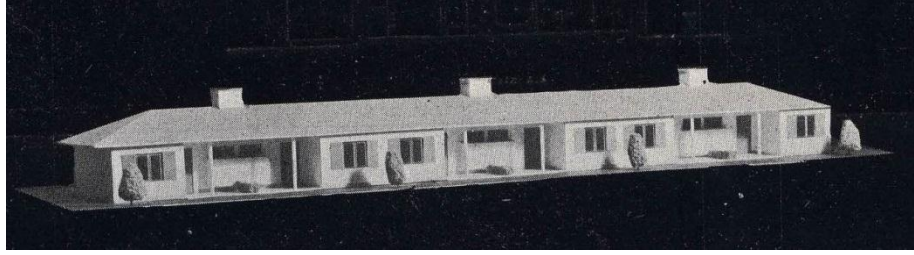
Figure 5.29. Seyfi Arkan, Row House Projects, model
(Source: *Arkitekt* January-February, 1939: 33)
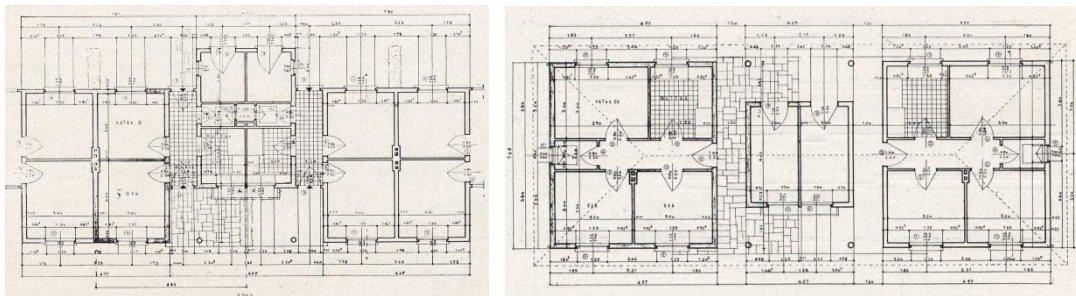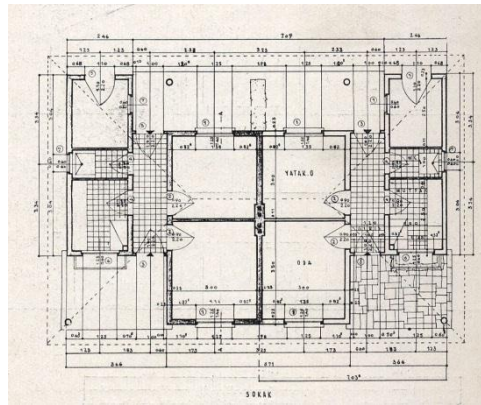
Figure 5.30. Seyfi Arkan, Row House Projects, plans
(Source: *Arkitekt* January-February, 1939: 34-36)

Arkan also designed two different affordable housing neighborhoods in Ankara.[346] Different from other row-housing projects, in these projects he designed detached houses with gardens seperated by walls. Although the seperation of the houses were provided by the walls, the continuity of the walls on the façade facing the road gave the visual effect of unity to these houses. Both plans were designed basing on flexible space organization and each had minimum circulation space. Arkan used the term "*ucuz*" (reasonable or affordable) for the names of the houses in Ankara and in

---

[346] Anonymous, "Ankara için Ucuz Aile Evi," *Arkitekt*, (May, 1933): 174; Anonymous, "Ankarada Sıra Evler Tipi:2," *Arkitekt* (December, 1933): 382.

Adana. Arkan made these projects affordable by organizing plans with types which made mass-production possible with minimal use of architectural elements. (Figures 5.31 and 5.32).
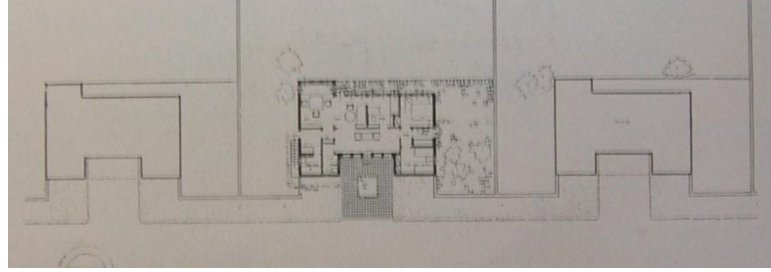
Figure 5.31. Seyfi Arkan, Row House Projects, type 1
(Source: *Arkitekt* May, 1933: 174)
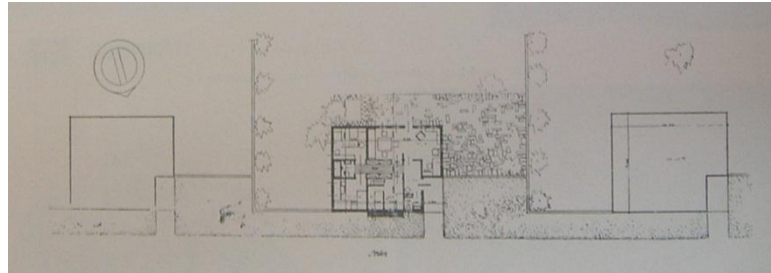
Figure 5.32. Seyfi Arkan, Row House Projects, type 2
(Source: *Arkitekt* December 1933: 382)

Arkan's designs for Türk-iş Worker's Housing (1935)[347] and Kömür-iş Worker's Housing (1936)[348] were also important examples of economical design (Figures 5.33 and 5.34). These projects had a crucial role in architectural milieu in those years in terms of being social housing projects which corresponded to the nation-building policies of Kemalist Revolution. Furthermore, Arkan designed them for mine workers and engineers rather than middle and upper class of bureaucrats of Ankara. Thus, the modern living conditions were provided for the coal miners and their families. Arkan designed common spaces such as dining halls, laundries, and primary school for children in Türk-iş settlement. In the freestanding houses of Türk-iş, Arkan explored the possibilities of minimal dimensions in dwelling, such as studio houses (Figure 5.35).

---

[347] Seyfettin Arkan, "Amele Evleri, İlkokul, Mutfak ve Çamaşırlık Binası," *Arkitekt* (September, 1935): 253-258.

[348] Seyfi Arkan, "Kömür-iş İşçi Uramı," *Arkitekt* (January, 1936): 9-10.

Esra Akcan indicates that "these studio houses with a minimal alaturka WC were even smaller than the experiments on *Existenzminimum* in Frankfurt carried out by Ernst May and his colleagues" and she added that "however, in terms of their site plan, these minimal houses sometimes contradicted the principles of economical housing. Although they used the slope of the site effectively and allowed entrances from both levels, the houses stood as freestanding blocks on big slots of land, forsaking the efficiency of row housing that would have reduced the cost of land use and construction."[349] Whether it is contradiction or not, the freestanding block was Arkan'S conscious preference. Even in his affordable row-houses in Adana, whose units were located under one roof, Arkan created voids between the units. Thus, he did not prefer to attach units to each other. While forming voids between the units, he provided more light and air for the inhabitants (Figures 5.36a and 5.36b). It seems that Arkan interpreted the notion of row houses for different geographies. In Adana, Ankara and Zonguldak his notion of economy in design did not mean bare economy, rather he forced the limits of modern housing conceptually and economy was an important part of it.
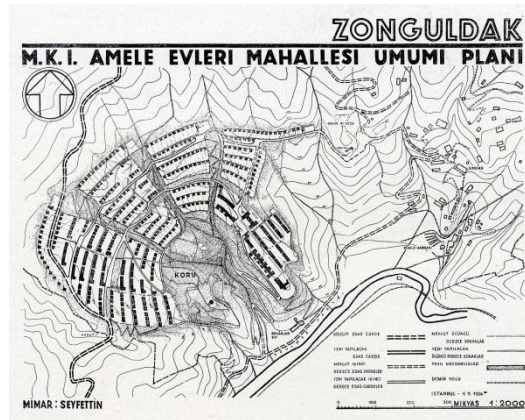
Figure 5.33. Seyfi Arkan, Türk-iş Worker's Housing, site plan
(Source: *Arkitekt* September, 1935: 253)

---

[349] Esra Akcan, "Modernity in Translation," 567.
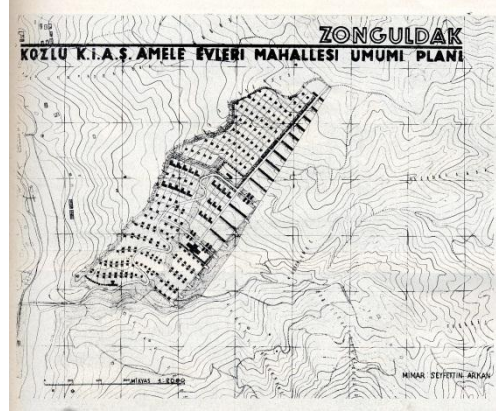
Figure 5.34. Seyfi Arkan, Kömür-iş Worker's Housing, site plan
(Source: *Arkitekt* January, 1936: 9)
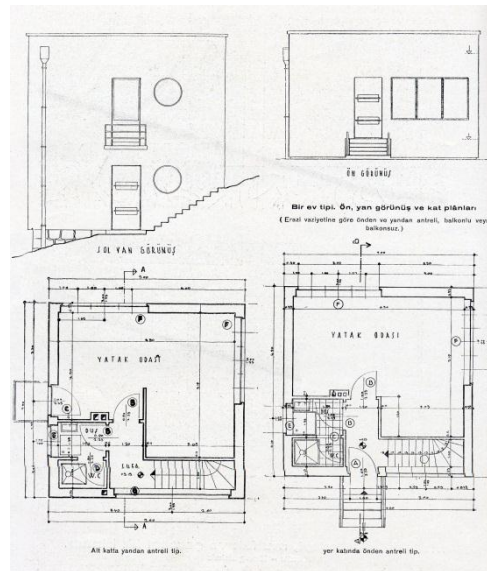
Figure 5.35. Seyfi Arkan, Türk-iş Worker's Housing, Single house plans and elevations
(Source: *Arkitekt* September, 1935: 254)
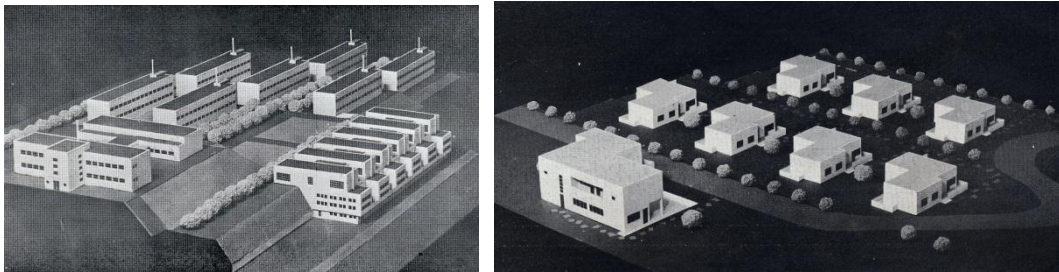
Figure 5.36.a) Seyfi Arkan, Türk-iş Worker's Housing, model (Source: *Arkitekt* September, 1935: 257) b) Kömür-iş Worker's Housing, Seyfi Arkan, model (Source: *Arkitekt* January, 1936: 10)

The row houses were also concern of the Academy of Fine Arts. Under the guidance of Bruno Taut, the notion of row house was studied in the graduation project of 1937.[350] Taut formed a complex programme of row houses for Ministery of Monopoly (Inhisarlar Bakanlığı) which included financial and constructive details. Taut was one of the few German architects to look for universality in non-Western architecture, as mentioned in chapter 4. His main criticism in his book *Mimari Bilgisi* was the generalization of Modern Architecture as a worldwide style. To him "the world is increasingly getting uniform and homogenous, just like the soldiers who wear uniform clothes to carry uniform weapons […]."[351] Although he was against the standardization of Western principles as a global norm, he defended universality in architecture. Taut defined the universaL principles of architecture as technique, construction, function and proportion in *Mimari Bilgisi*. After defining universal principles of architecture with these four principles, he highlighted the power of climate in terms of constituting geographical differences. He also looked for universality in climate. According to him, "the more architectural forms are appropriate to the climate, light and air of their place, the more they are universal."[352] To sum up, the graduation project of 1937 looked for not only alternatives of economical row houses, but also it searched for how the row house could be formed in Ankara. It could be said that Taut gave a design problem where he, himself looked for the answers.

The other project which included row house design was the graduation project of 1940 supervised by Arif Hikmet Holtay and Sedad Hakkı Eldem, the professors of the department of architecture and Seyfi Arkan, the professor of the department of city planning.[353] Different from Taut's project, in this project row houses were part of the extension plan of Konya Aksaray. The extension plan consisted of official buildings, schools, squares, sport facilities, green areas, mosques and row houses. In this project, the extension plan and the plans of row houses were assigned to the students.

---

[350] Anonymous, "Tip ve Sıra Evler," *Arkitekt* (August, 1937): 211-217.

[351] "Dünya gittikçe üniformalaşıyor, birörnekleşiyor. Askerler silahları bir olduğu için, bir örnek elbise, üniforma giyerler […]" Bruno Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, trans. Adnan Kolatan, (İstanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1938): 45-46.

[352] Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi*, 92.

[353] Anonymous, "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yüksek Mimari Şubesi Diploma Projeleri," *Arkitekt* (March-April, 1940): 55-68.

The usage of type for economical design was also encountered in village houses in the pages of *Arkitekt,* dated1940. The progress in villages was one of policies of the Republic. In *Ülkü* and *Kadro*, there were many articles on the necessity of improvements in villages and education of peasants. [354] The main aim was explained by Nusret Kemal (Köymen) as follows: "We do not wish the discrimination between the urban and the rural areas like the mercantile civilization of the west. We would like to combine the urban and the rural areas in the sense of spirit, culture and civilization."[355] He explained how this would be realized:

> […] On the way of the reform, we should give importance especially to the following three points: National economy: First of all organizing the village economy as the basis of the national economy: Considering the villages as the basic elements of the country, at first we should develop the rural area. We should run the cities as the centres of administration, economy and culture from the point of the relationship with the villages. And above all, we should bring up the villagers as democratic citizens. In this way, we can divide the matter of village into two: 1. the construction of the village, 2. Education of the villagers.[356]

Aptullah Ziya an architect of Ministery of Education (Maarif Vekaleti) wrote some articles on the progress of villages. His ideas on village included criticism of modernism. According to him, "You cannot make the peasanT bring building materials from other places, you cannot make him apply a plan drawn for Erzurum while living in Ankara, you cannot make him imitate the houses in towns, houses in German or Russian villages."[357] Through his words, he did not only criticize type projects created to apply anywhere in Turkey, but also he criticized execution of modern buildings in Turkey as the imitations of Western and Russian ones. According to him, "The village architecture and the architect are born out of the village itself. Its construction is made

---

[354] Nusret Kemal, "Halk Kuvveti," *Ülkü* (Februry, 1933): 49-52; Hamit Zübeyr, "Halk Terbiyesi Vasıtaları," *Ülkü* (March, 1933): 152-159; Anonymous, "Garp Memleketlerinde Halk Terbiyesi," *Ülkü* (May, 1933): 295-306.

[355] "Biz garbin merkantil medeniyetindeki manasında şehir ve köy ayrılığı istemiyoruz. Şehirle köyü ruhu itibariyle, kültür itibariyle, medeniyet itibariyle biribirine kavuşturmak istiyoruz." Nusret Kemal, "Köy Seferberliğine Doğru," *Ülkü* (June, 1933): 356.

[356] "[…] inkılap yolunda bihassa üç noktaya en çok ehemmiyet vermemiz lazım: Milli iktisadımızı, en başta milli iktisadımızın bel kemiğini teşkil edecek olan köy iktisadımızı teşkilatlandırmak: köylerin memleketin esas unsurunu teşkil ettiğini göz önünde tutarak evvela köyleri inkişaf ettirmek, rolleri köylerin bağlantı noktası, idare, iktisat ve kültür merkezliği olan şehirleri köylerle olan münasebetleri bakımından işlemek; ve bütün bunların üstünde köylüyü bir demokrasi vatandaş olarak yetiştirmek. Bu suretle ortaya koyduğumuz köy meselesini ikiye bölebiliriz: 1. Köyün imarı, 2. Köylüyü yetiştirmek." Kemal, "Köy Seferberliğine Doğru," 357.

[357] "Köylüye başka diyarlardan yapı malzemesi getirtemezsiniz, ona Ankarada oturup Erzurum için çizilen bir planı tatbik ettiremezsiniz, ona kasabadaki evleri, Cermen ve Rus köylerini taklit ettiremezsiniz." Aptullah Ziya, "Köy Mimarisi," *Ülkü* (June, 1933): 370.

by the stone, soil and wood of the village."[358] Thus, he believed in modernism that belonged to the region, the soil, the climate, etc.

There are some village projects designed by some known architects in 1940. The discourse on villages came into existence in projects when Ziya thought about the nature of village. Abidin Mortaş explained how villages could be formed as follows:

> A small travel into the country to explore can give clues about the construction system of Turkish peasants that they created according to their way of living and needs till today. Yet, by stylizing the primitive forms which are caused by the lack of equipment and random/causal constructions, it is necessary to organize and study the village from scratch. Our peasants find the new forms that desired to be applied by urban minds unusual. They cannot be comfortable in foreign houses non-compatible with their own way of living. [359]

The projects of village type were also explained as economical. For instance, Mortaş explained his village design as follows: "These types of houses are single-storey, full of light and proper. Also, it has been noticed that the loss of space and money shouldn't take place."[360]

5. 3. Rationalization in terms of Stripping the Ornament off

The modern architecture was mainly grounded on the rejection of the overdecorated eclecticism in Germany and in the rest of Europe, known in England and United States as the Victorian style. This rejection materialized towardS 1900 as searching for new forms under the leadership of figures as Alfred Messel, Peter Behrens and Paul Bonatz.[361] By using vocabularies of the older styles, the architects arrived at new combinations which were at once novel in appearance but related to the past.

---

[358] "Köyün mimarisi ve mimarı köyün içinden doğar. Yapısı köyün taşı, toprağı ve ağacıyla yapılır." Ziya, "Köy Mimarisi," 370.

[359] "Memleket içinde yapılacak ufak bir tetkik seyahati Türk köylüsünün, kendi yaşayış tarzına ve ihtiyaçlarına uygun olarak bugüne kadar vücude getirdiği yapı manzumesi hakkında bir fikir verebilir. Ancak, vasıtasızlık ve rastgele yapılmak yüzünden iptidai kalmış olan şekilleri stilize ederek, köyü bir kül halinde mütalea etmek ve tertiplendirmek lazımdır. Şehirli kafasile tatbik edilmek istenecek yeni şekilleri köylümüz yadırgar. Kendi yaşayış tarzına uymayan yabancı evlerde rahatsız olur." Abidin Mortaş, "Köy Evi Tipleri," *Arkitekt* (January, 1940): 8.

[360] "Tek katlı, aydınlık ve derli toplu olmaktan başka iddiası olmayan bu tiplerde en ziyade yer kayıp olmamasına, lüzumsuz masraf yapılmamasına dikkat edilmiştir." Abidin Mortaş, "Kasaba Evleri," *Arkitekt* (January, 1940): 11.

[361] Barbara Miller Lane, "The Revolution in Style," *Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918-1945*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968, 12.

Barbara Miller Lane in her impressive book called *Architecture and Politics in Germany* described Bonatz's Stuttgart railroad station as the climax of the transformation of historicism into modern design. According to her, the most distinctive feature of this building was "the asymmetrical organization of angular, relatively unadorned forms which had no source in the historic styles."[362] She also explained that the process of abstraction from historicism was carried out by reduction of buildings into cubic masses and historicist ornament into stylized orderly pattern.[363]

The arguments of ornament occupy crucial place in the history of modern architecture. The rejection of the overdecorated eclecticism was grounded on the criticism of the applied, inorganic ornament. While Henry Van de Velde proposed an "ahistoric ornament"[364] which refers to natural forces, but not to history, Adolf Loos stood up for the elimination of ornament from objects worthwhile. He claimed that "the evolution of culture is synonymous with the removal of ornament from utilitarian objects."[365] He reacted strongly against Van de Velde's and Art Nouveau and Jugendstil figures' attempt to "replace Beaux-Arts eclecticism with what he saw as a superficial system of ornament."[366] The attitudes of architects to ornament became a sign of how they understood modernity. Some stripped the ornament off their buildings, while others invented new types of ornament. Some preferred to use bare, flat surfaces, while others preferred to use curvilinear lines to create modern ornamentation.

In Turkey, under the leadership of German architects like Bonatz, the cubic unadorned forms found its clearest formulation in public buildings which will be scrutinized in chapter 6. At the same time a similar process was taking place in residential architecture in Turkey, like in the Western architectural milieu. There were many examples of simplified cubic masses in 1930s. Especially, unadorned surfaces plated with edelptuz stucco were the distinctive feature of ERP residential architecture. Zeki Sayar's buildings were the specific examples of that kind of architecture (Figures 5.37, 5.38, and 5.39).

---

[362] Lane, "The Revolution in Style," 16.

[363] Lane, "The Revolution in Style," 16.

[364] Mitchell Schwarzer, *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*, 229.

[365] Adolf Loos, "Ornament and Crime," *On 20th-century Architecture*, (1970, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1994), trans. Michael Bullock, ed. Ulric Conrads, 20.

[366] Alan Colquhoun, "The Urn and the Chamberpot: Adolf Loos 1900-30," *Modern Architecture*, 73.

Figure 5.37. Zeki Sayar, A residence in Moda
(Source: *Arkitekt* March, 1936: 65)

Figure 5.38. Zeki Sayar, A residence in Kalamış
(Source: *Arkitekt* May-June, 1936: 129)

Figure 5.39. Zeki Sayar, A Residence in Suadiye
(Source: *Arkitekt* September-October, 1937: 269)

In some residential buildings and apartment blocks the orthogonality of architecture was articulated with curvilinear lines which became also a characteristic of modern aesthetics of 1930s. The curvilinear lines were employed sometimes to differentiate living spaces from the other ones (Figure 5.40a and 40b), sometimes to describe semi-open spaces (Figures 5.41a and 41b), sometimes to emphasize a corner (Figure 5.42). In the case of Sırrı Arif's Pangaltı apartment block, the treatment of two different arches and in the case of Seyfi Arkan's apartment block the treatment of different surfaces seem to constitute a new façade approach without ornamentation. The colour and level difference of surfaces, different textures, and the proportions of the openings enabled a new order in both cases. The struggle for a balance between horizontality and verticality mainly determined the usage of different levels, textures, and colours in apartment blocks instead of ornamentation.
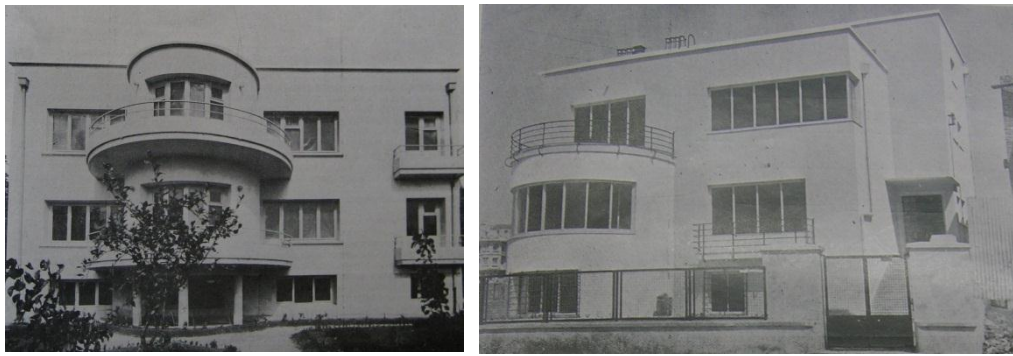
Figure 5.40.a) Abidin Mortaş. A Residence in Erenköy (Source: *Arkitekt* September, 1936:51)
b) Zeki Selah, Sani Yaver House (Source: *Mimar* May, 1932: 131)
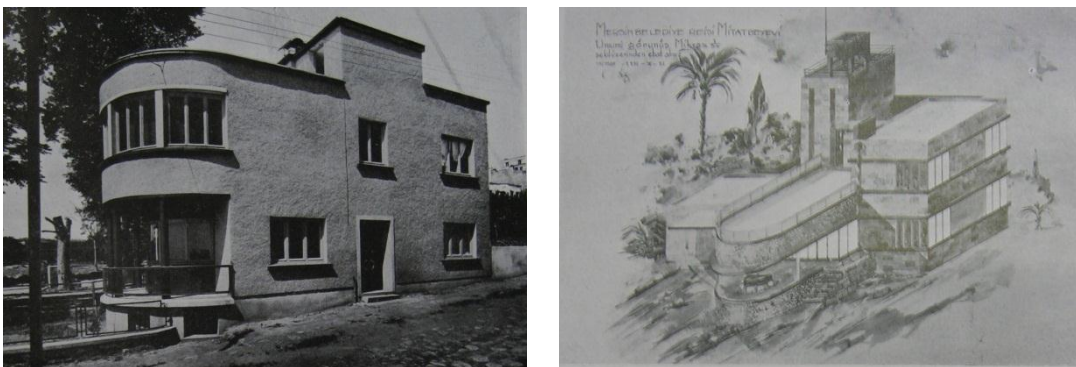
Figure 5.41.a) Münci Tangör, A Residence in Kadıköy (Source: Arkitekt (May-June, 1939: 107)
b) Aptullah Ziya, A Project of Mayor House (Source: *Mimar* Mart, 1932: 75)
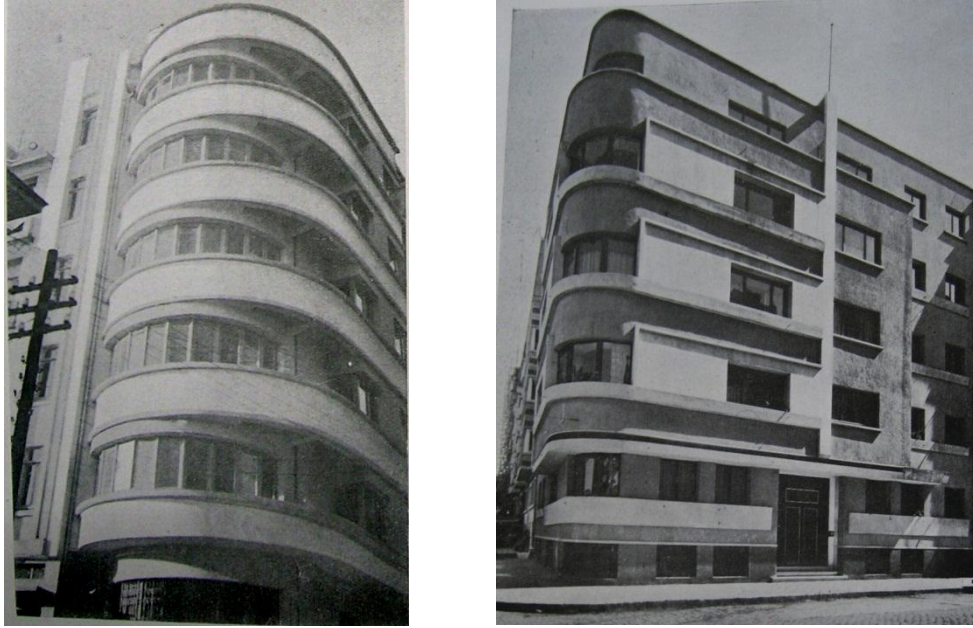
Figure 5.42.a) Zeki Selah, Apartment Block in Pangaltı (Source: *Arkitekt* February, 1932: 35-36) b) Seyfi Arkan, Apartment Block in Taksim (Source: *Arkitekt* May-June, 1939: 102)

5.4. Rationalization in terms of Minimalism

Rationalism in architecture was materialized by getting rid of the extraneous, such as ornament. The unadorned cubic forms which contained spaces that minimum in size were accepted as rational and modern. There were many buildings in 1930s formed by simplified cubes whether additive or not. Although unadorned cubical forms were widespread in architectural milieu, the emphasis was on horizontality,[367] simplicity,[368] and hygienic design[369] in the descriptive articles of the buildings in *Arkitekt*. The quality of a design was explained by especially harmony, horizontality and simplicity. The discussions on formal or spatial qualities are not encountered in these examples. Although the elements like ribbon window, additive geometric structures, cubic masses, curvilinear forms the main characteristics of the central European "New Architecture" were employed by the architects, the editors or writers of the *Arkitekt* did not mention

---

[367] Anonymous, "İzzet Bey Evi," *Arkitekt* (April, 1932): 100; Selah, "Apartman Binası: Pangaltı," 35.

[368] Zeki Selah, "Dr. Sani Yaver Villası," *Arkitekt* (May, 1932): 136.

[369] Anonymous, "Mühendis Derviş Evi," *Arkitekt* (September, 1932): 243.

about these features. It may be construed that the main attitude of *Arkitekt* was to accentuate what the new architecture should be with simplicity.

Simplicity in design encompassed not only functionality of a building without extremes and purification from excesses; but also covered spatial values created by minimum interventions. There were projects and buildings which included that kind of simplicity in 1930s. For example, Eldem's Bayan Firdevs Evi (Figure 5.43) and Elektrik Şirketi (Figure 5.44), and Abdullah Ziya's residence in Moda (Figure 5.45) had pure and simple geometry, and the voids in these buildings did not spoil the wholeness of the mass. Ziya's another minimalist house is dated 1933. While he preferred the additive geometries in his residential projects, produced in 1932, his buildings became more clear and simple after 1933. In his residential building, in one whole mass the solid-void equilibrium (Figure 5.46) appeared. The large void in the mass defined the entrance space with its terrace, and the organization of glass openings like ribbon window supported the openness through the terrace. It is very impressive in terms of realizing the spatial character of the building with a little inference. The striking point in the descriptive writing of this building is the explanation of the void. The writer explained this void in terms of economical conditions: "the necessity of adapting this form [he mentioned the void as the entrance space] emerged because of the impossibility of building an eave for a cheap house."[370] In addition, the usage of local material was accentuated in this article to support the reasonable cost of the house.

Figure 5.43. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Bayan Firdevs House
(Source: *Mimar* December, 1934: 331)

---

[370] Anonymous, "Bir Kira Evi," *Mimar* (February, 1933): 41. "Ucuz bir eve saçak yapmak imkansız oldugundan bu şekle uymak mecburiyeti hasıl olmuştur."

Figure 5.44. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Electric Company
(Source: *Mimar* June, 1934: 160)
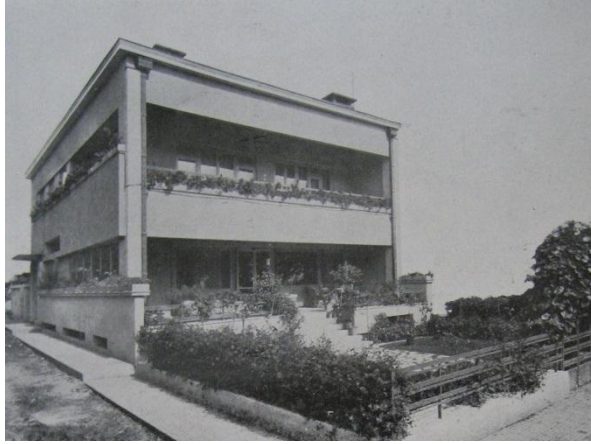
Figure 5.45. Aptullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, A Residence in Moda
(Source: *Arkitekt* September, 1936: 246)
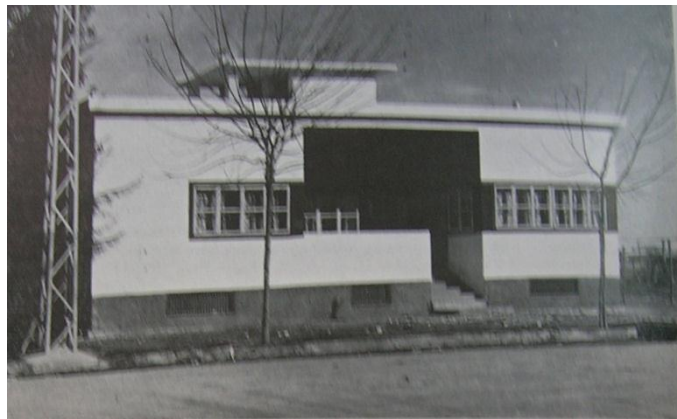
Figure 5.46. Aptullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, A Residence
(Source: *Mimar* February, 1933: 41)

From about 1933 onwards, especially Bekir İhsan (Ünal) and Seyfi Arkan employed radically simplified cubic masses, assembled asymmetrically and absolutely unadorned. Their projects carried the traces of new architecture in Bauhaus were admitted as a purely German phenomenon.[371] In Bekir İhsan's little housing projects for employees of the State Railroads, the bare flat surfaces with flat roof and without rusticated masonry base made the mass very simple and clear (Figure 5.47). The only elements in façade were openings and balconies. These features emerged as a new attitude for the new architecture in Turkey. The project was a small house but it included semi-open and open spaces as terraces, so the spatial variety could be found even in his small-size works. Simplicity did not only show itself in the mass, but also in plan solution. In the plan of the first project, only one element that is staircase provided the organization and the seperation of the spaces. Bekir İhsan's other projects shared similar morphological features especially for the impact of the masses and the simplicity of plan solutions. Although his architecture could be discussed in the context of novelties like Ziya's building above mentioned, Bekir İhsan's projects were only explained regarding the economical way of construction. [372]
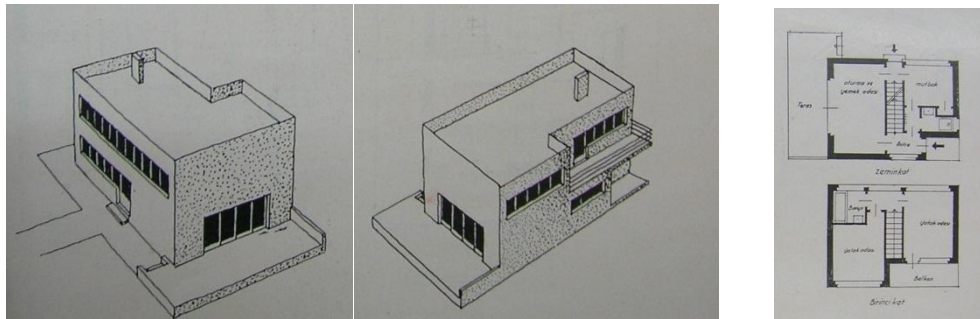
Figure 5.47. Bekir İhsan, Little Housing Projects for employees of State Railroads, perspectives and plans. (Source: *Mimar* February, 1933: 53)

All in all, ERP architecture is confronted as a medium where rationalizm can be traced. Rational design is not a concept that occurred with the establishment of the republic. Yet, instrumentalization of the rationalism in design can be seen with the establishment of the republic. Rationalizm was used to create a new architecture. Indications of rationalizm as simplicity, unadorned surfaces, minimalist usage of spaces,

---

[371] Barbara Miller Lane, "The Revolution in Style," *Architecture and Politics in Germany*, 1918-1945, 27.

[372] Anonymous, "Ev Projeleri," *Arkitekt* (January, 1933): 18.

economical design, standardization and type are observed as the signs of 'new architecture, simultaneously. The architects of the period who were after to create a modern architecture that belong to the Turks regard rationalizm not as a target but as an instrument. They criticize rationalizm concerning formal appearance only and evalute it as an imitation of the west. They approve of building a life style that belongs to us and expressing it through the rational instruments. Residential architecture had been significant among the architects of the time to compose modern Turkish architecture. Housing does not come out as a new function in ERP; on the contrary, it turns up as a long-lasting design problem on this terrirory. Thus, building a tradition of housing for the Turks with the rational instruments has been an important problem and occupation of the time to deal with. Rationalizm appears not only in housing but also in public constructions. Public buildings, the new-modern functions, will be evaluated regarding the impact of "new architecture" on them instead of rationalism in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6

THE INFLUENCES OF NEW ARCHITECTURE IN PUBLIC BUILDINGS

The first generation of architectural historians analyzed ERP architecture in the context of residential architecture and public buildings. They traced modernity in both fields in a different way. In general, between 1930 and 1940 they mainly focused on residential architecture, and after 1940, they mostly concentrated on public buildings. Although Turkish architects were planning public buildings and projects between 1930 and 1940, historians dealt with the examples of only foreign architects' works who were invited to Turkey by the state elites. To give a complete picture of the ERP architecture, modernization of public buildings should be evaluated with all of its complexities.

Rationalization of public buildings was parallel with the rationalization of residential architecture in ERP. However, considering the rationalization of public buildings, this study prefers arguing modernization of public buildings from different point of view. This study will focus on neglected examples of public buildings, between 1930 and 1940 in this chapter. Especially the competitions held and the public buildings constructed outside Ankara will be analyzed. In these public buildings, the influences of new architecture could be analyzed from the aspect of mass organization, façade treatment, plan organization, spatial relations and relationship between building and city.

6.1. Context: Questioning the Relationship between Building and City

In the classical scheme, the relationship between building and city was only associated with its façade and its open space. The façade and open space had been formed to create monumental effect of the building. Actually, the building was treated as an object and open space as a ground where the object was put so there was no close contact with the city. In the ERP architecture, the relationship between city and building started to be changed as questioning the boundaries of the building and boundaries of

the site. Although the lack of site plans makes harder to evaluate this relationship, some explanations of the architects show their effort to question the bound between the city and the building.

When it comes to the results of the competitions, they gave us some clues to evaluate architects' attitudes towards the city. For example, In the Sümerbank competition report, the owner of the first prize, Seyfi Arkan, explained the importance of the site in terms of its location, in 1935 (Figure 6.1). The site was located in Hakimiyeti Milliye square which was at intersection points of Anafartalar, Bankalar and Vekaletler streets. He especially focused on Anafartalar Street and he describes it as follows:

> In the new city, Ankara, as an access to the capital the considerably large road starts from the railway station and extends to Hakimiyeti Milliye square. It passes by the two important buildings of the years, the national assembly and Ankara Palas. It constitutes Anafartalar road which pauses at Hakimiyeti Milliye square for a short distance. And then, the road is divided into two directions taking the monument of victory in the middle and runs towards the historical site, Ankara castle.[373]

Arkan seems to use the datum of the analysis of the physical environment to decide the form of the building. He explains the curvilinear form which was the characteristic of Sümerbank building as in the following terms:

> Even though all these evaluations, the building being a commercial enterprise and its relationship with the city had a considerable role in determining the character of the building. The main point today is more than the determination of the character of the building based on its function, but rather its consideration based on city planning principles. While the road is leading to the center from the railway station as an access to the city, it meets the Hakimiyeti Milliye square where Anafartalar road opens. On that spot, there is a slight, delicate curve designed to make people feel the prominence of the road.[374]

---

[373] "Yeni Ankara şehrinin methalini teşkil eden ve Ankara istasyonundan başlıyarak Hakimiyeti Milliye meydanına kadar imtidat eden şimdilik Büyük Millet Meclisi ve Ankara Palas gibi iki mühim binanın önünden geçen oldukça geniş bir caddeden ibaret olan bu yol Hakimiyeti Milliye meydanında ufak bir duralamadan sonra iki istikamette Zafer abidesini ortalayarak tarihi büyük bir kıymeti olan Ankara kalesine kadar uzanan Anafartalar caddesi teşkil eder." Seyfettin Erkan, "Birinci İzah Notu," *Arkitekt* (March 1935): 72.

[374] "Bütün bu düşünceler ve binanın ticari bir müessese olması ve şehir ile olan münasebeti gibi mühim sebepler binanın karakterini az çok tayin etmiş ise de bugün için düşünülecek yegane esas yalnız binanın göreceği hizmete göre binaya karakter vermekle kalmayıp bundan evvel şehircilik esaslarını gözönünde bulundurarak düşünülmüş ve istasyondan Ankaraya doğru giren şehir methalini teşkil eden caddenin Hakimiyeti Milliye meydanından Anafartalar caddesine geçen kısmı hissedilecek suretle olması için gayet hafif ve tatlı bir münhani olarak çevrilmiş ve bu suretle oradan geçen caddenin de ehemmiyeti hissettirilmiş oluyor. Ve binanın bu dönüşü Milli Zafer abidemize de kuvvetli bir kavis teşkil etmiş oluyor." Erkan, "Birinci İzah Notu," 72.
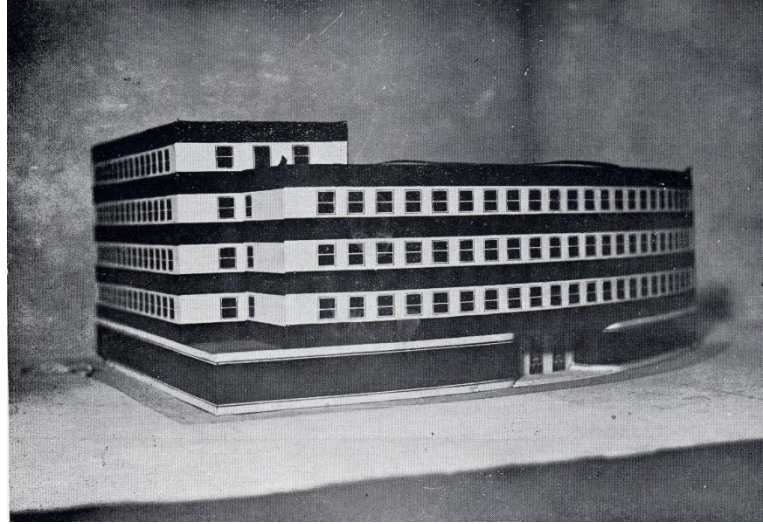
Figure 6.1. Seyfi Arkan, First prize of Sümerbank Competition, model.
(Source: *Arkitekt* March 1935: 68)

He came forward with a second proposal for Sümerbak Competition and in it Arkan offered another solution (Figure 6.2a). Different from the first proposal in terms of formal attitude and mass character, the second one was also founded on the same contextual analysis. Forming a little square in front of the building by creating a void, Arkan did not only provide the visual and physical connection between Anafartalar Street and Hakimiyeti Milliye square, but also expanding the boundaries of the square through his building. Moreover, the void he created in front of the building followed by another one on the façade and it became a gallery in the building which at the same time projected itself on the roof (Figure 6.2b). It could be said that Arkan's decisions on the relationship between city and the building affected or even, constituted the conceptual scheme of the building.

On the other hand, Eldem's proposal for Sümerbank showed similar traces of Arkan's decisions based on relationship between the city and the building (Figure 6.3a.). Like Arkan, Eldem used curvilinear forms in both façades. Although there is no printed explanation on Eldem's project, the reason of these lines may be the same with Arkan's (i.e. to connect Anafartalar Street with Hakimiyeti Milliye square visually). The other resemblance between Arkan and Eldem's proposals was the connection of the square with the building. Eldem also preferred using entrance space as the extension of the square through the building to form a large hall (Figure 6.3b). As the awareness about city planning develops, Arkan and Eldem did not only focus on the building, but

they also accepted the existence of the surrounding environment and the city as parts of design problem.
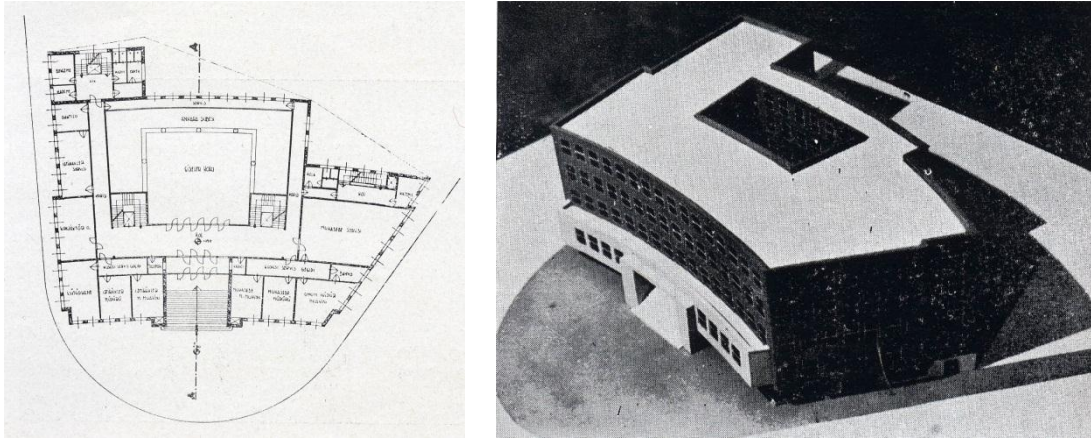
Figure 6.2.a) Seyfi Arkan, Second proposal for Sümerbank Competition, plan. b) Seyfi Arkan, Second proposal proposal for Sümerbank Competition, model (Source: *Arkitekt* March 1935): 80.
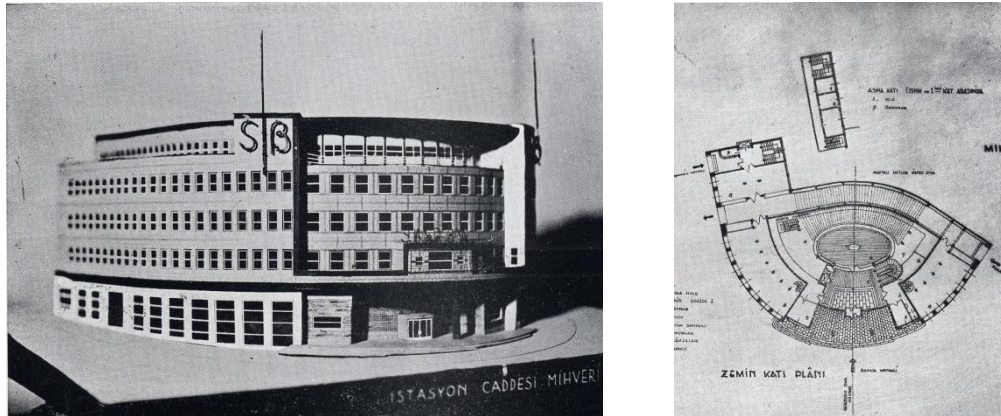
Figure 6.3.a) Eldem's proposal for Sümerbank Competition, model b) Eldem's proposal for Sümerbank Competition, plan (Source: *Arkitekt* March 1935): 73.

In the Municipalities Bank Competition report in 1935, Arkan explained the main properties of his project in the context of the plan of the city. He decided to follow the principles of Jansen plan. He explained his attitude towards the site as follows:

> In this section of Jansen plan, there is Emlak Bank with the park and the opera which still exists. There is no doubt that the opera building must be the most important organ of a building group. To emphasize its effect, the surrounding structures should be simple and plain. Therefore, the building was constructed in an unpretentious way. [375]

[375] "Yansen planının bu kısmında halen mevcut Emlak Bankası ile park ve Opera vardır. Bu inşaat birliğinin en mühim olması icap eden uzvu şüphesiz Opera binasıdır. Onun tesirini kuvvetlendirmek için

In this plain and simple scheme, Arkan established different spatial relations especially in the ground plan which will be analyzed in section 6.4. The flexibility of the ground plan leads people into the building. (Figure 4.4a). The ground floor stands back from the aligned upper floors. Through this, Arkan created a void underneath the building so it could be used both as a semi-open reception, and a passage from one street to the other. (Figure 4.4b). Using curvilinear forms, Arkan also makes this passage powerful. Thus, it may be said that in Arkan's project the relationship with the context was not only established with the formal attitudes of the building, but also with the mobility of people.
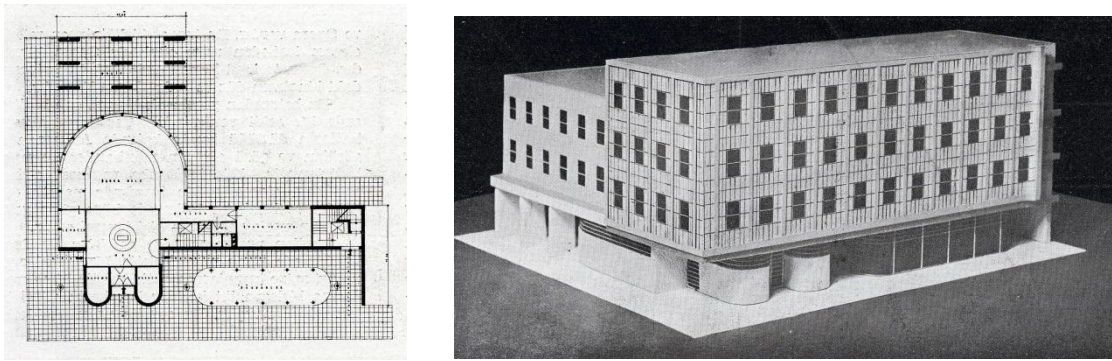
Figure 6.4.a) Seyfi Arkan, The first prize of Municipalities Bank Competition, plan. b) Seyfi Arkan, The first prize of Municipalities Bank Competition, model. (Source: *Arkitekt* October 1935): 287.

Eldem and Arkan were not the only two who paid attention to the relationship between the city and the building. So, was Arif Hikmet Holtay. Holtay emphasized the difference between the architect and the builder in that, the architect should be aware of the bound between the building and the city. He explains the hallmark of the profession in the following terms:

> All single buildings constructed by various architects constitute cities. This is the reason that no matter how small their buildings are, each architect is aware of the role of their buildings in the outlook of the city and they form their buildings accordingly. Hence, the building is not a single unit that dwells alone and is devoid of interaction with its neighborhood. In other words, it should not be built independently from its environs. This is the point where an architect differs from a man who puts stones on top of the other. [376]

civarındaki binaların düz ve sade olması lazımdır. Bu bakımdan yapılacak binaya çok basit ve sade bir şekil verilmiştir." Seyfi Arkan "Belediyeler Bankası proje müsabakası: Sur rumuzlu proje izah notu," *Arkitekt* (October, 1935), 287.

[376] Muhtelif mimarların yapacakları münferit binaların heyeti umumiyesi şehirleri teşkil ederler. Onun için her mimar, yaptığı en ufak bir yapının bile şehrin umumi görünüşünde bir rolü olduğunu bilir ve ona gore binasına şekil verir. Her mal sahibi filhakika kendisine ait tek bir binanın projesini mimara ısmarlar.

For Ziraat Bank building, Holtay did not only claim the necessity of establishing the relationship between the building and the city, but also he had a critical point of view in the master plan of that site. He criticized the the plan for obstructing the design of the square. He explains this as follows:

> In Bursa, there is a venue where all the governmental offices are located and Atatürk's statue is there, too. We all wish to see that spot as an honorable square. On the other hand, it is hardly possible to create a quarter with this desire because of the present major architectural lines, which have been set there, in an insensible and inconsiderate way. At the same time, officials that were respectively new erstwhile were far from supporting this subject. [377]

Holtay says that he tried to make his project as a part of the square, and helped define it. The main principle of this bank project was determined as being a part of the square (Figure 6.5). He points out: "The crucial points in the design of this project are as follows: To give a prosperous effect as much as possible despite the size of the bank. Also, to support the identity of the square. Finally, to create an honourable ambiance around Atatürk's statue."[378]
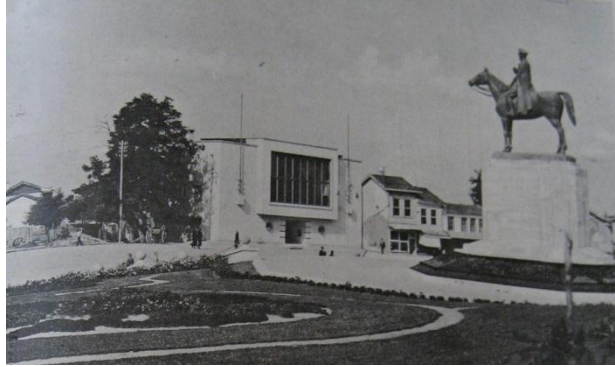
Figure 6.5. Arif Hikmet Holtay, Ziraat Bank.
(Source: *Arkitekt* December 1936: 325)

Mimar da tek bir binaya ait projeyi yapar. Böyle olmakla beraber neticede meydana gelen o bina hiç bir zaman tek başına yaşıyan, etraf ve civarına hiç bir kaydü şartla bağlı olmıyan bir mevcudiyet değildir. Daha doğrusu olmamalıdır. Mimarı, taş taş üstüne koyup ta bina yapan diğer unsurlardan ayıran işte bu noktadır. Anonymous, "Ziraat Bankası Şubesi, Bursa," *Arkitekt* (December, 1936): 325.

[377] "Bursa'da hükümet devairinin bulunduğu bir yer vardır. Atatürk heykeli de oradadır. Onun için o mevkiin şerefli bir meydan haline gelmesini gönül istemektedir. Halbuki vaktile o mevkiin esas hatlarının bilgisiz ve düşüncesiz tespit edilmiş olması orada bir meydanın teşekkülünü zorlaştırdığı gibi nisbeten yeni olan hükümet devairi de bu hususta bir yardım etmemektedirler." Anonymous, "Ziraat Bankası Şubesi, Bursa," 325.

[378] "Hakikatte küçük bir banka şubesi olan bu binanın azami bir büyüklük tesiri vermesi ve bu suretle meydanı kavramağa yardım etmesi; ve aynı zamanda Atatürk heykeli etrafında şerefli bir muhit yaratmağa yardım etmesi, bu projenin yapılışı üzerinde esas amili teşkil etmiştir." Anonymous, "Ziraat Bankası Şubesi, Bursa," 325.

The competition of Passenger Hall of Istanbul Port in 1937 was also an important project in terms of understanding architects' attitudes towards the urban area. It was an annex project and located between the planned square and the sea. While the first prize was shared among three architects, the second prize was shared by five architects. Arkan who won one of the first prizes started his competition report explaining the project in terms of urbanization, as he did in the Municipalities Bank and the Sümerbank competitions. He explained the main concept and the formal attitude of the building in the competition report. He explained the curvilinear line of the port as "avoidance from blocking the sight of the buildings [Rıhtım and Çinilihan] on either side of the port, separation from them, creation of suitable lines for the sea, and forming a background for the planned square." [379] (Figure 6.6.).
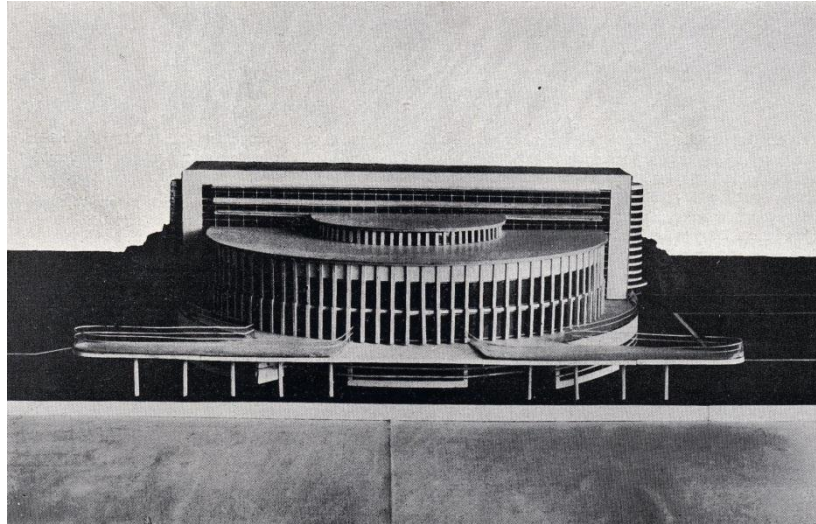
Figure 6.6. Seyfi Arkan, One of the first prizes of İstanbul Port Competition, model. (Source: *Arkitekt* February 1937: 42)

Unlike Arkan, Rebii Gordon who won also the first prize gave importance to the passenger hall without paying attention to the surrounding buildings and he preferred to be close to the sea to increase the monumental effect of the building (Figure 6.7a). He pointed it out as follows:

> The first stage for the passengers of the boats arriving to the port is this building. Hence, it was desired for it to be monumental in shape. According to the competition brief, the passenger hall

---

[379] "İki yandaki binaların [Rıhtım and Çinilihan] görüş imkanını azaltmamak, onlardan tefrik edilmek ve denize uygun hatlar elde etmek," he explained the office block as "ileride vücude gelecek olan meydana fon teşkil etmesi için." Seyfi Arkan, "İstanbul Limanı Yolcu Salonu Proje Müsabakası: N. 1777 H. Rumuzlu proje izah notu," *Arkitekt* (February, 1937): 42.

should be three-storey. While approaching to the land from the sea, the building should be distinguished from Rihtim and Çinilihan so it should be closer to the sea. Additionally, the sense of supremacy and individuality had been expressed through raising the passenger hall above and placing a tower next to it. [380]

He also introduced ideas for the square located at the back. He suggested expanding the roads which reached towards the square. Moreover, He proposed a monument and two car-parking areas for this place (Figure 6.7b).
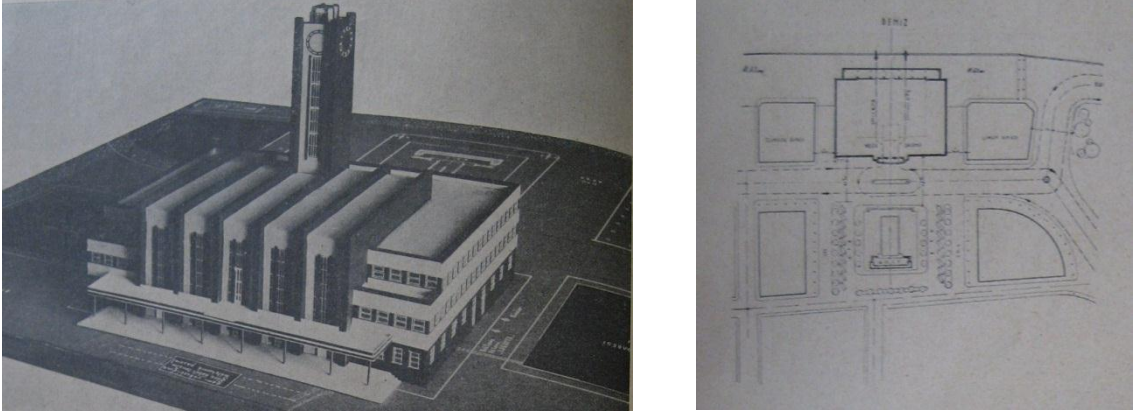
Figure 6.7.a) Rebii Gordon, One of the first prizes of İstanbul Port Competition, model b) Rebii Gordon, One of the first prizes of İstanbul Port Competition, site plan. (Source: *Arkitekt* February 1937): 47.

For the same competition Şevki Balmumcu who won one of the second prizes treated existing two buildings different from Arkan and Gordon (Figure 6.8). Balmumcu accepted two existing buildings as the part of the problem and he installed the new functions to two buildings physically and visually. He combined the passenger hall to the other buildings by bridges on the first level; moreover, he designed a canopy which covered all three buildings (Figure 6.9). In the project, Arkan, Gordon and Balmumcu suggested different proposals for the environment, as well. Their approaches to the environment determined their designs.

---

[380] "Yolcuların Türkiyeye varışının ilk merhalesi olan bu binanın bir abide şeklinde olması temenni edilmiş ve müsabaka şartnamesinde istenilen üç katlı salon binasının iki tarafında bulunan Rıhtım ve Çinilihanların faik irtifaları arasında sönük kalmaması için bina denize doğru ilerletilmiş ve deniz cihetinde yolcu salonu irtifai yükseltilerek ve bir kule konularak binaya hem azamet hem de hususiyet verilmek istenmiştir." Rebii Gordon, "İstanbul Limanı Yolcu Salonu Proje Müsabakası: Yalı rumuzlu projeye ait izah notu," *Arkitekt* (February, 1937): 52.
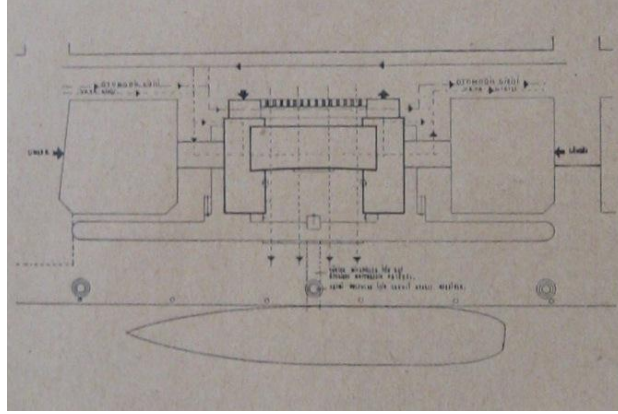
Figure 6.8. Şevki Balmumcu, One of the second prizes of İstanbul Port, site plan.
(Source: *Arkitekt* February 1937: 48)
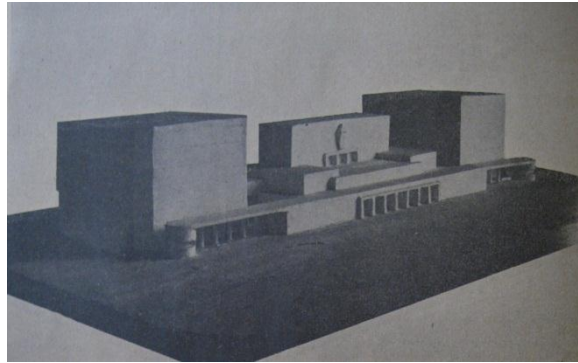
Figure 6.9. Şevki Balmumcu, One of the second prizes of İstanbul Port, site plan.
(Source: *Arkitekt* February 1937: 48)

All in all, it could be said that the ERP architects gave importance to the relationship between the building and the city. To them, the building was not an object located on any site. On the contrary, the point they gave priority was that the buildings belonged to the site.

6.2. Mass: Questioning the Articulation of Different Masses

There were different approaches to public buildings in the mass organization of ERP architectural milieu. Some of the architects used additive geometries, which was common in residential architecture in those years; while others produced only one mass which had bare, flat surfaces. Some of them used the method of collision, while others employed different articulation elements to bring different geometries together.

Although there were differences in the mass organization, the general tendency was to express the functions in the mass.

Most of the proposals of Istanbul Theatre and Conservatory Competition covered masses that were constituted with additive geometries. For example, Hans Poelzig's proposal for this competition awarded the first prize, encompassed different geometries which expressed different functions (Figure 6.10). Similarly, using the same plan organization in terms of location of the functions, Sedad Hakkı Eldem put these different functions together by expressing them in the mass (Figure 6.11). In these projects, because of the significance of the symbolic meaning of the building and according to functional requirements, the concert hall was expressed pretentiously. Similarly, among the proposals for the Municipalities Bank competition, the projects which were awarded the second and third prizes were composed of additive geometries. In these two projects, the geometries were also accentuated by different colors to separate the parts of the mass (Figure 6.12 and Figure 6.13).
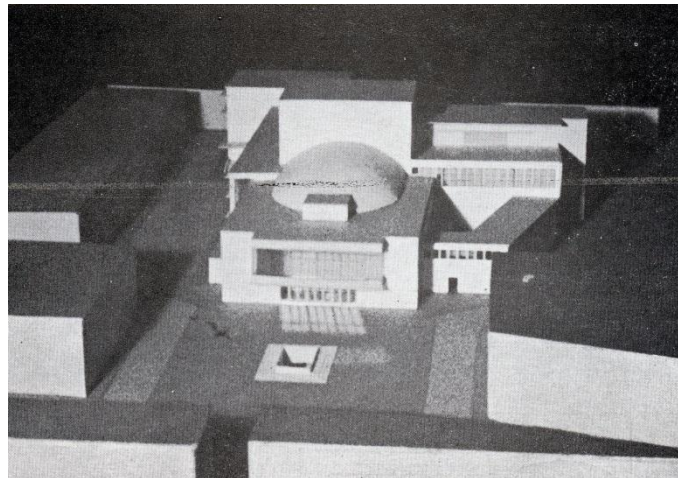
Figure 6.10. Hans Poelzig, The first prize of İstanbul Theatre and Conservatory Competition, model (Source: *Arkitekt* January 1935:1)
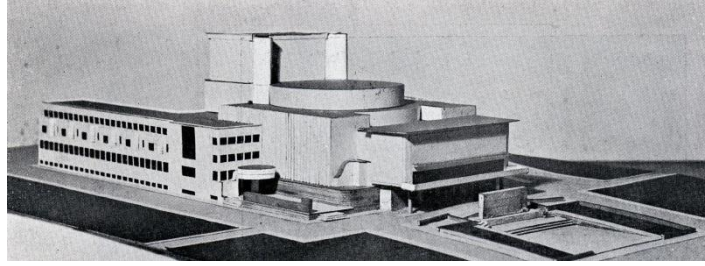
Figure 6.11. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, The proposal for İstanbul Theatre and Conservatory Competition, model. (Source: *Arkitekt* January 1935: 19)

Figure 6.12. Architects Affan and Nizamettin, The second prize of Municipalities Bank Competition, model. (Source: *Arkitekt* October 1935: 289)
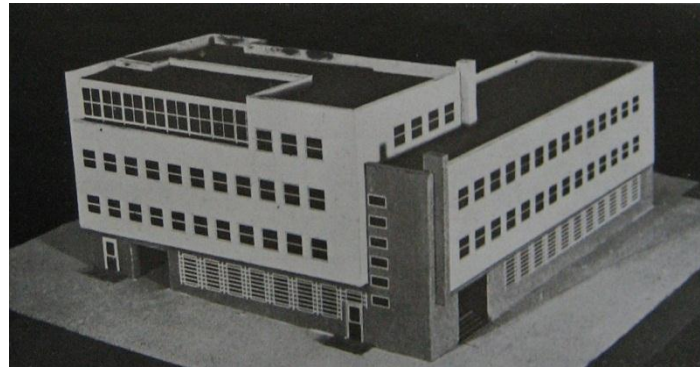
Figure 6.13. Architects Celal and Reşat, The second prize of Municipalities Bank Competition, model. (Source: *Arkitekt* October 1935): 289.

The collision of the masses was also encountered as another articulation technique in some of the public buildings. In the competition of Gümrükler ve İnhisarlar Vekaleti in 1934, many proposals employed collision as the way of mass organization. For example, Sedad Hakkı Eldem used this technique in his proposal which was awarded the first prize. However, this collision did not meet the expected response in

spatial organization (Figure 6.14). The parts of the mass was planned as different floors, rather than creating different spatial qualities on the spots of collision. There was no relationship between the two floors visually and physically. Abdullah Ziya's proposal displayed similarity in that movement in mass does not invoke responses in space (Figure 6.15). On the other hand, in Holtay's proposal, the spots of collision have circulation elements that connected different floors. In addition, when the two different masses collided, one of the masses became transparent so it changed the character of the façade on that part (Figure 6.16).
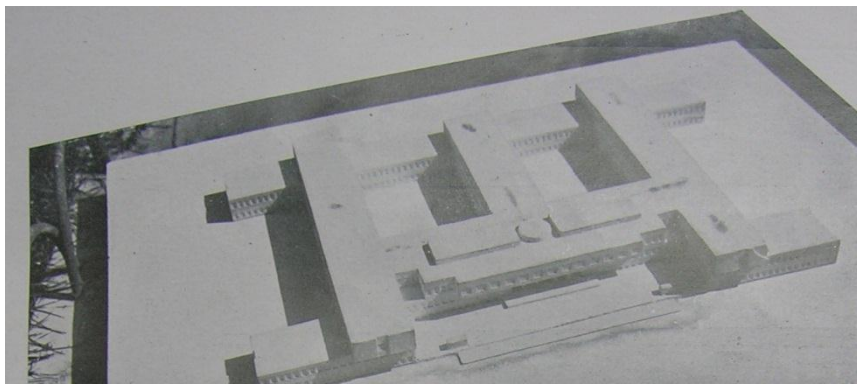
Figure 6.14. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, The first prize of Gümrükler ve İnhisarlar Vekaleti Competition, model. (Source: *Arkitekt* July 1934: 195)

Figure 6.15. Aptullah Ziya, One of the proposals of Gümrükler ve İnhisarlar Vekaleti Competition, model. (Source: *Arkitekt* July 1934: 201)
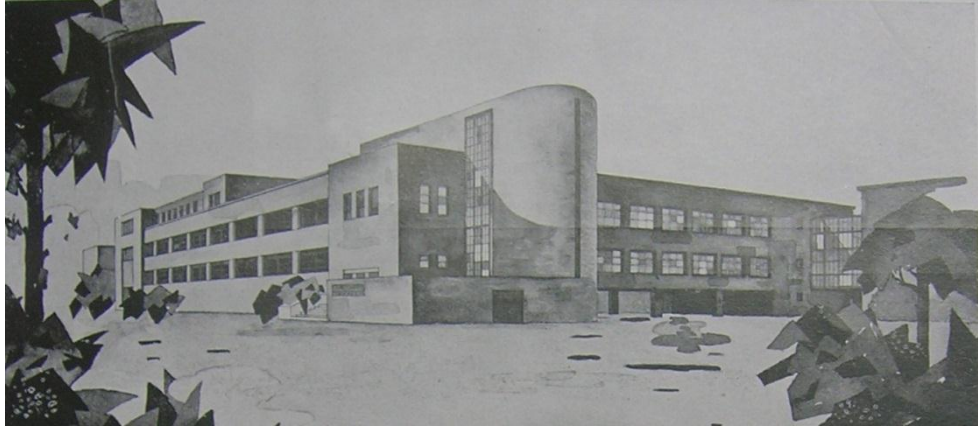
Figure 6.16. Arif Hikmet (Holtay), One of the proposals of Gümrükler ve İnhisarlar Vekaleti Competition, model. (Source: *Arkitekt* July 1934: 199)

Holtay used different way of collision in his İstanbul University Observatory, constructed in 1936. He made rectangular prisms connected to a perfect cylinder. In this project, the perfect circle of the cylinder established direct relationship with only one rectangle which may be seen in the plan. In the collision, the circle opens itself to this rectangle only (Figure 6.17a). Holtay emphasized this rectangular prism by constructing it higher than the other prisms, in the mass arrangement (Figure 6.17b). In addition, the solid facades of the perfect circle were balanced with the transparency of the rectangular prism. In this project, the perfect circle was fragmented neither in plan organization, nor in mass formation. On the other hand, Arkan in his proposal for the İstanbul Theatre and Conservatory competition fragmented perfect circle in plan organization without losing its circular characteristic (Figure 6.18). While in plan organization circle is fragmented in connection with the   rectangle, in mass organization the circle is expressed as a perfect cylinder (Figure 6.19). This is not valid only for the circle. In the same way, the geometries are fragmented in Arkan's plan but represent them as a whole in the mass. For example, the rectangle with the staircase in its body is located on the collision point with the cylinder in the plan. In spite of this, the geometries perceived as a whole in the plan are expressed fragmented in the mass. For example, the collided rectangle prisms with the perfect cylinder reveal themselves as divided in the mass. Considering all, Arkan's attitude to the mass organization is different in the concept because all the lines of his plan aren't extruded to the mass without a change. He searched for a different integrity in mass organization which, at the same time, supported the spatial quality of the buildings.
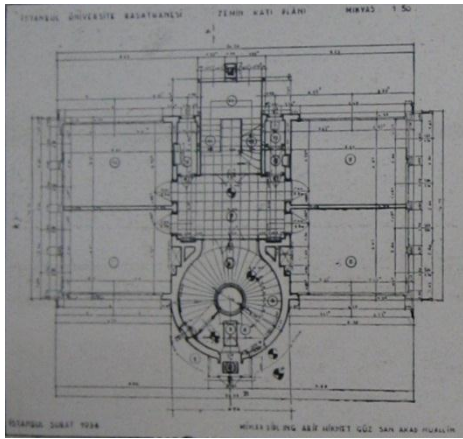
154
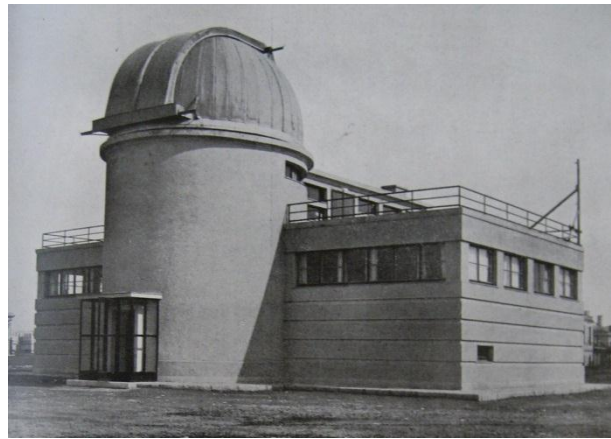
Figure 6.17.a) Arif Hikmet (Holtay), İstanbul University Observatory, plan b) Arif Hikmet (Holtay), İstanbul University Observatory (Source: *Arkitekt* March 1936: 99)
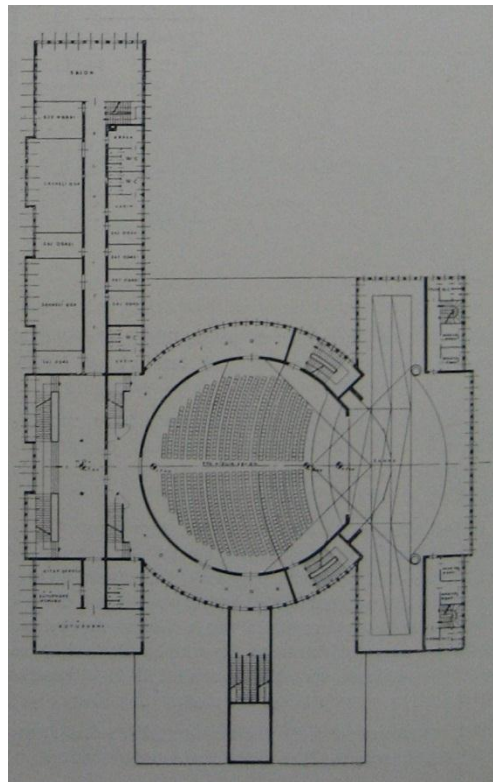

Figure 6.18. Seyfi Arkan, Suggestion for İstanbul Theatre and Conservatory Competition, plan. (Source: *Arkitekt* January 1935: 28)
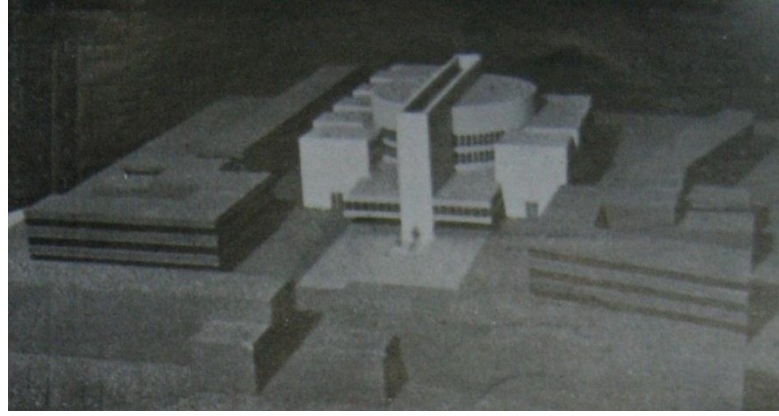
Figure 6.19. Seyfi Arkan, Suggestion for İstanbul Theatre and Conservatory Competition, plan.
(Source: *Arkitekt* January 1935: 27)

Another method of bringing different masses together was to use different articulation elements independent from the masses. In Vocational School and Kamutay (Turkish National Assembly) projects, Arkan employed articulation elements to connect the cylinder and ellipse to the rectangles. In Vocational school project, the perfect circle is attached to the other geometries with the extension of the corridors in two points. Additionally, stair-well is connected to the cylinder with an extension of the entrance space (Figure 6.20). Although the articulation elements are seen as independent joints in mass, these are considered as a part of the plan (Figure 6.21). Similarly, in Kamutay project these articulation elements established organic relations between the ellipse and rectangular prisms by projecting from the structures (Figure 6.22). As seen in section drawings, the three dimensional effect of these articulation elements not perceived as additions also supported this organic relation (Figure 6.23).
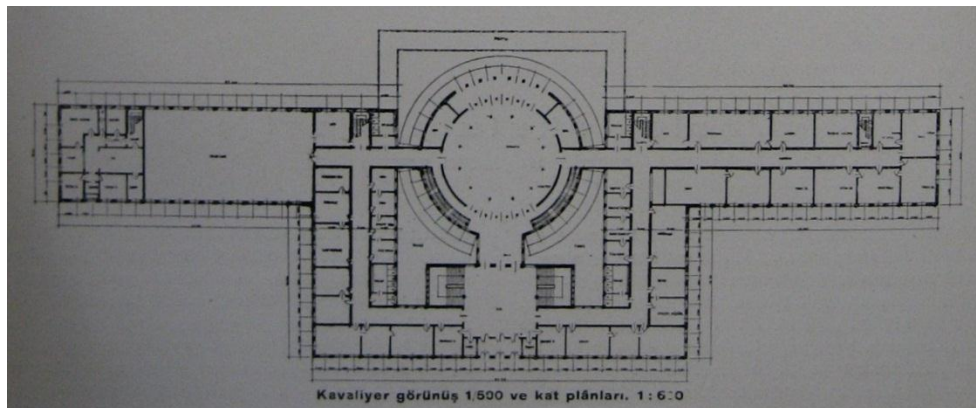
Figure 6.20. Seyfi Arkan, Vocational school project, plan
(Source: *Arkitekt* February 1936: 44)
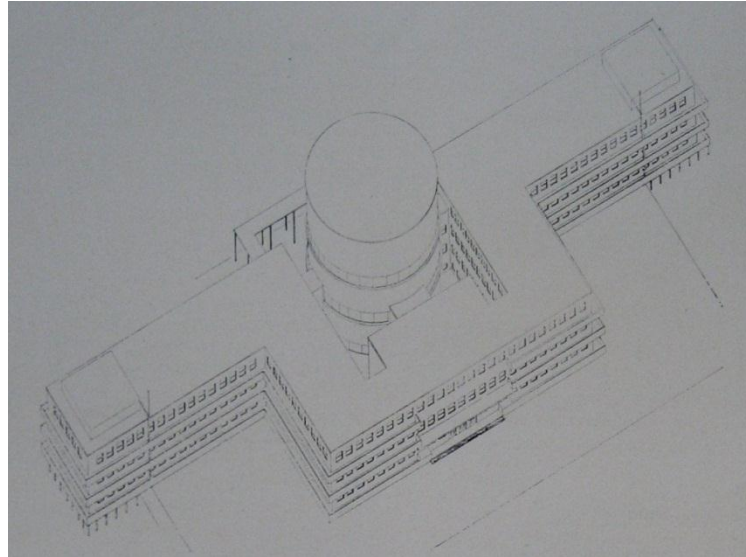
Figure 6.21. Seyfi Arkan, Vocational School project, perspective
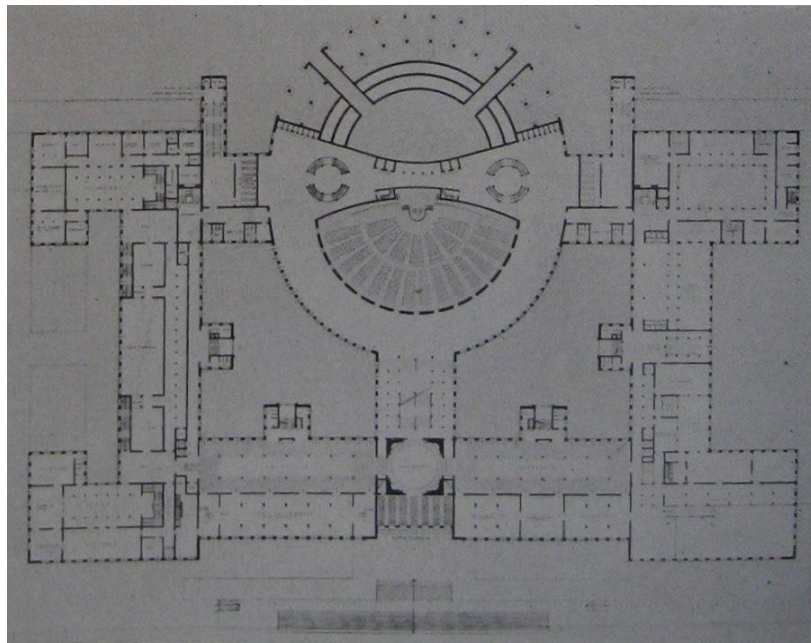(Source: *Arkitekt* February 1936:44)

Figure 6.22. Seyfi Arkan, Suggestion for Kamutay Competition, plan
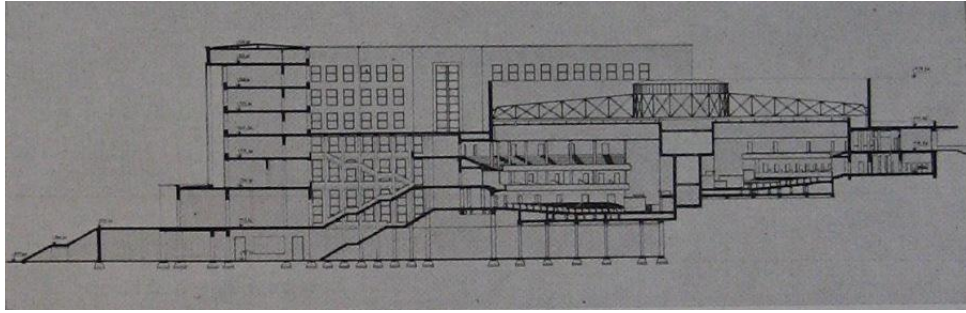(Source: *Arkitekt* April 1938: 124)

Figure 6.23. Seyfi Arkan, Suggestion for Kamutay Competition, section.
(Source: *Arkitekt* April 1938: 124)

Sedad Hakkı Eldem's Music School which was an annex project is an interesting example in this context. (Figure 6.24). The additional part Eldem designed is constituted by hexagonal geometries which are organized around an octagon. At first glance, the old part and the new part seem to be located next to each other; however, one of the hexagons is an articulation of these two different bodies. (Figure 6.25). This hexagon does not only constitute a passage between the two units, but also the entrance space. While it is difficult to connect central geometry with other geometries, Eldem managed this by connecting central geometry with one of its fragments.

Figure 6.24. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Music School, perspective.
(Source: *Arkitekt* January 1938: 11)
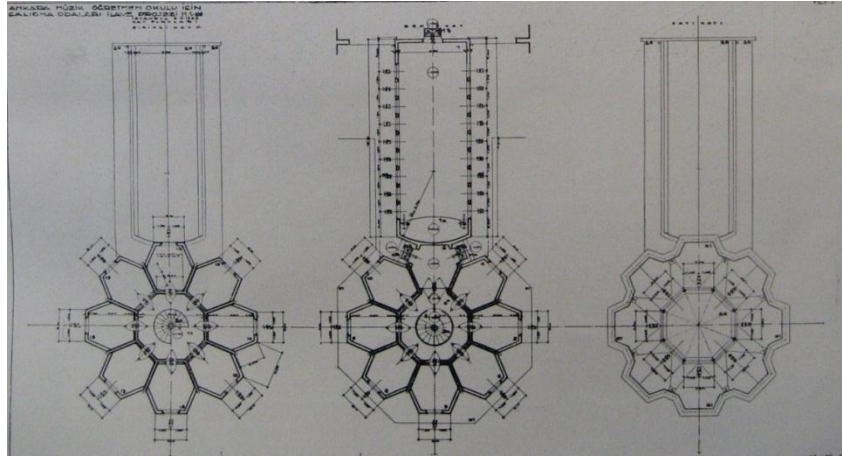
Figure 6.25. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Music School, plans.
(Source: *Arkitekt* January 1938: 11)

As mentioned earlier, there were varieties in mass organizations in public buildings of ERP. Although the search for new articulations and new mass organizations could be witnessed in ERP architecture, their spatial responses could be seen in limited examples. The various attempts of architects give us a reason to think that their target was not to represent the power of the state through public buildings, but they searched for a new architecture with their attempts.

6.3. Questioning the Façade

The monumental effect is the main feature of the classical architecture. The façade design and the arrangement of the open space are the tools of this effect. Adorned, symmetrically and vertically designed façade emphasizes the monumental impact of the building. In ERP architecture, this notion of façade started to change. And plain, unornamented, asymmetrically and horizontally designed façades appeared during that period. The articles about buildings in *Arkitekt* show the importance of horizontal lines for that period. The written documents focused on the balance between vertical and horizontal lines while spatial arrangements and plan solutions were neglected. As it is seen, horizontality became the main concern of ERP architects. Although the symmetrical organizations in plan and façade designs were observed, some of the architectural works include different interpretations of horizontality as given in the examples below.

There were common points in providing the balance between horizontality and verticality. The usage of the tower as the part of the building was widespread to obtain this balance. For example, Şevki Balmumcu in his Exhibition Hall project, the first prize of the competition, presented the balance between horizontality and verticality through the clock tower he designed (Figure 6.26). He was appreciated with his success as a Turkish architect among the other foreign participants.[381] In fact, only the entrance of the Exhibition Hall on the façade was designed vertically and the tower adjacent to the entrance as the second vertical element emphasizes the impact of verticality (Figure 6.27). However, while the tripartite openings on the entrance façade have the same width with the windows on the tower, the tower became an independent mass in the project. In the same competition, although Paolo Vietti Violi's plan is symmetrical, he designed the tower as a vertical element. This was used to balance the horizontality of the façade, yet the tower changed this symmetrical impact (Figure 6.28). In İstanbul Port Competition, 1937, Rebi Gordon and Nazif Asal also used the tower as a vertical element. In Rebi Gordon's project, the tower is a part of the mass, not only the part of the façade with its tall black walls (Figure 6.29). On the other hand, in Nazif Asal's project, composition of the tower did not fit the mass organization. In these four instances, the tower became the strongest element of the projects. However, in the case of Emin Necip Uzman's decoration atelier, the vertical element which balanced the horizontality of the façade is the wall only where the name of the building is written. Without including any function such as an elevator or a staircase, Emin Necip Uzman succeeded in creating a balance only by means of the vertical wall (Figure 6.30).
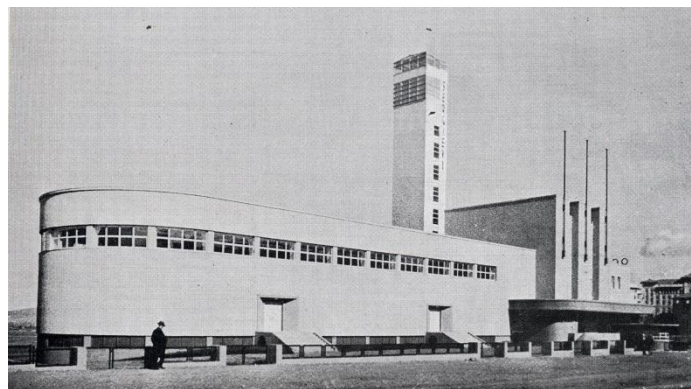

Figure 6.26. Şevki Balmumcu, Exhibition Hall Project
(Source: *Arkitekt* April 1935: 99)
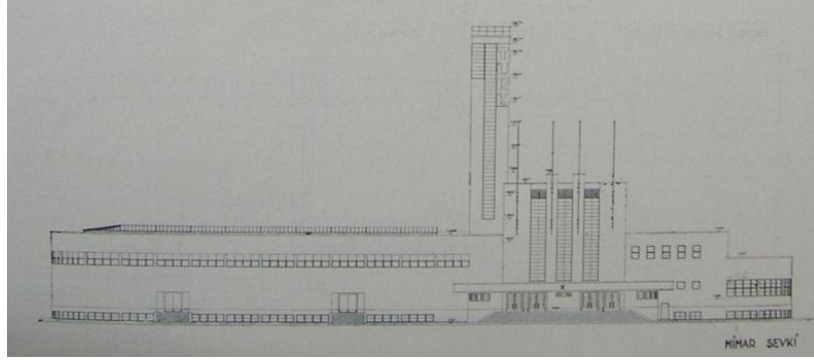
[381] Anonymous, *Arkitekt* (May 1933): 133.

Figure 6.27. Şevki Balmumcu, First prize of Exhibition Hall Project Competition, façade
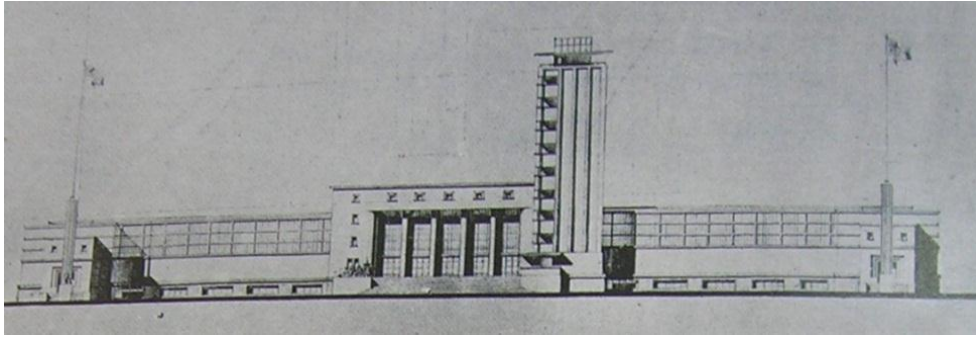(Source: *Arkitekt* May 1933: 133)

Figure 6.28. Paolo Vietti Violi, Exhibition Hall Project Competition, façade
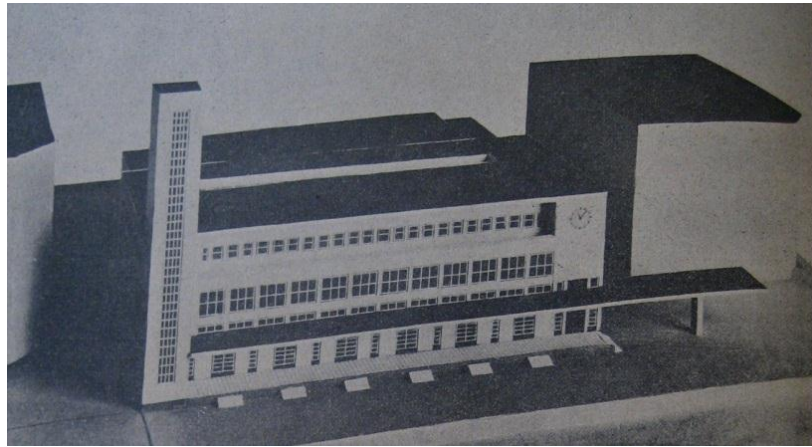(Source: *Arkitekt* May 1933:138)

Figure 6.29. Nazif Asaf, İstanbul Port Competition, model.
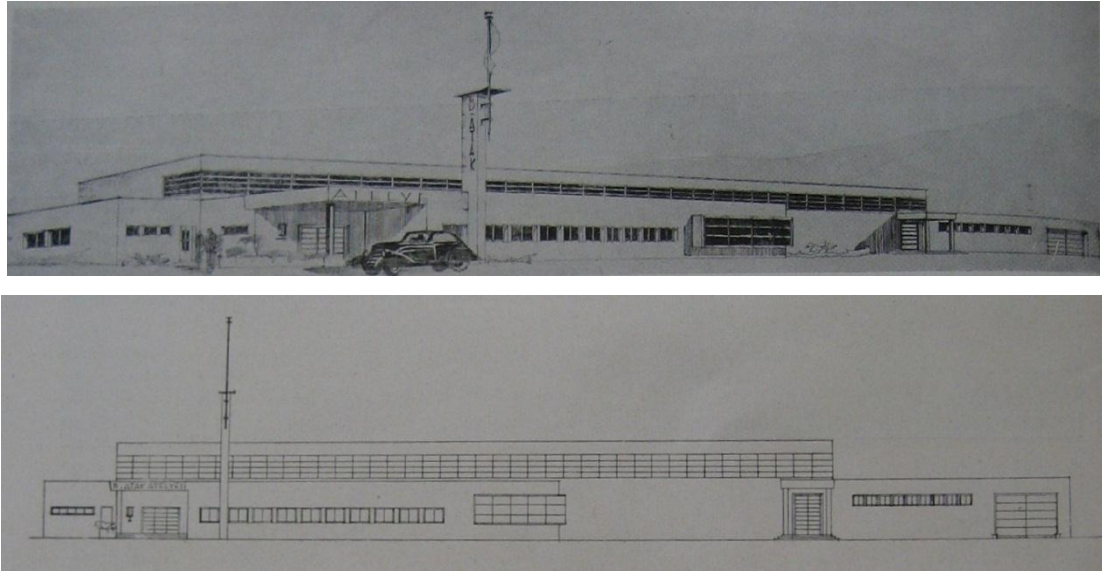(Source: *Arkitekt* February 1937: 52)

Figure 6.30. Emin Necip Uzman, Decoration Atelier, perspective and façade.
(Source: *Arkitekt* February 1937: 52)

Eldem shares a similar approach with Uzman. Like Uzman, Eldem did not employ dominant vertical elements in some of his buildings. For example, in his two suggestions for Exhibition Hall Competition in 1933 he did not design a tower or any vertical element as the part of the projects because he used vertical elements independent from the building. In Eldem's two projects, the vertical element was located in the open space which constituted the entrance space of the Exhibition Hall. In his first proposal, symmetrical organization of the mass and the façade was supported by the vertical columns in the open space. However, in the second proposal asymmetrical organization was supported using only one column (Figure 6.32).
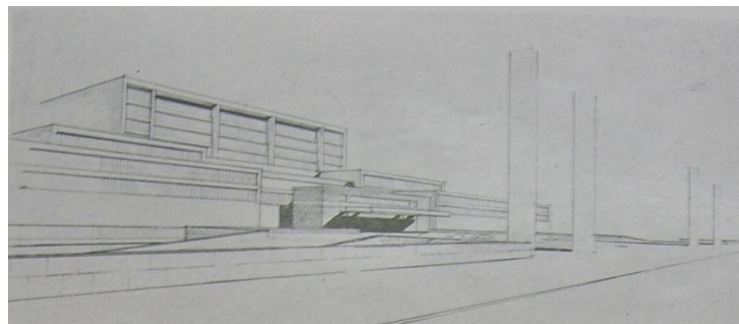

Figure 6.31. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Exhibition Hall Project Competition, perspective
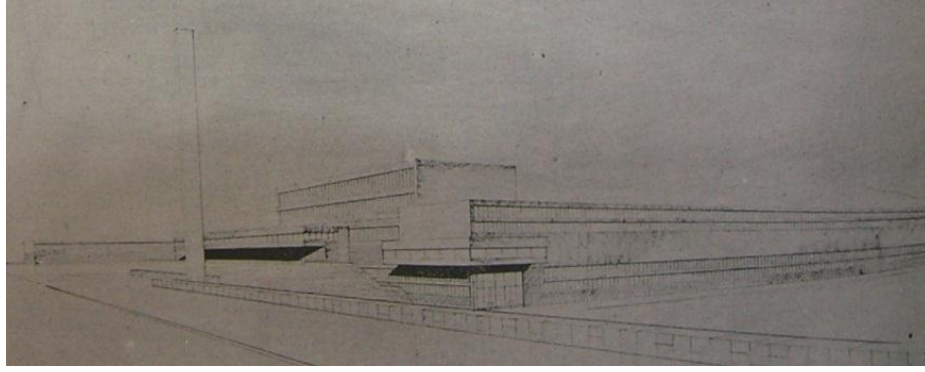(Source: *Arkitekt* May 1933: 141)

Figure 6.32. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Second proposal of Exhibition Hall Project Competition, perspective (Source: *Arkitekt* May 1933: 144)

In some situations, the verticality which balanced the horizontality was ensured by composing some parts of the mass vertically, rather than using a tower. For example, in the project of Zonguldak *Halkevi*, architect Abidin and Zeki Selah practised this way of equilibrium in which the horizontality was balanced with the vertical parts of the mass (Figure 6.33). Similarly, Tahir Tuğ designed one of the masses vertically which balanced the horizontality of the other masses in his İnhisarlar Administration Building in Sivas (Figure 6.34). Tahir Tuğ did not only use this method in asymmetrical scheme, but also in symmetrical scheme like in the İnhisarlar Administration Building in Konya (Figure 6.35). Including additive geometries in its structure, this building was articulated by the middle volume with a staircase. This combining part formed the vertical part of the building.[382]

---

[382] Sibel Bozdoğan points out that this T shape form is like Clemens Holzmeister's usage of T shape. This may be accepted that Tahir Tuğ was affected by Holzmeister. However, the usage of T form in Tahir Tuğ's building became stronger than Holzmeister's . This FORM became a void in Tahir Tuğ's project, rather than only the projection of the space through the façade. Tahir Tuğ used this geometry three dimensionally. In addition, this geometry became the most important part of the building, because THE T FORM articulatED THE other masses in the whole scheme. It can be said that Tahir Tuğ preferred designING this geometry vertically, not only balancING the horizontality, but also accentuating this geometry among others.
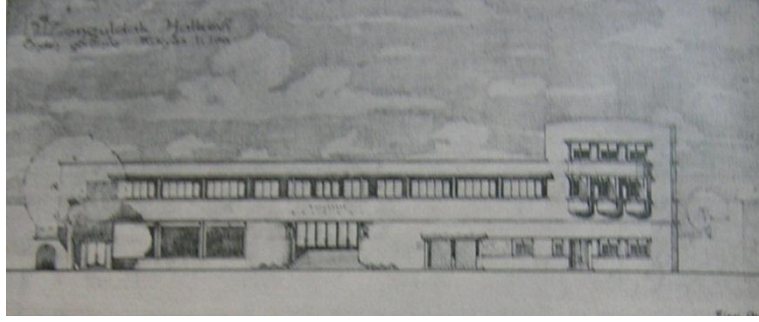
Figure 6.33. Architects Abidin and Zeki Selah, The first prize of Zonguldak People House Competition, façade (Source: *Arkitekt* February 1933: 84)
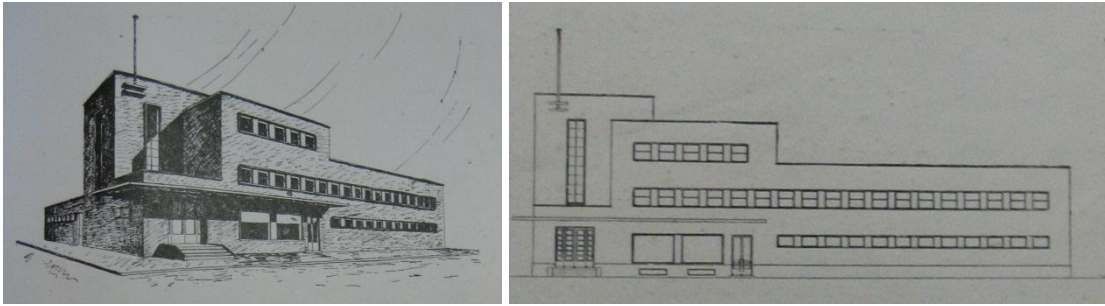

Figure 6.34. Tahir Tuğ, İnhisarlar administration building in Sivas, perspective and façade (Source: *Arkitekt* September 1935: 262)

Figure 6.35. Tahir Tuğ, İnhisarlar administration building in Konya, perspective and façade (Source: *Arkitekt* November-December 1935: 317)

In Zonguldak *Halkevi* and in Tahir Tuğ's İnhisarlar Administration Buildings, the vertical impact was strengthened by the vertical parts of the buildings as well as the

verticality on the façade. So, was the horizontal impact. The architect took advantage of the façade design to support the manner of the mass. However, Arkan's suggestion for Sapanca Hotel Competition in 1934 shows a different character in terms of façade arrangement (Figure 6.36). Unlike other architects, Arkan constructed the façade of the vertical part horizontally, and horizontal part vertically. As a result, he provided a balance between the two major lines. Because the whole gave an effect of a rise from the ground level and the third floor was a terrace underneath the roof, the façade included large voids which also supported the horizontal effect. Thus, Arkan did not only use the solids, but he also employed the voids which were formed by the movements of the masses for the façade design. The usage of large voids on the façade is also seen in Nazif Asal's and Emin Necip Uzman's Sivas *Halkevi* project, the winner of the first prize (Figure 6.37). In this project, different masses include different façade organizations such as the facades of the cylinder and the rectangular prism, which include both horizontal and vertical lines. Cylinder façade was designed vertically. However, when the cylinder met the rectangular prism, the façade of the cylinder began to change. The transition from vertical to horizontal with steady small openings can be observed in that part. On the other hand, this transition part on the façade of the rectangle was planned vertically covering horizontal partitions. Having voids on the ground and third levels, the façade of rectangular prism was mainly horizontal but this horizontal effect ended with a vertical component.
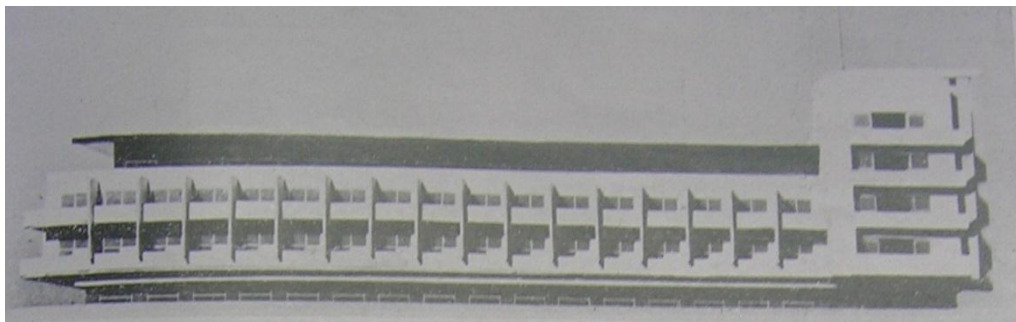

Figure 6.36. Seyfi Arkan, Yalova Hotel Competition, façade.
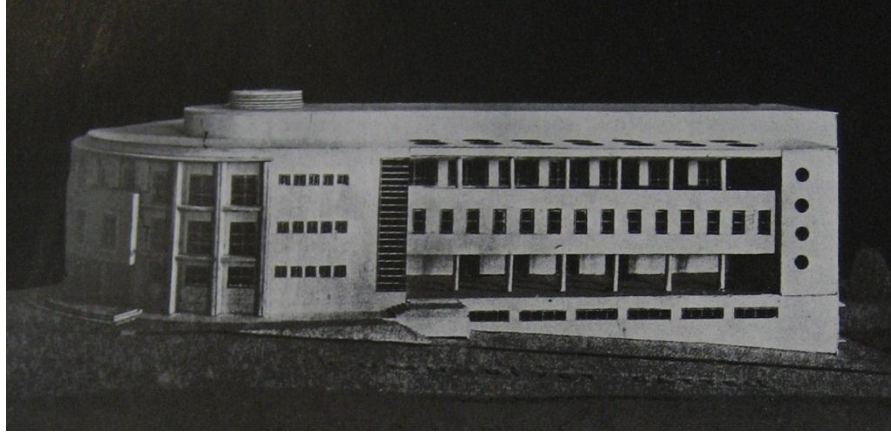(Source: *Arkitekt* April 1934: 111)

Figure 6.37. Nazif Asal and Emin Necip Uzman, The first prize of Sivas People House Competition, façade (Source: *Arkitekt* March-April 1939: 65)

There are examples that maintain the equilibrium between horizontality and verticality by using only the vertical elements in façades. Seyfi Arkan's Exhibition Hall proposal in 1933 is an interesting case in this context (Figure 6.38). Having symmetrical plan organization, this project creates its own open space. There are three separate masses combined by a linear entrance space. Although the façades were designed by only vertical partitions, the mass created the impression of horizontality with the constant horizontal lines on all the facades. This movement on the surface causes to perceive façades horizontally. By doing this, Arkan ensures that an observer perceives the three masses shorter than their real height. Employing only the vertical partitions, Arkan realized the balance between horizontal and vertical parts. Similarly, Arkan used the same attitude in his Cinema project designed in 1936 (Figure 6.39). The façade is also shaped by vertical partitions and the solid-void organization in this verticality forms Arkan's design. Constant openings throughout the façade give a horizontal effect which balanced the verticality of the façade. Arkan used similar attitude in his project for İstanbul Port Competition (Figure 6.6). He designed the circular surface with vertical elements. The openings of the façade give it a horizontal effect. However, in this project merely the mass, which had semicircular form, shapes the horizontal effect of the mass. Because the office block is thought like a background of this semicircular mass, the horizontal effect is provided by the proportions of it. In Arkan's three projects it is obvious that he created horizontality by using only the vertical elements. It could be understood that Arkan tried to exceed the ordinary approaches for façade design by questioning the lines he used.
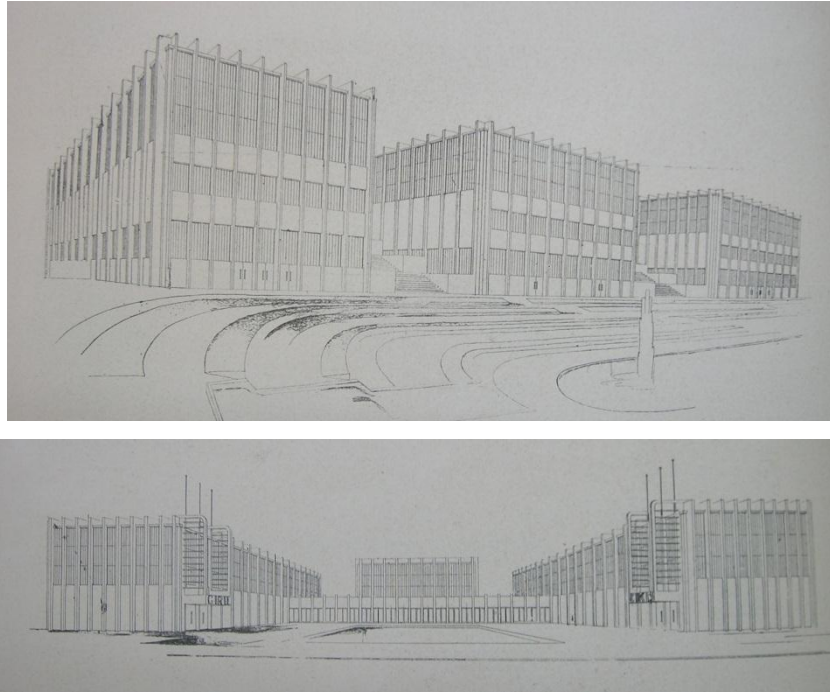
Figure 6.38. Seyfi Arkan, Exhibition Hall Competition, perspectives.
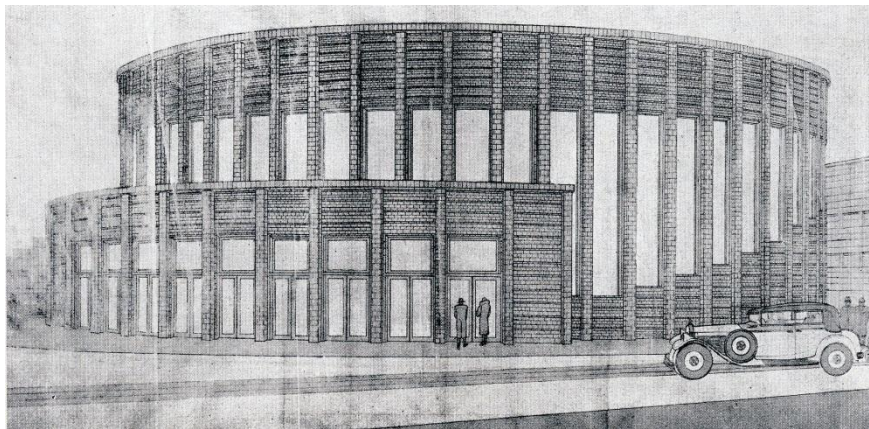(Source: *Arkitekt* May 1933: 151)

Figure 6.39. Seyfi Arkan, Cinema Project, perspective.
(Source: *Arkitekt* February 1936: 151)

In the case of Eldem's Yalova Hotel, usage of vertical elements in the façade could be seen, as well (Figure 6.40). Eldem maintained the façade design by employing vertical elements in different frequency. While the façade of ground floor is constituted by small spans, the distance of the vertical elements on other floors becomes wider than those of on ground floors. The horizontality is practised in this façade mainly by the mass organization. The ground floor is meant to be as the base of other floors. The first

and second floors are constructed in the same way which forms the horizontal effect of the mass with the wide-eaved-roof.
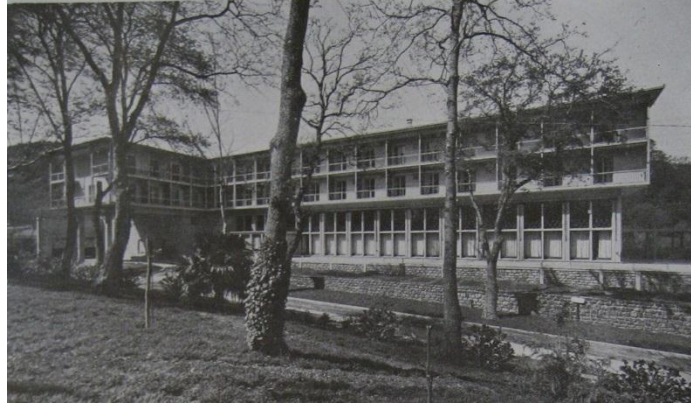

Figure 6.40. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Yalova Termal Hotel
(Source: *Arkitekt* March 1938: 71)

As seen from the examples above, The ERP architects searched for different façade designs by shifting the monumental effect of the façade in the classical scheme. They created unadorned, asymmetrically and horizontally designed façades, mostly the expressions of functions. Thus, the façade organizations of ERP public buildings produced between 1930 and 1940 showed visual diversity.

6.4. Plan Organization: Dissolution of the Boundaries of the Building

The main concern of that period's attitude was to shape the building by planning its own open spaces. L shape in plan organization was common especially in *Halkevi* projects that covered functions suitable to use outer spaces. The projects of Kadıköy *Halkevi* Competition were the most evident signs of this attitude. Nearly all projects included the combinations of L shape plan organization. While some of them constituted the outer space by the help of L shape near a main road as a square, some of them placed it at the back as a private garden and some of them created two outer spaces which showed different characters. Highlighted points in this competition were

the site plan, plan organization, façades and plastic effects of the mass and economical design. [383]

In the three awarded projects below, the site plan organizations describing open spaces were the same. However, while the second and the third projects constituted the open space located on the side of the main road of the site for vehicles, the first project (Figure 6.41) enabled an open space as a square. In these three projects, the locations of the halls on the site were the same and their façades formed their individual open spaces. In addition, the offices were located on the side of the streets. Unlike the second and the third projects, Rüknettin Güney placed the office block to form the open space in the first project. He created an intersection point which constituted an entrance space between the hall and the offices and this space was shaped as a terrace from which the view could be watched. The space for entrance as a void without any function was also projected on the façade. The façade of the entrance here was more transparent than the façades of the second and the third projects (Figure 6.42) The jury report described it as a façade that reflected a Turkish character.[384] Similarly, Rüknettin Güney pointed out that "The purpose was thought as creating contemporary architecture while remaining originally Turkish in the organization of the building while responding to the climate of İstanbul."[385] In fact, what created the Turkish character of this building could not make an appeal easily. The elements like bay window used on the façade of the entrance may have caused to describe this façade holding Turkish character.
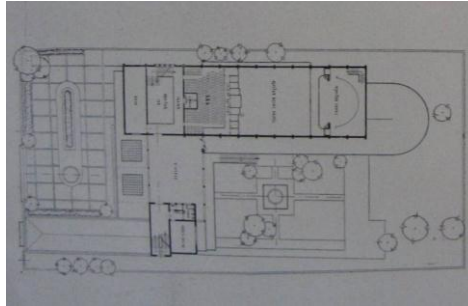

Figure 6.41. Rüknettin Güney, The First Prize of the Kadıköy Pople House Competition, plan
(Source: *Arkitekt* February 1938: 36)

---

[383] Anonymous, "Kadıköyde Yapılacak Parti ve Halkevi Binası Proje Müsabaka Şartnamesi," *Arkitekt* (February, 1938): 52. [46-52].

[384] Anonymous, "Kadıköyde Yapılacak Parti ve Halkevi Binası Proje Müsabaka Şartnamesi," 52.

[385] "Binanın tanziminde Türk kalmak ve İstanbul'un iklimine uymak şartıyle asrımızın mimarisini yapmak gaye ittihaz edilmiştir." Rüknettin Güney, "Birinci Seçilen Projenin İzah Notu," *Arkitekt* (February, 1938): 44.
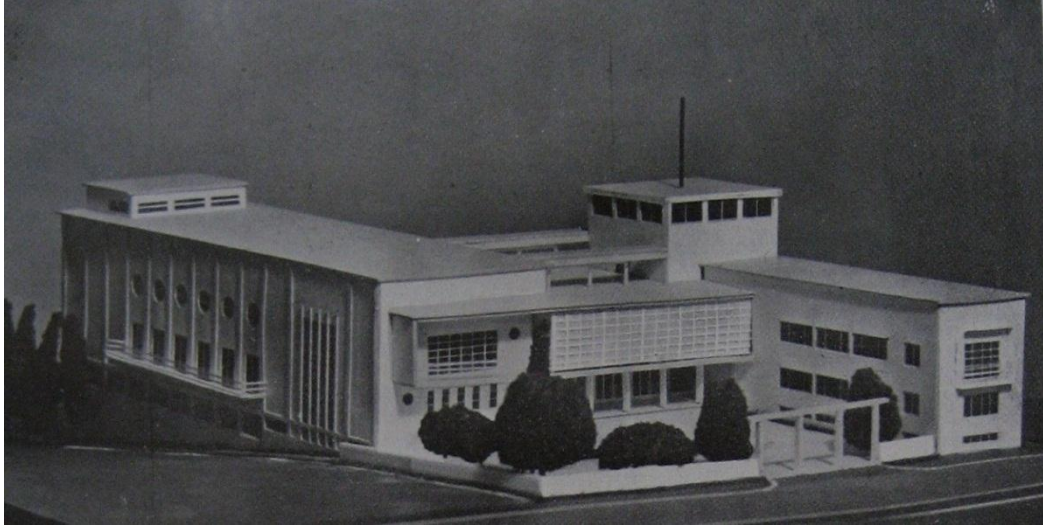
Figure 6.42. Rüknettin Güney, The First Prize of the Kadıköy People House Competition, model (Source: *Arkitekt* February 1938: 36)

In these three projects, the architects created open spaces by organizing the masses, and these open spaces had close contact with indoor spaces. Eldem showed also created a similar plan organization in his second proposal in 1933 for the Exhibition Hall Competition (Figure 6.43). There were also other projects which employed L-shape plan organization. For example, Leman Tomsu and Münevver Belen's Kayseri *Halkevi* project awarded the first prize is another example in this context. In this project, L-shape plan organization was interpreted as two main masses and a transition part which connected these two. Arkan used similar plan organization in his Sapanca Hotel project, too (Figure 6.44). Different from the Kayseri Halkevi, Arkan defined transition part as a canopy which proceeded from the ground plan of the main hotel mass. While Tomsu and Belen described transition part through closed spaces, Arkan described it by semi-open space which also supported the function of the open space. In 1938, for Bursa *Halkevi* Competition, Münevver Belen won the first prize by interpreting the courtyard project as combination of L-shape plans on different levels (Figure 6.45).
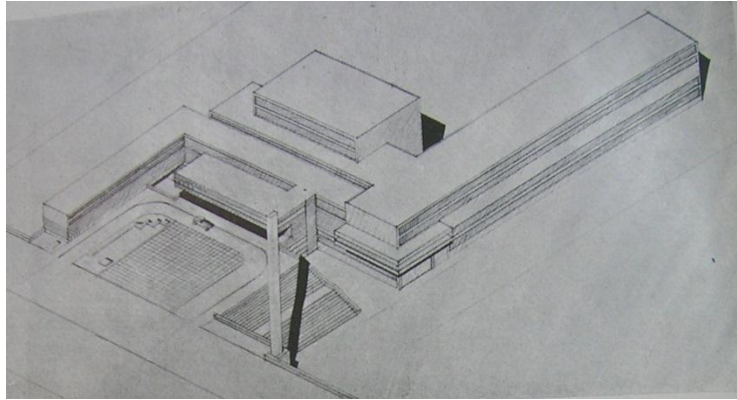
Figure 6.43. Exhibition Hall Competition, Sedad Hakkı Eldem, perspectives.
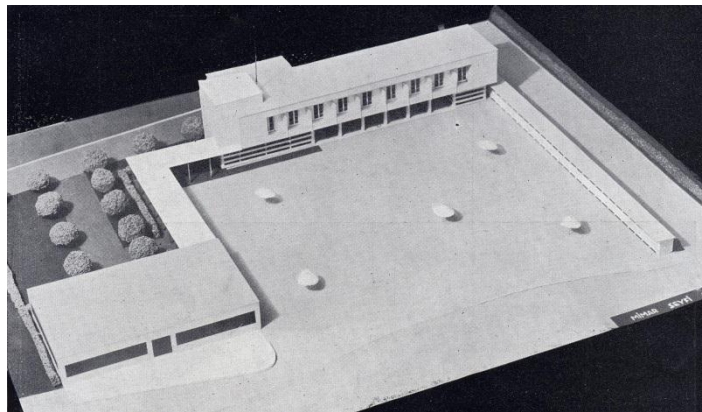(Source: *Arkitekt* May 1933: 143)

Figure 6.44. The project of Sapanca Hotel, Seyfi Arkan, model
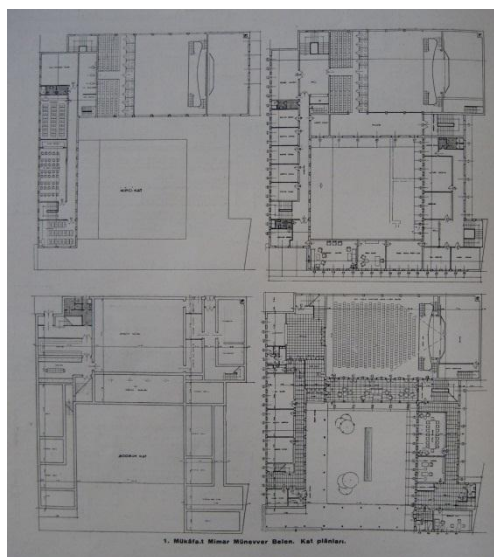(Source: *Arkitekt* July 1937: 192)

Figure 6.45. Leman Tomsu and Münevver Belen, The First Prize of Bursa People House
Competition, plans (Source: *Arkitekt* January, 1938: 18)

I maintain, organizing L-shape plan is not only encountered as orthogonally. In some of the cases, fitting the building with the boundaries of the site causes the application of curvilinear forms in the orthogonal scheme. Sabri Oran and Emin Onat's Sivas *Halkevi* project (Figure 6.46), received the second prize, in competition and Leman Tomsu's Şehremini *Halkevi* project could be addressed as appropriate examples about the topic. The architects used curvilinear forms for transition between two rectangular geometries in these two projects. Furthermore, the plans were organized to form the open spaces. The attempts of the articulation of the curvilinear forms with orthogonally organized forms appeared in the more complex projects, too. For example, the suggestions for the competition of child welfare services which included cinema, accommodation, restaurant, swimming pool and garage offered different solutions. There two projects awarded the first prize: One of them belonged to the team of Şevki Balmumcu and Behçet Ünsal (Figure 6.47) and the other one was by Abidin Mortaş (Figure 6.48), which was chosen to be applied. While Balmumcu and Ünsal employed the curvilinear form for the transition between the two rectangles in their project, Mortaş used them without transition in his project (Figure 6.52).
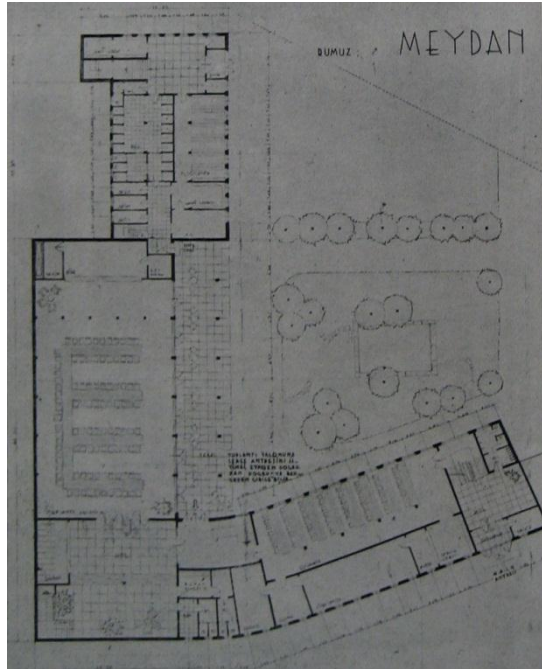

Figure 6.46. Sabri Oran and Emin Onat, The Second Prize of Sivas People House Competition, plan (Source: *Arkitekt* January, 1939: 18)
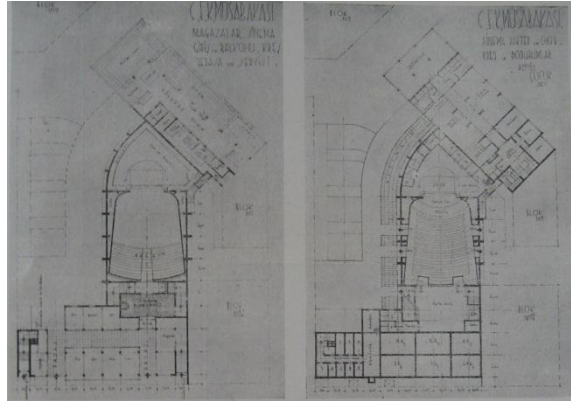
Figure 6.47. Şevki Balmumcu and Behçet Ünsal, One of the first prizes of Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Competition (not executed), plan. (Source: *Arkitekt* December, 1937: 333)
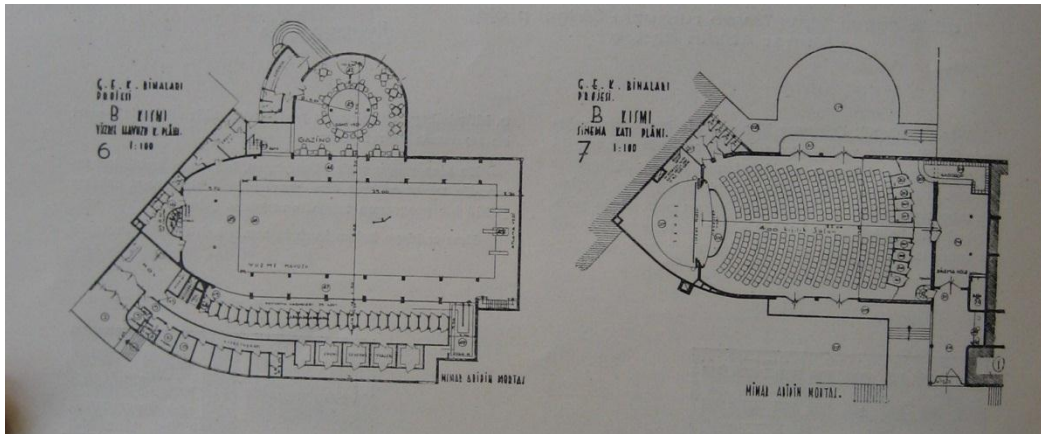
Figure 6.48. Abidin Mortaş, One of the first prize of Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Competition (executed), plan. (Source: *Arkitekt* December, 1937: 331)

The analysis of these design decisions is important due to the display of the ERP architects' attitudes on the boundaries of the buildings. The articulation of different geometries requires consideration of the boundaries and transition spaces between them. In the ERP, dissolution of the boundaries is not only observed in the demarcation line between inner and outer spaces, but also it appears in the relationships of inner spaces. In those projects, the articulation of curvilinear and orthogonally organized forms might raise some problems spatially (especially in Abidin Mortaş's project). Additionally, they may not offer any spatial quality. However, these projects could be accepted as important attempts to question the relationships between the form and the plan. Besides these projects there are Arkan's crucial approaches, in which he investigated the boundaries of inner spaces.

Arkan used either a perfect or a semicircle besides other geometries. For example, in his proposal for İstanbul Port, he employed articulation of semicircular and rectangular forms. While he designed a semicircle for the passenger hall, he planned the offices as rectangles. The passenger hall has a flexible character in terms of establishing relations among different levels. In his plan solutions, Arkan used different arcs of a circle; some of which described the boundaries of closed spaces and the others described the boundaries of mezzanine (Figure 6.49). Altered plans in circles on different levels for the passenger hall of the port affect the improvements in the plan of the rectangular parts. While the articulation of rectangular prism and semi-cylinder is performed in the mass, the questioning of the boundaries of these geometries is obvious on the plan. In Municipalities Bank proposal the same relationship between the semicircle and the rectangle was established. The most important feature of this project is the flexibility of the ground floor where arcs were used on either side of the entrance. Arkan , also, created a void on the ground floor by standing back from the aligned surfaces above. This provided a space to bring people together and the arcs of the circle enabled the orientation of the people.
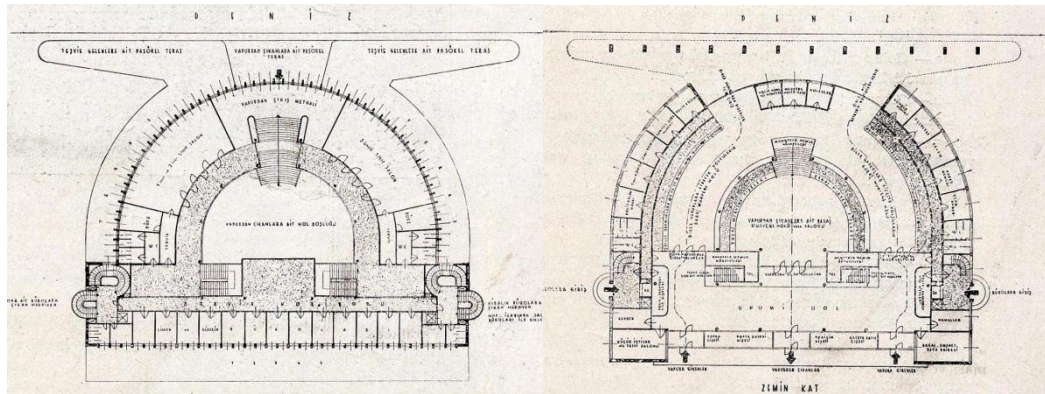
Figure 6.49. Seyfi Arkan, One of the first prizes of İstanbul Port Competition, plans.
(Source: *Arkitekt* February 1937: 43)

The usage of the perfect circle in Arkan's projects is found in two different ways. While he constituted perfect circle independently in some of his projects, he constituted it by a collision with the rectangular prism. In his vocational school (Figure 6.20) and Kamutay project (Figure 6.22), he used perfect circle independently from other parts of the mass. This circle included different arcs. Some of them described the staircase but the others described the boundaries of the conference hall. The relationship

between the circle and the other parts was provided by small corridors. Similarly, in Kamutay project, the ellipse he introduced in this project was constituted independently, but it had more complex organization than the circle in his Vocational School project. The way of fragmentation in this ellipse on the plan gave the project a spatial prosperity. The sloping site where the ellipse located also supported the fragmentation of the ellipse. Like in his School project, the relations between ellipse and other parts established with small corridors. In 1935, for İstanbul Theatre and Conservatoire project, a suggestion for the competition, Arkan made a cylinder and rectangular prisms collide (Figure 6.18). While in the mass the cylinder was constituted as a platonic form, in plan solution a perfect circle was fragmented as soon as it met the rectangles. The staircases and backstage of the concert hall were located in this intersection point, and the cylinder expanded its limits through the rectangles.

6.5. Space as a Volume: Dissolution of the Boundaries among Spaces

The term "volume" as an explanation for space is rare in the descriptive texts of the buildings which were published in *Arkitekt*. Only the article on Şevki Balmumcu's Exhibition Hall includes the term volume to describe the spatial quality of this building (Figure 6.50). This project was awarded the first prize and this achievement was presented in the pages of the *Arkitekt* as the success of Turkish architects despite the appreciation of foreign ones. In those years, in competitions if a turkish architect had won the first prize, this achievement would have been attributed to whole Turkish architecture. The following quotation explains some views from the winner of the competition below:

> *Ankara Sergi Evi* designed by architect Şevki (Exhibition Hall of Ankara) has become the most beautiful building of new Ankara. He won the international project competition held by the 'national economy society'. Among the foreign architects' big structures, *Sergi Evi* has proved its national existence powerfully and maturely. *Sergi Evi* reveals Turkish architects' sensibility and views. It has displayed that dependency without hesitation to foreign architects is vain despite the frailties about the subject. [386]

---

[386] "Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyetinin açtığı uluslararası proje müsabakasını kazanan arkitekt Şevki'nin 'Ankara Sergi Evi' yeni Ankaranın en güzel yapısı oldu. Yabancı birçok büyük yapılar arasında ulusal varlığını kuvvet ve olgunlukla iddia eden, Türk arkitektinin duyuş ve görüş kertesini açıkça ortaya koyan Sergi evi yabancı arkitektlere, bütün zaaflarına rağmen, körü körüne bağlanmaların boş olduğunu gösterdi." Anonymous, "Sergi Evi," *Arkitekt* (April 1935): 97.

To qualify any building as national in those years, it was enough for it to have a Turkish architect.

The writer underlines that the success of the architect lies on the relation among the spaces and he explains it as follows: "The prosperity of the appearance is obtained through proportional and harmonious aspects of the volume. This rich appeal is not due to the various and expensive equipment that the foreign architects waste unnecessarily for the other buildings of Ankara," and he added: "The building has been used not only with the surface but also with the volume because of the different levels of the floors and mezzanine parts."[387] The accentuation of volume rather than surface is important in terms of dissolution of classical understanding of the space. In that period, architects concentrated on space and the relationships among spaces rather than closed parts.
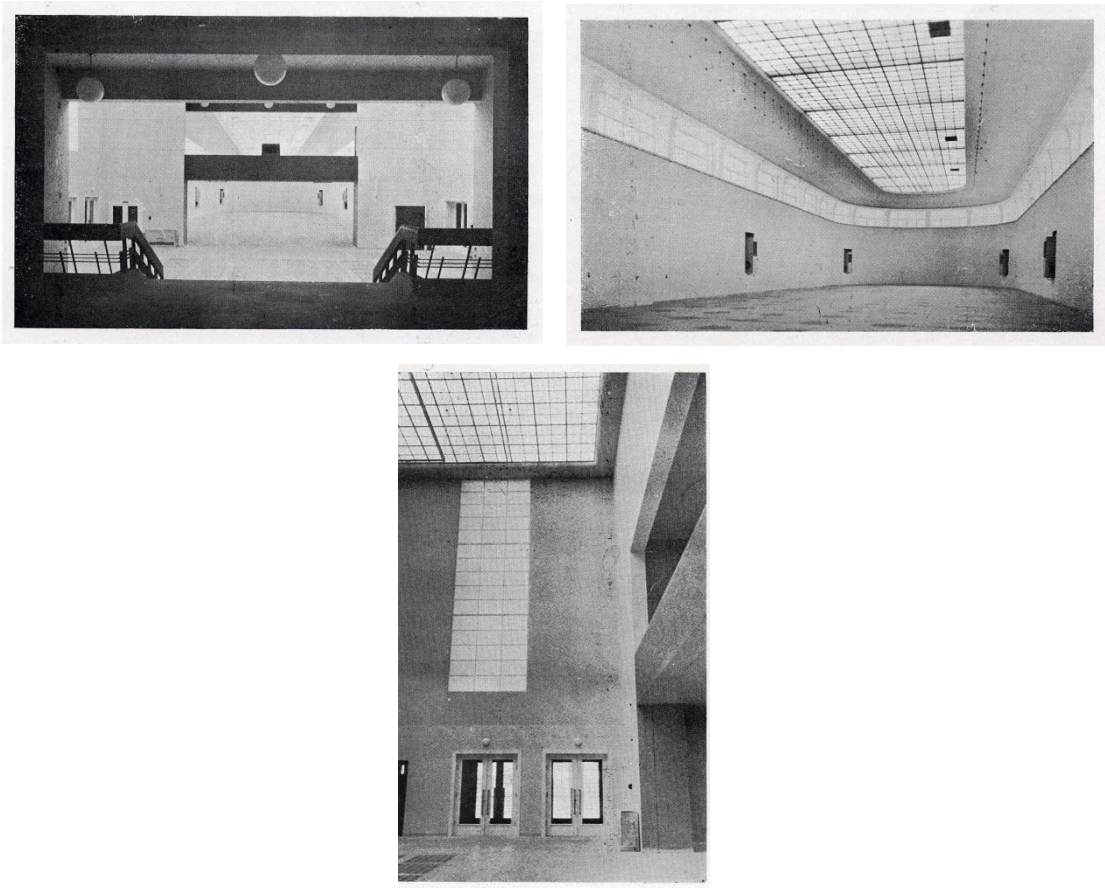
Figure 6.50. Şevki Balmumcu, Exhibition Hall
(Source: *Arkitekt* April 1935: 105)

---

[387] "Binanın görünüş zenginliği, Ankaranın öteki yapılarında yabancı arkitektlerin lüzumsuz yere israf ettikleri çeşitli ve pahalı malzemeler ile değil, hacimlerin nisbetli ve ahenkli imtizacı ile temin edilmiştir" "döşemelerin değişik seviyeleri ve asma kat kısımları sayesinde bina yalnız satıh itibari ile değil, hacim itibari ile de kullanılmıştır." Anonymous, "Sergi Evi," p. 98.

In the case of Yalova Hotel Competition, although there are no written documents on the two projects, the drawings show that Eldem's and Arkan's projects had spatial qualities in the context of three dimensional relationships among spaces (Figure 6.51). Eldem got the first prize in this competition and his project was constructed. In his design, there are different descriptions of spaces such as main space, sub-space and transitory spaces. There is a visual as well as physical contact between the entrance hall and the space located near it because the connection was made possible by the void. In application project, Eldem changed some of the parts of the plan, especially the dimensions and organizations of the entrance space. The new organization increased the spatial variety (Figure 6.52), while comparing the entrance space to the one in his proposal (Figure 6.53). When it comes to Arkan, in his project he focused on the relationships among spaces, too. For example, his entrance hall as a void was expanding through four floors. At the same time, he combined the spaces on different levels through this void.
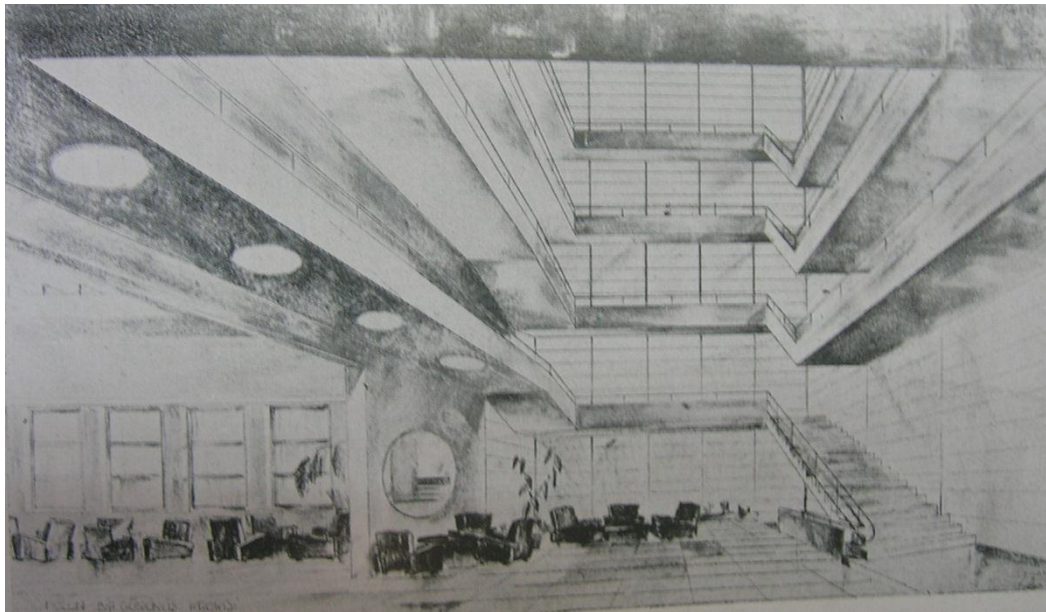
Figure 6.51. Seyfi Arkan, Yalova Hotel Competition, perspective from entrance hall
(Source: *Arkitekt* April 1934: 111)
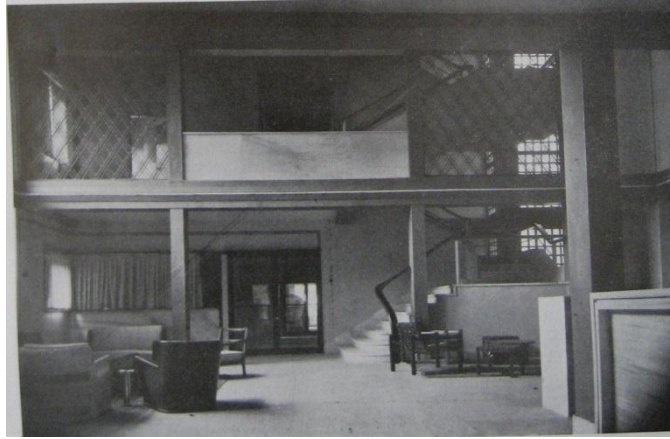
Figure 6.52. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Yalova Hotel, photograph from entrance hall
(Source: *Arkitekt* March 1938: 78)
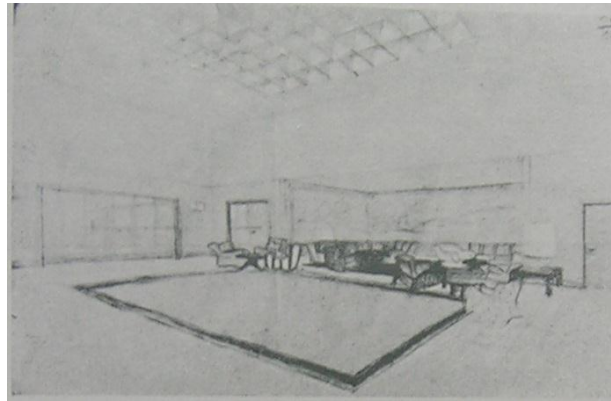
Figure 6.53. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, First Prize of Yalova Hotel Competition, perspective from entrance hall (Source: *Arkitekt* April 1934: 107)

Besides the above mentioned projects, Arkan's Tütünbank Project is another important example in terms of showing the dissolution of boundaries in ERP architecture. While the relationship between inner and outer spaces was constructed on the ground level in the mentioned projects above, in this project Arkan constituted this relationship on the first floor level by using L-shape plan (Figure 6.54). Including open and semi-open parts, this first floor terrace reminds us of the roof terraces which were used in residential buildings. However, in Arkan's bank project preference to design a terrace on the first floor was the only one example. Although this terrace was for the bank officials, the usage of the large terrace in this public building was an important attempt to question the boundaries among spaces. This example also shows the flexible design of the architect.

Seyfi Arkan improved the idea of a large terrace by establishing relationships between the ground floor and the first floor in Turkish Republic Embassy in Tahran, designed in 1934 (Figure 6.55). The terraces Arkan designed are different from the large terrace of Tütüncüler Bank in that terraces could not be seen from outside. The mass does not give any information about the existence of the terraces. The partitions on the façade could also be traced on the boundaries of the terraces. On the other hand, the three gallery voids in the terraces established visual relationships between the two levels. While one of the voids connected two semi-open spaces, the other two voids connected semi-open terraces to closed spaces by creating many voids between levels. By doing this, he also established the spatial relations which represented variety.
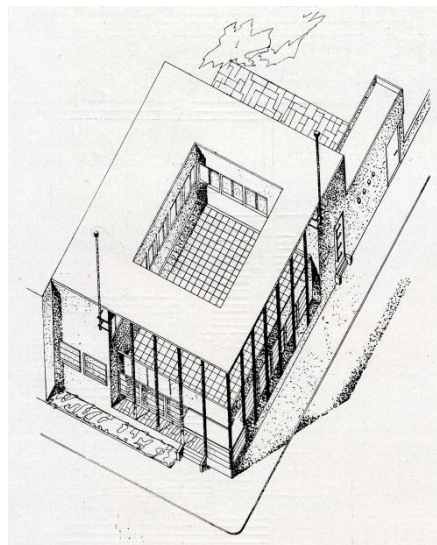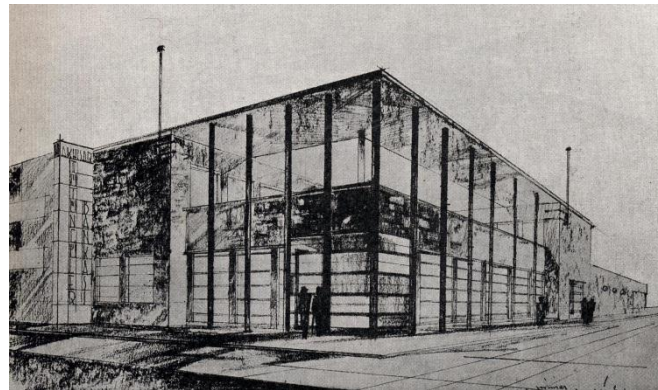

Figure 6.54. Seyfi Arkan, Akhisar Tütüncüler Bank, perspective
(Source: *Arkitekt* April 1935: 112)

Figure 6.54. cont.

Figure 6.55. Seyfi Arkan, Tahran Embassy, perspective and plans
(Source: *Arkitekt* November 1934: 309-311)

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This dissertation aimed to show different modernities existed simultaneously in ERP architecture, and in doing it moved away from the architectural historiography produced between 1973 and 1983. This study referred to the historians who produced their texts between 1973 and 1983 as the first generation of architectural historians, because they constructed basic terminology and theoretical underpinning of architectural historiography of modern Turkish architecture. Questioning the categories, classifications and stylistic periodizations in the first generation historians' discourses, this dissertation displayed varieties, complexities and contradictions in ERP. It traced different modernities in three fields of ERP architecture: architectural theory, architectural pedagogy and architectural practice.

The first generation of architectural historians read the architecture between 1930 and 1940 based on Eurocentric theories. According to them, new architecture mostly referred to Germanocentric architecture and they evaluated modernity of Turkish architecture in comparison to this architecture. However, when we look at the articles in *Mimar/Arkitekt* from 1930 to 1940, we encounter different understandings of new architecture. This dissertation firstly focused on what the "new architecture" meant for ERP architects. The examples from different countries, the articles on new architecture in different countries and especially translations displayed that the main focus of ERP architects was not Germanocentric architecture. Instead, they struggled to understand different new architectures, so the different responses to modernization in architectural milieu of other countries. In addition, ERP architects' descriptions and understandings of new architecture revealed that, contrary to first generation historians' claims, not only new architecture but also Germanocentric architecture was understood to be heterogeneous in architectural milieu of ERP.

The examples from Holland, Eastern Europe, Russia and Belgium and similarly the articles on new architectures from Russia, Yugoslavia, Holland and Poland showed at least the visual diversity of the examples. Especially, the translations published between 1931 and 1938 also showed different understandings of new architecture

clearly. Some of these translated articles engaged in the criticism of the new architecture. Particularly Adolf Behne's *"Yeni Mimaride Milli ve Beynelmilel Vasıflar"* (National and International Properties of the New Architecture) published in 1931 was important in terms of its focus on the subject of nationality and internationality in new architecture—a popular topic in the Turkish architectural milieu at the time. Nationality and internationality were not constructed as a duality in Behne's article. In ERP architectural milieu, the architects searched for the reconciliation of these two notions. Thus, this article could be accepted as an example that supports incorporation of national values on the way to new architecture. In other words, contrary to first generation of historians' claims, the ERP architects did not evaluate and discuss nationality and internationality as binary and irreconcilable oppositions.

In addition to the discussions on "new architecture" in different countries, this dissertation highlighted how ERP architects discussed and evaluated new architecture in Turkey. This study revealed two notions played a central role in the shaping of new architecture in ERP. One was "the revitalization of conventions," the other was "manufacturing a new tradition" which cut the relationships with the architectural heritage of the past. In the articles published from 1930 to 1940 in *Arkitekt*, the notion of "revitalization of conventions" in architecture was discussed in two ways: One of them was concentrated on the role of Turkish vernacular architecture in the formation of the new, whereas the other grounded its claims on the classical Ottoman architecture. The forerunners of the former had emphasized the the parallels between the pure and clear expressions of old Turkish architecture, and the simple, bare and unadorned lines of the new architecture. Both of these different tendencies aimed at the "revitalization of conventions" in architecture and attempted to prove the power of the old Turkish architecture in the constitution of the new Turkish architecture.

The second notion "manufacturing of a new tradition" in architecture focused on the notions of realism, truth, freedom in architecture. However, these were discussed from the aspect of the developments in construction techniques and materials, rather than liberation from the principles of the composition of the past, such as symmetry. It is possible to say that the first generation of architectural historians mostly underlined the approaches based on manufacturing a new tradition between 1930 and 1940. They neglected the notion of revitalization of conventions existed at those years. Nevertheless, there were many articles to discuss Turkish vernacular architecture as a source to create new Turkish architecture in *Arkitekt* from 1930 to 1940. Contrary to

historians who evaluated the attempts of revitalization Turkish vernacular architecture dating between 1940 and 1950 and reduced these attempts only to Eldem's studies; this dissertation discussed this notion referring different tendencies in this way from 1930 to 1940.

Furthermore, this dissertation also discussed that ERP architects did not accept the notion of Cubism without questioning. It displayed that the change in the understandings of Cubism was taking place during ERP. Although the term had positive connotations in the everyday periodicals, the term cubism started appear with negative connotations in 1930s in *Arkitekt*. Seen from this vantage point, this dissertation discussed ERP architects' understandings of both Turkish vernacular architecture and Cubism with their complexities and varieties. The first generation of historians categorized mostly the architecture between 1930 and 1940 as the imitation of Cubism or International Style. On the other hand, they categorized the architecture between 1940 and 1950 as the Second National Style. Instead of such stylistic periodizations, this dissertation discussed these two different "so-called styles" by showing their simultaneous existence of within the same decade.

This dissertation has traced different modernities also in architectural pedagogy in ERP. Like architectural theory, the categorizations of the first generation historians were also explicit in architectural pedagogy. While they criticized Vedad Bey's works and education method due to what they claimed to be a reference the architecture of the past, they praised Ernst Egli's for bringing modern education methods in the Academy. However, the classifications of them was problematic. Although Vedad Bey employed neo-classical formal vocabulary, he created modern spaces that had no previous example in Turkish architectural heritage. Employing technological advantages, he created modern spaces in his Post Office, which had similar spatial qualities with Otto Wagner's Post Office. Similarly, Egli did not only study Cubist architecture, but also he focused on the architecture specific to the geography. This dissertation has underlined that Egli concentrated on Turkish vernacular architecture to find the ways of modern Turkish architecture. Although his architecture was evaluated within the context of cubist architecture, his texts and his searches focused on regional architecture. In addition, he initiated the National Architecture Seminar in 1933.

In the Academy of Fine-Arts, the instructors even foreign ones, did not stop working on the relationships between the past and present experiments in Turkish architecture. The regional aspects and particularly climate were taken into consideration

and they saw these features that were specific to this geography primary to create Turkish modern architecture. This study has displayed that particularly Vedad Bey, Egli and Taut's non-stylistic and non-formalist tendencies also created a visual diversity both in design projects in the Academy and indirectly in architectural milieu of ERP.

This dissertation has also questioned the categories created by the historians for the architectural practice of ERP. The historians classified architectural works and architects neglecting different attitudes for the sake of the unity of their discourses. As mentioned above, they described the era between 1930 and 1940 as a period that the international tendencies appeared in the architectural milieu of Turkey. Furthermore, they described these tendencies in stylistic terms such as Cubism and International Style. However, when we analyze the buildings and projects in *Arkitekt* presented as the examples of new architecture, we see that in ERP there were varieties in the architectural practice not only in terms of visual diversity, but also in terms of design principles and spatial organizations. This dissertation revealed diverse approaches in the creation of the new Turkish architecture during ERP. It also asserted that even in each architect's products it was possible to encounter varieties.

This study has focused on the notion of rationalization to show these different approaches in architectural practice of ERP. While the historians presented rationalism as a goal, this dissertation has showed that for ERP architects it was only an instrument to create new Turkish architecture. This study has traced the rationalism in architectural practice of that period without associating it with any style, because ERP architects did not discuss new architecture relating to style. For that reason, rationalism could also be appeared in the discussions on the revitalization of old Turkish house. Contrary to architectural historians' discussions, this study revealed non-stylistic understanding of rationalism through the concepts of discipline, standardization, type, minimalism and ornament in ERP architecture. It records the struggles both in residential architecture and in public buildings when welcoming the concept "modern."

Throughout the dissertation, the classifications based on only formal appearances were criticized and the neglected projects were taken into consideration. The rigid classification of first generation of historians shows itself especially in the categorizations of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Seyfi Arkan's works. While Arkan's buildings were presented as the representative of international currents in the country, Eldem's buildings were presented as the representatives of the internalization of modern architecture through regional/vernacular. However, the works of both architects were

more varied than their stereotypical representations. The reason of these rigid classifications of architects' works mostly based on the fact that the historians analyzed the projects only through formal appearance. For that reason, whenever it is possible, I chose to read products through spatial analysis. These readings based on spatial assessments revealed that the ERP architectural practice was more varied and complex than the historians' constructions.

In this dissertation, I gave special place to Eldem and Arkan's works because of their unique role within the ERP architecture due to the spatial organizations of their projects. This dissertation analyzed and discussed their works to show different tendencies, different spatial organizations and different rationalizations. It also revealed that these two architects present different faces of modernity in Turkey. Eldem did not only produce houses that hold vernacular formal vocabulary, but also produce projects and buildings that had international one. Similarly, Arkan created projects and buildings, where he employed neo-classical, constructivist and international formal vocabularies. On the other hand, by means of studying the notion of open space of Turkish house spatially he established a bond with the Turkish way of living. He interpreted the open space of Turkish house in his modern houses. Thus, evaluation of Arkan's works only in the context of "International Style" or "Cubism," and Eldem's works only in the context of Turkish vernacular architecture reduces the heterogeneity and complexity of their works. Both architects established a bond with the modern spatially. To sum up, this dissertation has studied on buildings and projects of ERP architects to display visual diversity and varieties in spatial organizations and design principles. By doing this, it has questioned the categories that the historians constructed and furthermore it unfolded the neglected examples in their discourses.

All in all, the historiography of modern Turkish architecture requires to be built with different instruments, concepts and discourses than those utilized by the first generation of architectural historians. The historiography based on stylistic periodization and rigid classifications causes reductionist points of view inevitably. Architecture constituted as an instrument through single and official concept of history, so through macro history, causes a decline in variety and reduction of the conflict. The production of a work of architecture can be affected from the alterations and discourses of the time. Despite this, the process of production of an architectural work, background of the architect, discourses manipulating the practice of the architecture of the time are vital for us to comprehend the location of architecture in a specific time and place.

Hence, profound readings on specific samples, i.e. micro histories, rather than macro ones would provide a detailed understanding of the architecture of that period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abidin. "İnşaat ve Mimari." *Mimar* (April, 1931): 172-174.

Abidin. "Yeni Rus Mimarisi." *Mimar* (February, 1932): 43-45.

Abidin and Zeki Selah. "Zonguldak Halkevi İlk Projesi." *Arkitekt* (February 1933): 85-86.

"Akademinin Ellinci Senesi." *Mimar* (Şubat, 1932): 55.

Akcan, Esra. "Modernity in Translation: Early Twentieth Century German-Turkish Exchanges in Land Settlement and Residential Culture." Ph. D. diss., Columbia University, Columbia, 2005.

Akçuraoğlu, Yusuf. "Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi." *Ülkü* (January, 1933): 23-30.

"Akhisar Tütüncüler Bank." *Arkitekt* (April 1935): 112-113.

Alsaç, Üstün. "Tükiye'de Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ndeki Evrimi." Ph.D. diss., Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi, Trabzon, 1976.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 2006.

Anderson, Stanford. "The Deutcher *Werkbund* – the 1914 Debate: Herman Muthesius and Henry van de Velde." In *Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought,* edited by Ben Farmer and Hentie Louw, 462-467. London: Routledge, 1992.

Anderson, Stanford. "The Legacy of German Neoclassicism and Biedermeier." *Assemblage* 15 (August, 1991): 62-67.

Arif, Burhan. "Cami Projesi." *Mimar* (July, 1931): 320.

Arif, Burhan. "Sovyet Memleketlerinde Gördüklerimiz." *Arkitekt* (May-June 1937): 169-171.

Arif, Burhan. "Mimar Sinan ve Yeni San'at." *Mimar* (April 1931): 111.

Arif, Burhan. Yeni Mimaride Milli ve Beynelmilel Vasıflar." *Mimar* (December, 1931): 365-366.

Arif, Burhan. "Yeni Şehirlerin İnkişafı ve Siedlung'lar." *Mimar* (July-August, 1932): 213-216.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Adanada Ucuz Evler Mahallesi." *Arkitekt* (January-February, 1939): 33-36.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Amele Evleri, İlkokul, Mutfak ve Çamaşırlık Binası." *Arkitekt* (September, 1935): 253-258.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Ankara için Ucuz Aile Evi." *Mimar* (May, 1933): 174.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Ankarada Sıra Evler Tipi:2." *Mimar* (December, 1933): 382.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Çankaya'da Bir Villa." *Arkitekt* (July, 1936): 179-186.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Deniz Kenarında Bir Malikane Projesi." Arkitekt (April, 1933): 111-112.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Ev Projesi." *Mimar* (January, 1934): 16.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Kömür-iş İşçi Uramı." *Arkitekt* (January, 1936): 9-10.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Meslek Yüksek Okulu." *Arkitekt* (February 1936): 43-44.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Sapanca Oteli Projesi." *Arkitekt* (July 1937): 191-192.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Sinema Projesi." *Arkitekt* (February 1936): 151-152.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Taksimde Bir Kira Evi." *Arkitekt* (May-June, 1939): 102.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Villa Projesi." *Arkitekt* (April, 1935): 114-115.

Arkan, Seyfi. "Villa Projesi." *Arkitekt* (June, 1935): 167.

Arseven, Celal Esat. "Mukaddime." *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, edited by Bülent Tanju, 73-81. Istanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007.

Arseven, Celal Esat. *Yeni Mimari*. Istanbul: Agah Sabri Kütüphanesi, 1931.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hakkı. "Milli Mimarimiz." *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, edited by Bülent Tanju, 57. Istanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007.

Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hakkı. "Mimaride Kübizm ve Türk An'anesi." *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, edited by Bülent Tanju, 126. Istanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007.

Balmumcu, Şevki. "Sergi Evi." *Arkitekt* April 1935): 97-107.

Bandini, Micha. "Typological Theories in Architectural Design." In *Companion to Contemporary Architectural Thought,* edited by Ben Farmer and Hentie Louw, 387-395. London: Routledge, 1992.

Baydar (Nalbantoğlu), Gülsüm. "The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect." Pd.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989.

Baydar (Nalbantoğlu), Gülsüm. "Silent Interruptions:Urban Encounters with Rural Turkey." In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by Sibel Bozdogan and Reşat Kasaba, 192-210. London: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Batur, Afife. "Son Olmaması Özlenen Bir Sonsöz." In *M. VedatTek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, edited by Afife Batur, 315-322. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003.

Batur, Afife. "Tarih-i Mimari ve Fenn-i Mimari." In *M. VedatTek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, edited by Afife Batur, 233-242. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003.

Behçet and Bedrettin. "Kimlere Mimar Diyoruz?" *Arkitekt* (June, 1933): 199-200.

Behçet and Bedrettin. "Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda." *Arkitekt* (July, 1934): 213-215.

Behçet and Bedrettin. "Türk İnkılap Mimarisi." *Arkitekt* (September-October, 1933): 265-266.

Behçet and Bedrettin. "Yeni ve Eski Mimarlık." *Arkitekt* (June, 1934): 175-177.

Behne, Adolf. "Yeni Mimaride Milli ve Beynelmilel Vasıflar." *Mimar* (November, 1931): 331-334.

"Belediyeler Bankası Proje Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* (October 1935): 287-294.

Berk, Nurullah. "Sanat ve Devlet." *AR* (Aralık 1937): 1-2.

Berkes, Niyazi. Introduction. *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, 13-32. 1959, Greenwood Press, 1981.

Berman, Marshall. "Modernity: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow." In *All That is Solid Melts into Air*, 15-36. New York: Penguin Books, 1988.

Bilgin, İhsan. "Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet'in İmarı." In *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık,* 255-272. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998.

Bletter, Rosemarie. Introduction. *Adolf Behne: The Modern Functional Building*. Santa Monica: The Getty Research Institute, 1996.

Bo-Rygg, Arnfinn. "What Modernism Was." In *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the Modern in Architecture and the City*, edited by Mari Hvattum Christian Hermansen, 23-40. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. "Against Style: Bruno Taut's Pedagogical Program in Turkey, 1936-1938."In *The Education of the Architect: Historiography, Urbanism, and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge*, edited by M. Pollack, 163-192. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1997.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. "The Turkish House Reappraised." In *Sedad Eldem: Architect in Turkey*, 44-55. London, Singapore: Butterworth Architecture, 1987.

"Bursa Halkevi Proje Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* (January, 1938): 16-20.

Calinescu, Matei. *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1977. Rev. Ed. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1987; 1999.

Celal, B. O. "Büyük İnkılab Önünde Milli Mimari Meselesi." *Arkitekt* (May, 1933): 163-164.

Celal, B. O. "San'at." *Mimar* (March, 1932): 80.

Celal, B. O. "San'at." *Mimar* (May, 1932): 129-130.

Celal, B. O. "Sanatta Snobizm." *Mimar* (July-August 1932): 194.

Collins, Peter. *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950*. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967.

Colomina, Beatriz. "Where Are We?." In *Architecture and Cubism*, edited by Eve Blau and Nancy Troy, 141-166. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997.

Colquhoun, Alan. *Modern Architecture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Conrads, Ulric. *Programs and Manifestos on 20th-Century Architecture*. 1964, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1971.

"Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu Apartmanı, Sinema, Havuz, Gazino ve Garaj Binası." *Arkitekt* December, 1937): 331-336.

Doesburg, Theo Van. "İspanya Mimarisinde Yeni Tecsimat," translated by Ahmet Adnan, *Mimar* (June, 1932): 183-185.

"Dördüncü İnkılap Resim Sergisi." *AR* (Aralık 1937): 5.

Dr. Mortell. "Sovyet Rusyada Mesken Meselesi," translated by Fikret Mualla. *Mimar* (July, 1931): 239-240.

Dudok, M. W. "Zamanımızda Şehircilik ve Mimari." *Arkitekt* (January, 1937): 16-18.

Eckstein, Hans. "Finding the Norm and Standard, Constructing for the Existenzminimum—The Werkbund and New Tasks in the Social State." In *The Werkbund: Studies in the History and Ideology of the Deutscher Werkbund 1907-1933*, translated by Pearl Sanders, edited by Lucius Burckhardt, 81-84. United Kingdom: The Design Council, 1980.

Egli,Ernst. "Mimari Muhit." Türk Yurdu 4-24, no. 30-224, (1930): 32-36.

_____. "Türk Evi," translated by Cemal Köprülü. *Ülkü* (May, 1941): 195-209.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Amca Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı." *Arkitekt* (December, 1933): 377.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Bayan Firdevs Evi." *Mimar* (December, 1934): 331

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Beylerbeyi'nde bir Yalı." *Arkitekt* (August, 1938): 213-217.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Bir Villa Projesi." *Mimar* (February, 1933): 50-52.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Boğaziçi'nde Bir Yalı." *Mimar* (March, 1931): 81-84.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Elektrik Şirketi." *Mimar* (June, 1934): 159-161.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Elli Yıllık Cumhuriyet Mimarlığı." *Mimarlık* (121-122, 1973): 5-11.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Ev Projesi." Mimar (July, 1931): 264-66.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: V. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Font-Romeu, 1928." In *Sedad*

Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları, edited by. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli. Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: VI. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Guethary, 1928." In *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, edited by. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli. Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XVI. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Paris, 1929." In *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, edited by. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli. Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XXXV. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Berlin, 1929." In *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, edited by. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli. Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Hayat ve Mimarlık Üstüne, Sedad Hakkı'nın Gençlik Yazıları 1926-1930: XXXVII. Avrupa'da İkmal-i Tahsil Ziyareti, Berlin, 1929." In *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, edited by. Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli. Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "İstanbul ve Şehircilik." *Mimar* (January, 1931): 1-4.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Küçük Ev Projeleri." *Mimar* (April, 1931): 141-144.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Maçka'da Prof. A. A. Evi." *Arkitekt* (October, November, 1938): 277-286.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Müzik Öğretmen Okul İlavesi." *Arkitekt* January 1938): 10-13.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. *Sedad Hakkı Eldem 1: Gençlik Yılları*, edited by Edhem Eldem, Bülent Tanju, and Uğur Tanyeli. Istanbul: Osmanlı Bankası Arşiv ve Araştırma Merkezi, 2008.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Milli Mimari Meselesi." In *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, edited by Bülent Tanju. İstanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*. Istanbul: ITU Mimarlık Fakultesi Atolyesi, 1955.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Yalova Termal Oteli." *Arkitekt* (March 1938): 67-81.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. "Yerli Mimariye Doğru." In *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*, edited by Bülent Tanju. Istanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007.

"Eski Bir Türk Kahvesi." *Mimar* (February 1931): 60.

"Evlerimizin İçi." *Mimar* (July, 1931): 235-239.

Foucault,Michel. "Governmentality." In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by G. Burchell and P. Miller, 87-104. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Frisby, David. "Analysing Modernity." In *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the Modern in Architecture and the City*, edited by Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen, 3-22. New York: Routledge, 2004.

"Garp Memleketlerinde Halk Terbiyesi." *Ülkü* (May, 1933): 295-306.

Gellner, Ernst. *Nations and Nationalism*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publication, 2006.

Gordon, Rebii. "Elektrik Evi." *Arkitekt* (January 1937): 1-4.

Gökalp, Ziya. *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization*: *Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*. 1959, Greenwood Press, 1981.

Göle, Nilüfer. *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Gropius, Walter. "Mimari ve Tezyinat," translated by Orhan Emre. *Arkitekt* (May-June, 1938): 173.

"Gümrükler ve İnhisarlar Vekaleti Binası Proje Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* July 1934): 195-202.

"Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi: Mimari Şubesinde Talebe Nasıl Çalışıyor?" *Mimar* (Ocak 1931): 25-26.

"Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yüksek Mimari Şubesi Diploma Projeleri." *Arkitekt* (March-April 1940): 55-68.

Heidegger, Martin. "Question Concerning Technology." In *Basic Writings*, edited by D. F. Krell. London: Routledge, 1996.

Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger, Terrence. *The Invention of Tradition*. 1983, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

"Hocapaşa Maliye Şubesi." *Arkitekt* (July 1938): 179-181.

"Hollanda'da Yeni Mimari: Hilversum Belediye Binası." *Mimar* (December, 1931): 375.

Holtay, Arif Hikmet. "İstanbul Üniversite Observatoryumu." *Arkitekt* (March 1936): 97-102.

Holtay, Arif Hikmet. "Ziraat Bankası Şubesi – Bursa." *Arkitekt* (December 1936): 325-327.

Horkheimer, Max and Adorno, Theodor W. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, translated by John Cumming. 1944, New York: Continuum Publishing Company, 1990.

İhsan, Bekir. "Küçük Ev Projeleri." *Mimar* (February, 1933): 53.

"İstanbul Limanı Yolcu Salonu Proje Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* (February 1937): 41-54.

"İstanbul Tiyatro ve Konservatuarına aid Arsıulusal Proje Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* (January 1935): 33-61.

"Kadıköy Halkevi Proje Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* (February 1938): 40-56.

"Kamutay Projesi Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* April 1938): 99-132.

Kandemir. "Mimar Vedat Tek." *Yedigün* (205, 1937): 16.

Kasaba, Reşat. "Kemalist Certainties and Modern Ambiguities." In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 15-36. London: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Kemal, Nusret. "Halk Kuvveti." *Ülkü* (Februry, 1933): 49-52

Kemal, Nusret. "Halkçılık." *Ülkü* (May 1933): 185-190.

Kemal, Nusret. "Köy Seferberliğine Doğru" *Ülkü* (June 1933): 355-61.

Keyder, Çağlar. "Whither the Project of Modernity? Turkey in the 1990s." In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by Sibel bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 37-51. London: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Koyunoğlu, Arif Hikmet. "Anılar," In *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Bir Mimar Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu: Anılar, Yazılar, Mektuplar, Belgeler*, edited by Hasan Kuruyazıcı. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008.

Koyunoğlu, Arif Hikmet. Ev Projesi. *Arkitekt* (April 1935): 109-110.

Koyunoğlu, Arif Hikmet. Ev Projesi. *Arkitekt* (May 1935): 149.

Koyunoğlu, Arif Hikmet. *"Villa Projesi." Mimar* (April, 1932): 117-118.

Kozanoğlu, Aptullah Ziya. "Belediye Reisi Evi." *Mimar* (Mart, 1932): 75-76.

Kozanoğlu, Aptullah Ziya. "Köy Mimarisi." *Ülkü* (June, 1933): 370-374.

Kozanoğlu, Aptullah Ziya. " Modada Bir Villa." *Arkitekt* (September, 1936): 246.

Kruft, Hanno-Walter. *A History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present*, translated by Ronald Taylor, Elsie Callander, and Antony Wood. 1985, New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994.

Lane, Barbara Miller. "The Revolution in Style." In *Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918-1945*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Loos, Adolf. "Ornament and Crime." In *On 20th-century Architecture*, translated by Michael Bullock, edited by Ulric Conrads. 1970, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1994.

Lurçat, André. "Bugünkü Mimari Telakkiler," translated by Samih Saim, *Mimar* (1931): 87.

Mardin, Şerif. "Projects as Methodology: Some Thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science." In *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, edited by Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba, 64-80. London: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Mortaş, Abidin. "Erenköyünde Bir Ev." Arkitekt (September, 1936): 251.

Mortaş, Abidin. "Evlerimiz." *Arkitekt* (1936): 24.

Mortaş, Abidin. "Kasaba Evleri." *Arkitekt* (January, 1940): 11.

Mortaş, Abidin. "Köy Evi Tipleri." *Arkitekt* (January, 1940): 8-9.

Mortaş, Abidin. "Küçük ev projesi." *Arkitekt* (May 1935): 149.

Mortaş, Abidin. "Polonya'da Yeni Mimari." *Arkitekt* (February, 1936): 60-61.

Muthesius, Hermann. *Style- Architecture and Building- Art: Transformations of Architecture in the Ninettenth Century and Its Present Conditions*, edited by

Harry F. Mallgrave. Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities, 1994.

Muthesius, Hermann and Henry Van de Velde. "*Werkbund* Thesis and Antitheses." In *On 20th-Century Architecture*, edited by Ulrich Conrads. London: Lund Humphries, 1970.

Nesimi, Ahmet. "Fert ve Cemiyet." *Ülkü* (May, 1933): 264-67.

Oran, Sabri. Ev projesi. *Arkitekt* September 1937: 241-243.

Overy, Paul. "The Cell in the City." In *Architecture and Cubism*, edited by Eve Blau and Nancy Troy. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997.

Özer, Bülent. "Rejyonalizm, Üniversalizm ve Çağdaş Mimarimiz Üzerine Bir Deneme." Ph.D. diss., Istanbul: İTÜ Yayınları, 1963.

"Plastik Sanatlar ve Türkiye." *AR* (January 1937): 4.

"Tip ve Sıra Evler." *Arkitekt* (August, 1937): 211-217.

Posener, Julius. *Hans Poelzig: Reflections on His Life and Work*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992.

Quincy, Quatremere. "Type." In *Oppositions Reader*, edited by K. Michael Hays. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.

Refik. "B. Vehbi Evi." *Arkitekt* (March 1937):65-67.

Saffet,Mehmet. "Kültür İnkılabımız." *Ülkü* (June 1933): 351-54.

Sabri, A. "Sıra Evler." *Arkitekt* (June, 1935): 170.

Said, Edward. *Şarkiyatçılık: Batının Şark Anlayışları*, translated by B. Ünler, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2001.

Saim, Samih. "Bugünkü Mimari Telakkiler." *Arkitekt* (March, 1933): 85-90.

Saim, Samih. "Lö Korbüziye'nin Muasır Şehri." *Mimar* (February, 1931): 44-48.

Saim, Samih. "Yeni Unsurlar." *Mimar* (April, 1931): 133-140.

Sami. "Binanın İçinde Mimar." *Mimar* (January, 1931):14-22.

Sayar, Zeki. "Kalamışta Bir Villa." *Arkitekt* (May-June, 1936): 129.

Sayar, Zeki. "Modada Bir Villa." *Arkitekt* (March, 1936): 65.

Sayar, Zeki. "Suadiyede Bir Villa." *Arkitekt* (September-October, 1937): 269.

Schwartz, Frederic J. *The Werkbund*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996.

Schwarzer, Mitchell. *German Architectural Theory and the Search for Modern Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Selah, Zeki. "Apartman Binası: Pangaltı." *Mimar* (February, 1932): 35-36.

Selah, Zeki. "İnşaatta Standard." *Mimar* (January, 1931): 10-11.

Selah, Zeki. "Mektep İnşaatında Plan-Tip'in Mahzurları." *Mimar* (April, 1931): 124-125.

Selah, Zeki. "Müşterek İkametgahlar." *Mimar* (March, 1931): 97.

Selah, Zeki. "Sani Yaver House." *Mimar* (May,1932): 131-134.

"Sergi Binası Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* May 1933): 133-153.

Simmel, Georg. "The Problem of Style." *Theory, Culture, and Society* 8: 3 (August 1991).

"Sivas Halkevi Projesi Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* (March-April 1939): 65-72.

Smith, Anthony D. *Nationalism and Modernism*: *A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism.* London and New York: Routledge Press, 1998.

Sözen, Metin and Tapan, Mete. *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*. Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973.

"Sümerbank Proje Yarışması." *Arkitekt* (March 1935): 68-84.

Ş. R. "Garp Memleketlerinde Halk Terbiyesi." *Ülkü* (January 1933): 295-306.

Şevki. "I…" *Mimar* (January 1931): 12.

Tangör, Münci. "Kadıköyünde Bir Ev." Arkitekt (May-June, 1939): 107.

Tanju, Bülent. "Bir Osmanlı'nın Mimar Olarak Portresi: Vedad Tek." In *M. VedatTek Kimliğinin İzinde Bir Mimar*, edited by Afife Batur, 243-60. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003.

Tanju, Bülent. Ed. *Tereddüt ve Tekerrür: Mimarlık ve Kent Üzerine Metinler 1873-1960*. Istanbul: Akın Nalça Yayınları, 2007.

Tanyeli, Uğur. "1900'den bu yana Mimarın Bilgi Birikimi ve Kökenleri." In *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000*. İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007.

Tanyeli, Uğur. "Anılarda Seyfi Arkan ve Dünyası," *Arredamento Dekorasyon 35* (March 1992): 96.

Tanyeli, Uğur. "Behçet Ünsal (1912-2006)," In *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000*. İstanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007.

Tanyeli, Uğur. "Giulio Mongeri (1873-1953)." In *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000*. Istanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007.

Tanyeli, Uğur. "Profesyoneller: Zeki Sayar (1905-2001)." In *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000*. Istanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007.

Tanyeli, Uğur. "Seyfi Arkan (1904-1966)." In *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000*, 118-129. Istanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007.

Tanyeli, Uğur. "Türkiye'de Sanat Tarihi Eğitimi ve Sorunları." *Sanat Dünyamız*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002.

Tanyeli, Uğur. "Celal Esad Arseven (1875-1971)." In *Mimarlığın Aktörleri: Türkiye 1900-2000*. Istanbul: Garanti Galeri, 2007.

Taut, Bruno. *Houses and People of Japan*. 1937, Tokyo: Sanseido Co. Ltd., 1958.

Taut, Bruno. *Mimari Bilgisi*, trans. Adnan Kolatan. Istanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yayınları, 1938.

Tomsu, Leman. "Şehremini Halkevi Projesi." *Arkitekt* September, 1938): 253-254.

Tomsu, Leman and Belen, Münevver. "Ev Projesi." *Arkitekt* April 1937: 111.

Tomsu, Leman. "Kayseri Halkevi Binası Projesi." *Arkitekt* (April 1937): 107-109.

Tuğ, Tahir. "İnhisarlar İdare Binası Projesi." *Arkitekt* (September 1935): 262-263.

Uçar, Bedri. Ev projesi. *Arkitekt* Nov-Dec 1939: 250.

Uzman, Emin Necip. "Bir Şehir-Kır evi projesi." *Arkitekt* (July-August 1939): 156.

Ünsal, Behçet. "Ar ve Memleket Mimarlığının Kronolojisi Üzerinde Düşünceler," *Arkitekt* (June, 1935): 182-187.

Ünsal, Behçet. "Forum: Mimarlığımız 1923-50." *Mimarlık* (February, 1973): 35.

Ünsal, Behçet. "Kübik Yapı ve Konfor." *Arkitekt* (1939): 42.

Ünsal, Behçet. "Mimarlıkta Gerçeklik." *Arkitekt* (April, 1935): 116-118.

Ünsal, Behçet. "Sincan Köyü Planı." *Arkitekt* (January-February 1939): 15-16.

Ünsal, Behçet. "Zamanımız Mimarlığının Morfolojik Analizi." *Arkitekt* (July 1937): 201-204.

Vidler, Anthony. "The Idea of Type: The Transformation of the Academic Ideal 1750-1830." In *Oppositions Reader*, edited by K. Michael Hays. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.

"Villa Projeleri." *Mimar* (July, 1931): 301-305.

Whyte, Iain Boyd. "Modernity and Architecture." In *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the Modern in Architecture and the City*, edited by Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen. New York: Routledge, 2004.

"Yalova'da Bir Otel Proje Müsabakası." *Arkitekt* April 1934): 105-112.

Yeşilkaya, Neşe G. *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık*. Istanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1999.

"Yugoslavya'da Yeni Mimari." *Mimar* (July, 1931): 306-307.

Zübeyr, Hamit. "Halk Terbiyesi Vasıtaları." *Ülkü* (March, 1933): 152-159.

Zühtü. "Işık Apartmanı, Koska." *Mimar* (February, 1932): 38-39.

VITA

Bilgen DÜNDAR

EDUCATION

2003-2011   **PhD in Architecture,** Izmir Institute of Technology, Department of Architecture, Turkey
Thesis: "Against Style: Re-reading 'New Architecture' in Early Republican Period in Turkey (1931-1940)"

2000-2003   **Master of Architecture,** Izmir Institute of Technology, Department of Architecture, Turkey
Thesis: "The Construction of Modern Architecture in Architectural History Writing"

1994-1999   **Bachelor of Architecture**
Dokuz Eylül University, Department of Architecture, Turkey

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2000-2010   **Research Assistant,** Izmir Institute of Technology, Department of Architecture, Turkey