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ARCHITECTURAL INTERPRETATIONS OF MODERNITY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM AND BRUNO TAUT IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

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Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Architecture.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Selahattin Önür
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Architecture.

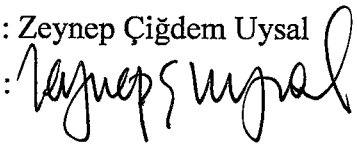
Asst. Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan Ergut
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan	(METU)	
Asst. Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan Ergut	(METU)	
Asst. Prof. Dr. Cana Bilsel	(METU)	
Asst. Prof. Dr. Esin Boyacıoğlu	(GAZİ Ü.)	
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Name, Last name : Zeynep Çiğdem Uysal

Signature : 

ABSTRACT

ARCHITECTURAL INTERPRETATIONS OF
MODERNITY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON
SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM AND BRUNO TAUT
IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

Uysal, Zeynep Çiğdem

M.Arch., Department of Architecture

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Elvan Altan Ergut

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The thesis aims to reveal the decisive influence of the tension that stems from the contemporary searches for cultural identity on the architectural production of the early Republican Turkey. It attempts to demonstrate the conceptual and practical strategies that were devised in contemporary architecture for the resolution of the cultural tension by examining the architectural attitudes and practices of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut in the late 1930s and the early 1940s.

In the first part, 'cultural identity' is examined from within the general discussion of 'modernity', where the relevant phenomena, such as 'nationalism' and the 'nation-state', are discussed.

In the second part, the contextual developments and the architectural production of the early Republican period are examined through the theoretical discussions held in the previous part.

In the third part, the architectural attitudes and practices of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut are examined and analyzed as to reveal the conceptual and practical strategies in the resolution of contemporary cultural tension.

In the conclusion, the significance of the architectural attitudes of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut is re-stated in terms of their contextually sensitive efforts for the disband of the cultural tension in the light of the recent cultural theory.

Keywords: Cultural identity, modernity, early Republican architecture.

ÖZ

MODERNİTE VE KÜLTÜREL KİMLİĞİN MİMARİ YORUMLARI: ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM VE BRUNO TAUT ÜZERİNE KARŞILAŞTIRMALI BİR ÇALIŞMA

Uysal, Zeynep Çiğdem

Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Fakültesi

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Bu tez, Türkiye'de erken Cumhuriyet döneminin kültürel kimlik arayışlarında ortaya çıkan gerilimin mimarlık üretimindeki belirleyici etkisini saptamayı; Sedad Hakkı Eldem ve Bruno Taut'un 1930'lar sonu ve 1940'lar başında oluşan mimarlık tutum ve pratiklerini inceleyerek, bu kültürel gerilimin çözümü için dönem mimarlığında geliştirilen düşünsel ve uygulamaya yönelik stratejileri saptamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Çalışmanın ilk bölümünde, 'kültürel kimlik' kavramı, genel bir modernite tartışması içerisinden, milliyetçilik ve ulus-devlet gibi ilgili olgularla birlikte tanımlanmaktadır.

İkinci bölümde, erken Cumhuriyet döneminin bağlamsal gelişmeleri ve mimarlık üretimi daha önceden incelenmiş olan teorik tartışmalar ışığında tartışılmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde, Sedad Hakkı Eldem ve Bruno Taut'un mimarlık söylem ve pratikleri, dönemin kültürel gerilimini çözmek adına geliştirilen düşünsel ve pratik stratejiler vurgulanmak üzere karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmektedir.

Sonuç kısmında, Eldem ve Taut'un bu kültürel gerilimi çözmek için gösterdikleri samimi çaba ve bağlamsal duyarlılığın önemi tekrar belirtilmekte ve yeni kültürel teoriler ışığında tartışılmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: kültürel kimlik, modernite, erken Cumhuriyet dönemi mimarlığı.

To the eternal memory of my grandmother Süheyla Sevim Alparslan

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the discernment of any form of architectural production, or any cultural production in general sense, the assessment of the cultural, economic or social processes that form the context of that very production should be realized as the initial step. (Duncan and Ley, 1993:12) Architecture in this sense appears both as a 'tool' of and as the 'field' for ideological and/or social formations of the sociopolitical context. (Ergut, 1999:38) Thus, the assessment of the architecture of a specific time and place necessitates the understanding of the contextual developments that prepare its formation.

When the architectural practice in the Republican period in Turkey- the general subject matter of this study- is observed, it should be noted that the disruption experienced in the pursuit of a new 'cultural identity' was influential and decisive in the formation and evolution of the architectural development, with its dichotomies, shifts and tensions appearing in the socio-cultural sphere. As a consequence of the modernist and nationalist endeavors of the nation-state, the attempt for the construction of a new 'cultural identity' in the Republican context, witnessed a 'cultural tension' stemming from the inherent 'cultural polarity' between the desire of being 'modern' while keeping a distinct 'self identity'. (Robins, 1996:67) Especially in such a context of 'peripheral modernization', the 'cultural polarity' was more effectively formed by the presence of dichotomies between the 'national' and the 'international', the 'traditional' and the 'modern', or the 'Eastern' and the 'Western' attributes. (Robins, 1996:67,68)

In this agenda, this type of bi-polar definitions of the 'cultural identity' emerged as influential determinants of major social and cultural formations such as the architectural discourse and practice in the early Republican period. Hence, such dichotomous definitions did come to be reflected and housed in the

architecture of the period as a bi-polar oscillation that constructed itself within the existing 'cultural tension' in the social sphere.

Within this tense breeding ground that shifted alternatively towards the changing dominant sides of the dualities, there was inevitably the persisting wish and effort for a 'synthesis' or the unified coexistence of the opposite poles of the dualities. In this context, together with the aspiration of building a proper 'cultural identity', the construction of a new architectural identity as the expression of such a unified 'cultural identity' was naturally a prevalent desire. Likewise, in this search for a proper unified architectural identity, the co-existence of the 'modern' and the 'national' qualities within that identity was an inherent longing. Within the oscillating movement between the 'national' and the 'international' poles, to achieve this compound in a dialectical totality of one unified expression would be to satisfy the dual desire of the contemporary nationalist state ideology.

On this basis, the thesis argues that the effort spent for the realization of a synthesis between the two sides of the dualities in architecture, is in its essence the compromise made for the disband of the cultural tension that was sourced out of the dualist cultural inclination, in the definition of the 'proper' architectural identity. This synthesis was coming to the fore as the sort of an 'adaptive strategy of survival' out of the 'cultural tension' in the socio-cultural sphere, of which architectural discourse and practice was an essential part.

In order to observe the cultural polarity, the consequent tension and the effort of synthesis to overcome this in social and architectural realms, the late 1930s and the early 1940s appear as an exemplary ground. Especially in the Republican context studied in this thesis, the period comes out as a distinct interval when the effort of finding a proper synthesis between the 'modern' and the 'national' attributes was in its full bloom in the socio-cultural and architectural spheres, conditioned by the dominant state ideology of modernization and nationalism.

On this basis, what primarily concerns this thesis is the influence and the reflection of this cultural polarity and tension within the definition of 'cultural identity' on the architectural discourse and practice of the period in Turkey in

order to discern the definite critical and practical architectural strategies devised in this context.

The thesis will specifically examine and comparatively analyze the architectural attitudes and practices of two prominent architects of the period, Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut, in the light of the theoretical and contextual discussions that illuminate their thoughts and works. Revealing the distinct approaches of a native and a foreign professional towards the existing socio-cultural context, the thesis will examine the architectural attitudes of both of the architects as responsive sensitivities for the inherent cultural polarity and tension in the early Republican context. By providing distinct architectural solutions to disband the cultural tension, both of the architects contributed to the understanding of the different aspects of the examined theoretical and contextual incidences of the period.

Appearing as to give the specific sight of an inner and an outer gaze to the predicaments of the context, the approaches of both architects emerge as pursuits of a compromise between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' characteristics. With this underlying objective, both of the architects devised personal attitudes that included different methods and conceptual tools for the realization of a dialectical synthesis. On this basis, while Eldem promoted the modernist reconstruction of the 'traditional Turkish house' in a typological method, Taut emphasized the original contextual sensitivity of modern architecture and stressed on the consideration of the 'climate' in the realization of such a synthesis. Having distinct nuances in the outlook, both of the approaches could be characterized as responsive attitudes towards the disband of the tension between the dual inclinations, through the combination of the two opposite poles within one single architectural conduct.

In this framework, while Eldem reflects the inner conflicts and hybrid dispositions of the context that shifted between the 'admiration of the West' and the 'reaction against it', Taut represents the outer gaze towards the context that scrutinized over the Eastern periphery as a Westerner coming from the 'center' of modernity. While emphasizing the constructed nature of cultural oppositions and dualities, this study will also take its course yet from another opposition, which is

between a native and a foreign professional, as to observe the clashes and conflicts, together with the coincidences, that existed between their approaches and comments on the context.

On this basis, the examination that is to be realized in the scope of this thesis comes out as a comprehensive contextual analysis that is made to reveal how the existent issues and cultural phenomena were influential in the shaping of specific architectural developments of the period. Altogether, the studied material is utilized as to read the Republican architecture of the late 1930s and the early 1940s through the attitudes and practices of Eldem and Taut, from within the perspective of the critical cultural theory.

When the pursuit and the definition of a new 'cultural identity' come to be examined as an illuminating ground for the architectural development of the country, one thing that can not escape the mind is that the desire of the construction of 'cultural identity' was in its essence the outcome of the specific experience of modernity in the country, as 'cultural identity' is a modern phenomenon. (Eagleton, 2000:26) Eagleton asserts that the modern notion of 'culture' is defined on large part as an 'identity culture'. The notion of 'cultural identity' on this basis comes to be attributed and instrumentalized in the modern era in the cause of nationalism, which is itself described as one of the hallmarks of 'modernity'. (Eagleton, 2000:26) Here, the 'nation' itself is identified with the 'culture' and in this sense the 'cultural identity' comes to stand for the 'national identity'.[1] . (Ergut, 1999:33)

Within this identification, both of the counterparts, the 'nation' and the 'culture', are being characterized as 'modern constructions'. (Smith, 1988:12) Utilized for the construction of the 'nation' by nationalist ideology, the 'culture'- in terms of its ethnic, traditional or the folkloric attributes- comes to represent the authenticity, or the actuality, of the 'nation' by providing the link that is to be set between its past and its future. As Elias affirms, in its prevalent connotation, this form of 'culture' implies the notion of a 'national culture' as a stable, unified and

[1] In order not to subsume this identification and for emphasizing the consciousness about this existing utilization, the 'cultural identity' will be entitled in the thesis as the 'national-cultural identity'.

homogeneous entity. [2] (Elias, 1998:230) The nationalist sentiment aspires for becoming both modern and progressive while keeping a stable and distinct 'self-identity'. In line with this, in the desired definition of the 'national-cultural identity', the integration of the 'modern' with the 'national' appears as an inherent aspiration of the nationalist ideology.

The 'modern/national' duality within the definition of the 'national-cultural identity' also appears as related to the modern/traditional dichotomy within the 'cultural crisis' of modernity. In the case of the non-western nation-states such as the Turkish Republic, the duality between the Eastern and the Western attributes, also takes its place. Here, the 'national', the 'traditional' and the 'East' are all taken in the same pole of the duality, as against the 'international', the 'modern' and the 'West'.

Especially regarding the specific condition of a nation-state in the periphery such as Turkey, the vehemence of those dualities are accentuated through the process of Westernization that was being equated with modernization by the nationalist state ideology. (Robins, 1996:62) This situation appears as a challenge of finding an equilibrium between the 'self-identity' and 'modern civilization'. (Vale, 1992:53)

Accompanying the oscillating movement between the poles of the dualities, the 'cultural tension' in the socio-cultural sphere that bears its mark on the major social or cultural formations in the context, such as the architectural discourse and the practice of the early Republican period, brings about the aspiration to attain a hybrid identity, which would be both 'modern' and 'national'. Be it the pursuit of the cultural or architectural identity, this mode of action appears as an instinctive conduct for overcoming the 'cultural tension' between the dualities through the reconciliation of the two sides together.

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[2] As it will be discussed in detail in the following chapters, this appropriation of 'culture' as a stable entity also comes to be rooted in the initial experience of 'modernity'. Produced under the anxiety that is faced under the sway of modernity, this static and immutable implication of culture comes out as an attribute of the civilization and culture dichotomy. As Eagleton remarks, this constructed opposition between civilization and culture does appear as an extension of the dilemma between tradition and modernity, which was also initiated under the sway of modernity. Hence, the development of the 'cultural identity', as a phenomenon in its own right, appears to be deeply linked to the development of 'modernity' in the general sense. (Eagleton, 2000:11)

In the early Republican context, where the architectural production as an integral component of the social sphere experienced the 'cultural tension' that resulted from the search for a proper 'identity', the consequent attempt was to create a 'national architecture' as the expression and representation of the bi-polar yet unified 'national-cultural identity'. In this search for the proper expression of the 'national-cultural identity', the emphasis is on architectural forms and the pursuit of finding the appropriate 'national style'. (Ergut, 1999:32)

However, in the analysis and assessment of these architectural pursuits of the period, to conduct an exclusively formal examination would cause us to miss and ignore the actual contextual determinants that produced the conscious as well as arbitrary formal/stylistic choices of those very pursuits. (Ergut, 1999:32) On this basis, the analysis in this thesis would take into consideration the sociopolitical and economic factors that conditioned those architectural attempts.

In the early Republican architecture, the formal pursuits changed in line with the changes in the dominancy of one side of the dualities or the other, i.e. from the 'national' to the 'international'. Within these shifting definitions, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, an effort for providing a proper synthesis between the two ends of the dualities began to come to the fore. Demonstrating as such all the cultural attributes in the context such as the existent dual inclinations, the consequent cultural tension and the efforts of synthesis to overcome the tension itself, the period will form the contextual basis of this study.

At this point, the examination of the specific architectural attitudes of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut in late 1930s and early 1940s appears as a viable attempt for reading the architectural reflections and responses of the existing incidents, tensions, shifts and efforts in the context from within the eyes of a native and a foreign professional. As it will be examined in detail, the architectural practices and attitudes of both of the architects in those years appear as responsive efforts spent in finding an equilibrium and a compromise between the dual inclinations of the context for the resolution of the tension present in the search of a proper cultural and architectural identity. As it will be observed in the following chapters, both of the architects utilized different critical strategies and objects of inspiration in their attempts of reconciliation that is to be made

between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' attributes. Exemplifying the dilemmas in the search for the proper 'cultural identity', their pursuits in architecture manifested the adoption of a hybrid attitude.

On this frame of reference, this study will first of all focus on the notion of 'cultural identity' from within its developmental relation with 'modernity'. In order to form the theoretical basis of further discussions, the first chapter will follow the developmental pattern of relevant notions, discussing the phenomena of modernity, cultural identity, nationalism and the modern nation-state.

Giving reference to the theoretical discussions of the previous sections, the second chapter will examine the socio-cultural context and the architectural discourse and practice in the early Republican period during the late 1930s and the early 1940s.

Following the theoretical and contextual frames of reference in the initial chapters, the third chapter will study in detail and comparatively analyze the architectural attitudes and practices of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut as the concomitant attitudes towards the cultural predicament of the early Republican period.

Lastly, the conclusion chapter will re-state the validity and significance of the discussions on 'cultural identity' within the architectural developments in Turkey, and re-spot the potential critical attitudes of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut in the disband of the cultural tension of the context. The thesis will be concluded by the discussion and questioning of current extensions and future openings of the socio-cultural and architectural arguments of the early Republican period that are investigated in this study.

CHAPTER 2

MODERNITY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

In order to examine and analyze the architectural discourse and practice appearing in the context of early Republican Turkey, it becomes important first to provide the insight for the conceptual framework comprising the notions shaping up the context. In the exploration and the theoretical judgment of the Republican context and the specific architectural attitudes it includes in the 1930s, the traces of the specific notions that come to be formed after the earlier institutional developments could be explicitly followed. As the content and subject matter of this study will demonstrate, the main problem area that leaves its traces on the context and relevant practical and theoretical fields is the existing conflict and tension about the notion of 'cultural identity' and its relationship between the experience of 'modernity'.

Thus, the notion of 'cultural identity', appearing as the main emphasis with its extensive mark on the period with its conflicts, clashes and trials could only be understood from within the general discussion of 'modernity'. As a phenomenon in its own sake, 'cultural identity' comes to the fore as a notion that develops chiefly under the 'nationalist sentiment', which was itself rooted from the very outbreak of 'modernity'. In the new social order modernity, which itself was brought about by the socio-economic process of modernization and fostered by the favoring intellectual approach of modernism, the evolution of themes such as 'cultural identity' come out as to cultivate modernity's new condition of living. Hence, the related conceptual notions will be explored in an epistemological framework that develops chiefly from the discussion of 'modernity'.

The themes in this framework, which are mainly 'modernity', 'nationalism' and 'cultural identity', all emerge within a structure that is basically based on the notion of 'modernity' itself. Hence, the notion of 'modernity' will firstly be discussed as to provide the brief insight to the historical and

epistemological development of the term; and secondly, the emerging 'national-cultural identity' will be surveyed in a correspondent relation to 'modernity' and the 'nation-state'.

2.1. MODERNITY: AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

When the notion of 'cultural identity' comes to contain and define the problems of any context of appearance, one thing that could be delineated of the specifity of that very context, becomes undeniably the existence of its specific experience with and the peculiar hardships it goes through with 'modernity'. The 'cultural identity' is indisputably a 'modern' notion.

The overwhelming experience of modernity and the new condition of living that is imposed by it bring with itself the discussions and phenomena that we still discern today. In order to understand the evolution of the modern conditions and the concepts that will form the theoretical basis of this study, we must first examine the evolution of the term and its related phenomena.

2.1.1. The Development of Modernity and the Related Phenomena

When we talk about the 'modern', the difference between the 'old' and the 'new' comes at once to the fore. The necessity of a 'new' definition and the re-description of the contextual borders, as in the case of 'cultural identity', appears as an expected incident. On this basis, as it is explained correspondingly by Habermas, the original meaning of the term 'modern' appears as 'a consciousness of an epoch' that relates itself to the past, in order to view itself as a result of a transition from the 'old' to the 'new'. (Habermas, 1987:3) However, while the differentiation between the old and the new still describes the implication of the 'modern', what it denotes today is shaped after the French Enlightenment in the eighteenth century and the idea of the 'modern' evolves

with the "belief in the continuous progress, inspired by modern science, critical reason and in the social and moral refinement." (Habermas, 1987:4)[1]

In this context, 'modernity', as the initiator of many later incidences and conceptual formations shaping up the global context after the eighteenth century, appears as a specific form of living. As Anthony Giddens explains it, 'modernity' has developed in this outbreak, as the modes of social life or organization that came to emerge in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards to become worldwide in their influence. (Giddens, 1992:1) Directed by the process of 'rationalization', 'modernity' did come to be shaped around the aim of 'good society' that would be reached through a rational re-organization of everyday life. As Heynen puts it, it has mainly evolved as a position towards life, which was guided by a course of continuous transformation that developed as "a condition of living imposed upon individuals by the socioeconomic process of modernization." (Heynen, 1999:3)

Here, 'modernization' comes to be defined as a process of socio-economic development and social ordering, the main features of which appeared as the technological advances and industrialization, urbanization, the rise of bureaucracy, the rise of increasingly potent nation-states, the development of mass communication systems, democratization, and a growing capitalist world market. (Heynen, 1999:10) On this foundation, the social order of modernity that was executed through this new socio-economic process of 'modernization' mainly comes to be driven by the changes that occurred in the economic system. Correspondingly, the transformation that took place in the economy under the processes of modernization comes to the fore as the agent in the decline of the agrarian production and feudalism, along with the initiation of a new economic order of industrialization, division of labor and capitalism. As Giddens puts it in this basis, these changes that occurred in economy, most importantly came to

[1] In line with this belief on the continuous progress, today the term "modern" denotes not only a meaning of the 'new', but also a meaning of the transient and momentary. (Habermas, 1987:4)

bring in the new social order of the 'nation-states' that developed after the decline of the pre-modern societies.[2]

Within this contextual development, the Enlightenment is designated as the onset of the "Project of Modernity". On this issue, Habermas defines three distinct categories under 'modernity', which appear as 'societal modernization', 'cultural modernity' and 'aesthetic modernity'. (Habermas, 1987:5-8)

Here, 'societal modernization' is defined as a socio-economic process that involves an instrumental rationalism based on the state's wish of mobility in economic growth of the modern nation-state. (Habermas, 1987:7) Binding this description to the resulting dissolution of traditional 'cultural' attributes, Habermas believes that this instrumental rationalism that limited daily life and communication to the most immediate, rational and efficient basis, had been effective on the dissolution of communication and social integrity present in traditional pre-modern societies. Thus, the limiting rationality of 'societal modernization' is presented as the responsible factor in the early 'cultural dissolution' of the traditional social order before the relevant notion of 'cultural identity' was set and promoted in nation-states.

On the other hand, 'cultural modernity', which appears as the other category Habermas distinguishes under modernity, is described as the separation of science, morality and art as three separate components of 'culture' in the Enlightenment. (Max Weber quoted in Habermas, 1987:9) Developing within an institutionalization and a segmented rationality, these separated realms of 'culture', namely science, morality and art, come to evolve as esoteric and autonomous fields. The goal to be reached in the development of these autonomous fields within 'modernity' was actually the development of the "rational organization of the social life" and the enrichment of each of these fields in parallel with each other's development. (Heynen, 1999:11) However, this esoteric development of 'culture' become portrayed by theorists as an

[2] In the new 'modern' context, one thing that is further portrayed as a consequence of 'institutional transformations' taking place in the new social order of 'modernity', appears as the attainment of the 'liberal citizenship', which was realized through the representative democracy taking place in the new potent 'nation-states'. (Giddens, 1992:1-4)

obstacle in front of the 'hermeneutic communication' of everyday life and presented as the reason to the collapse of an integrated life experience, together with the impoverishment of the present culture and daily life of the society. (Habermas, 1987:9)

As the last category Habermas distinguishes under modernity, 'aesthetic modernity' comes to be illustrated as one of the key factors among the initiators of our conception of the 'modern' and the 'modernity'. Being defined as "a radicalized consciousness of modernity", it was thought to be a flow that sought to free itself from all historical ties, creating an opposition between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' along with an attribution to the idea of 'modern' a meaning of the 'new'. [3] (Habermas, 1987:5) In line with its promoted attitude towards the 'modern' and 'progressive' qualities and attributes, the 'aesthetic modernity', or 'modernism' as we know it, comes to be discerned in its concretized form, as the collection of artistic and intellectual ideas and movements that are concerned with the process of modernization and the experience of modernity. (Heynen, 1999:3) Thus, within the responses provoked by the experience of modernity, the ones that approved the orientation headed for the future and the aspiration of progress were specifically entitled as 'modernist'. Hence, concretizing the opposition between the modern and the traditional, along with the new and the old, this 'aesthetic modernity', or modernism, is also found to be responsible for the anxiety of the dissolution of traditional cultural attributes. (Heynen, 1999:10)

On this basis, 'modernism' becomes at once portrayed in opposition to the 'normalization of tradition'. Given that the tradition is found in connection with harmony and stability, its rejection in the name of progress and mobility comes to be declared as the cause for the disintegration in the experience of life. (Heynen, 1999:13) Hence, under the rubric of modernity, the inherent opposition and dichotomy between the traditional and the modern, appears as configured and consolidated from within modernism itself. Later on, this opposition and the

[3] This 'aesthetic modernity' is specifically described by Habermas as a "changed consciousness of time", displaying a discontinuity in everyday life and a mobility in society along with an emphasis on the ephemeral, discontinuous, transitory, mobile and the progressive. (Habermas, 1987:5)

anxiety promoted by it appear as the input within the changing definitions of 'identity' in different sociopolitical contexts.

2.1.2. Modernity's Crisis of Culture And The Traditional-Modern Dichotomy

An earlier crisis of culture is experienced under the rubric of the early experience of 'modernity. Here, alienation and anxiety that surfaced as the outcomes of the approval of progressive discontinuity and the rejection of tradition by 'aesthetic modernity', were portrayed by theorists as the signal of the 'cultural crisis' that was experienced in the Western society, through the loss of social integrity, the collapse of the integrated life experience and the dissolution of the bond between the society and culture in general. (Daniel Bell as referred in Habermas, 1987:6) Along with 'aesthetic modernity', the effect of the esoteric development of 'cultural modernity' and the instrumental rationality of 'societal modernization' on the crisis and the impoverishment of the culture are also depicted as other responsible factors.[4] (Habermas, 1987:13)

In his book *The Idea Of Culture*, Terry Eagleton discusses this issue of 'cultural crisis' in a broader perspective. Eagleton argues that along with this 'crisis of culture' that accompanied the transitory experience of modernity, the dichotomy between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' comes to be created as an outcome and 'reaction' to the existing anxiety, which was faced under the modern demand of continuous change and mobility. (Eagleton, 2000:11) As Giddens remarks, this anxiety was produced out of the modes of living brought by modernity that strictly changed the 'traditional social order', forming a 'discontinuity' in social sphere.[5] (Giddens, 1992:4)

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[4] In this context, delineating the reasons of the earlier and still valid cultural collapse as such, Habermas argues that an interaction among these cultural spheres should still be put into life and fulfilled by "a differentiated re-linking of modern culture with everyday praxis that still depends on vital heritages but not drowned by tradition." (Habermas, 1987:13)

[5] In this context, in her article *"Disappearing Dichotomies: First World – Third World; Traditional – Modern"*, Janet Abu-Lughod also discusses the effect of the economic systems on the social structures of societies. Tracing the transformation of the social structure to the

In this representation, what comes to be meant by the 'traditional', appears as to stand for the "rural, pre-industrial and the backward" implications that become assimilated with the pre-modern society. On this basis, the traditional and the modern dichotomy comes to be defined next to the institutional developments and transformations emerging in the social structure that was brought about by the reflexive knowledge shaping up 'modernity'. (Abu-Lughod, 1992:8)

Thus, under those major institutional transformations of modernity, the changes made in the social structure become portrayed as the reason behind the earlier experience of this dissolution that occurred in the original and integral form of 'culture'. The dichotomy between the traditional and the modern also become portrayed here as an integral part of this crisis, which appeared as a form of reaction concretized in the wish of preserving the stability against the sway of modernity. This earlier emergence of the dichotomy between the traditional and the modern under the experience of modernity comes to be apparent in the shifts and conflicts appearing in the later definition of 'cultural identity' as a modern notion. Again as a form of a stabilizing effort, the subsequent attempts made for forming such a 'cultural identity', is rooted in this early experience of modernity and comes to be affected from its crises and dichotomies.

Consequently in this respect, in those contexts where the new social order of modernity become prevalently experienced, those consequences of modernity such as the aforementioned traditional and modern dichotomy, are rigorously confronted and become effective in resultant social, political, cultural and artistic formations. Architecture appears as one such case. Emerging as the proper medium of expression and reflection of the desires, consequences and conflicts that modernity brought about, architecture emerges as a means and a ground for the effort of creating a new environment that would be the proper medium for the

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economical transformation brought by modernity. Abu-Lughod finds the origin of the dichotomy between the traditional and the modern in the three partite transformation of the society from the rural to urban, pre-industrial to industrial and backward to modern state by the processes of urbanization, industrialization and modernization. (Abu-Lughod, 1992:8)

expression of modernity. In this context, it also inherits the existing dualities, dichotomies, and disparities that the experience of modernity brought about.

2.1.3. Modern Architecture Between The Societal Modernization And The Aesthetic Modernity

It is observed that the modern movement or modernism in architecture also develops as a progress aspirant critical discourse that rejects the dogmatic canons of historic and traditional styles in architecture. Here, the crucial point to be reflected upon the development of modern architecture becomes the shift in its pattern of development, which is sourced out from the discrepancy between aesthetic modernity and societal modernization. In expressing modern 'cultural' attributes, modern architecture maybe utilized as a formal, stylistic device in the service of ideological formations, hence concretizes modern conflicts in its very presence.

As David Harvey asserts, 'modernism' appeared as an "urban phenomenon" related to the mass growth of the city that had occurred in the eighteenth century due to the new conditions of production and circulation brought by the industrial modernity. (Harvey, 1990:25) In this context, it is noted that architecture places itself as a design for public realm and operates as a tool of representation of an emerging social order. Thus, the Modern Movement in architecture primarily appears as an ideological movement to respond to social demands such as better sanitary conditions, more functional, open, spacious and healthy spaces that provided modern comforts like heating and ventilation. The choice and use of materials provided by industry, the struggle to reach functional, efficient and hygienic spaces all come to be related with the social aims of modernity on behalf of rationality and the betterment of physical conditions.

On this basis, along with the claim on the universal validity of the rationalist principles of design, modern architecture originally emerged as a non-stylistic approach based on the consideration of function, program, topography,

building material and budget, that demanded for the emergent architecture to be suitable to the environmental and cultural context in which it appeared.

However, two diverging branches were observed within 'modernism' after the First World War that pointed to the division between "aesthetic modernity" and "societal modernization" as Habermas calls them. As apparent in the fourth CIAM Congress and the Athens Charter held in 1933 that declared the principles of Modern Architecture, the division was between the modernist aesthetic approach to architecture that came out to produce the image of rationality, technical efficiency and use, incorporating the "machine aesthetics"; and the socially and politically committed approach to architecture that promoted a functionalist and pragmatic attitude inspired by a social realism. (Harvey, 1990:32) For the former approach, the aspiration of an assimilation with technology and progress in architecture and the symbolization of the power of reason by functionalism, showed itself in the search for the appropriate expression in architectural language that would be universally applicable. However, disclosing the shift in the development of modern architecture, the tension between those two emergent ideals within modern architecture comes to be glossed over by the presentation of modern architecture with the name of the 'International Style' in the 1932 MOMA exhibition in New York, as a formalist approach to architecture that presented itself as the rational expression of the modern *zeitgeist*. The forms utilized came to be asserted as the true expressions of the rational, functional attitude and technical requirements that were to be applied internationally.

In this manner it is observed that architectural modernism turned into a formal orthodoxy and came to loose the critical attitude modernity brought about. Falling into formal orthodoxy, modernism in architecture became deprived of its inherent self-critical attitude. (Bozdoğan, 2002:17) On this basis, as observed in the aesthetic modernity, modern architecture, appearing in the form of the International Style, came to signal the indications of an environmental disintegration and discontinuity.

What is more, this formalist understanding of modern architecture also came to accompany the desire of expressing the guise of 'modernity' through the

codified architectural forms of the International Style that were advocated and promoted in the name of rationality and modernity. Seen where the ideological regimes that came to import a form of 'modernity' in their outgoing, this attribute in architecture was utilized as the expression of ideological motives of regimes that attempted to import a form of 'modernity'.

As it will be examined in detail in the following sections, this approach primarily comes to be concretized in the newly founded modern nation-states that wish to construct themselves as modern yet eternal social entities. Appearing as the seminal stage in the development of modernity, the nation-states implement distinct forms of conduct to justify their existences. (Giddens, 1992:174) Utilizing architecture to represent the subsequently formed 'modern cultural identity', nation-states present a context where the relationship between 'modernity' and 'cultural identity' could be explored and discussed.

2.2. CULTURAL IDENTITY: AN ASPECT OF THE MODERN NATION-STATE

One of the major organizational changes that appear as significant in the evolution of 'modernity' is assertedly the development of the 'nation-state' and 'nationalism'. On this basis, bearing testimony to the delineation of the borders between the new and the old, or the inside and the outside, 'cultural identity' comes to the fore in the modern era as an apparatus of justification and as a tool for the definition of the boundaries of the modern nation-state. Unlike the naturally integrated and anonymous social structure of the pre-modern traditional society, the constitution of the modern nation-state requires the construction of a distinctive 'cultural identity' as the justification of the national existence. Being a deliberately defined social entity, the modern nation-state continuously defines and redefines its 'cultural identity' according to its prevalent requirements and needs. (Gellner, 2001:306) In this case, the inherent consequences of modernity, such as the anxiety of cultural dissolution or the dichotomy between the modern and the traditional, come to be effective within the implementations of the nation-

state and in the definition of the 'cultural identity'. In order to understand the modern notion of 'cultural identity' within the modern nation-state and in order to grasp its ongoing tensions or conflicts that come to be reflected in the immediate social, cultural and artistic formations in the context, the phenomena of the nation state and the nationalism will initially be explored in this section. Then, the role of 'cultural identity' in nationalist praxis, including the production of architecture, will be examined in those terms.

2.2.1. Cultural Identity In The Nationalist Praxis

As Ernest Gellner indicates, together with the systematic capitalist production, the 'nation-state' emerged as the outcome of a major institutional transformation that shaped up the development of 'modernity'. (Gellner quoted in Giddens, 1992:174) In his article "Nations and Nationalism", Gellner describes the 'nation' as the outcome of the economic, technological and industrial forces emerging in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century accompanying the resurgence of ethnic-national traditions in the course of the development of the modern nation-state. (Gellner, 2001:292)

In this context, as Anthony Smith remarks, the 'nation' appeared as a 'modern construction' that is produced by 'nationalism' as a 'myth' of the modern era. (Smith, 1988:12)[6] As stated by Smith, 'nationalism' emerged as a doctrine and as an ideological movement that brought about the formation of 'nations'. (Smith, 1988:15)

In this framework, 'nationalism' apparently emerges as a 'modern creation', the origins of which become tied by theorists to the development of industrial capitalism that shaped up 'modernity'. (Vale, 1992:45) Thus the development of nationalism as a social phenomenon characteristic of industrial development is strictly tied to the 'hallmarks' of modernity and is discussible

[6] In the sequence of the development of the 'nation', it is asserted by theorists that it has been 'nationalism' that 'engendered' and brought about the existence of nations. (Gellner, 2001:306)

within the framework of modern developments such as 'the rapid urban population growth', 'the penetration of isolated communities by global economy' and the 'centralized policy combining the participatory administrative organs'. (Vale, 1992:45)

Smith asserts that, within these contextual developments of industrial modernity, nationalism itself emerged as a 'political myth', based on the belief that "mankind is naturally divided into distinct nations, each with its peculiar character and everyone must naturally belong to a nation, which is the source of all power and liberty." (Smith, 1988:10) According to Smith, the construction of the nation by nationalism is the outcome of the radical break between the agrarian and industrial, or the traditional and the modern, society. In this context, it is pointed out that, the conception of a nation by way of nationalistic ideology emerges in Europe with the development of the 'rational State' under the direction of capitalism and industrialism. Thus the nations become portrayed as recent developments that resulted from 'the effective operations of the modern rational State'.[7] (Smith, 1988:14) Here, giving special emphasis to the existence of the 'conscious will' that maintained the continuation of national units, Gellner asserts that nations appear as the preferred objects of identification in the modern age. (Gellner, 2001:305)[8]

Recent theory on nationalism demonstrates us that the distinctiveness of societies, nations and cultures that are defined by the seemingly natural division of 'space', is not very much more than a construction. (Gupta, 1997:7) Thus the unproblematic acceptance of the belief of nationalistic ideology on the natural division of humanity into distinct national communities are being questioned

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[7] Within these economic developments that brought about the formation of the nation-states, Vale emphasizes in his book "Architecture, Power and National Identity", the specific existence of the national movements, which stressed on the ethnic and linguistic continuity in Europe in the nineteenth century, that provided the conception of nations as new forms of communal entities. (Vale, 1992:46) With the advent of this new conception of ethnic and linguistic commonalities, along with the new economic system that prepared the basis of formation, nations thus came to emerge as "territorially bounded and impermeable communities" in the late eighteenth century that "posses a threshold of size and economic viability, as well as deep historical associations, a well-established cultural-elite and the capacity to defend its borders." (Smith, 1988:14) (Vale, 1992:46)

[8] In line with this statement, Benedict Anderson asserts that, following the dissolution of faith by the emergence of science and modernity, 'nation' comes to replace the faith in the modern era. (Benedict Anderson quoted in Smith, 1988:13)

today. The emphasis is rather placed on the 'constructed' nature of the nation-state that is formed by way of industrial modernity and nationalist ideology. [9]

It is further indicated by theorists that nationalism, in the course of the development of a 'national conception', utilizes the pre-existing cultures and cultural wealth, ethnic roots and history, along with language, in the building up of a factual foundation that justifies the existence of a nation. (Gellner, 2001:306) In this basis, the aspiration of the link that is to be provided between the past, present and the future of a nation comes to appear within the main goals of the nationalistic ideology and 'nationalism's myth of nation'. (Smith, 1988:15)

About the ethnic roots and identity, it is generally accepted by theorists that nationalist ideology consciously selects and produces a 'pre-modern ethnic past' that elaborates the pre-existing cultural accumulation, unifying traditions, folk culture, myths and symbols while presenting a consistent and distinctive national history to provide the justification of the existence of the nation. Here the past comes to be used as a legitimization of the present existence and the eternal future of the nation. (Smith, 1988:20)

Accordingly, in his article "Nation as Invented Tradition", Eric Hobsbawm states that, nations, nationalism and all the related phenomena such as the national history, language or the symbols come to be based on exercises of a 'social engineering process', which emerges as a deliberate and innovative action. (Hobsbawm, 1994:76) According to his viewpoint, all these constituents of the nationalist discourse are constructs and they should be examined as 'invented traditions'.[10] Hobsbawm defines the notion as follows:

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[9] However, contrasting the statements that represent the nation as a total modern construction, Anthony Smith argues that, albeit the emergence of a nation as a modern phenomenon under industrial modernity, nation, as a phenomenon in its own sake, is not completely a construction without ethnic roots. On this basis Smith argues that a complete definition to be made for a nation should cover both the 'ethnic' and the 'civic' conceptions of a nation. (Smith, 1988:19) Here the 'civic' conception of a nation covers the modern, industrial base, which becomes formed by the common territory, economy, law and common education; whereas the 'ethnic' conception includes the common ancestry, history, culture and solidarity along with the special features of the community that define or shape the 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic identity'. (Smith, 1988:18)

[10] About the constructed aspect of the nation, Benedict Anderson also emphasizes in his article "Imagined Communities", the emergence of the nation as a modern construction and argues that the actual possibility of imagining the nation become realized by the development of the 'print capitalism'. For Anderson, the print-languages and their assimilation into national languages initiated the possibility of modern nation emerging as 'imagined community'. (Anderson, 1994:95)

> 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past...However, insofar as there is such reference to a historic past, the peculiarity of 'invented traditions' is that the continuity with it is largely fictious. (Hobsbawm, 1983, 1f.)

On the creation of this type of a national cohesion and consciousness, the border that is drawn between the inside and the outside becomes important. As Homi Bhabba remarks the ambivalence between the unity and disunity, or the boundary between inside and outside, defines the nation as an independent entity. (Bhabba, 1994:308) Thus on the formation of the national consciousness and cohesion driven by nationalistic ideology, the delineation of the specifities that distinguish one nation from the other acquires a seminal place. In this regard, the definition of the 'cultural identity' comes to the fore as an important instrument of nationalist ideology.

In the course of the formation of the national consciousness and the legitimization of the national existence, nationalism emerges as an ideology that works on the realization of national unity with the help of a cultural policy. (Smith, 1991:97) Through this aspiration, each nation becomes attributed by a stable and unified 'cultural identity' under the dictum of nationalist ideology. (Ergut, 1999:31) This 'national-cultural identity' becomes instrumentalized in the connection that is to be provided between the past and the future.[11]

This desire of nationalist ideology to provide the link between the past and the future, also demonstrates itself in the aspiration to integrate the 'modern' and the 'national' within the definition of the 'cultural identity'. Accordingly, for

[11]As Ergut indicates in her article "The Forming Of The National In Architecture", this connection that is to be provided between the past and the future becomes based on the assumption of the existence of a 'common culture' and a 'common history'. (Ergut, 1999:32) Through this assertion, the 'national-cultural identity' attains an eternal disposition and the existence of the nation becomes justified.

the formation of the 'national character', 'national culture' is accepted as the bearer of the 'national' characteristics that would shape the 'national-cultural identity'. Here, as mentioned by Ergut, the 'culture' becomes identified with the 'nation'. (Ergut, 1999:33)

On this basis, nationalism defines certain cultural components such as symbols, ceremonies and customs in order to establish and consolidate a collective 'national-cultural identity' for the society. (Smith, 1991:77) In this process the cultural products become edited and utilized in the formation of the newly defined national symbols, ceremonies and customs, which appear as the expressions of this 'national-cultural identity'.[12] As indicated by Vale, in this process, an artificial 'national homogeneity' is pursued and for that reason the emergent 'national-cultural identity' becomes molded out of the dominant culture present in the society, under the direction of the State.[13] (Vale, 1992:49)

2.2.2. Culture as a Modern Phenomenon and Cultural Identity as the Construction of the Nationalist Discourse

Regarding the relation between culture and nationalist ideology, Eagleton emphasizes the vitality of 'culture' to nationalism and states that the modern notion of 'culture' is formed in large part by nationalist discourse. (Eagleton, 2000:26) Eagleton argues that in the modern nation-state, the structure of traditional roles are no longer adequate and valid to form the social unity, thus 'culture', in the sense of shared values, common language, common inheritance or the common educational system, forms the necessary social unity in the

[12]In this context, Smith argues that the nation itself appears as a type of 'identity' whose meaning becomes acknowledged by nationalism defining the 'national-cultural identity' as a peculiar character belonging to the nation as a whole. (Smith, 1991:75)

[13]Here, as Lash and Friedman argue, the re-discovery of the dominant culture with nationalistic interests, results from the acceptance of the elements of this culture as the non-corrupted bearers of the desirable qualities of the national collectivity. (Lash and Friedman, 1992:23) However, today it becomes accepted by theorists that, the distinct culture, which was pictured by nationalistic ideology as a homogeneous entity, appears in its actuality not as homogeneous and stable throughout the country as a whole. (Vale, 1992:49)

society. It is further asserted that the modern notion of culture appears as an 'identity culture', which is shaped as to define and designate the roots and structure of the society.[14] (Eagleton, 2000:26)

'Culture', in its original state, emerges as a pre-modern idea that describes those features of the social life such as custom, kinship, ritual or mythology. As Eagleton remarks, the flourishment and re-use of 'culture' in the modern era, results from nationalism's aspiration of linking the past to the future. In this respect, Eagleton observes that the 'idea of culture' becomes significant for nationalism especially at times of 'historical crisis' appearing when "the culture provides the terms in which a group or people seeks its political emancipation or when an imperialist power is forced to come to terms with the way of life of those it subjugates". (Eagleton, 2000:25) As Eagleton asserts, these two specific points of historical crisis come to form our modern idea of 'culture' today. Thus 'culture' becomes consciously utilized in the making of an instrumental definition of identity in the modern era, under the dictum of nationalist ideology. Concerning this conscious utilization of 'culture' for a new definition of 'national-cultural identity', nationalist ideology works selectively and benefits from 'culture' not in a neutral but in an edited state. Ernest Gellner explains this instrumental utilization of 'culture' as follows:

> If the nationalism prospers, it eliminates the alien high culture, but it does not replace it then by the old local low culture; it revives, invents a local high (literate, specialist transmitted) culture of its own, though admittedly one which will have some links with the earlier local folk styles and dialects. (Gellner, quoted in Vale, 1992:53)

[14]On this basis, the construction of the 'national-cultural identity' can be viewed within the general framework of modernity's approach to 'identity'. The modern notion of identity is described as 'a subjective self concept or social role', which often appears as variable, situational and overlapping. (Vale, 1992:49) As Lash and Friedman assert, within the social space of modernity, 'identity' emerges in a fictious and subjective nature, the definition of which become constructed autonomously and subjectively. (Lash and Friedman, 1992:5) Hence, the modern identity is consciously chosen and gathered, whether it is grounded on national or other terms.

At this point, in order to comprehend the instrumental utilization of culture by nationalist ideology through a new definition of 'national-cultural identity', the evolution of the term should initially be examined.

As Eagleton points out, the term 'culture' originally comes from the Latin root '*colere*', having a wide margin of meaning stretching from cultivating and inhabiting to worshipping and protecting. (Eagleton, 2000:2) Originally, 'culture' referred to a 'process' of cultivation as for the transformation of nature by human beings. The term is defined today as:

> The collective name for all behavior patterns socially acquired and transmitted by means of symbols, constituting all the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts by which intellectual and cultural features are given practical effect, such as buildings, tools, machines, art objects etc. (Kroebe and Kluckhohn, 1965:65)

Here the essential core of the term consists of traditional, historically derived and selected ideas and their attached values. However, until it acquired the meaning it denotes today, the term 'culture' has seen many shifts in its meaning. It is observed that, in the eighteenth century, the term 'culture' comes to be synonymous with 'civilization', in the sense of a "general process of intellectual, spiritual and material progress". (Eagleton, 2000:9) However when it comes to the nineteenth century, the meaning of 'culture' shifts from being the synonym of 'civilization' towards being the antonym of it. As Eagleton points out, this shift in the meaning of culture signals the historic shift from rural to urban existence or from the 'traditional' to 'modern' social order. (Eagleton, 2000:10)

By the end of the nineteenth century, 'civilization' starts to denote an 'imperialist' meaning that was associated with mechanical, fragmented and utilitarian progress. Eagleton points out that, through this development, 'culture' became the name of a 'romantic critique of early industrial capitalism' and a holistic, organic and re-collective idea that is brought by modernity. (Eagleton, 2000:10) This shift in the meaning of 'culture', from a 'progressive' implication to a 'static' one that denotes a meaning of an 'entity', is described by Raymond

Williams as a "response to a society in the throes of a painful change." (Raymond Williams quoted in Eagleton, 2000:11) In this regard, the conflict between culture and civilization belongs to the larger quarrel between the 'tradition' and 'modernity'. (Eagleton, 2000:11) Thus the notion of 'culture' comes to be generated in its general sense by the cultural crisis and the anxiety of the cultural dissolution that modernity brought about with the dichotomy between the tradition and the modernity. In this sense, the traditional and modern duality of the constructed 'cultural identity' within nationalist sentiment appears as the consequence of the inherent conflicts within modernity itself.

Here, it is asserted that the modern sense of 'culture' develops in the form of an anti-capitalist critique denoting specially 'a distinctive way of life' or a 'specialization to the arts' in general. As indicated, the common point in all of these implications becomes the failure of 'culture' as the actual 'civilization'. In this respect, as opposed to the progressive, unanimous development of 'civilization', 'culture' came to highlight the national differences. (Eagleton, 2000:9) Hence as Norbert Elias points out, in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the term 'culture' became increasingly used as the 'national culture'. (Elias, 1998:230)

With this identification of 'nation' with 'culture', the instrumentalization of the dominant native culture for the definition of the 'national-cultural identity' by the nationalistic ideology becomes justified. As mentioned before, for modern and traditional attributes that are to be integrated in the 'national-cultural identity', 'culture' is utilized for the realization of the traditional component. Here, culture is accepted as a homogeneous entity.

However, this positioning of culture within clean-cut national boundaries as a homogeneous entity is being questioned today. (Gupta, 1997:7) Accordingly, the unity of 'national-cultural identity' that is proclaimed by nationalistic ideology is also put into question. For example, Stuart Hall emphasizes the actual fragmented and heterogeneous character of identities in opposition to the unified identity portrayed by nationalist ideology. (Hall, 1996:1) He further describes the 'cultural identity' as follows:

> Cultural identity is the collective or true self hiding inside the many other 'selves', which a people with shared history hold in common and which we can stabilize or fix the unchanging 'oneness' by, in contrast to the other superficial differences. (Hall, 1996:3-4)

Consequently, 'culture', in its implication of a stable and homogeneous entity, has been utilized on the construction of the 'national-cultural identity', which appears as a modern and national premise of the nationalistic ideology.

2.2.3. Architecture as the Expression of National-Cultural Identity

In the aspiration of nationalist ideology to form a 'national unity' and a 'national-cultural identity', architecture becomes an integral part to the whole process of nation building. In this formation, the 'national architecture' becomes instrumentalized in the representation of a 'national-cultural identity' that is to be constructed as to have a unified and distinct character. (Ergut, 1999:32-34)

As Vale demonstrates, in the aspiration of nationalistic ideology to define and consolidate the attributed 'national identity', the built environment and architecture are consciously manipulated. [15] (Vale, 1992:3) It is observed in this respect that, through the formation of the nation-state, architecture and the built environment appear as the symbols shaped by the emergent nationalist ideology that is promoted by the state. Here, Ergut argues that architecture appears not as the symbol to represent the aspirations of the nationalist ideology, but also as a 'field' where the practices and premises of the state become realized.[16] (Ergut,

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[15] In this prospect, Hobsbawm points out especially the role of the mass production of the public monuments in the cohesive construction of nation-state that fostered the structured condition of the modern nation. [15] (Hobsbawm, 1994:77)

[16] As Kenneth Frampton indicates in this context, the utilization of architecture under nationalist ideology of the state is observed prevalently after the First World War, in the years between 1917 and 1933, in the cause of the representation of ideological aspirations of the newly founded states and political regimes. (Frampton, 1985:210) The socialist regime in the Soviet Union (1931-1938), the Fascist regime in Italy (1931-1942) and the National Socialist regime in Germany (1933), appear in this respect as the emergent contexts where architecture become widely instrumentalized for the representation of the state and the regime. Frampton here further points

1999:38)

In the search for the representation of the 'national culture', which is proclaimed as having a stable existence, 'national architecture' comes into existence as a formal search employed for a unified stylistic expression of the 'national identity'. In this context, this search for a unified stylistic expression in architecture assumes that the formal expressions in architecture have intrinsic meanings and inherent relationships with their contexts, and further ignores the fact that the forms appear in a contextual framework as conscious choices that do not have autonomous meanings within themselves. (Ergut, 1999:32)

Here, Vale stresses that, within the examination of any architecture, especially 'national architecture', assessments should not be made as detached from the socio-political and economic factors that created them. (Vale, 1992:3) Additionally, the style of representation of the supposed 'national-cultural identity' should also be questioned contextually. Thus, in the creation of a 'national architecture', it must be recognized and submitted that the choices of formal expressions appear in a conscious manner mainly under the influence of nationalist ideology.

However, as indicated by Ergut in this regard, the stylistic choice made in 'national architecture' under nationalistic ideology may also vary. As there exists no inherent relationship between the ideology and the stylistic expression to be utilized, there may be several styles utilized for one ideology or the same style may appear in the service of several ideologies. (Ergut, 1999:33)

Yet, in the stylistic search made for the representation of a unified 'national-cultural identity', one particular approach prevails. The unity that is to be realized in architecture is tried to be given through the implementation of historical and traditional forms and styles. This implementation seems to be based on the general desire of nationalistic ideology to search for the assumed 'cultural roots' as the basis of national unity. In this process, the traditional forms and styles appear as the 'reserve' for the nationalist architectural discourse to choose

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that, the emergent architecture in those countries came to acquire the conscious stylistic choice of historicism or classicism that demonstrated an iconographic reference to their supposed 'national cultures'. (Frampton, 1985:210)

from and appropriate according to the new 'national style' that is to be created. (Ergut, 1999:32)

In this basis, Vale suggests that the aspiration of architecture in using these historical and traditional forms, emerge as a desire to bridge the gap between the past and the future iconographically. (Vale, 1992:50) However, in the appropriation of traditional styles in architecture, the resultant design is formed as the outcome of a many sided discourse to which the architect, the politicians and other unknown actors contribute as the producers of the artificial construction of 'national architecture' and the related 'national-cultural identity'. (Vale, 1992:52) In this regard, as the other supposedly stable identities such as the 'national culture' and the 'national-cultural identity', the 'national architecture' and its supposedly unified existence, is also questioned and problematized today.

In this context, concretizing the discussed notions of the 'national-cultural identity' or the 'national architecture', Turkey and the early Republican context appears as a paradigmatic case providing the suitable milieu for the examination and exemplification of the discussions that were held in context of the theoretical examinations. In the following chapters, the examination of early Republican Period and the architectural discourse appearing in that context will be discussed in the light of the theoretical discussions held above.

CHAPTER 3

MODERNITY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

The architectural discourse and practice are shaped by the sociopolitical context of the period that brings it to life. Within the context of the early Republican period in Turkey, the constituents of the theoretical background that comprise the nationalist praxis and the consequences that source out from the specific experience of modernity should be discerned conspicuously. Eventually, this contextual framework becomes the sociopolitical, economic and the cultural context that gives shape to the emergent architecture of the early Republican Turkey.

In this respect, within the framework of this chapter, firstly the sociopolitical context of early Republican period will be studied in terms of the formation of the modern Turkish nation-state and the emergent state ideology in order to examine the attainment of the Turkish national culture and the formation of a modern 'cultural identity'; and then the emergent architecture of the period will be discussed in the light of the contextual and theoretical discussions that are held in the previous chapter.

3.1. THE SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTEXT AND THE ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE IN THE MODERN TURKISH NATION-STATE

The sociopolitical context of the early Republican period, which becomes the ground for the development of the Republican institutions and the emergent architectural discourse, appears assuredly as the setting that is shaped by the formation of the nation-state, the emergent state ideology and the process of

nation building. In this context, the formation of the Turkish 'national culture', 'national-cultural identity' and the 'national architecture' come along as the integral parts to the nation-building process. At this juncture, through a general examination of the sociopolitical development of the context, this section will study the formation of the Turkish 'national culture', 'national-cultural identity' and its accompanying 'national architecture' within the ongoing nation-building process of the modern Turkish nation-state.

3.1.1. The Formation of the Turkish 'National Culture' and the 'National-Cultural Identity'

Following the constitution of the Turkish Republic as an independent nation-state at the end of the War of Independence, an all-encompassing process of nation building is initiated at once by the Republican State in 1920s. (Zürcher, 1993: 52-71) In the course of the formation of the nation-state and the process of nation building, 'nationalism' apparently emerges as the most substantial drive that directs the very formation of the nation itself. Appearing as a *leitmotiv* behind the belief in the insurgence of the country out of the devastated state it was in, nationalism defines the nation as an 'eternal existence' between an immortal past and an infinite future.[1]

As asserted by Zürcher, in relation with the desire of nationalist ideology to construct the nation-state as a 'modern' yet 'self-defined' existence within the international system of nation-states, the Turkish Republic came to transform Turkey into a modern nation-state that "would live as an advanced and civilized

[1] As Vale rightly points out, this form of 'nationalism' that becomes the drive for the Republic to construct and define the nation-state, happens not to be the same as the 'nationalism' that supported the drive for the independence and freedom for the nation in the time of war. (Vale, 1992: 45) As it becomes explained, after the war, instead of the external threat that enlivens the nationalist sentiment for the national unity, it becomes 'nationalism' and the 'nationalistic ideology' itself that forges the country into the attainment of its 'national unity' and 'self-identity'. (Vale, 1992: 45)

nation in the midst of contemporary civilization." (M. Kemal Atatürk quoted in Zürcher, 1993: 53)

In this respect it becomes apparent that the nation building process in the Turkish Republic, involved the nationalist praxis in accordance with the faith in the process of 'modernization'. Here, the dominant 'state ideology' appeared as a 'nationalistic idealism' that was advocated by the process of 'modernization'.[2] (Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1993: 66)

As has been mentioned before, the nation-state emerged as a modern institution that is established by and through the socio-economic premises of the industrial modernity. In this context it has been discussed that 'modernization' goes along with the premise of nationalist ideology to integrate the 'modern' and the 'national' within the definition of a 'national identity' that is to be constructed.

A tension is experienced in all nation-states between the two desires of nationalistic ideology of becoming modern and progressive while preserving a distinct 'self identity'. (Ricoeur, 1961:271) As Ricoeur explains it,

> ...on the one hand, it [*the nation-state*] has to root itself in its past and forge a national spirit, but on the other it has to take part in the modern civilization, in scientific, economic, technological and political rationality which requires the abandon of the cultural past. (Ricoeur, 1961:277)

Ricoeur states that universalization brought by modern civilization makes it especially difficult for a peripheral nation outside the central 'Western' limits of modernization, to preserve its self-identity that is created by the "ethico-mythical creative nucleus" of the culture, which appears to be 'on the verge of a destruction' under the shock of modern civilization. (Ricoeur, 1961:277)

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[2]As Bernard Lewis indicates it in his book "The Emergence Of The Modern Turkey", the state ideology was announced in its complete form firstly in 1931 in the congress meeting of the Republican People's Party and was defined within the six principles that were declared as "republicanism, nationalism, populism, etatism, secularism and revolutionarism". (Lewis, 1961: 286) These six principles defining the state ideology also came to govern the implementation of the process of 'modernization' that was advocated by the 'nationalistic idealism' of the state. (Akyürek, 2000: 14,15) Within these lines, as it becomes discerned, the Republican state performed this modernization process through the reforms that were executed basically in the social, economic and cultural realms of the society. (Akyürek, 2000: 17)

Hence, the tension brought by modern civilization becomes even tighter in the nation-states in the periphery and causes the formation of a duality between the international and the national characteristics. Ricoeur here states that, since the modern civilization originated in the European center, the European culture became presented as the 'universal culture' that is accepted internationally. (Ricoeur, 1961:277) In this regard, along with the desire of all modern nations to take part within the international system, becoming culturally and technologically close to the universal culture becomes important in terms of the aspiration of being in the same level of progress and condition with modern civilization. As the 'universal culture' of modern civilization was Eurocentric, the attainment of this culture, in order to take part within the international system of the modern era, becomes especially problematic for the peripheral nation-states. On this matter, Geertz explains that this situation gives birth to the 'challenge' of finding the balance between 'cultural self-determination' and 'international modernity'. (Geertz quoted in Vale, 1992:53)

In this condition, the 'national identity' that is to be constructed in those nation-states under the dichotomy between the international and the national, is formed on the related dichotomy between the Eastern and the Western identities. Here, Vale asserts that, within this influential effect of the Eurocentric universal culture, the 'national identity' in peripheral nation-states is defined to a certain extent according to the European culture and Western tastes. (Vale, 1992:54) Thus for the nation-states in the periphery, 'modernization' comes to be identified by 'Westernization'. (Robins, 1996:62)

Similarly in Turkey, behind the aspiration of 'modernity', which was put into execution by the process of 'modernization', there was the desire of the Republican state to take place within the international system of nation-states as a part of the modern civilization. However, modern civilization and its universal culture were mainly equated in the Republic with the West and its Eurocentric culture. (Robins, 1996: 67) Hence, in this respect, 'modernization' became equated with 'westernization' within the boundaries of the Republic. (Robins, 1996: 67)

For Sibel Bozdoğan, this implementation of modernization did not appear as a critical outcome of the socio-economic transformation as in the West, but emerged as an official program and policy that came to be implemented by the modernizing state elites of the nation-state. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 22) In line with this, the nationalistic ideology in the Republic led the process of 'modernization' as a governmental program that was identified by the 'westernization'.

On this basis, as it is indicated by Robins, the goal to be achieved through this process appeared as to transform the society along Western lines in order to form a civilized society. Here, Robins asserts that this process of modernization in the Turkish Republic became resolved by the direct adoption and importation of the Western institutions. For Robins, this attempt created an 'illusionary modernity' that lacked the real dynamism of modernity. (Robins, 1996: 66,67)

It is observed that, along with these transactions, westernization has invoked an anxiety and a cultural reaction in the society. The feeling of the threat on the loss of traditional culture and social order, has demonstrated itself in the definition of a 'national-cultural identity' that has been based on the dualities of the Eastern versus the Western, the national versus the international or the traditional versus the modern characteristics. (Robins, 1996:63) Hence all the related phenomena guided by the nationalist ideology, such as 'national-cultural identity', 'national culture' or 'national architecture' has come to sway between the two poles of national/ international, traditional/modern or East/West dichotomies. Similarly, the social context of the Turkish Republic carried such inevitable 'dichotomies', which came along with the anxiety experienced in the society with the introduction of 'Westernization'.

Nevertheless, the modernizing reforms performed by the Republican state carried with them the aspiration of transforming the society along the Western lines that forged the international or the modern side of the dichotomy to come forward. As Ahmad states in this respect, the main emphasis made in those modernizing, or Westernizing, reforms by the Republic came to the fore as the secularizing drive, which demonstrated itself in the major transformations that took place in social life. (Ahmad, 1993: 194) Through these reforms undertaken,

the Republic was in the effort of transforming the society into a westernized nation that would assuredly have a new definition of a 'national-cultural identity'.

The nation building process itself comes to the fore as a declaration of identity. (Bozdoğan, 1995: 437) For the attainment of the national cohesion after the war, a 'politics of identity' comes to be performed extensively by the Republican state.[3] In this effort, the desire of the Republic was to transform Turkey into a modern nation-state, which would take its place in the modern civilization as a civilized nation. (Zürcher, 1993: 53) For this reason, the 'national-cultural identity' that would be attributed to the society should have a secular character and it should be single and unified for the whole nation.

In this respect, a break in the Republic with the precedent Ottoman culture on this issue can be observed. As Tekeli points it out, the pre-Republican nationalist ideology or the dualist theory of Ziya Gökalp, which had been based on the attainment of the technological civilization of the West while retaining the Islamic culture, was rejected in the Republic on this basis, as it contradicted with the ideal of secularization. (Tekeli, 1983: 13) Instead, the Republic desired a full integration with Western civilization and on this origin the Islamic Ottoman culture was rejected as it was connected with an unwanted past. (Tekeli, 1983: 15)

As Lewis asserts, this radical move away from the cultural, social and political traditions of the immediate Islamic past towards the Western civilization, also manifested itself in the 'identity politics' that was executed by the Republic. (Lewis, 1961: 3) In this respect, the nationalistic ideology of the state, which advocated westernization by modernization, came to demand a new Turkish 'cultural identity' that would have a modern yet national character. The attainment of this unified and stable Turkish 'cultural identity', which would have a modern yet national character, would resolve the 'tension' that was formed by the emergent dichotomies of nationalist ideology. Furthermore, this unique 'cultural identity' would also be the bearer of the link to be constructed between

[3] As Zürcher asserts, the notion of a 'Turkish identity' was almost non-existent in the society that was inherited by the Republic. In the general consent, the religion appeared as the basis of identification in the society. (Zürcher, 1993: 77)

the past and the future. For this reason, the national component in the definition of the 'cultural identity' would carry such specifications as to represent the immortal past attributed to the nation and would provide the ground for the justification of the national existence.

In this respect, as Bozdoğan discerns it, the Republican state came to look for this 'national spirit' in mainly two supportive grounds. The first was the culture and history of the pre-Islamic Turkish tribes in Central Asia and the local civilizations that lived in Anatolia. The other was the native Anatolian folk culture that was seen as the bearer of a non-corrupted source for the national culture. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 262) As Lewis puts it, through these Anatolianist theories of history and culture, the Turkish origin was being tied to the ancient Anatolian societies such as the Sumerians or the Hittites. (Lewis, 1961: 3) Through this way, a relationship was being constructed between the land and the present society.

Here, the culture was being taken as a stable entity that would provide a stable ground for the national justification. It is observed that, for the attainment of this goal, the Republican state came to initiate an official program that manifested itself in mainly three institutions. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 262, 263) These institutions were the Turkish Historical Association (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*) founded in 1931, the Turkish Language Association (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) founded in 1932 and lastly the 'community centers' (*halkevleri*) that were being opened in those years throughout the country. In these institutions, the origins of the history and the language of the Turkish society were being explored and the elements of the Anatolian folk culture were being gathered and documented. The theses developed and proliferated by these institutions, such as the 'Turkish Historical Thesis' or the 'Sun Language Theory' (*Güneş-Dil Teorisi*), came to be the basis of justification for the desired unified national identity.[4] (Bozdoğan, 2002: 262,263) Through these nationalist theories, the historical and cultural continuity

[4] 'Turkish Historical Thesis', which was produced by the Turkish Historical Association, stated that the Turks originally came from the Central Asia and migrated all over the world constituting the world civilization. (Ahmad, 1993: 198, 199) Additionally, the 'Sun Language Theory', which was produced by Turkish Language Association, affirmed that the Turkish language was rooted from a primeval language that constituted the basis for all languages. (Ahmad, 1993: 198, 199)

was being provided and was being favored in order to separate itself from the immediate Islamic past. Additionally, these facilitated the Western exchange in the process of Westernization as they provided the identical cultural roots with those of the West. (Ahmad, 1993: 199) This way, they sustained the 'national spirit' that was to be included within the 'cultural identity'. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 271) Here, the Turkish 'cultural identity' would be formed by the synthesis of this 'national spirit' and the norms of the Western civilization.

These efforts of the Republican state in the development of a unified and secular 'cultural identity' for the Turkish nation, formed the sociopolitical context of the early Republican era in Turkey. In turn, it is this sociopolitical context of the Republic that shaped the ground of appearance of changes and developments that took place in the built environment.

3.1.2. The Formation of the 'National Architecture'

Ideological movements that are rooted in the social sphere can find their proper medium of representation in architecture. (Aslanoğlu, 1980: 13) As Tekeli indicates, the development and transformation of architecture assuredly depend on transformations in the social sphere such as those in national economy, the emergence of new social institutions or the resultant formation of a new style in social life. (Tekeli, 1983: 9)

In the Turkish Republic, architecture has also been instrumental in the service of state ideology. As asserted by Yıldırım and Yeşilkaya, architecture both came to exist as the 'text' or the 'medium' of representation of the ideology of the Republic and as the 'field' or the 'stage' where the state ideology was disseminated. (Yıldırım and Yeşilkaya, 1996: 301) The dominant state ideology of the Republican state was assuredly 'nationalism' that was being carried on by the process of modernization. Within this ideological setting, architecture was instrumentalized as to express the 'nationality' and the stability of the Republican regime. (Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1990: 43)

In 1930s, when the regime was in full settlement, there appeared a strict correlation between the architecture and the state ideology. (Ergut, 2000-2001: 4) In this context, in the cause of the development of the Republican ideology, architecture appeared as a constituent of the nation building process and was utilized in the representation of the unified and stable 'national identity' that was attributed to the nation by the Republican state.[5] (Ergut, 1999: 31-32) Architecture thus became the symbol of the 'national-cultural identity' within this contextual manipulation of the nation building process.

In this respect, the dualist attitude of the state ideology between the notion of the national versus international, the traditional versus the modern, or the East versus the West, came to be active also for the architecture of the early Republican period in Turkey. (Ergut, 1998: 2,3) As it was stated before, within the dualistic nature of nationalist state ideology, the desired unified 'national identity' would be both modern and national as to resolve the tension of the national and international dichotomy. Here, the dualistic nature of the desired secular 'national-cultural identity' became operative in the formation of a 'national architecture'. Thus, the 'national architecture' came to be shaped according to the 'shift' of emphasis within the inherent international versus national dichotomy of the state ideology and emerged as to have a 'modern' and 'national' character in relation with the desired 'national-cultural identity'. (Ergut, 1998: 2-3)

Within these changing interpretations of the notions of the national versus the international in the desired unified 'national-cultural identity', the 'national architecture' was also being shaped with the desire to have a unified character. In this aspiration, the architecture of the early Republican period went along with the modernization and the nation building processes. (Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1993: 66)

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[5]As it is portrayed, in this course of development, the state did not come to have a totalizing and oppressive force on the realization of the architectural practice. On the contrary, as indicated by Ergut, there appeared a full acceptance of the Republican nationalist ideology within the architectural circles and the architectural discourse. (Ergut, 1998: 234,235) This internalization of the state ideology by the architects of the early Republican period also comes to be characterized today as an uncritical approach of the architectural discourse of the period. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 28)

Within this dualistic process of modernization and nation building, the search for the 'national architecture' developed and manifested itself through different exercises of 'cultural identity'. (Balamir, 2003: 24) There was the apparent apprehension in the early Republican era concerning the justification of the suitability of the national culture and the 'national architecture' according to the modernization and Westernization ideals of the state. In this context, the unified 'national architecture' that was to be constructed as to represent the modern yet 'national-cultural identity' came to be employed in the Republic as to have a formal and stylistic unity representing the whole nation. (Ergut, 1998: 8) Here Bozdoğan argues that architecture in the early Republican era appeared as a stylistic category that was instrumentalized within the 'identity politics' of the state as a 'text' that narrated the nationalistic ideology of the time. Through these stylistic efforts the national identity would be fixed in recognizable architectural forms. (Bozdoğan, 1995: 438)

In this point, the architectural forms that were devised to construct the 'national architecture', came to be presented as the natural outcomes of the nationality and the 'national-cultural identity'. However, as Ergut emphasizes, this exploitation of the architectural forms ignore the fact that the forms are not the bearers of autonomous meanings that define the context. On the contrary, the forms utilized are the conscious stylistic choices that come to be directed by the aspirations of the current ideology. (Ergut, 1998: 6) Here, it should be asserted that there exists no inherent relationship between the architectural style and the ideology that directs its utilization. Hence, as Ergut further claims, the preference and utilization of architectural styles also comes to vary. Different ideological movements may exploit the same architectural style or the same ideology may utilize different architectural styles in the course of its development. (Ergut, 1999: 33)

The sociopolitical development accompanying the process of nation building in the Republic also came to direct the formal search that was executed for the attainment of the proper 'national architecture' that would reflect the desired 'national-cultural identity'. Ergut argues that, the desired national identity, which was formulated within the dichotomous ideology of the state,

cannot be characterized by referring to just one pole of the dichotomy such as the national or the international. On the contrary, this desired national identity is formulated as to refer to both sides of the dualities and to exist as an attempt of blending the poles of the dualities into one unified national identity. (Ergut, 2000-2001: 4,17)

Accordingly, this dichotomous formulation of the 'national-cultural identity' also represents itself in the search for the 'national architecture' in the Republic. It is observed that, this search for the 'national architecture' seems to have evolved in the Early Republic Period as a formal and stylistic search that was dominated either by one or the other side of the duality. Relatedly, as the Republican architecture was the medium and the means of reflection where the attempt of melting the dualities inherent in the nationalist ideology of the state could be read through, the assessment of the supposedly 'national architecture' should be done contextually. (Ergut, 1999: 32) Thus, the emergent 'national architecture' cannot be assessed just as a formal search.

It becomes observed that the architectural production in the Republic became formulated as to deal with this duality within the desired 'national-'cultural identity'' in order to resolve the tension formed between the poles of the duality. In this context, the early Republican architecture showed the effort for synthesizing the national with the international, and the traditional with the modern, in its formal and stylistic search. Accordingly, as it becomes observed in the articles of the period, the prevalent aspiration was to formulate a modern yet national Republican architecture that would represent the new Turkish identity. As Yıldırım and Yeşilkaya points out, the modern and the national always existed side by side in the early Republican architecture. (Yıldırım and Yeşilkaya, 1996: 307)

The aforementioned Republican institutions founded in this period i.e the Turkish Historical Association and the Turkish Language Association were also supporting this effort. In this basis, the meanings attributed to the modern and the national came to change as to give them new implications in order to make their 'co-existence' possible. This way the early Republican architecture could be observed as the outcome of a 'compromise' and 'agreement' made between the

'modern' and the 'national'. As Sibel Bozdoğan names it, the early Republican attempt in architecture appeared as an endeavor to 'nationalize the modern'. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 19) This attempt, for sure, comprised the effort for the attainment of a modern and national Turkish architecture that would present itself as a proper architecture as part of the Western civilization.

Here Bozdoğan indicates that, in this attempt of creating a modern and national Turkish architecture, mainly two propositions came to the fore in late 1930s. As the purpose necessitated, some architects of the period put forward the Modern Movement in architecture as suitable for the Republic since it coincided with the progressive ideals of the state and provided the suitable 'national' expression by reason of its original sensitivity for the context and the environment. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 19) For the same attempt, the other proposition came forward from the architects who introduced the traditional Turkish architecture as the suitable architecture of the Republic that carried the national expression in its nature while being still modern by reason of its original characteristics, which were in line with the Modern Architecture such as the rationality, functionality or the simplicity. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 19)

Thus, the architectural ideology and its means of transmittance were changed along with the transformations undergone by the state ideology. (Tekeli, 1983: 9) In the Republican context, the relationship between architectural ideology and praxis could be observed as formed through the attempts of attribution to fit the changing demands of the nationalist ideology of the state. At this point, Baydar Nalbantoğlu asserts that, all these inter-changing attributions could also be viewed as attempts of a 'cultural politics of nationalism' that aims to fill the 'cultural void' created by the 'self conscious denial of the past'. (Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1993: 70) Hence architectural discourse and practice of the Republican period could be evaluated as the search for the 'national style', which could be both accepted as international and national. However, this shift of style between the internationalist and nationalist poles in architecture was not more than a formal pay off of the shift of emphasis occurring in the definition of the appropriate 'national-cultural identity'. (Ergut, 1998: 230)

3.2. ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE AND PRACTICE IN THE LATE 1930S AND THE EARLY 1940S

Within the scope of the early Republican architecture in the late 1930s and the early 1940s in Turkey, mainly two distinct architectural styles came to be observed in the works of two groups of architects that were the foreign practitioners and the Turkish architects. As revealed by İnci Aslanoğlu, these styles are specified as the 'First International Style', which came out roughly between the years 1930 and 1940, and the 'Second National Style', which was observed roughly between the years 1940 and 1950.[6] (Aslanoğlu, 1980: 63-73) These architectural styles definitely came to appear as formal categories that emerged within the aforementioned binary construct of the international versus the national, or the modern versus the traditional, which came to develop out of the 'cultural politics of identity' implemented by the Republic. (Bozdoğan, 1994: 48,49) Nonetheless, the architectural discourses forming these styles did not develop as 'antithetical alternations' between the poles of those binary oppositions, but on the contrary, the approaches that they devised came to appear as the stylistic variations, which were instrumentalized for the creation of the official ideology of the state within the same 'internally contradictory nationalist agenda'. (Bozdoğan, 1995: 437)

Akcan explains the contradictory existence of these styles in relation with the notion of 'melancholy', which was portrayed as the outcome of the belief that was held in the unreachable superiority of the West. (Akcan, 2001: 39) For Akcan, this melancholy was felt after the ideal of reaching the same superior level of the West had been lost and it was reflected in the dichotomy formed between the 'longing for the Western ideal' and the 'reaction felt against it'. These two poles of the dichotomy for Akcan, follow each other in a vicious circle. Here, Akcan observes the emergence of the 'International Style' and the

[6]Within these two distinct styles, monumentalist neoclassic tendencies also came to be indicated along with the nationalistic current appearing in the West, which was introduced by the Western architects. As asserted by Baydar Nalbantoğlu, these styles were observed in the early 1940s with the regionalist, monumentalist and modernist vocabularies that showed themselves respectively in the residences, governmental buildings and the apartment blocks. (Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1990: 14)

'Second National Style' in the early Republican period as reflections of this dichotomous formation. (Akcan, 2001: 39) In this regard, the 'International Style' of 1930s appears as the attempt of finding the lost ideal of the Western superiority in a representation of it, which was accepted at the time as the Modern Architecture. This way, the longing for the Western ideal was being satisfied. For the other side, the 'Second National Style' of 1940s appears as a reaction against the West, which put forward the lost and glorious days of the past in place of the supposedly unreachable superiority of the West. Thus both styles came to belong to the same internal dichotomy that was sourced out as a reaction felt basically towards the West and the Western ideal. (Akcan, 2001: 39)

In similar lines, Özer observes these two styles of the early Republican architecture as the components of the same dialectics of the sentimental and formalist approach to architecture that develop especially in times of social crisis experienced in the society. (Özer, 1963: 50) Özer characterizes these styles as the eclectic outcomes of the reaction that was stimulated by and given towards the West. (Özer, 1963: *x*)

Hence, both of the styles come to be observed by theorists as the formal outcomes of the sociopolitical context, which was formed by the westernizing state ideology of the Republic that expressed the dualist nature of the nationalistic desire as peculiar to peripheral nation-state.

3.2.1 The First International Style In the Service of the Westernizing State Ideology

Exemplifying the provisional dominancy of the internationalist pole of the modernizing nationalist sentiment, the implementation of the Modern Architecture, or rather the formalist International Style in the architecture of the period appears as the effort that adds itself to the ongoing re-definition of what was the appropriate expression of the 'national'. Sorted out as the proper expression of the Republic for the time being, the International Style and its execution in the context also incorporated the effort of 'nationalizing the

modern'. Thus, it demonstrates the changing definition of the 'national-cultural identity', as well as showing the effort of making the co-existence of the modern and the national possible for overcoming the cultural tension of the inherent duality in the context.

At this point, the modernizing reforms of the Republic manifested themselves in two sets of transformations that were held in the institutional field, which comprised the administrative, educational and social transformations, and those that were held in the spatial field. (Ahmad, 1993:194) The spatial transformation demonstrated itself in the construction of Ankara as the new capital of the Turkish nation that symbolized the 'new will' and the modernization ideal of the Turkish nation.[7] (Zürcher, 1993: 91,92)

With the foundation of Ankara as the new cultural and intellectual center that symbolized the new sociopolitical, economic and cultural reconfiguration of the Republic, a large building program that was mainly concentrated on the realization of the urban formations and the public buildings were carried.[8] (Ural, 1974: 21) The purpose of these urban formations was "to represent the Republican regime and establish a civilized urban life style". (Batur, 1983: 69) This new life style found its expected expression in the Republic by the works of Modern Architecture, or rather the International Style.

Modern Architecture became the expression for the westernizing Republican state ideology. (Yürekli, 1996: 321, 322) There was apparently the need for establishing a brand new architecture that would objectify the ideals of

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[7] In the other set of transformations that were held in the institutional field, the ambition for secularization and Westernization could be observed explicitly. Within these reforms, especially the banishment of the Caliphate in 1924, the closing down of the dervish lodges in 1925, the prohibition of the use of the 'fez' in 1925 and the acceptance of the new Latin Turkish alphabet in 1928 can be listed to show the secularizing drive of the Republic. (Lewis, 1961: 265-281)

[8] Inaugurated with the development of the urban plan, which was designed by Hermann Jansen in 1928, the building program that comprised the construction of Ankara initially gave priority to the construction of such public buildings as the ministries, banks, or the government buildings, the construction of the service facilities and industrial buildings, such as the hospitals, factories and the railroad, and the construction of the educational buildings. (Batur, 1983: 69) The design and construction of these buildings came to be realized by the 'Commission of Buildings' in the Ministry of Public Works. (Aslanoğlu, 1980: 73) As it was indicated, the intensity of the building activity carried out in those years could be observed in the increase in the construction industry national expenditure budget from 37 % in 1923 to 78 % in 1929. (Bozdoğan, 1994: 39) Within this activity, a series of laws concerning the formation of the urban entities were also passed between the years 1930 and 1935.

the Revolution. In line with the westernization ideal of the Republic, the 'new' came to be associated with the West. The 'new' in the architecture of the Republic was to be in the same line with the West in order to be acknowledged internationally. (Ergut, 2000-2001:6)

As it is observed in the architectural periodicals of the period, the Modern Architecture of the West was being acclaimed in Turkey as the 'new architecture' (*'yeni mimari'*), which would exist as the new expression of the Republic in alliance with the revolutionary premises of the Republican state. (Bozdoğan, 1994: 43) In terms of the purist architectural vocabulary of the Modern Movement that manifested itself in flat roofs and surfaces, horizontal French strip windows, wide terraces and cantilevers, or the continuous façade balconies and windowsills, this 'new architecture' also came to be called as the 'cubic architecture' *('kübik mimari')* in the period. (Bozdoğan, 1994: 47)

However, as it comes to be presented by the architectural historians, the Modern Movement in the West was not as unified as it was accepted in Turkey at that time. The division appearing in CIAM between the aesthetic and the socialist approaches to Modern Architecture and the later appearance of the Modern architecture in the rather formalist guise of the International Style in 1932 New York MOMA exhibition, were absent in the architectural discourse in Turkey. Instead, there was an appropriation of the elements and the discursive formations of these approaches into a single, unified and rather formalist Modern Architecture that would be utilized in the representation of the Republican ideals. (Bozdoğan, 1994:46)

This supposedly Modern Architecture was the symbol that objectified the 'modern' within the Modernization or the westernization ideal of the Republic. Within this aspiration, the international dimension of Modern Architecture, together with its preoccupation with technique, function and materialistic conditions, were fitting the progressive and positivistic ideals of the Republican state that constructed itself in a similar *tabula rasa* attitude. (Aslanoğlu, 2003: 1) In this respect, as it is possible to observe in the articles of the period, the modernist forms were presented as the rational expressions of the scientific, universal and progressive *zeitgeist*, which was also in line with the ideals of the

Republican revolution. (İsmail Hakkı, 1929: 110, 111) Thus, the Modern Architecture came out to be a formal expression that would represent the modernity of the young Republic and serve for the Republican ideals.

In this context, the Turkish architects were organizing themselves to be recognized as the builders of the modern Turkish architecture of the Republic. Along with this aspiration, the foundation of the Architectural Association in 1927 and the publication of the first architectural journal called 'Mimar' in 1931 come to the fore as the affirmation of that effort in the period. (Tekeli, 1983: 17)

The utilization of the Modern Architecture for the expression of the Revolution also comes to be observed by theorists as initiated primarily in late 1920s through the invitation of foreign professionals by the Republican state, with the aim of modernizing architectural education and practice as to be fit for the modernization ideal of the Republic. (Aslanoğlu, 1980: 55) With the sanction of the law for the promotion of the industry (*Teşvik-i Sanayi Kanunu*) in 1927, the foreign experts[9] were given the right of practicing in the country. They were regarded as the agents of 'modernity'. (Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1990: 40) The practice of these architects inaugurated the prevalence of Modern Architecture in Turkey.[10]

Within the ongoing realization and implementation of Modern Architecture in the period, the 'internalization' of the modernist style appears as a seminal need on behalf of facilitating the acceptance of the style by redeeming it out of its alien character. For this reason, the architectural discourse of the late 1930s experienced the effort of, in Bozdoğan's words, 'nationalizing the modern'. In this basis, traditional Turkish architecture was studied and described as having modern characteristics in its nature such as rationality, simplicity and functionality. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 261) The first person to define Turkish architecture with reference to such characteristics was the architectural historian

[9]Most of them being German and Austrian, among the prominent names, we can discern Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut, Martin Elsaesser, Clemens Holsmeister, Martin Wagner, Henri Prost, Ernst Reuter, Theodor Jost, Robert Örley, Paolo Vietti Violi And Paul Bonatz. (Aslanoğlu, 1980: 55, 56)

[10]In reference to the works of these architects that were realized most prevalently in Ankara, the modern Architecture or the International Style came to be called as Ankara-Vienna Cubic Architecture in the period.

Celal Esat Arseven in his book 'New Architecture' (*Yeni Mimari*). (Bozdoğan, 2002: 266) In the description, the Turkish architecture was described as strictly different from the Oriental and Islamic architecture. This way, through the common characteristics of the Turkish architecture and the Modern Architecture, the utilization and acceptance of the Modernist style was facilitated and justified as the appropriate expression for the national and modern Turkish architecture. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 270)

In one of the articles published in this period, Modernism or the Cubic Architecture was being advocated as the ideal expression of the rational civilization and it was being delineated as the only way for the future of Turkish architecture. Here İsmail Hakkı discusses the suitability of this Cubic architecture for the new Turkish revolution and tries to present this style as an acceptable approach even for nationalistic apprehensions.

> The new buildings that would be built with a total independence from the past, according to the new sentimental inclinations of the new Turkish nation, would serve the demand for the new Turkish architectural predilection that was desired in the theoretical and rational basis by the architects who wished for the expression of 'Turkishness' in architecture...Our cities will not be bereaved of their Turkishness by going into the Cubist sort of taste and application. (İsmail Hakkı, 1929: 131)

This way the international dimension of the Modern Architecture was being given a national dimension. Thus the internationality of the Modern Architecture did not come to be in opposition to the nationalistic ideals of the period. As Ergut points out, the 'national' was being defined in the period as to include the meaning of being civilized as the West, thus along with the Western ideal, the 'national architecture' came to be defined as to have an international overlook. Hence the architecture of the period would be "national as long as it was international". (Ergut, 2000-2001: 6,9)

Some architectural theorists studying the period observe this emergence and application of the Modern Architecture as an uncritical and formalist approach to architecture, which lacked the necessary critical analysis of the

context. (Bozdoğan, 1994: 38) For example, Bozdoğan designates that modernism, as it was understood in the period, was a mere stylistic expression. The architectural vocabulary of the Modern Architecture was utilized in a formalist fashion without the necessary socioeconomic and industrial conditions that paved the way for its emergence. (Bozdoğan, 1994: 38) Accordingly, in Habermas's terms, the 'aesthetic modernism' was being exported from the West, without the prior realization of the 'societal modernization'. As Bozdoğan indicates, the architectural modernism in the 1930s in Turkey, which was seen as the stylistic representation of the desired 'modernity', lacked its avant-garde position that comprised its critical, autonomous, creative and pluralist attitude. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 316, 318)

The period that was shaped by the 'International Style' came to last in the Republic towards the end of 1930s.[11] (Aslanoğlu, 2003: 8) Showing the temporary dominance of the internationalist tendency within the cultural duality of the context, the architecture of the period existed as an effort to re-define the 'cultural identity' as to force the modern side of the duality to come forward. This was lost with the different tendency of the following decade that changed the architectural discourse towards a "reactionary region conscious national style". (Aslanoğlu, 2003: 8)

3.2.2 The Second National Style as the Reflection of the Fervent Nationalism of the Context

Reflecting the dominance of the chauvinistic facet of the nationalist sentiment, the architecture of the 1940s comes to the fore as more concerned on the genuine characteristics of the 'Turkish spirit' in architecture. Emphasizing the traditionally flavored nationalistic drive, the architecture of the period

[11]However, by some theorists, this period comes to be observed as a short interval, which was experienced with the impact of the foreign professionals between the years 1927 and 1933. (Ural, 1974: 28)

demonstrates the dominance of the 'national' side within the oscillating movement in the definition of the 'national-cultural identity'.

It could be detected that, from the mid 1930s onwards, there appeared a historical shift towards nationalism throughout the world. At the same time, because of the effects of the World Economic Depression in 1929, the young Turkish Republic attempted to search for a new economical order, which was the 'state capitalism' or the 'mild etatism' that was adopted after the examination of the economic policies of some model countries, such as the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany.[12] (Tekeli, 1983: 20) In this context, the chauvinist nationalistic drive in the political regimes of those model countries, that happened to have the national-socialist and fascist command, also became influential in the Turkish sociopolitical scene. (Ural, 1974: 21)

Following the influence of this nationalist drive, a reaction came to be observed towards the International Style within the architectural circles of the period. (Tekeli, 1983: 20) In this context, Turkish architects sought for alternatives and began to promote a 'national architecture'.[13] (Ural, 1974: 52)

The reaction also happens to be an opposition towards foreign architects who were increased in number especially from 1933 onwards. As Baydar Nalbantoğlu remarks, native architects justified themselves at this point by exploiting the notion of the 'national style' and claimed that this style would not be achieved, and further would be obstructed, by the practices of foreign architects working in the country. (Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1990: 39) The problem of foreign architects was observed extensively in the articles of the period. In an article written by Zeki Sayar in 1938, this notion comes to be expressed as follows:

> We are complaining that a national architecture of the Revolution could not be attained. When our cities are being built by the works of the foreigners and the Turkish architects are not given the chance to improve themselves, to

[12] In the 'state capitalism' or 'mild etatism' that became executed in the Republic starting from 1932, the state started to control the creation and running of the industries in the country. (Ahmad, 1993: 205)

[13] The works of German nationalist architecture and the Italian fascist architecture, which were exhibited in Ankara in 1934, also comes to be influential in the outbreak of this reaction.

expect such a thing would be unavailing. (Sayar, 1938: 65)

On this basis, Turkish architects came to demand the formulation of a new policy for the 'national architecture' that would be based on the combination of a 'national' yet still 'modern' style. Incidentally the national style and the 'national-cultural identity' in this context was being defined as to become closer to the cultural nationalist theory of Ziya Gökalp, who promoted the utilization of Western civilization while conserving the Turkish spirit and national culture. This way, the 'Second National Architecture' came to appear as a nationalist approach that was advocated by a regionalist drive that showed a consciousness for the local, traditional qualities.

This attempt was a search for the authentic self that was not imitative of the West and was still distant from the Islamic past. (Bozdoğan, 1995: 444) This quality of the 'Second National Architecture' also comes to be detected in the articles of the period. It is expressed in an article published in 'Mimar' in 1933 as follows: "The architecture of the Turkish Revolution should have a distinctive existence that is separate from the Ottoman architecture." [14] (Behçet and Bedrettin, 1933: 265)

Subsequently, the 'Second National Architecture' came to develop as a regionalist approach to 'national architecture' that took into consideration the traditional Turkish civil architecture, which was naturally produced by local materials and construction techniques. In this respect, while the 'New Architecture' or the 'International Style' of the early 1930s came to be constructed as the expression of the Republican Revolution, in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, the prevalent drive came to appear as to form a fervent 'national architecture' that would serve the aim of Republic to construct the 'historical

[14] This attribute of the 'Second National Architecture' was also in line with the ideals of the Republican state. As it becomes indicated, the 'Commissions Of Buildings' under the Ministry of Public Works comes to declare in 1934 that "all the new state buildings should conform to the Turkish National Style". (Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1990: 39) This way the 'Second National Architecture' was being promoted by the state.

continuity' for the nation by way of detecting the origins of the 'Turkish nationality'.[15] (Bozdoğan, 2002: 262)

With the aspiration of such a kind, local building traditions and building customs of the pre-Islamic Anatolian civilizations came to arouse interest in the architectural discourse of the time. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 275) The prevalent goal was to combine the rational, progressive and functional drive of the Modern Architecture with this new interest in local building traditions. This way, with the general inclination in the Turkish architectural discourse that manifested itself in the attempt of 'nationalizing the modern', the architectural circles felt the need for studying the Anatolian building traditions. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 275, 276)

This local Anatolian building tradition was objectifying the 'national spirit' and it was also accepted as providing all the characteristics that the Modern Architecture intended to have such as functionality, simplicity, honesty and suitability to the local climatic and material conditions. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 275) As the formal outcome in the Modern Architecture originally was not a stylistic choice but the rational result derived out of the consideration of the program, topography, climate, budget and the material conditions, the local architecture would be the ideal objectification for the Modern Architecture. This way, in the architectural discourse of the period, the contextual sensitivity of the Modern Architecture was emphasized and on this basis the Modern Architecture became presented as the supporter of the 'national' or the 'local/regional' qualities in architecture.[16]

Hence, the 'modern' was being identified with the 'national', which was taken as synonymous to the 'local' at the time. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 279) As it becomes observed in the articles of the period, the 'local' was being attributed the meanings of the 'modern' as well as the 'national'. In an article published in 'Mimar' in 1934, the writers Behçet and Bedrettin stated this notion as follows:

> This country needs serious works, which are connected to their locality and which are suitable to the nature of their locality, that evoke

[15]The foundation of the Turkish Historical Association and the Turkish Language Association in 1932 and 1933 respectively, can be viewed in this basis as examples of this goal of the Republic.
[16] In the articles of the period, as being equivalent with the terms 'national', 'local' and 'regional', the Turkish words *milli*, *yerli* and *mahalli (*or *rejyonel)* were respectively being used.

> the local sentiments of our time. These works, before anything else, would be the examples of the local architecture.... It is the examples of the local architecture that would develop the 'national architecture'. The local architecture would be rational and as well being national. (Behçet and Bedrettin, 1934: 18, 20)

As it comes to be discerned, through this contextualist sensitivity, the 'modern' was being once again combined with the 'national'. Furthermore, through the consideration of the works of local and historical building traditions, the dualistic nature of nationalistic ideology was also being satisfied. As Ergut states, this reconciliation of the 'traditional' or the 'local' with the 'modern' was reflecting the desire of nationalism to bind itself to the past and the future. (Ergut, 2000-2001: 17)

The contextualist/regionalist drive of the 'Second National Architecture' also came to see support from foreign practitioners such as Ernst Egli and Bruno Taut.[17] However, although the 'regional' or 'local' was being equated with the 'national' in the architectural discussions of the period, Turkish architects generally came to use 'national' rather than the 'regional'. At this point Sibel Bozdoğan argues that the choice of the word 'national' rather than the 'regional' is sourced out from the problematic nature of the word 'regional' within the process of nation building, as the word denoted a meaning of diversity rather than national unity. (Bozdoğan, 2002: 291) As it was mentioned before, the nationalist ideology of the early Republican era desired a national unity, thus within the discussions of the architectural discourse of the period the 'regional' did not generally come to be preferred.

Tanyeli observes this specific utilization of 'regionalism' as the instrumentalization of the term specifically in the peripheral nation-states for the internalization of the desired 'modernity'. (Tanyeli, 1998: 247) For the 'Second

[17] The contextualist sensitivity of 'Second National Architecture' was discerned as 'regionalistic' firstly by Bülent Özer in 1963. Entering into the architectural discussions initially with this enterprise, the term 'regionalism' was utilized later by other architectural historians in the interpretation and characterization of various earlier architectural developments. In this regard, referring to the contextualist sensitivity arising in the architectural attitudes of the late 1930s and the early 1940s, the term 'regionalism' will be used in the scope of this study.

National Architecture', this specific approach to the utilization of 'regionalism' certainly holds true as it comes to be used in the early Republican period for the justification and nationalization of the 'modern'.

As architectural theorists indicate, the pioneer name of the 'Second National Architecture' is undeniably Sedad Hakkı Eldem. The Seminar he has initiated on 'National Architecture' in the Fine Arts Academy in the year 1934 comes to be the leitmotiv for the movement. As it will be explored further in detail in the following chapter, Eldem posited the Turkish civil architecture as the basis of the 'national style' that he had devised in his studies. (Bozdoğan, 1995: 444) He was legitimizing the utilization of the 'Turkish house' in the desired 'national architecture' in terms of its closeness to the modernist principles. As indicated by Bozdoğan, Eldem's methodological approach to the formulation of the unitary 'national architecture' was rather the endeavor for the construct of the single expression of a unitary 'cultural identity'. This way, reflecting the existing desire of the period, his approach comes to be characterized as being 'nationalist' rather than 'regionalist'. (Tekeli, 1983: 21) As Tekeli asserts, this approach demonstrated the exact viewpoint of the period that promoted the appearance of "a new national architecture, which was as modern and as universal as the Modern Architecture". (Tekeli, 1983: 20) This specific conduct shows that even in the nationalistic fervor of the 'Second National Architecture', Turkish architects viewed the traditional architecture within a modernist perspective.

Alsaç argues that the 'Second National Architecture' comes to its end in the late 1940s with the influence of the atmosphere created after the end of the Second World War.[18] (Alsaç, 1983: 101) The end of the economic, commercial and cultural isolation after the Second World War initiated a new internationalism in the architectural discourse.[19]

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[18] It is designated that, the Second National Architectural movement comes to reach its peak point by the design and realization of Anıtkabir, which was designed by Emin Onat and Orhan Arda in 1942. (Alsaç, 1983: 99)

[19] The Istanbul Palace of Justice designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat in 1948 comes to be depicted in this point as the initiator of the dissolution in 'Second National Architecture'. (Alsaç, 1983: 102)

With the effect of the diversified effect of the international influences, the pursuit of constructing a unified 'national architecture' started to erode. Even in the end of the period that corresponded to the late 1940s, the notion of the appropriate 'national architecture' could not have been attained. (Mortas, 1941: 115,116) Consequently, as argued by İnci Aslanoğlu, the attainment of the desired 'national architecture' that would be the expression for the modern and national Turkish 'cultural identity' could not be achieved through the 'Second National Architecture' in this period. (Aslanoğlu, 1980: 72)

The early Republican architecture in the late 1930s and the early 1940s comes to provide us the reflection of the Republican state ideology that comprised the dualist nature of nationalism, which advocated itself by the attainment of the desired 'modernity' within the definition of the new 'national-cultural identity'. The shifts and stylistic changes that accompanied the architecture of the period serve well for the demonstration of that inherent nationalist duality in the socio-cultural sphere. In this context, the need for a proper 'synthesis' and the desire for a proper compromise made between the inherent dualities, such as the national and international, or the traditional and the modern, appears as a possible means for the resolution of that existing cultural tension in the socio-cultural context.

In the light of the discussions held above, the following chapter will examine the seminal and paradigmatic positions of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut, who themselves explicitly showed the first signs of that responsive sensitivity for the need of a proper synthesis between the dualist nature of the context as to disband the existing cultural tension within the architectural discourse of the period.

CHAPTER 4

SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM AND BRUNO TAUT IN THE LATE 1930S AND THE EARLY 1940S

As it was examined previously, accompanying the experience of 'modernity' in the periphery, the uneasy concern for the formation of 'cultural identity' was followed by a 'tension', which emerged as an expected consequence in the socio cultural sphere. In the early Republican Turkey, along with the intermingled processes of nationalism, modernization and Westernization, the cultural 'tension' was being observed in an oscillating shift between the desire of being 'modern' and the desire of preserving the 'self identity'. The existing 'cultural tension' of the social context was also giving the direction to and was being reflected in the architectural discourse and practice of the period.

Appearing both as a 'tool' of and a 'field' for the state ideology and its endeavor in the creation of a unified 'national identity', architectural discourse and practice was being observed as to develop a formal pursuit that was employed for the development of a unified 'national architecture', under the existing dichotomy between the 'modern' and the 'traditional'. Within the context that accompanied the early experience of modernity and the aspirant formation of a new 'cultural identity', this duality or the dialogue between the modern and the traditional, together with other dualities between the national and the international, or the modern versus the national, was most explicitly visible in architecture in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, when the Republican state ideology was in its full settlement and dissemination.

Within the inherent dualist inclination of the nationalist sentiment, the encounter of the 'cultural tension' was accompanied by those turns in architecture such as the discursive and the stylistic shift from the *kübik* towards the 'national style'. Behind those dispositions, there was the constant search for the proper expression of 'cultural identity', which would eliminate the dual tendency by its all-inclusive definition for the necessary fields. As it was mentioned before, the

search for the proper 'cultural identity' and the desire of the coexistence of the 'modern' with the 'national' came to outburst in architecture during 1930s as a regionally conscious attitude. It was indicated in later examinations that this kind of a 'regionalist' approach existed as an apparatus for the internalization of the 'modern' and it appeared as the solution to provide the coexistence of the 'modern' and the 'national'. In a way it was helping in the resolution of the existing 'cultural tension'.

In this context the opposition between foreign and native professionals is also revealing in terms of the existing oppositions between the 'admiration for the West' and 'the reaction against it' or the unselfconfident demand for the Western consent and the pride for self-construction and self-identity. In this regard, the opposition between foreign and native professionals pointed towards the antagonism between the desire of native professionals to construct a native architecture themselves and the demand for Western professionals to construct a new environment in line with Western civilization.

Taking into account all these aspects of the socio-cultural sphere of the early Republican architecture, the examination of the concurrent discursive and architectural practices of a native and a foreign professional, who problematized the aforementioned 'tension' in their professional lives will be revealing to understand the theoretical and historical formations of the context.

In the late 1930s and the early 1940s, two prominent names, Bruno Taut and Sedad Hakkı Eldem, were participating in the shaping of the architectural discourse and practice in Turkey. While problematizing and working with and under the existing cultural tension of the social sphere, they were reflecting and responding to it in their treatises and practices. As it will be examined further in detail, both of the professionals responded to the tension by attempting to disband it by adjoining the two sides of the dualities. In general terms, they both tried to reach to the synthesis of a modern and a native architecture.

In this respect, as a Western professional, Bruno Taut comes to be discerned as an outside observer who came to examine and work within the specific consequences and outcomes of the subsequent experience of 'modernity' in Turkey as a peripheral country. As an architect who participated in the

formation of the modernist ethos, Taut is also viewed as the Westerner who came examine and respond to the 'East' in general. As it will be discussed, the insightful approach of Taut to the existing 'cultural tension' of the context and his insinuation for the need of a modern and native architecture could be viewed either as of the inherent contextual sensitivity of the modernist precept or as a solution devised by him on seeing the specific predilection of the context.

Sedad Hakkı Eldem, on the other hand, appears as the native professional who both reflects the specific modernist perspective that was driven by the 'admiration of the West' and displayed as well the desire of a truly native and national architectural identity that accompanied and appeared as a 'reaction against the West'. Here, Eldem exemplifies the inner conflicts, dualities and the hybrid dispositions of the socio-cultural sphere of the early Republican period.

On this basis, this chapter will examine the architectural positions and practices of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut by analyzing their attitudes with reference to the conceptual frames developed in the preceding chapters, which involve notions such as modernism, 'cultural identity' and the 'national architecture'.

4.1 SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM: HYBRID CONCESSION OF THE 'MODERN' AND THE 'TRADITIONAL'

The professional life of Sedad Hakkı Eldem had been initiated and developed in a period of the early Republican era when the cultural and aesthetic 'dissolution' brought about by the specific experience of 'modernity' was surely at its peak.

Akin to the state of a 'cultural crisis' that had been experienced in Europe with the sway of modernity, the disposition of the 'cultural tension' within the formation of a new 'cultural identity' in the early Republican era, was sustained by the polarity between the 'traditional' and the 'modern', the 'national' and the 'international', or the 'East' and the 'West'. This was inevitably effective in the personal and the professional development of Sedad Hakkı Eldem. The 'cultural

tension' created by the dual formation in the social sphere, which was being inaugurated by the process of Westernization in connection with the nationalist state ideology, credibly required the adoption of a hybrid manner of conduct in architectural profession, as in all cultural fields.

Such a hybrid attitude appears to be explicit in Eldem's professional life. His search for an alternative way in contemporary architecture in attachment with tradition and with an emphasis on cultural continuity, while still sustaining an engagement with modernism, shows clearly the existing hybrid disposition in Eldem's architecture. (Bozdoğan, 1987:24) As Baydar affirms it, within the early Republican architecture that oscillated between the national and the international dispositions, Sedad Hakkı Eldem's professional life was formed as a long-standing search for the equilibrium between these two inclinations. (Baydar, 1982:6)

4.1.1 Eldem's Search for a New Turkish Architecture Under the Dual Formation of Cultural Identity

The hybrid disposition could also be followed in the formative years of Eldem's career. Through his family, Sedad Hakkı Eldem belonged to the upper stratum of the Ottoman social system. Due to his father's occupation, who was a diplomat by profession, Eldem completed his primary and secondary school education in Europe. (Yenal, 1987:159) His European upbringing and well-established Ottoman family heritage carry the signs of Eldem's dual cultural confrontation in his early life. As Bozdoğan asserts, with this cultural duality of his formative years and with the observation of the hybrid disposition between the East and the West, Eldem was already liable to the cultural tension between the traditional and the modern. (Bozdoğan, 1987:56)

Within his cross-cultural exploration, Eldem's relationship with the East points out the early signs of his cultural consciousness. As Yenal puts it, Eldem discovered the East while he was still in the West or during his country's westernization process. (Yenal, 1987:158) Thus his interest for 'cultural heritage' began in his early formative years. For Bozdoğan this culturally in-between

position of Eldem and his liability to cross-cultural exploration generates the seeds of Eldem's "conceptual reconstruction of the Turkish house using the terms of a modernist discourse". (Bozdoğan, 1987:26)

In his school years at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul (1924-1928) and in his three years of post graduate education in Paris and Berlin (1928-1931), his preoccupation with the traditional 'Turkish house' and the notion of the 'cultural continuity', alongside the endeavor for the creation of a new Turkish architecture, could well be observed. (Bozdoğan, 1987:26) In the Academy, Eldem is known to have been rather reluctant about the revivalist neo-Ottoman style of his masters Gulio Mongeri and Vedat Tek. On the other hand, in compatibility with his search for an 'in-between way' for the formation of an equilibrium between the traditional and the modern, he rejected not only the one-sided revivalism of Ottoman architecture but also the Ankara-Vienna cubism of the early Republican period. He expressed this double reluctance as follows:

> As a student I was doubly rebellious. Firstly I was violently against the neo-Turkish of domes and arches; secondly I was equally against the 'kübik' international style. And at the same time I was passionately in love with the Turkish house. If thereafter I have achieved something in my career, I owe this achievement to the persistence of these strong feelings in me. (Eldem, 1984b: 57)

In this context, with the search of a different source of inspiration, Eldem was affected by the architecture of Alexander Vallaury, the first chief instructor at the Academy. The late works of Vallaury, which consisted of an awareness of the Ottoman residential architecture, became a good source of inspiration for Eldem. (Yenal, 1987:160) Alongside this encounter Eldem started to explore the civil architecture in the districts of Istanbul and he sketched them. (Fig. 1,2) Later on, giving also the hints of his search for the modern character in the civil architecture, Eldem described his passion for residential Turkish architecture in those years as follows:

> To understand the meaning and the beauty of the materials and to discover a modern character in those old buildings, I was spending all

> my Sundays and most of the weekdays wandering in the streets of Istanbul... I was in love with the beauty I was gradually discovering. It was not the beauty of the finished classical compositions, it was rather the overall effect and harmony of certain rhythms and motifs, certain smaller elements. (Eldem quoted in Bozdoğan, 1987:26)

When Eldem was graduated with honors degree from the Academy and left Turkey for his postgraduate training in 1928, the most basic conception of his future architecture had already been shaped. The notes he had taken on his journey to Europe, which were later published by Edhem Eldem, mainly consisted of these basic ideals of his future architecture, along with the comments about the general conceptions of the architectural profession and the impressions of this expedition.

In these notes, his general conceptions on architecture are mainly comprised of three points. In the first point, Eldem emphasizes the relationship of form to function, together with the relationship of ornamentation to simplicity. On this thrust, he indicates in certainty that the necessary dominance of function over form and the simplicity over ornamentation should be provided in architecture in general. On the second point, Eldem discusses about 'nature' and indicates that architecture should respect and learn from it, which by itself guarantees the very simplicity and the aesthetic quality that is searched for in architecture. Lastly, displaying the signs of his later native, regionalist approach, Eldem points out the necessity of the consideration of local (*yerel*) qualities, which will help in the optimization of function and the budget in architecture. (Eldem, 1999:519-522)

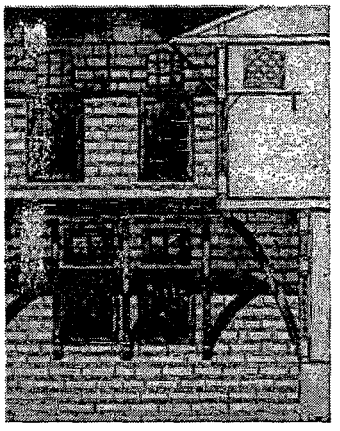


Fig.1. Detail from Topkapı Palace, İstanbul, survey drawing, Source: Bozdoğan (1987)



Fig. 2. Detail from Yenicami, İstanbul, pencil sketch. Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

The time Eldem spent in Europe for his postgraduate training had been a fertile and experimental prologue for his future career. (Bozdoğan, 1987:26) In those years, when early modernism was in its full bloom, Eldem had the chance to work with the architects who created the modernist ethos, such as Le Corbusier and August Perret in Paris and Hans Poelzig in Berlin. Through these encounters he fully participated within the ultimate premise of modernism itself.[1]

However his interest for the 'Turkish house' and the creation of a modern Turkish architecture was still persistent. In 1928 he opened up an exhibition called 'Country Side Houses For Anatolia' in Paris, where he displayed his watercolor sketches for hypothetical projects designed for hypothetical Anatolian countryside. (Fig. 3) As Bozdoğan asserts, these images of individual houses with pitched tile roofs, repetitive window patterns and stone mezzanines bared an allusion to the Anatolian village. (Bozdoğan, 1987:29)

[1]Much of the important developments on the account of the modernist ethos were coming out in those years. As Yenal emphasizes, at the time the Taut brothers were also among the most prominent architects of the period. (Yenal, 1987:161)

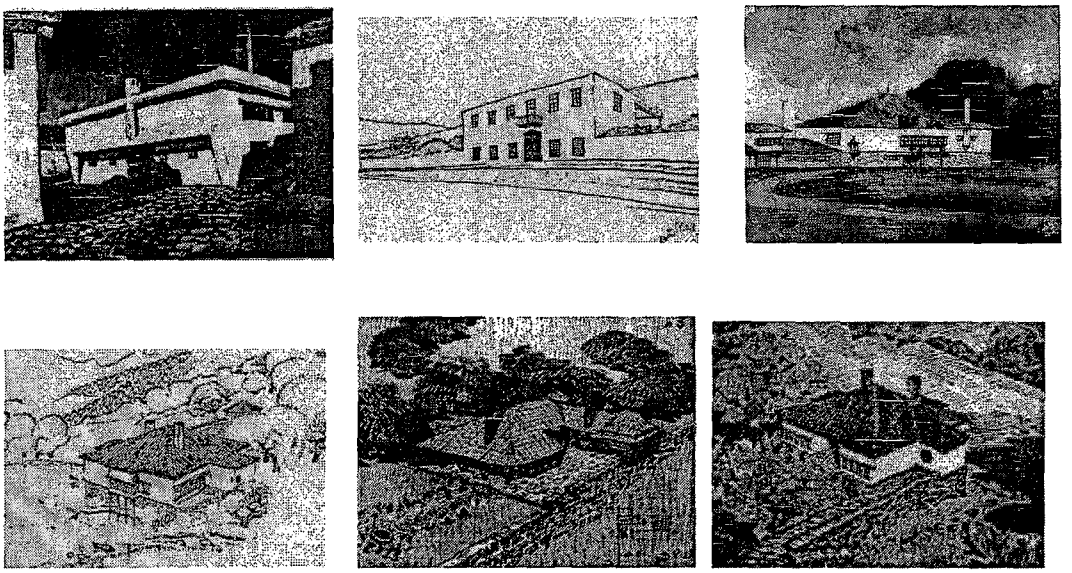


Fig.3. Watercolors of the Country Side Houses for Anatolia.
Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

As further indicated, among these projects two of them especially strike attention with their sense of regional consciousness, bearing testimony to the later regionalist approach of Eldem. (Bozdoğan, 1987:29) One of them is a mud brick house of Central Anatolia and the other is a white washed and flat roofed house of Western Anatolia. By these, Eldem exhibited the possibility of a regional diversity in his hypothetical future conceptions about Turkish architecture.

In his studies in Berlin Eldem again produced similar sets of drawings. In Bozdoğan's terms these drawings manifest a 'culturally hybrid' inspiration that conceptualized the realization of Turkish houses on a gridiron base plan of suburban lots. These visions of Eldem were said to have been produced with the influence taken from the 'prairie houses' and 'Usonian' homes of Frank Lloyd Wright. (Bozdoğan, 1987:33) Admitting later on, with these designs Eldem had a conception in his mind of a new Turkish city that was a combination of an Anatolian and an American town. (Bozdoğan, 1987:33)

Eldem's quest for a new and modern Turkish architecture witnessed in those years a seminal stage that would shape his future development. His encounter with the Frank Lloyd Wright album in Berlin seems to set him on the

way for the re-conceptualization of the 'Turkish house' in line with modernist principles. Eldem himself describes this encounter as follows:

> In Berlin, I first saw the Frank Lloyd Wright album published by Wasmuth; the 'prairie houses', a few of which had already been built, attracted my attention. I believed I had discovered some important elements of the Turkish house of the future in these designs. The long row lines, the rows of windows, the wide eaves, and the shape of the roofs were very much like the Turkish house I had in mind. These romantic, naturalistic houses were far more attractive than the box like architecture of Le Corbusier. (Eldem quoted in Bozdoğan, 1987:33)

Hence Eldem discovered the future conception and utilization of the 'Turkish house' through the works of Wright in Europe. This motive proves Yenal's statement about Eldem's discovery of the East through the West. (Yenal, 1987:158)

Additionally, within this persistent in-between search he also included an interest in another modern attribute, the multi story houses, which were to be built of reinforced concrete with their frames displayed on the outer facades in consistence with the statement of modernist precepts. (Fig. 4) (Bozdoğan, 1987:33)

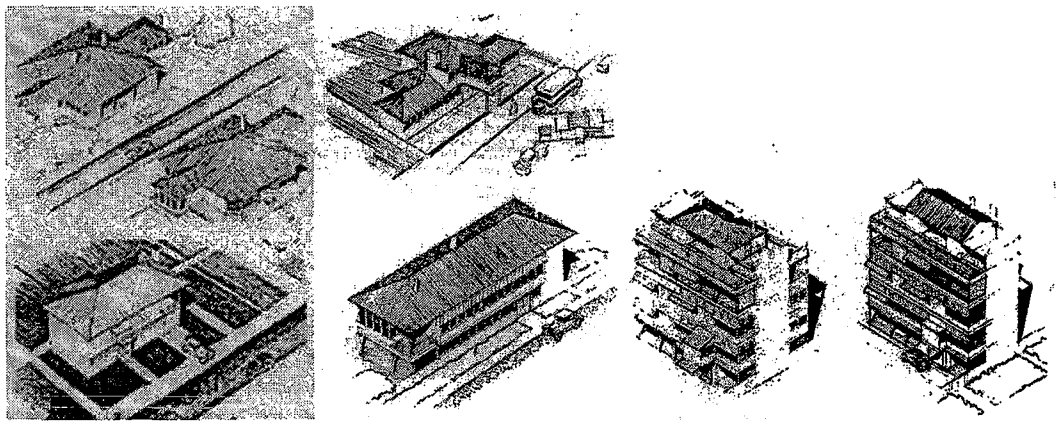


Fig.4. Turkish House and Multi-story house studies in Berlin, 1929.
Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

Thus, starting from these early formative years Eldem's in-between search for a Turkish architecture in compatibility with modernist principles was gradually becoming developed. As Bozdoğan states it, with these conceptions Eldem inevitably came to set for himself the 'vanguard' role of the architect who would be instrumental in the transformation of the social reality and who would be committed for the mission of prescribing life styles. (Bozdoğan, 1987:26) In a later article of 1939 Eldem expressed this vanguard role, which was to be accepted by the professional architect for the mission of transforming the social reality:

> Today our nation has many and hitherto unknown ideals, which before becoming the ideals of the nation are inevitably the ideals of the pioneers leading the way...Since we are in a revolutionary era, we must never forget that the buildings have a pedagogical function as well. The individual user who is to be taken as yardstick and scale, is the ideal person created by the revolution. In the light of this, some of our buildings, which are considered to be too modern and too advanced in terms of interior division and standards of comfort can be better understood. (Eldem quoted in Bozdoğan, 1987: 26)

Among the works of Eldem in Europe two examples appear to be especially important in terms of illuminating the future synthesis he sought to achieve. One of them is an 'embassy residence' designed in 1929 for Paris and the other is the design of a 'mosque' for a possible Anatolian city or town. (Fig. 5, 6) The former exemplifies Eldem's early encounter with the use of reinforced concrete in classical fashion and the latter exemplifies his search for the synthesis of a traditional, Islamic function within a modernist vocabulary of reinforced concrete.[2] (Bozdoğan, 1987:39)

[2]The design of interiors also took an important part among Eldem's works in Europe. Through the use of movable furniture arrangements, the designs were in line with modernist life styles, as well as catching some of the important qualities of 'Turkishness' by the stylized use of elements such as '*sedir*' or some decoratively carved wooden units. (Bozdoğan, 1987:41)

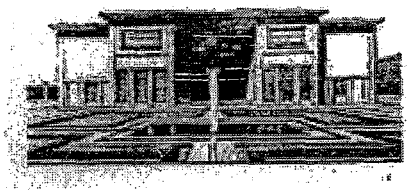


Fig.5. Embassy Residence, 1929. Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

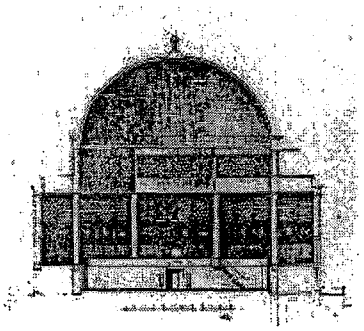


Fig.6. A Prototype Mosque, 1929. 1930. Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

On his return to Istanbul in 1931, Eldem started his academic career in the academy and publicized his various conceptions on the design of the 'Turkish house' in the architectural journal 'Mimar-Arkitekt'. Although his references shows a diversity from the central Anatolian house to the timber framed traditional house, or to the pure modernist examples, through these works the lines of his personal style was gradually settling. As Bozdoğan points out, his personal style in those years evolved firstly around the utilization and development of the traditional 'Turkish house' plan; secondly on the realization of the openness and lightness of the 'Turkish house' in reinforced concrete; and thirdly on the development of the elevation by the horizontal repetition of the traditional 1:2 proportioned window of the 'Turkish house'. (Bozdoğan, 1987:43)

By 1930, the education in the academy underwent a reform departing away from the Beaux Arts system under the Swiss architect Ernst Egli. Teaching modern architecture with a sensitivity toward regional qualities, the attitude of Egli in those years were very much appropriate and in line with Eldem's conceptions that dwelled on the re-conceptualization of the 'Turkish house' through its modern qualities. Concerning the approach he had taken in Europe, Eldem explained his studies of the 'Turkish house' as follows:

> During the years I have spent in Europe for my postgraduate training, I have continued my studies about the Turkish house from a perspective regarding the modern life style. (Eldem, 1984:10)

In 1930s Eldem's culturally in between status was very much in line with the situation the country was in at the time. The dual formation in the cultural sphere and the empowering 'cultural tension' of nationalist ideology between the modern and the traditional, or rather the 'new' and the 'old', were very consistent with the cultural duality he was experiencing. Eldem became a key person at the time, who had already been in a search to provide a solution for the disbanding of the 'tension' in architectural conception through the modernist reconstruction of the traditional 'Turkish house'.

4.1.2 The Traditional Turkish House as a Reference for a Modern Turkish Architecture

As it was formerly explained in the previous chapter, along with its general socio-cultural context, architectural profession was influenced by statism and fervent nationalism of the 1930s. In line with the ideal of the state to form a national consciousness by way of demonstrating the cultural and historical origins in the historical accounts of Anatolia and Central Asia, the architectural expression of the 'national' slightly changed. In those years Eldem's architecture had already entered in its track of development.

Eldem's modern Turkish architecture that referenced for itself the traditional 'Turkish house', come to be observed as a *modus operandi* for overcoming the cultural tension by way of combining the traditional and the modern components of the duality of the aspired 'cultural identity' within a singular and unified definition. Thus Eldem's personal style aims to provide for architecture the way out of the existing strain for the creation of a national yet modern Turkish architecture. As in the examination and the utilization of the Anatolian and the Central Asian history and folk culture in the justification of the national character within the modern Turkish 'cultural identity', the reference to the traditional Turkish civil architecture would provide the basis for the national architectural character in the newly created modern Turkish architecture. Similarly, Eldem was after this true 'national character' in making reference to

the 'Turkish house' in his personal architectural style. In one of his articles called 'Türk Evi', Eldem openly declares the presence of the conscious search for the true national character within the quintessence of the traditional 'Turkish house' as follows: "For the new architecture not to be a European imitation, the nationality came to be inspected within the Turkish civil architecture." (Eldem, 1983a: 33)

Eldem further proclaims that the Turkish identity happens not to be just the property of the former times, but on the contrary it comes to be more openly revealed in the emergent era. In similar lines, he declares that modern Turkish architecture could well be recreated by Turkish architects themselves. However, on this point, Eldem also points out the necessity of investigating the architecture of former times for the true understanding of the genuine Turkish identity:

> Can the identity of the Turkish people not come to exist in the modern times? Is the identity of the Turkish people exists just in his past? Not at all! On the contrary, today the 'Turk' has revealed his identity more than any other time. Then we can certainly create the modern Turkish architecture by ourselves.... Our modern architecture should also be peculiar to us. For this to come through, we should scrutinize our former architecture, which reveals us our character in the most vivid fashion and which deserves to take part in the architectural history with the name of the 'Turkish architecture'. (Eldem, 1983:18)

It is observed that, Eldem keeps this belief about the necessity of scrutinizing the architecture of the past throughout his life. Holding true for the provision of the 'cultural continuity' for the architecture that is to be created in the new generation, Eldem announces this belief in one of his later lectures in 1978 as follows:

> We must first gain an understanding, become familiar with the values of our own culture and architecture and learn to love them and be proud of them. Only after structuring the foundations with the help of knowledge and sensitivity can we design our own new style. (Eldem quoted in Yenal, 1987:165)

In compatibility with this line of thought, in 1930s Eldem formulated his architectural ideal of the formation of a 'native', or 'national', style, which would take its inspiration from the traditional 'Turkish house'. (Bozdoğan, 1987:44) The 'Turkish house' would be the source of 'cultural' and 'national' identity' for his modern Turkish architecture. (Bozdoğan, 1994:50) This 'native' or 'national' architecture of Eldem also came out to be a critique of the *kübik* architecture of the late 1920s and the early 1930s. (Bozdoğan, 1987:44) The national style "was in a state of a reaction towards the international modern style". (Eldem, 1984a: 57) Pointing out the futility of an internationally applicable architecture, Eldem harshly criticizes the employment of the International Style in Turkey:

> In reality, the taste and opinion has been differed from their former ways and a gap has been formed between our old and new lives...A life style that was claimed to be in European fashion and especially the love of the 'kübik' house, along with the move away from the nature and greenery, has corroded our culture of living and inhabiting, and produced the present consequence. (Eldem, 1954:12)

Emphasizing the still existing need and the validity of the 'native' or the 'national' culture of inhabitance, Eldem praises the existence of a 'national architecture':

> It is seen that in the most advanced countries, in correlation with the degree of advancement of their level of civilization, the national culture of inhabitance persists and the houses come to be shaped in the original styles peculiar to their countries. (Eldem, 1983:17)

Despite the fact that these statements were against the employment of the International Style in the form of the *kübik* architecture of the Republic, Eldem's quest was to achieve a native, or national, architecture which would be formulated according to the principles of the modernist discourse. Thus, as Bozdoğan asserts, Eldem's 'national architecture' in the late 1930s, was not 'advocating a reclamation of tradition at the expense of modernism'. Rather he was praising and was committed to the reinterpretation of the traditional 'Turkish

house' by using the modernist precepts and vocabulary, which were devised out of the language of the reinforced concrete. (Bozdoğan, 1987:44)

At any rate, even in his reevaluation of the 'Turkish house' through the works of Frank Lloyd Wright, it was clear that Eldem was drawn by the suitability of the 'Turkish house' to the modernist principles. (Baydar, 1993:70) As Bozdoğan affirms, for Eldem the 'Turkish house' possessed applicable modern qualities such as lightness, transparency or the modular logic. Additionally, the timber frame of the traditional 'Turkish house' also embodied the same modern quality of 'skeletal expression', which could well be attained by the use of reinforced concrete frame. (Bozdoğan, 1987:44) Along these lines, Eldem expresses the motive behind his looking back to the traditional 'Turkish house' as follows:

> The aspect I give importance to is that the traditional Turkish house appears to be surprisingly close to today's modern house conceptions. I had already pointed out its well lightedness and the abundance of windows. The freedom in the plan, the importance given to the comfort over appearance, the loyalty to the material requirements, the close connection of the garden and the courtyard, or the nature and the interior, by way of the abundant number of porches (*hayat*)... Are these not the qualities we seek for in modern houses? We find all of them in traditional Turkish house. (Eldem, 1983:19)

In another statement Eldem expresses this same motive as follows:

> Among the suitable qualities of the Turkish house to our present time, there are those qualities such as its spaciousness and well lightedness and preferably its detachedness from the ground on pilotis. Next to these the lack of furniture cluttering up the interior space and the integration of the various functions such as the storage units within the structure of the house, comes to be suitable for the modern house conception...With these factual realities, the closeness of the Turkish house to the modern architectural conception comes to be openly revealed. (Eldem, 1975:25)

With the references given to such futures of the 'Turkish house', Eldem was certainly after the fusion of the 'traditional' with the 'modern' or the coexistence of the 'national' with the 'international'. In a way there was a two-sided appropriation in Eldem's reference and utilization of the 'traditional' attributes. The constant quest was to form a 'melting pot' within which the two poles of the dual inclination of being modern yet national would be melted and fused. This two-sided appropriation and the reinterpretation of the traditional elements in modern terms for the attainment of a contemporary style, comes to be expressed by Eldem in an article written in 1981 as follows:

> Typical modular features of the Turkish house have the capacity to be regenerated in contemporary design principles. The use of 1:2 proportion in window designs and the use of alcove projections and eaves could modify a lot of the present design procedure occurring in the historical environments. There is the need to modify the present urban planning trends and to encourage the revival of an architecture with Turkish characteristics through an adjustment in the building construction codes...Although the main structural elements in the Turkish house are vertical, the lateral arrangement of the windows produces a horizontal effect consonant with LeCorbusier's statement on the relationship with the nature.... As a system of structure, the Turkish house presents a tradition for contemporary architecture. (Eldem quoted in Yenal, 1987:169)

Hence, along with some of its defining physical formations, through the abstracted qualities taken from the structural logic of the 'Turkish house', the modern and traditional reconciliation would be provided as to form the basics of the 'modern Turkish architecture'. Bozdoğan characterizes this approach as a "paradoxical conservative modernist utopia rooted in the essentialist notion of Turkishness". (Bozdoğan, 1994:50)

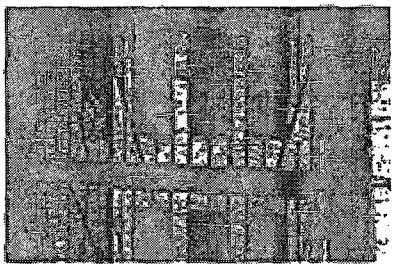


Fig.7. A 'traditional Turkish house', Safranbolu.
Source: Yenal (1987)

In modern Turkish architecture defined by Eldem, the use of the reinforced concrete frame was in utmost importance. It was to the extent that Eldem was even identifying it with what was 'modern':

> ...The Turkish architecture, along with being national, should also be modern, or in other words, built of reinforced concrete...The new architecture should be light, transparent and with abundant number of windows instead of being bulky, heavy and clogged-up. (Eldem, 1983a: 33)

For Eldem the 'modern Turkish house' was to meet three requirements: firstly it should be 'national' or in other words it should be appropriate for the Turkish life style; secondly, it should be proper for the Turkish architectural taste, and thirdly it should be suitable to the climatic and land conditions of the country. (Eldem, 1983:18-19) If these conditions could be satisfied, the modern 'Turkish house' type would evolve by itself naturally:

> If we conform to these requirements, we would be one step forward on the way for finding the Turkish house type. For this purpose all regions of the country should be examined, the present house types should be studied and test houses should be built. (Eldem, 1983:20)

Through these locally conscious attributes, it becomes clear that in his search of a 'modern Turkish architecture', Eldem apparently took up a 'regionalistic' attitude. In his enthusiasm for the 'Turkish house', those regional qualities were coming forward. Certainly, as a product of native culture, the domestic labor force and local materials and conditions, the traditional 'Turkish

house' appeared as the ideal model for Eldem's regionalist approach in the creation of a modern yet 'national architecture'. For this same reason, it is observed that the words 'native', 'local/regional' and the 'national' came to be used interchangingly by Eldem in the late 1930s.[3] (Bozdoğan, 1987:44)

As Uğur Tanyeli defines it, the regionalist attitude of Eldem was a tool for the internalization and nationalization of the modernist discourse. His re-conceptualization of the 'Turkish house' and its native formal qualities, from within the contextualist approach of modernism, is characterized by Tanyeli as 'the invention of a tradition', after Hobsbawm's renowned phrase. (Tanyeli, 1998:252)

Yet, behind the regionalist approach that was used in the re-conceptualization of a native architecture by 'nationalizing the modern', the basic drive was the 'nationalist' sentiment of the time rather than that of a true 'regionalism', which should be purporting a regional diversity. (Bozdoğan, 1994:51) In this framework, the specific regionalist approach that Eldem takes up here appears as an in-between element or a tool connecting the 'modern' with the 'national'. At this point, Bozdoğan characterizes this constructive attitude of Eldem as a totalizing approach, which trapped him under the 'single construct of a unitary 'cultural identity''. (Bozdoğan, 1994:51)

Throughout his conceptions on architecture, which were deriving their inspirations from the traditional 'Turkish house', the notion of the 'cultural continuity' had been a defining input for Eldem. He was concentrated on the continuous, uninterrupted flow of architectural culture. (Yenal, 1987:165) His works on the delineation of the order and the design principles of the 'Turkish house', along with its accompanying semantic qualities, were driven by his desire for the attainment of the 'cultural continuity'. In an article that explains the reason behind the need for the examination of the 'Turkish house', Eldem announces this idea as follows:

> In architecture the styles are tied to each other. A new style comes to life gradually in time.

[3] As Baydar Nalbantoğlu states, this enthusiasm of Eldem for regionalism comes to be based on the German building crafts, which he got acquainted with during his high school years in Munich in the 1920s. (Baydar Nalbantoğlu, 1993:68)

> For this reason, today we cannot strive for creating a style out of scratch by denying our traditional architecture. (Eldem, 1983:19)

Thus, to maintain the bond with the previous architectural culture for the realization of 'cultural continuity' was undeniably important for Eldem. On this basis, the traditional buildings were portrayed as to gather in themselves the 'summary' of a single and coherent architectural culture, which could appear in various guises within the same inner logic. (Yenal, 1987:168) Eldem observed the methodology of traditional, vernacular design as an instrument for the comprehension of the deeper 'spatial formative principles'. (Yenal, 1987:170) Within this persistent cultural and architectural continuity, especially the 'anonymity' of traditional environments in their 'stylistic unity', comes to the fore as an important notion, which Eldem put his interest upon.

Eldem stated that the anonymous quality and the stylistic unity present in traditional settlements of Anatolia had survived until the First World War. He characterized the later developments as 'eclectic degenerations'. (Eldem, 1973:5) The anonymity in traditional settlements was brought about by the craft of the folk designer/builder, or *kalfa*, who produced spatial variations of the same structural logic. In this process, the *kalfa* created the 'infinite variety' within an existing 'limited field of pre-constrained concepts', by making various combinations of the pre-established elements, which were taken from the existing examples of the local building tradition. Hence, within this tradition, the 'unchanging' was coming to house the 'change'. (Yenal, 1987:170) The 'anonymity' and the 'stylistic unity' of traditional settlements were coming to life through this way. The presence of such a tradition protected the built environment from individual and eclectic stylistic approaches. Eldem explained this quality of the 'anonymous' building tradition as follows:

> In big cities, the nineteenth century residential architecture has been closely attached to the almost dogmatic principle of the repetitive rhythm of vertical windows of 1:2 proportion. Architectural compositions started from this unit and been practiced by the so-called *kalfa* (master builder), who controlled almost all building

> activities. Their viewpoints and understanding had had to confine within a narratively narrow framework with limited capacity. By departing from all kinds of egocentric claims, an architecture without identity, or in other words an 'anonymous' architecture has evolved. It consequently has safeguarded the profession and art of architecture from all kinds of dubious pursuits and eccentric attempts. (Eldem quoted in Yenal, 1987:170)

For Eldem, the contemporary architects also had to conform to or be close to this 'stylistic unity' and 'cultural continuity', which was present in the traditional settlements, in modern architecture. In the development of his personal style, formed out of the typological and re-interpretative studies of the 'Turkish house', Eldem also tried to achieve this goal. In this regard, the traditional 'Turkish house' came to carry the conceptual essence of his architecture.

4.1.2.1 'Turkish House': The Definition

Eldem's 'Turkish house' is a cross-cultural artifact, which carries Anatolian, or rather Ottoman, characteristics. (Yenal, 1987:168) In his precise definition, the 'Turkish house' is the "house type, which was located within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, in the Anatolian and Rumelian regions, that existed with its own peculiar characteristics for a period of five hundred years." (Eldem, 1954:11) In its actuality, Eldem describes this 'Turkish house' as the Ottoman house, which came to be shaped by various cross-cultural factors within the large geographical area of the Ottoman Empire. However Eldem stresses at this point that what bring together and unite those cross-cultural factors into one unitary formation of the Turkish-Ottoman house are the 'Turkish character', 'Turkish art' and the 'Turkish culture of inhabitance'. (Eldem, 1984:19) In general, Eldem uses the term 'Turkish house' instead of the Ottoman house, which connoted a regional and cultural diversity. In terms of this subjugation of

the existing regional diversity, Eldem's approach in this characterization might be described as a repressive attitude.

Nevertheless within this vast diversity of house types in the area such as the mud brick houses of Central Anatolia or the white washed flat roofed houses of the Mediterranean coast, Eldem chooses and studies the traditional timber framed house type. At this point, as Doğan Kuban affirms, the 'Turkish house' appears as a generic term for Eldem, applied to the timber framed house with its standardized plans and architectural elements. (Kuban quoted in Bozdoğan, 1987:44)

For Eldem, this 'Turkish house' appears in its most characteristic type and form in the Marmara region, in Istanbul and in Edirne. In his voluminous book called 'The Turkish House', Eldem distinguishes house types under seven main groups according to their region of appearance: Blacksea region and its rear land, Istanbul and Marmara region, Aegean region and its rear land, Mediterranean region, Central Anatolia region, East Anatolian region and the Southeast Anatolian region. Within these groups, Istanbul and Marmara region is given special emphasis, as the traditional timber framed 'Turkish house' was portrayed to appear there in its most 'characteristic' fashion. (Eldem, 1984:28) For the basis of differentiation of house types, Eldem sets forth five factors, which are portrayed as climate, topography, societal condition, production level and allusion to the houses of Istanbul. (Eldem, 1984:19)

Among the reasons of Eldem's specific preference of the timber framed house type, its suitability for reinterpretation in the language of the reinforced concrete appears as a valid one. As Bozdoğan indicates, it was not the intrinsic 'national' qualities that propelled Eldem to the traditional timber framed house, but rather it was its availability for reinterpretation. (Bozdoğan, 1987:54)

Eldem initiated the 'The National Architecture Seminar' in the Academy during the early 1930s, which acted as the office of this type of studies that were made for the examination, documentation and the analysis of the traditional timber framed house throughout the country. Within the body of this Seminar, a total of one thousand and five hundred examples of the Turkish civil architecture were studied and documented. (Eldem, 1954:24) These documents initiated an

undeniable awareness and understanding of the traditional 'Turkish house'. Eldem himself explained the development of these studies in the Seminar as follows:

> These studies started to observe the Turkish architecture from a perspective, which had not existed before. Leaving the architecture of domes and arches aside, the studies were made on the unexplored Turkish house whose utmost proximity to the modern architecture was discovered. (Eldem, 1973:6)

Later on, the outcomes of these studies, which were carried on by Eldem and his students in the Academy, formed the contents of Eldem's volumimous work 'The Turkish House' in 1952. (Yenal, 1987:165) The research-based study was systematized fundamentally on typologies. Totally it was a pursuit that was employed for the creation of an original design vocabulary, which would appear as an alternative to the Westernized taste and design. (Özkan, 1987:14) In the course of this Seminar, the effort was to delineate the 'architectural logic' (Özbil, 2002:75) of the 'Turkish house', which would be abstracted from the survey of those hundreds of individual examples. (Bozdoğan, 1987:45)

The 'typological' methodology and approach of Eldem that was employed for the understanding of the logic behind the traditional pattern of domestic inhabitance provided the abstract typological remodeling of the 'Turkish house'. What was important in this process was the 'compositional elements' rather than the 'ornamental features'. (Özbil, 2002:73-85) This 'typological' methodology of Eldem aimed to form the basis of the 'new' Turkish architecture. Through this typological analysis of the traditional 'Turkish house', Eldem was surely attempting to grasp its inherent modern qualities that would enable the compromise and the co-existence of what was 'Turkish' with what was 'modern'. In his article "Echoes Of Eldem", Süha Özkan explains this point as follows:

> He himself persistently displayed what he meant by generating a modern idiom from this heritage. This, in brief, is not repeating what was valid and built for the past but is a continuous search for the abstract intrinsic values to guide new solutions. (Özkan, 1987:14)

In this attempt, Eldem's references, which came out of this abstract typological study, were mainly the proportions, the planimetric organizations and the structural systems that were supplemented by the limited use of some traditional materials or ornamental patterns. (Özbil, 2002:73-85)

4.1.2.2 Spatial Constituents and the 'Planimetric Organization' of the Turkish House

Eldem initially took into consideration the 'plan types' in the examination of the 'Turkish house'. According to him, the main feature, which brought the various types of the 'Turkish house' together, was undeniably its 'plan'. (Eldem, 1954:12) Thus the 'plan type' itself was determining the categorization of the 'Turkish house'. It was indicated that the organizing plan was the plan of the 'main floor' that generally occupied the top floor of the house, which itself was usually two storied or single storied with a mezzanine of one and a half meters from the ground. (Fig. 8) The main floor was the major living area of the house, whereby the lower floors were utilized for lesser functions such as storage or stable. (Eldem, 1954:13)

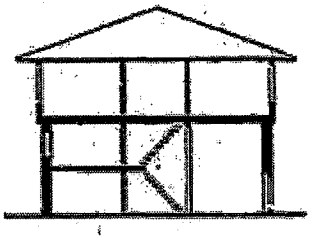


Fig.8. Model Turkish House, section.
Source: Eldem (1954)

The main spatial constituents of the 'Turkish house' were designated as *sofa*, rooms, staircases and passageways in between them. Among them the *sofa*,

or the *hayat*, appears as the major and the most characteristic element, which acts both as the central distributive space and the main living area in the house. (Özbil, 2002:61) Existing as the 'spatial gallery' in front of rooms and side halls, the *sofa* appears as the major defining element of the 'plan type'. Its shape and location in the house determines the type of the plan. (Eldem, 1954:16) The *sofa* also has its complementary side halls, which were designated by Eldem as *eyvan*, the side sofa, the *köşk* or the *sekilik*.[4] (Fig. 9, 10)

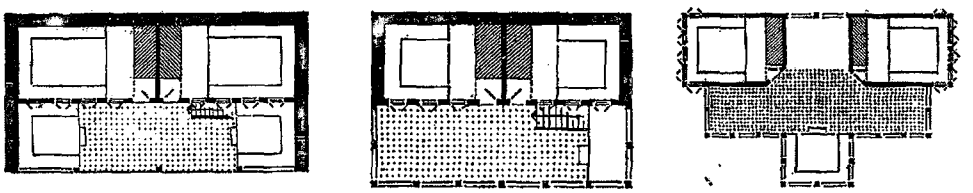


Fig.9. (From left to right) Plans showing the locations of *sekilik*, *taht*, *köşk*. Source: Eldem (1954)

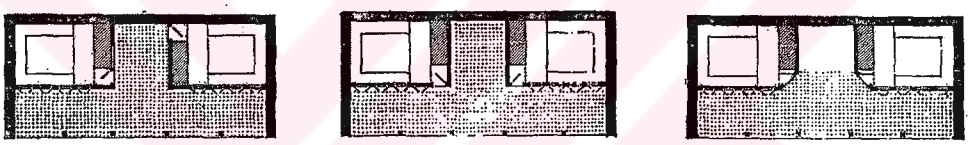


Fig.10. (From left to right) Plans showing the locations of the *yan sofa* and *eyvan*. Source: Eldem (1954)

Devised out of the survey of numerous examples of traditional houses, a 'matrix' of potential plan types, which formed the variations of Turkish houses, was developed by Eldem. (Bozdoğan, 1987:45) These plan types, which were categorized by him with regard to different planimetric organizations of the *sofa*, were mainly comprised of four basic kinds: namely, the plan type without a *sofa*, the plan type with an outer *sofa*, the plan type with an inner *sofa*, and lastly the plan type with a central or an oval *sofa*. (Eldem, 1954:24)

[4] The *eyvan* is built as the resting area, which could have a slight level difference from the sofa that is located next to it in ninety degrees. The 'side *sofa*' or the 'side hall' (*yan sofa*), which is also located next to the *sofa* in ninety degrees, is the passageway onto which rooms are opened. The *sekilik* or the *köşk* on the other hand, are also resting places, which are either located within the *sofa* or projected outwards from it. If projected outwards from the sofa on the façade, it is named as *köşk* (or *köşk çıkma*), otherwise, it is called as *sekilik*.

In Eldem's categorization, the plan type without the *sofa* was characterized as the most primitive one among others. In the planimetric organization, a central courtyard, which acts as the *sofa*, appears as the focal point in the house. The upper floor is connected to the courtyard by stairs that climb up over a balcony or a gallery, which acts as the open passageway over the courtyard connecting the rooms on the upper floor.[5] (Eldem, 1954:25)

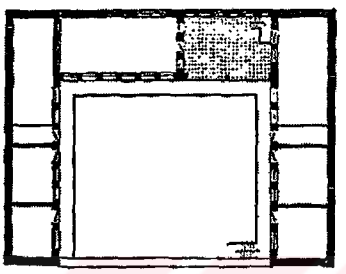


Fig.11. The plan type without the sofa, Bayram Güllaç House, Diyarbakır.
Source: Eldem (1954)

The plan type with the outer *sofa* is described by Eldem as the initial step in the development of the 'Turkish house'. (Fig. 11, 12, 13) In the plan, the outer *sofa*, or the *hayat*, is located in the central longitudinal façade, which faces the warmer and sunnier direction. The rooms are arranged as to cover the rear façade of the house and they are opened to the *hayat*. Here, the *hayat*, or the outer *sofa*, acts both as the resting place of the house and as the connection element that provides the access to the rooms lined up on it. According to Eldem, as the evolution of the house proceeds, this open *sofa*, or the *hayat*, starts to be covered with glazed walls and taken into the interior space of the house along with the improvement of living standards and comfort level in time. (Eldem, 1954:25)

[5] This type comes to be seen in hot and arid climatic regions of Turkey such as the Southeastern Anatolia. Due to its suitability only for the hotter regions of the country, it comes to be portrayed as an uncommon type among others. (Eldem, 1954:25)

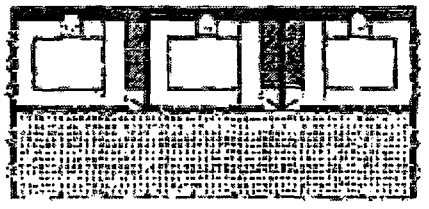


Fig.12. The Plan Type with an Outer Sofa.
Source: Eldem (1954)



Fig.13. House with an Outer Sofa.
Source: Eldem (1987)

The plan type with an inner *sofa* is portrayed as the most commonly observed type among others. (Fig. 14) Being a mature phase in the development of the 'Turkish house', the type is also named as the 'split belly' (*karnıyarık*) plan in the common usage. (Özbil, 2002:68) In planimetric organization, the *sofa* is located in this type between the two rows of rooms that are lined up on its sides. Compared to the plan type with an outer *sofa*, here the *sofa* is more sheltered and integrated within the house, increasing the comfort level of inhabitants.[6] As it is a more sheltered and complex type of plan with its four façades, it becomes identified as the appropriate type to be used in the cities. (Eldem, 1954:25) Yalı type of houses on the Bosphorous is given as good examples of this type.

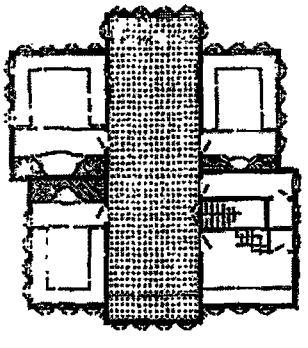


Fig.14. The Plan Type with an Inner Sofa.
Source: Eldem (1954)

[6] The inner *sofa* in its integrated form acts as the main living space of the house aside from its function of providing access to the rooms. With the subtraction of one of the rooms that lie at its sides, *eyvan*s can be formed next to the *sofa* in the middle of the sides. The outer ends of the *sofa* facing the view can also be projected outwards to provide seating places, in the form of *köşk*s that deliver a wide view and illumination for the *sofa*.

Described as the last stage in the development of the 'Turkish house', the plan type with a central *sofa* has the most compact planimetric organization of all the other types. (Fig. 15) In this type, rooms are organized around a central sofa, surrounding it on four sides. As Eldem describes, this type of plan came to be available for rich planimetric organizations of various combinations. For this reason, it is stated that this type has generally been applied in larger residences as *konaks*. (Özbil, 2002:70)

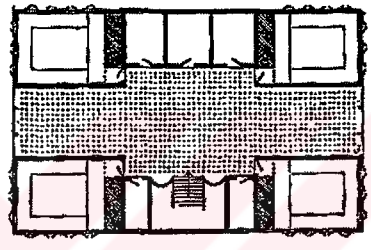


Fig.15. The Plan Type with a Central Sofa.
Source: Eldem (1954)

The form of the central *sofa* in the plan may also appear in an elliptical form to provide a more fluid central space for the interior. Such a type with an oval sofa is described by Eldem as a development of the central sofa type in the nineteenth century under Baroque influence. (Eldem, 1954:25)

Eventually, the varieties of planimetric compositions, which were being formed out of these four main types, were important for Eldem in terms of revealing the potential of abstract planimetric organizations of the traditional 'Turkish house' for its reinterpretation in modern terms. On this basis, Eldem produced a matrix of evolutionary planimetric schemes of these four types of plans. (Fig. 16) Through these schemes, a multiple number of arrangements, which were formed out of the different combinations of abstracted compositional

elements, were displayed as to manifest the various planimetric possibilities within the 'Turkish house'.

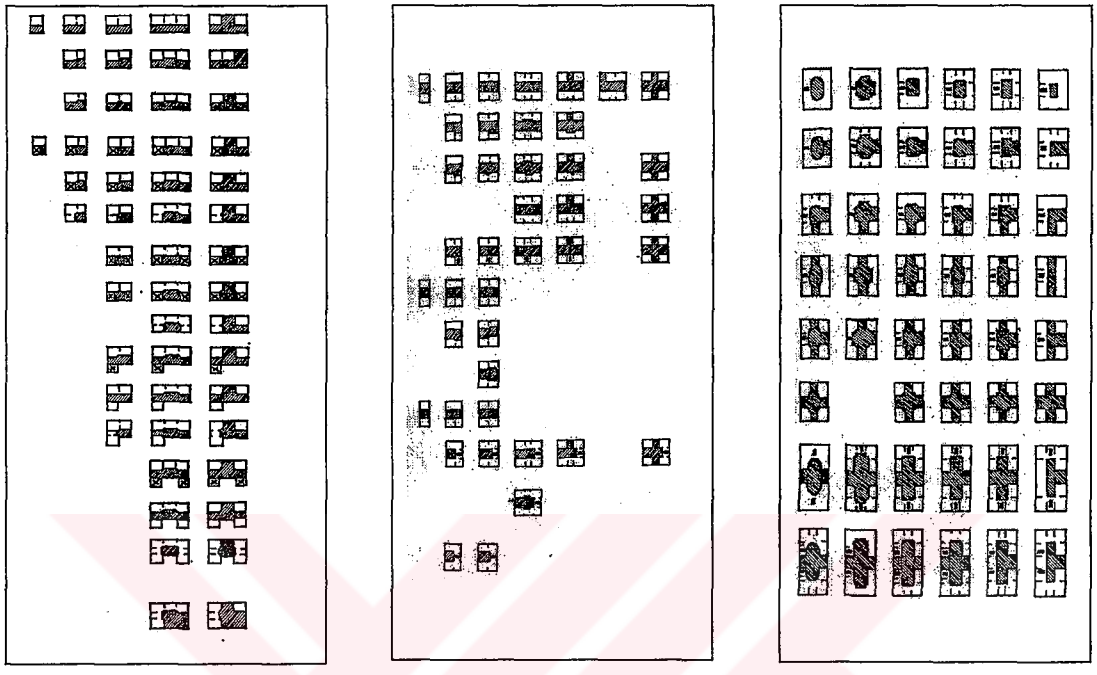


Fig.16. The Evolutionary Matrix of Planimetric Organizations of the 'Turkish house' (from left to right in the plan type with an outer sofa, plan type with an inner sofa, plan type with a central/oval sofa).
Source: Eldem (1984)

In the typological study of the 'Turkish house', the 'types' that were generated by Eldem, appear in two different dispositions and serve two different ends. As Bozdoğan indicates, the 'type' in the first sense appears as the static outcome of documentary analysis or rather the 'ideal' that Eldem aimed to reach at. In the second signification however, the 'type' operates as a methodological and compositional device to direct future designs. (Bozdoğan, 1987:45) Thus, the 'type' as the static outcome of the first implication, which appeared as the result of compositional analysis, comes to be utilized in the second implication as a 'generative tool' for a methodological design approach.[7] (Bozdoğan, 1987:45)

[7] In its actuality, the utilization of 'type' and 'typological methodology' in the architectural design is characteristic of classical Ecole des Beaux-Arts tradition. In this respect, it may be argued that

Additionally, besides the classification of plan types, Eldem also studied other architectural elements of the 'Turkish house', such as windows, doors, or some details, in the same classificatory sense. As Bozdoğan affirms, the outcomes of all these typological studies form an architectural vocabulary and a conceptual essence of Eldem's personal style. (Bozdoğan, 1987:45) In other words, these studies constitute the assets of Eldem's architectural 'repertoire'.

However, the approach of Eldem is also criticized by some architectural historians as a formal imitation. Bülent Özer, for example, characterizes Eldem's typological study as a 'formalist attempt' that tried to appropriate the examples of traditional civil architecture for contemporary conditions. (Özer, 1963:60)

In opposition to such criticisms, Eldem defended his approach by pointing out its attempt for solving the general compositional logic of the 'Turkish house':

> ...(*the approach*) decisively refuses formal imitation. Its indebtness to tradition and national taste resides in the overall character of the building- the abundance of windows, the plan types, the feeling of lightness etc. (Eldem, 1984a: 57)

It seems that, the typological approach of Eldem did not attempt to imitate formal qualities, but rather it aimed to reach a new interpretation of 'Turkish' qualities for the creation of a new architecture as the product of a compromise between the 'modern' and the 'national'. Doğan Kuban also expresses this point as follows:

> ...The intention moreover, was not to imitate but to interpret. Thus the Seminar took place, partly in response to nationalistic trends, partly to that deeper urge to create a national architectural style. (Kuban quoted in Bozdoğan, 1987:44)

However, in the creation of a 'national architecture', the attempt of the Seminar is still being described by some architectural historians as an effort that came to be limited to a formalist approach based on the outer appearance.

Eldem's integration of this typological approach as a design methodology for a Modern architecture seems, in its essence, to be against modernism in architecture.

(Aslanoğlu, 1980:72) Moreover, the attempt to create a 'national architecture' could be questioned not only in terms of a formalist approach, but also for the neglect of ethnic diversity and for overlooking the real attributes of the existing folk culture in the name of a unified representation. (Baydar, 1993:70,72,72)

4.1.3. The 'Turkish House' Reference in Eldem's Modern Turkish Architecture

In his designs, Eldem utilizes the outcomes of the typological examination of the 'Turkish house'. Through the references made to the traditional planimetric organizations or with the utilization of traditional architectural elements and qualities, such as *köşk* projections, window proportions or wide eaves, Eldem integrates in his designs the inspiration he takes from the traditional 'Turkish house'. However, the modern conception of inhabitance still dominates his designs. In his house designs, those adjustments, such as planimetric changes made for the new social formation of the family or the differentiations made in the functions of rooms that contain mobile furnitures, come forth as modern appropriations that differ the designs from the traditional 'Turkish house'. Through this kind of appropriations, Eldem's architectural approach displays his search of the compromise between the 'modern' and the 'traditional'.

The most explicit form of this attempt shows itself in a later example. Among Eldem's designs, the 'Taşlık Coffee House' of 1948 appears as the 'ultimate built manifesto of his quest for the native/national style'. (Fig. 17) (Bozdoğan, 1987:50) In terms of its plan, this building appears as the exact replica of *Amucazade Köprülü Paşa Yalı*, which was built originally in 1699. Due to the direct reference to the original example, Eldem was accused of historicism and formal imitation with this example. However, as he declared, this conduct was a conscious attitude for manifesting the potential modern qualities of the original 'Turkish house'. Moreover, being a sacrifice in terms of individual artistic expression on Eldem's part, the building was also pointing out the largely

discussed issues of 'anonymity' and 'cultural continuity' in Eldem's architectural treatise. (Bozdoğan, 1987:50) Eldem expresses this motive as follows:

> My intention in adopting an old Turkish köşk with both its planimetric and volumetric traits- was to make explicit that the three hundred years old Turkish dwelling architecture was very close to the notion of modern architecture, and it had the potentiality of being adopted to contemporary functions through certain alterations. I don't mean ornamentation, stylistic features etc. by the word 'alteration'. The design of this building is also an architectural pretension and a gesture towards architects and architectural authorities. (Eldem quoted in Ozbil, 2002:122)

Categorically, adopting the 'plan type with a central sofa', the building comes to gather in itself the qualities of traditional 'Turkish house', such as *köşk* projections of the T plan, wide projecting eaves, modular arrangement of windows or the use of wood as the dominant material. (Bozdoğan, 1987:50)



Fig.17. Taşlık Coffee House, İstanbul, 1948; plan, outer view and interior view. Source: Bozdoğan (1987).

In two earlier works of Eldem built during the early Republican period, namely the Ağaoğlu House (1936) and the Ayaşlı House (1938), the unifying attempt that derived its inspiration from the 'Turkish house' can be explicitly observed. (Fig. 18, 19)

In Ağaoğlu House, the traditional 'oval *sofa'* comes to be integrated in the design as the formal/spatial element that manifested the inspiration of the 'traditional'. (Bozdoğan, 1987:45) In the overall design of this two-storied house, the devotion to modernist precepts can be openly observed. Within the symmetrically configurated plan of the house, the 'oval sofa' appears just as a formal attribution. Located on the upper floor that was reserved for the living quarters, the oval *sofa* does not come to be integrated in the plan as in its original traditional form of a central distributive hall; but rather it is utilized as a living room that was projected outwards towards the street. This formal attribution of the traditional *sofa* within the modern house design is characterized by theorists as the sign of the compromise between the 'modern' and the 'traditional'.

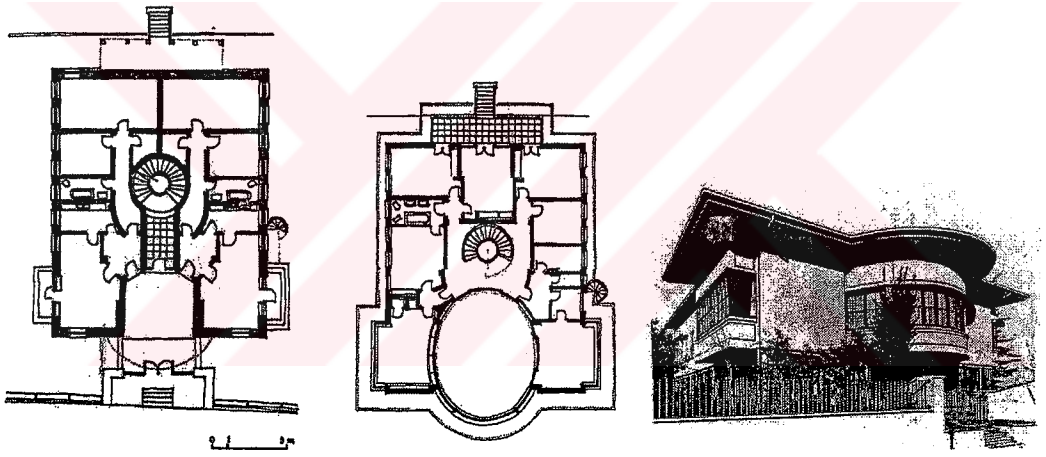


Fig.18. The Ağaoğlu House, İstanbul, 1936;
ground and first floor plans, outer view.
Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

Compared to Ağaoğlu House, the Ayaşlı House appears as a more committed example in Eldem's search for a native-national architecture. (Bozdoğan, 1987:49) A two-storied house located on the Bosphorus, the Ayaşlı House recalls the traditional *yalı* design. Besides its external formal qualities that refer to the traditional 'Turkish house', such as wide projecting eaves, 1:2 proportions of windows or pitched tile roof, the planimetric organization also

makes reference to traditional plan types. Belonging to the category of the 'plan type with an inner sofa', the plan of the house, along with its other formal-spatial qualities such as the *köşk* projections of the *sofa*, display the presence of a more integral design approach in terms of its reference to the traditional architecture. (Bozdoğan, 1987:49)

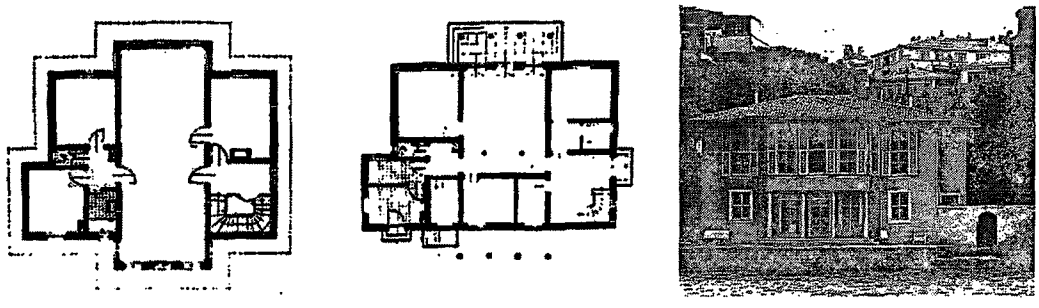


Fig.19. The Ayaşlı House, İstanbul, 1938;
ground and first floor plans, outer view.
Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

The architectural vocabulary of the 'native/national' style of Eldem also shows itself in larger buildings, such as the Yalova Thermal Hotel of 1934. (Fig. 20) With its projected balconies with their slender columns tied up to the wide projecting eaves, its latticed windows of the entrance floor or its repetitive rhythm of 1:2 proportioned windows of the upper rooms, the hotel displays the specific adoption of traditional features within a modern disposition. Presenting once again the unification of the 'modern' with the 'traditional', the hotel exists as a seminal work in the 'native/national' architectural style of Eldem, who himself described it as "the first product of the National Architectural Movement". (Eldem, 1984a: 58)

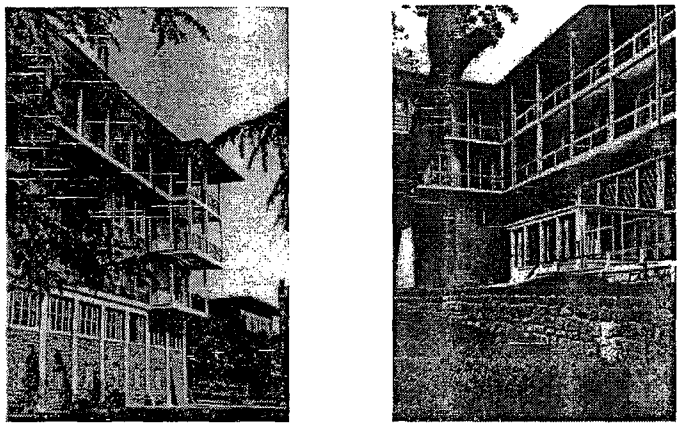


Fig.20. Termal Otel, Yalova, 1934; outer views.
Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

As has been mentioned before, the interchanging utilization of the terms 'native' (*yerli, rejyonel* or *mahalli*) and 'national' (*milli*) by Eldem, formed a controversial case. Furthermore, his reference only to the timber framed house in the creation of his 'national style' was observed as a totalitarian attitude, which was thought to appropriate for itself one example out of the regional diversity that existed throughout the country. As indicated before, behind this choice there was the appropriateness of the timber-framed house to modernist precepts. In terms of this conditioned conscious choice of Eldem in choosing the timber framed civic traditional architecture, specifically of İstanbul and the Marmara region, his approach could be characterized as 'elitist'. Moreover, this attitude could also be seen as correlated with the nationalist ideology's re-invention of a 'high-culture' in the construction of a 'national-cultural identity'.

Nevertheless, in some of his other projects, Eldem also came to display interest for other building traditions in the country, such as the vernacular housing of Central Anatolia. The Raif Meto House (1941) in Adana and Naci Paşa House (1932) in Ankara were two examples for such a contextualist sensitivity. (Fig. 21, 22) As Bozdoğan states, the Naci Paşa House, with its prismatic form rising above stonewalls, referred to the orchard houses of rural Ankara. (Bozdoğan, 1987:54) Similarly, Raif Meto House displayed allusions to the Central Anatolian rural vernacular house type by reinterpreting in modernist

precepts. (Bozdoğan, 1987:54) In an interview dated to 1986, Eldem explains this approach taken in the design of Raif Meto house as follows:

> Meto house is a variation on the 'outer sofa' type Anatolian house: a projection for the hearth, or *ocak*, a seating place or *taht* inside the *eyvan*...All of these have their roots in Anatolia. Therefore my research here is totally different from the symmetrical and slightly monumental type of *Amcazade Yalı*. The issue here is a two thousand years old Anatolian house type reinterpreted for contemporary requirements and with modern materials. It could have been mud brick or stone. It is not a stylistic search; instead it is the constructional logic which yields the form. (Eldem quoted in Bozdoğan, 1987:55)

Here, Eldem explicitly describes his approach to tradition as a methodological attitude that interprets it from within a modernist frame of reference and seeks its reinterpretation through modernist principles towards contemporary needs and ends.

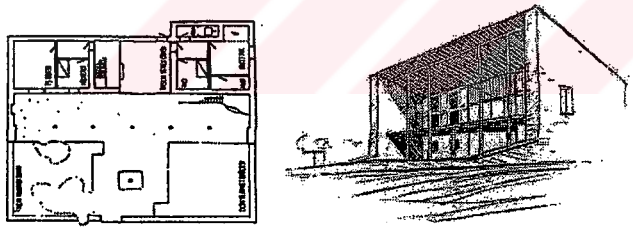


Fig.21. Raif Meto House; Adana, 1941.
Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

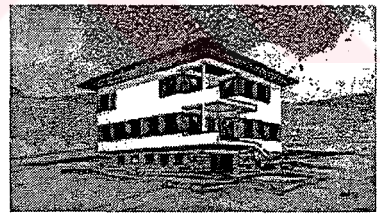


Fig.22.NaciPaşa House,
Ankara, 1932.
Source:Bozdoğan, (1987)

With his specific interest for cultural continuity and with his rejection of the *kübik* international style, Eldem constituted a different brand of 'modernism' in Turkey. As discussed previously, this specific attitude of Eldem emphasized the dialogue to be constructed between tradition and modernity for the dissolution of the 'cultural tension' in all facets of social life. (Bozdoğan, 1987:56)

However, in the course of 1930s, which corresponded to Eldem's fervent involvement with the National Architecture Seminar in the Academy, he designed two buildings that lied far distant from his ideal of native/national architectural style. (Bozdoğan, 1987:56) In his personal architectural development that goes decisively towards the synthesized expression of a 'modern yet national Turkish architecture', these uncharacteristic attempts nonetheless appear as to show the still potent effect of architectural modernism in the context. (Bozdoğan, 1987:56)

The SATIE building (Office/Warehouse Building of the Electric Company) and Bayan Firdevs House of 1934 are those buildings that display Eldem's involvement with the purist aesthetic of early twentieth century modernism. (Fig. 23, 24) In these two buildings the purist modernist aesthetic is observed explicitly in the façades and plans which have nothing to do with the typological assets coming from the 'Turkish house'. (Bozdoğan, 1987:56,57)

With their reinforced concrete frames, plastered bare façades, prismatic volumes, horizontal band windows and flat roofs, both buildings are distinct examples for the employment of a modernist aesthetics in early Republican architecture. Especially the SATIE building, with its free plan and cubic mass, which was raised over the *pilotis*, is a typical example formed after LeCorbusier's principles of modern architecture. (Aslanoğlu, 1980: 136)

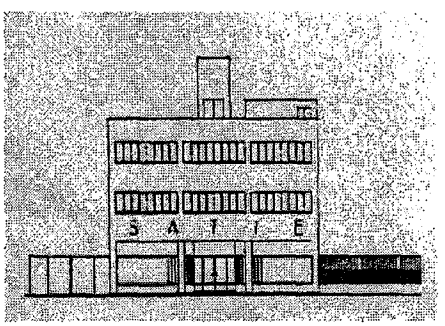


Fig.23. SATIE Building, İstanbul, 1934.
Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

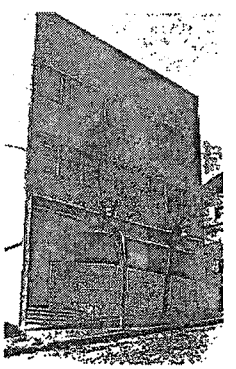


Fig.24. Bayan Firdevs House, İstanbul, 1934.
Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

In his architectural search that lasted for about half a century, these examples seem to be deviations from his ideal of 'native/national' architecture. Yet, in his pursuit for the proper expression of the 'national architecture', these deviations bear testimony to the influence of the contemporary dual inclination in the cultural climate of the country.

Nonetheless, in this same year of 1934, Eldem's native/national style was being observed for the first time in an official building. The State Monopolies General Directorate building epitomized Eldem's specific brand of 'modernism' that conceived 'Turkish modern architecture' in the fusion of the 'national' and 'modern' characteristics. (Fig. 25) Reflecting this point of view, Eldem designated the building as the 'first modern building in Turkey'. (Eldem, 1973:6) Being the winner of an international competition, the building was Eldem's first official project that was commissioned by the state. (Bozdoğan, 1987:58)

The volumetric playful composition of masses with elevated projections, together with the 1:2 proportioning of windows, the building bears an allusion to traditional architecture. (Bozdoğan, 1987:58) Although it does not take up the neoclassical style in its formation, which was applied in most of the other buildings of the government, the building still stands in harmony with its surrounding. (Aslanoğlu, 1980:148) Serving as the Prime Ministry today, the building is presented as a mature example of Turkish modern architecture. (Aslanoğlu, 1980:68)

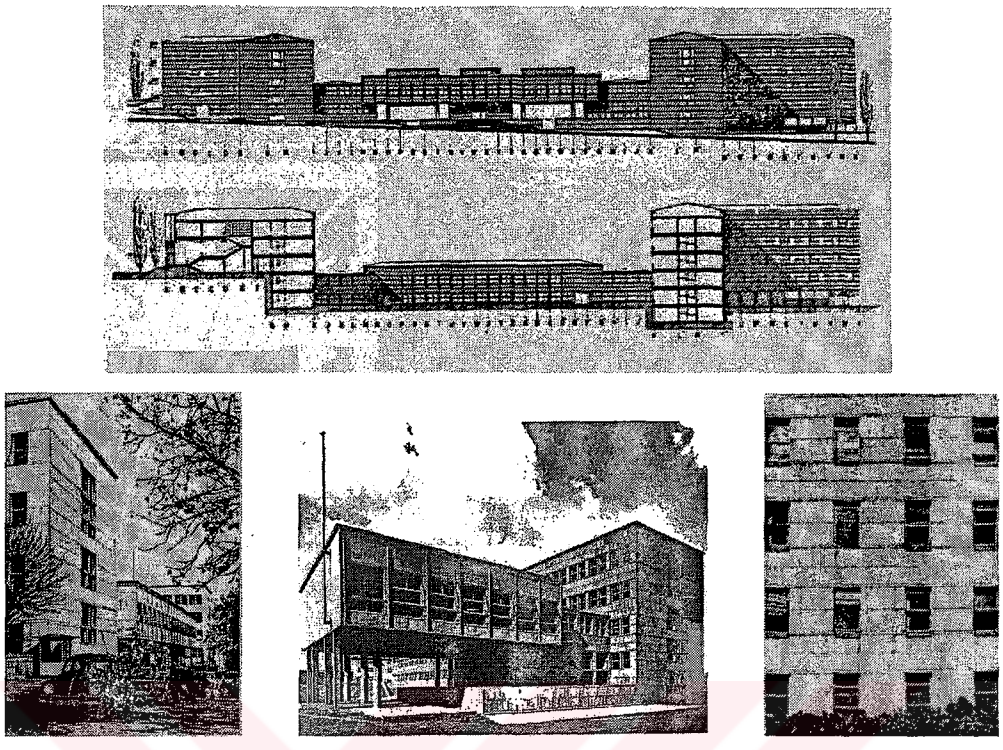


Fig.25. The State Monopolies General Directorate building, Ankara,1934; front and rear elevations, outer views. Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

Following these relatively early examples of Eldem's career, a shift in his rather regionally oriented 'national style' starts to be seen towards the end of 1930s, when a considerable 'nationalist' emphasis took hold on his attitude and practice.

4.1.4 Nationalist Sentiment and Regionalist Tendency in Conflict

Through the articles "The Question Of National Architecture" and "Towards A Native Architecture", which were published in *Arkitekt* respectively in the years 1939 and 1940, Eldem announced the fundamentals of his conception of 'national architecture'. In these articles, Eldem openly declared his opposition both to the employment of the *kübik* International Style and the practice of

foreign professionals in the country: "The effect of foreigners has confounded the taste in us and hampered the development of a 'national style'."(Eldem, 1940:73)

Pointing out the existence of a general worldwide inclination towards 'nationalism', Eldem again presented the reference made to tradition as a solution for the expression of 'national identity':

> Today in architecture, the tendency is towards nationalism rather than internationalism. Although the same new architectural attitudes and elements are adopted and applied by many different nations, when it comes to ideas and ideals, they all look for ways of maintaining, developing and expressing their own identities. And for this, they look back to tradition, they commit themselves to a new ideal or they try to synthesize the two. (Eldem, 1939:220)

In these articles Eldem designated three fundamental conditions to be satisfied for the attainment of 'national architecture'. In this prescription, for the 'native/national' architecture to emerge, firstly the appropriateness to the native culture of inhabitants was to be provided; secondly, the domestic labor force was to be employed; and lastly, the conformity to the land conditions was to be satisfied in terms of the responsive utilization of material sources and climatic conditions of the land. (Eldem, 1939:221) These three conditions, which were mainly based on a contextualist or regionalist sensitivity, would naturally produce the 'national style'. As Eldem states in a later article, the achievement of a 'national character' was vital for him, since "every nation that owns an individual identity likes to live and inhabit in its own peculiar way". (Eldem, 1983:15) Similarly, the Turkish revolution also got to have its own 'national style' that would express its own peculiar character. In the attainment of this character, the existence of a collective ideal that represented the mentality and taste of the nation was undeniably important for Eldem. (Eldem, 1939:18)

The regional consciousness depicted in these statements was already satisfied in his 'native/national' architecture that derived its inspiration from the 'Turkish house'. However, what changed in these new sentiments was the emphasis made on the realization of a stronger 'national character'. For its

attainment, the native and regional qualities were regarded as inadequate. On this basis, Eldem was trying to get out of the controversial ambiguity between the 'native/regional' and the 'national' in those years. In the same articles, Eldem affirmed that native qualities realized by conforming to the conditions of the land, material and climate, were not enough for the formation of a 'national architectural style'. He asserted that a nation might have various sorts of native/local architectural styles, but what makes them 'national' was the presence of a common 'national identity' or character within the nation. Thus, providing a unification under a selected 'high-culture' and architecture, this common 'national identity' was being presented by Eldem as the key factor that united all the local architectural styles under the presence of one 'national style':

> The local architecture is not always national architecture...In the same manner, a nation can inhabit different varieties of regions...but the fact that they have a common expression results from their being the houses and works of the same nation. (Eldem, 1983:16)

Hence, the 'identity' of a nation appears as the unifying factor for regional styles towards the formation of a 'national architecture'.

The shift of the early 1940s towards a nationalist emphasis brings a change in scale and character in Eldem's architectural practice. Having concentrated more on the design of houses and *yalıs* in the previous years, Eldem began to design public buildings in the 1940s. In contrast to the reinforced concrete structures, which gave priority to the qualities of lightness, openness and transparency, there came in the 1940s the heavy and monumental effect of stone that was used both as a constructive and a finishing material. (Bozdoğan, 1987:61)

Among the reasons of this 'stone age'; as Eldem calls it (Eldem quoted in Bozdoğan, 1987:72), various factors can be listed such as the unavailability of reinforced concrete, the reaction towards the flimsiness of flat roofs of *kübik* structures, the influence of Paul Bonatz and the 1943 German Architecture Exhibition, or the effect of nationalism and statism in the country after the break

of the Second World War. (Bozdoğan, 1987:61) Eldem explains these motives behind this 'stone age' architecture as follows:

> The Stone Age had begun with both policy and the economy playing their part in this development. Policy demanded that buildings be built of stone, strong and durable unlike the frail cubist buildings of Ankara. The National Style was therefore solid and monumental. The presence of Paul Bonatz in Turkey during the period, contributed to this outcome, as he was a devotee of stone construction. (Eldem quoted in Bozdoğan, 1987:72)

In this socio-cultural climate, which was under the influence of fervent nationalism, the ideal of the attainment of a 'unified' 'national architecture' took an additional command. In this context, Eldem's architectural statements also attained a political implication. In his articles, he declared the necessity of the substantial role of the state or the political regime in the creation of a unified 'national architecture':

> ...(In the attainment of a national architecture) a total collaboration is required. But, above all, the State should handle this matter. ..The architects are in need of these kinds of enterprises in the realization of their ideas. And these enterprises are tasks that have their importance at the rate of the national politics. (Eldem, 1944:2)

Attributing a substantial role to the state in the formation of a 'national architecture', Eldem was insisting on the need for the determination of a building program or policy that would be devised by the state. For Eldem this program was to cover the development of 'fixed norms' that would form the 'building types' to be applied throughout the country. These 'types' would be formed under the direction of a Council, which would be attained by the state. The Council was to take into consideration and examine the contextual qualities that would be effective in the development of those types. For Eldem the development of fixed building types would come out as to ensure the formation of a unified 'national architectural style' throughout the country. Additionally, it would provide an ease

for the developing building activity. With the examination of the contextual qualities of different regions, Eldem was proposing the formation of a variety of types differing according to different regions they were destined to be built for:

> There is no need for explaining further the ease to be brought about by the application of a special building program that is to be employed for those official buildings. This program... should define the architectural style, organization, and the level of comfort and strength of the buildings. Besides, the 'types' should be developed for the various regions of the country... The determination of those types should not be developed in the form of stereotypical examples, but it should be executed as to contain communal principles and ideas. (Eldem, 1944:3)

On this basis, the building program that would shape those building types was to be devised according to the climatic and economic conditions together with the amount of population and the historical traditions of the regions. (Eldem, 1944:3) In the course of the development of this program, Eldem found it necessary to build test houses throughout the country.

He also believed that those types of buildings would function as to 'educate' the citizens to live in them. This way, he was also assigning a pedagogical function to architecture, together with the vanguard role of the architect. (Eldem, 1944:3) In terms of the desire for the development of an official program and with regard to his wish for the presence of state intervention in the architectural field, Eldem's approach in those years could be assessed as a 'totalizing' attitude towards architectural practice.

In line with the fervent nationalistic tendency of this 'stone age', the inclination towards a heavy and monumental effect in architecture comes to be reflected in two projects by Eldem: Istanbul University Faculty of Sciences and Letters of 1942-1943, and Ankara University Faculty of Sciences of 1943-1945. (Bozdoğan, 1987:66-68)

Designed in association with Emin Onat, the building of Istanbul University Faculty of Sciences and Letters exists as an appropriation of the 'Turkish house' theme to a large scaled official building. (Fig. 26) (Bozdoğan,

1987:62) With wide projecting eaves, vertically proportioned windows, elevated upper stories and stone finished base floor, the building displays visible signs of its traditional inspiration. On that account, the effort of achieving a synthesis of the 'traditional' and the 'modern' comes once again to the fore. The utilization of reinforced concrete frame, was characterizing the building as a 'modern' one for Eldem. However, the heavy effect of stone and the monumental proportions dominate the appearance of the building. The three story high inner halls arranged around rectangular courtyards and the stone faced high arches with their giant proportions display an austere and monumental appearance. (Bozdoğan, 1987:62)

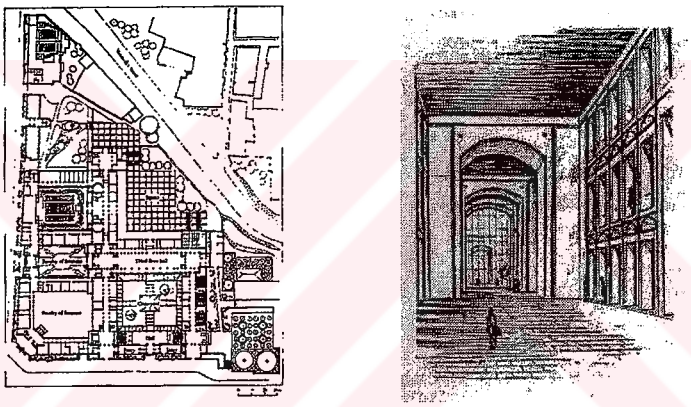


Fig.26. Istanbul University Faculty of Sciences and Letters, İstanbul, 1942; site plan and sketch of the interior hall. Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

The buildings of Ankara University Faculty of Sciences were actually a part of the unrealized original campus project of Ankara Technical University, which was designed with collaboration with Paul Bonatz. (Fig. 27) The most striking feature of the buildings is the monumental porticos that lie at the end of the two buildings lining up the alley. Through their high arches, giant orders and stone faced walls, the porticos explicitly demonstrate a monumental appearance. Moreover, through the references to the Seljukid and Ottoman architecture in the use of *muqarnas* motifs and porcupine cornices of the porticos, the faculty

building displays openly the historicist nationalist drive of the 'stone age'. (Bozdoğan, 1987:68)

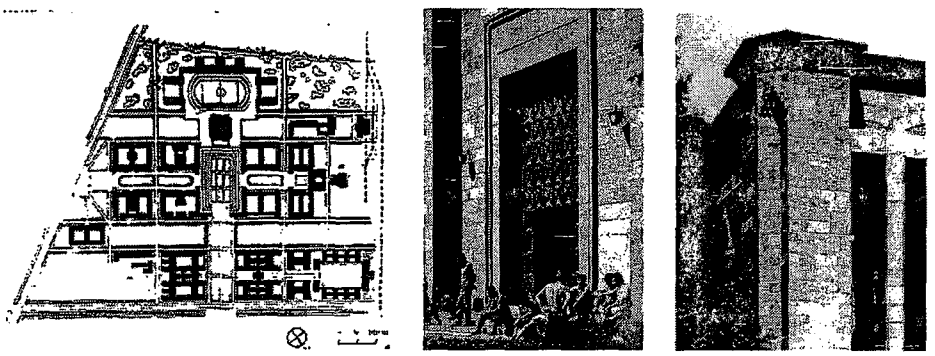


Fig.27. Ankara University Faculty of Sciences, Ankara, 1943; original site plan, outer views. Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

It is generally accepted that, the nationalist phase in Eldem's architecture came to an end by the design of the Istanbul Palace of Justice in 1948. (Fig. 28) With reference to the expressed reinforced concrete structural frames and wide glazed surfaces in the complex, some architectural critics characterize the project as a 'rationalist' example. (Mete Tapan quoted in Bozdoğan, 1987:77) However, as Bozdoğan states, a continuity with the previous phase of nationalistically driven monumental tendency was still apparent in this project in the use of wide eaves, three story high colonnades and the total effect of monumentality. (Bozdoğan, 1987:77)

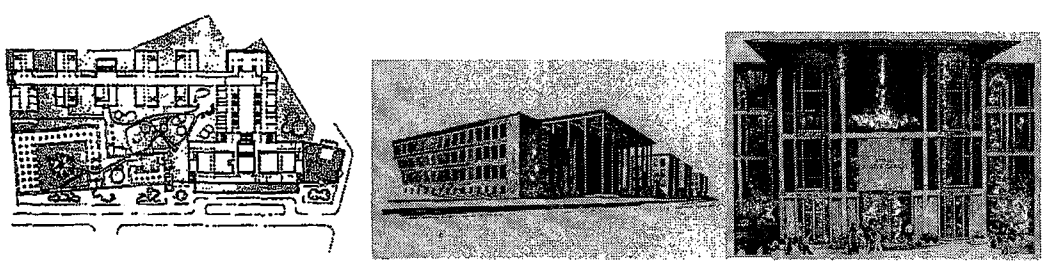


Fig.28. Istanbul Palace Of Justice, İstanbul, 1948; site plan, outer views. Source: Bozdoğan (1987)

As observed in these examples, Eldem's architecture in the late 1930s and the early 1940s appeared as an attempt for finding a balance between the 'modern' and the 'traditional' in an architecture that would express the desired 'national/cultural identity'. The 'cultural tension' formed out of the duality inherent in the definition of this identity, was inevitably reflected in his architecture. The search of an in-between way for a 'national architecture' reveals his conscious preoccupation with the disbanding of this tension. In his internalization of the existing nationalism of the socio-cultural sphere, Eldem's approach may be found as stuck between the dual formation of the nationalist sentiment and shifting definition of 'national identity'. Yet, his architectural attitude and practice were still very sensitive in terms of the awareness and responsiveness to the existing 'cultural tension'.

4.2. BRUNO TAUT: THE REVISION OF THE MODERN IN A DIALECTICAL TOTALITY WITH TRADITION

As an architect and an architectural theorist, who participated in the shaping of the primary 'ethos' of the modern movement, Bruno Taut's position in the social and architectural scene of early Republican period appear as a good case to observe the specifities of the context, through the eyes of a relatively distant observer. Being a Western professional, Taut's architectural approach in early Republican era emerges as an answer given to the existing 'cultural tension' that was sourced out from the dual inclinations of the context. As it will be discussed further in detail, Taut's attitude stays out of the vicious circle formed between the two poles of the duality of the 'tradition' flavored 'national' and the imported 'modern'. Instead, it alternates between the modernist and regionalist approaches for the attainment of an ingenious and consistent architectural disposition. (Bozdoğan, 1997:163)

As a matter of fact, it is observed that the relation between, and the duality of, the 'traditional' and the 'modern' always exists as an essential ingredient that marks Taut's all-time architectural position and practice. Pointing out to this fact,

in an article that examines Taut's architectural practice in Germany, Kristina Hartmann summarizes the architectural path followed by Taut as a 'dialectical totality' structured between the 'modern' and the 'traditional'. (Hartmann, 1983:41)

In the opening speech of his exhibition that was held in the Fine Arts Academy in 1938, Taut himself expresses this motive as follows:

> Beginning from my first architectural commissions up until this day, you can observe how I was affected by these two inclinations. On the one side, there was the effort of being in harmony with the old building tradition without being a slave to it, and on the other side there was the realization of the architectural solutions that were to be parallel with the modern industrial conditions. On one side there spreads out a fan that stretches from a tradition consciousness to romanticism and on the other side there exists sensational solutions that were formed out of steel, reinforced concrete, abundant glass and strong colors...We architects should work hard to find the way which does not harm the actual fact while still nourishing our emotions. (Taut quoted in Hartmann, 1983:41)

As an extension to such an attitude, in his encounters within the early Republican context, Taut seems to have resisted both the *kübik* International Style of the Republic and the nationalistically driven search of a 'national architectural style'. Along these lines, in the following sections, this rather self-determined attitude of Taut will be examined in order to detect the critical strategies and the discursive practices present within his two-sided resistive disposition. To be able to discuss these motives, his former years in the architectural profession should initially be examined.

4.2.1 A Retrospective Account on Taut's Architectural Disposition

As mentioned previously, supplementing the process of Westernization, the Republican State commissioned foreign professionals from the late 1920s onwards for the realization of a modern setting of the new nation-state. Most of these experts were from Germany and Austria. In this sequence, Bruno Taut came to Turkey along with the second generation of foreign professionals, who were invited to Turkey eventually after the new 'chauvinistic' political regime of the national socialist German 'Reich' came to power in 1933. Among nearly two hundred foreign experts, forty of which being architects, the Republic called Bruno Taut in 1936, in the third year of his exile. (Erichsen, 1994:28)

Being among the architects, such as Walter Gropius or Mies Van Der Rohe, who did participate in the shaping of Germany after the First World War, Taut himself possessed a rather distinct and hybrid architectural profile. (Aslanoğlu, 1976:35) Architectural historians identified him as to appear in the second rate among the Avant-garde pioneers of the twentieth century modern architecture. (Hartmann, 1983:42)

It appears as a fact that Taut's avoidance of a one-sided approach throughout his architectural career made him a difficult object of study for historical and architectural categorizations. As Hartmann describes it, Taut's professional life was shaped by the coexistence of reality and sentiment, or social responsibility and artistic fantasy. (Hartmann, 1983:41) As a writer, architect, educator and planner, Taut had an interest both for the spiritual matters and the rational and functional aspects in his works. Akcan describes this attitude as the fusion of mythic and exotic elements with socialist utopias. (Akcan, 2001:37)

In this architectural profile, the dilemma between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' came to exist as an initial attribute. (Hartmann, 1983:41) Taut himself bases the source of this dual inclination in his career to two of his earliest commissioned projects, which were the restoration of a small old gothic church and the design of the factory building for the Harkort Iron Rolling Mill. (Taut, 1983:35) In those two projects Taut confronted with both the will for building in

harmony with the traditional setting and the will for creating a modern architecture for contemporary demands of the industry. In his statements, he declares the existence of the traces of both of these inclinations in all the works of his professional life. (Taut, 1983:35) In one of his early articles named 'Nature and Architecture' of 1904, Taut expresses this motive as follows:

> The work of an architect, who produces his designs by taking into consideration the technical and aesthetic characteristics of his time while still holding on to the existing tradition, is respected today not for its 'authentic style' but for the original artistic ability of its architect. (Taut, 1983:37)

As this statement also reveals, Taut attempted to conduct a two-sided approach in his professional life, which avoided his adoption of the prescription of a one-dimensional precept for architecture. By 1910's, this double resistant attitude of Taut was apparent. In 1913, Taut himself declares this attribute as follows:

> I do not believe the existence of any rules even if they are good or proven scientifically. There are no rules to be declared as being the 'principle'. It is quite dangerous to seize one rule and ennoble it as the 'principle'. (Hartmann, 1983:42)

Hence, it is observed that, Taut comes to resist the use of pre-ordained principles or templates in his architectural practice and attitude. Similarly, the effort of pushing further the limits of his creativity exists side by side with the concern for the many-sided nature of design issues.

By 1916, through the invitation of Deutsche Werkbund for the competition of the Turkish-German Friendship House that was to be built in Istanbul, Taut experienced his first true encounter with the 'East'. After his visit to Istanbul, Taut prepared a report that expressed his observations about this first encounter. Depicting Istanbul as the 'door to the East', he expressed his sincere fascination with the existing 'organic integrity', 'harmonious irregularity', and the all surrounding sound and color of the city. (Cengizkan, 2002:35)

As Cengizkan notes, Taut does not seem to have come to İstanbul to prove his discursive 'orientalist' predilections about the East, but rather he observed the city openly with the desire of grasping the existing cultural reality and diversity. (Cengizkan, 2002:29) However, besides his open disposition for the experiences he would acquire in Istanbul, Taut still observed this part of the world as a totally distinct and different place from the European West. Akcan points out that, this approach of Taut in drawing a strict line between the East and the West can still be characterized as a particular kind of 'orientalism'. (Akcan, 2001:37) According to such an interpretation, although Taut did not express the 'orientalist' conduct of the 'undeniable superiority of the West over the East', his 'taken for granted' view of the unprogressive, authentic and timeless disposition of the East, can still be viewed as a different kind of orientalist approach.

His project proposal for the Turkish-German Friendship House could exemplify such an interpretation. (Fig. 29) In the project, it is observed that, classical Ottoman features, such as dome or some oriental ornamental figures, were applied directly without the attempt of making a modern reinterpretation. (Akcan, 2001:37)

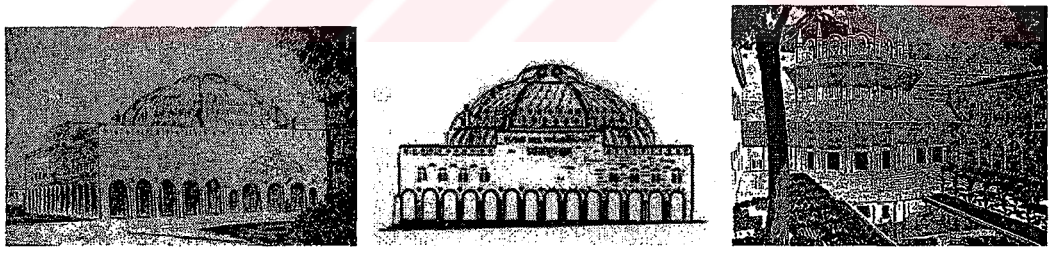


Fig.29. Turkish-German Friendship House, İstanbul, 1916; sketches.
Source: Bozdoğan (1987), Özkan (1975).

At the end of this expedition, the project did not come to be executed; however the traces of this 'journey to the East' marked Taut's further socialist thoughts. In his article named "Ex Oriente Lux: Call To The Architects" of 1919, Taut illustrates the East as the ideal model for the realization of an 'organic

integrity' in opposition to the chaos experienced in modern cities of the West. (Akcan, 2001:37)

Taut's hybrid disposition between social responsibility and artistic fantasy revealed itself in different periods of his professional life. Marking these evident inclinations, mainly four distinguishable periods can be detected in his career. (Aslanoğlu, 1976:35) Among them, the first phase in his professional life covers the period before and during the First World War in 1910's. The period comes to the fore as an 'individualistic' and imaginative stage, where Taut was mainly experimenting with the use of new materials such as glass and iron. (Aslanoğlu, 1976:35) Two influential designs in this period, namely the 'Glass House' of 1914, which was designed for the exhibition of the Deutsche Werkbund, and the 'Iron Monument' of 1915, which was prepared for Leipzig International Construction Exhibition, mark Taut's early reputation in architectural circles. (Fig. 30, 31) (Aslanoğlu, 1976:35)

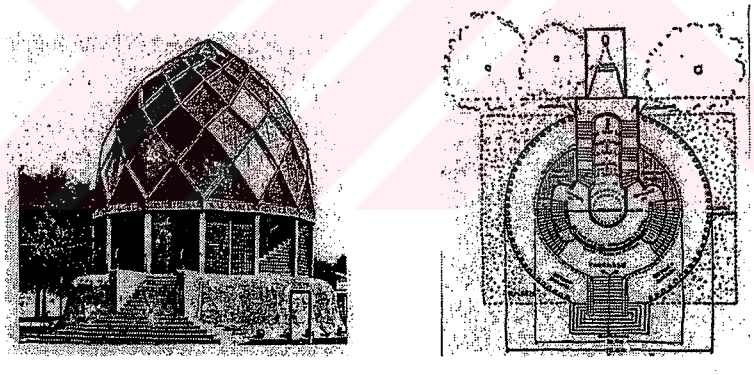


Fig.30. Glass House, 1914; outer view, plan. Source: Suda (1996)

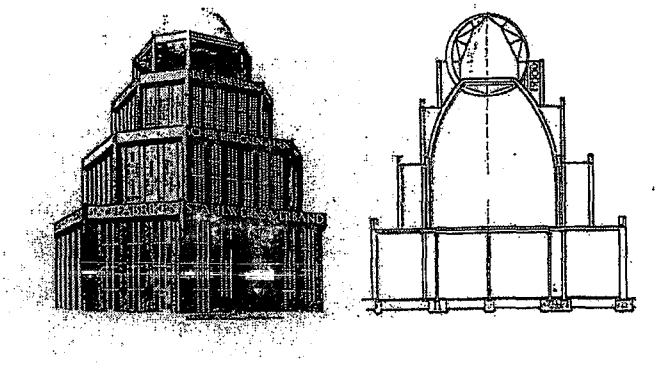


Fig.31. Iron Monument, 1915, outer view, section. Source: Suda (1996)

The period that can be characterized as the second phase in Taut's architectural career starts after the First World War. Identified as an 'expressionistic phase', this period marks a rather theoretically productive stage in Taut's professional life, where he was involved with quite a number of different organizations such as the 'Arbeitats Für Kunst' (1918), which called for the need of the 'unification of the arts under the rubric of architecture', and 'Novembergruppe', which upheld the collective and societal quality of the arts in general. The 'societal revolutionist' attitude of these groups, which resisted the use of traditional building methods and techniques, was at odds at the time with the ideals of the later national socialist 'Nazi' regime. (Erichsen, 1994:32) In this context, the revolutionist and socially responsible attitude of Taut came to the fore as an anti-fascist and anti-militarist disposition. (Junghanns, 1983:18)

In the same period, when the architectural atmosphere was closed for revolutionary ideas in the general sense, Taut continued his searches by way of different theoretical publications. For an exchange of ideas about the utopic visions of glass architecture, he came to the scene as the initiator of the 'Glass Chain Letters' in 1919 that lasted until 1923. During these transactions, he also published his well-known books 'The Alpine Architecture' and the 'Stadtkrone' [8] in 1919, where he mainly promoted his vision of a new social order that opposed to the idea of war. (Fig. 32, 33) (Junghanns, 1983:21)

[8] In his later proposal for the competition project of the Turkish Parliament building in Ankara, in 1937, Taut proposes a capitol complex on the same model of his conceptions of the Stadtkrone (Crown Of The City). (Cengizkan, 2002:29) In his explanatory writing about his draft of the project, Taut himself expresses the motive as follows:

> Here the building is graded in accordance with its natural leveling. Being in the shape of the 'crown of the city of Ankara' (Stadtkrone), this building, together with its surrounding, would be observed with all its extent: it would be an 'Acropol'. (Taut, 1938c:132)

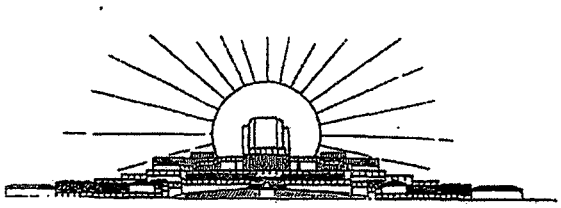


Fig.32. Stadtkrone, 1919
Source: Suda (1996)

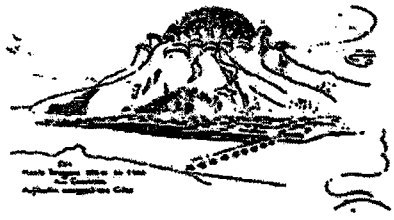


Fig.33. An example from the 'The Alpine Architecture'.
Source: Cengizkan (2002)

Starting with 1924, a third distinguishable phase in Taut's career can be discerned. Motivated by the societal needs and social planning issues arising by the end of the war, this period comes to be characterized as a 'realistic' and 'functionalist' phase in Taut's career. In this time, he became involved with a number of Siedlung projects, which also included the Weissenhof Siedlung in Stuttgart, where he was invited to participate by Mies Van Der Rohe. Totally the number of dwellings he designed in this period, between the years 1925 and 1932, exceeds ten thousand in number. Among them, the Berlin Brits and Berlin Zehlendorf Siedlungs appear as the most distinguishable examples of all. (Fig. 34) (Aslanoğlu, 1976:41)

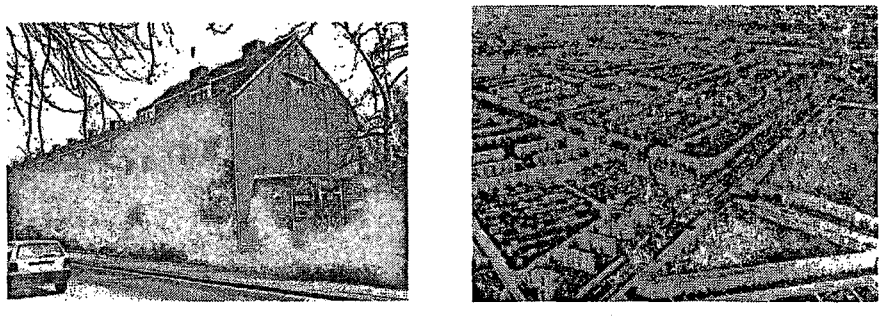


Fig.34. BerlinBritz, Hufeisen Siedlungs. Source: Hartmann (1983)

Until the fourth phase starting by 1933, when he started to live and practice as an immigrant, Taut taught at the Charlottenburgh Technical

Hochschule, where he was given the position of assistant professorship. (Junghanns, 1983:23)

Eventually, in the shifting attitudes of his previous years, one thing that remains unchanged appears as his theoretically questioning attitude that bears a socially active disposition.

In 1933, when the national socialist Nazi regime founded the government, Taut left Germany firstly for Moscow, then with the invitation he received from the Japan Architectural Association, he immigrated to Japan, where he spent his following three years from 1933 to 1936.

In these years of exile he spent in the East, Taut's activity came to be limited with mainly theoretical studies that were concentrated on the Japanese culture and living. However, Akcan asserts that, the period came out to be a rather rewarding one in terms of providing the insight for observing and experimenting the 'East' from within. (Akcan, 2001:38) Through this experience, Taut found the opportunity to put into question the values he had possessed about the East when he had been in Europe.

Moreover, in the theoretical studies he made about the Japanese culture, Taut realized that those studies could only make subjective descriptions because of the difficulty present in grasping the exact meaning of a complete foreign world of signs and symbols. (Taut, 1937:1) Hence, he seems to have taken not a top-down reductionist position of the superior observer, but rather prompted to experience the environment for what it really was. Correspondingly, he came to see to it that the world could be perceived and expressed in different ways that could include different aspects of reality, which was being grasped in the West. (Tanju, 1998:22) In this respect, Taut sees the dangers of the 'homogenization of culture', which has been brought by the process of Westernization, or specifically in architecture, by the spread of the doctrinaire modernism of the twentieth century.

The chart he prepared for his book "Houses and People of Japan", which showed the differences between the European and the Japanese male body, may be viewed in that sense as a sign of his awareness and as a reaction towards the

developing standardization that was being formed according to the Western norms. (Fig. 35) (Akcan, 2001:39)

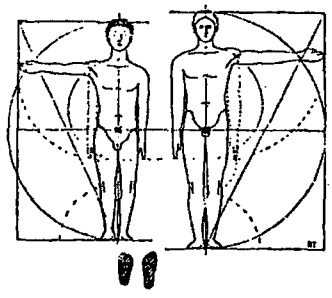


Fig.35. Chart showing the different bodily proportions of a European and a Japanese male body. Source: Taut (1937)

Further in Japan, Taut also encountered with the dilemma and the cultural tension that was being experienced and being brought about by the subsequent process of modernization in a non-western, i.e. peripheral context. He perceived and characterized the dual desire of being modern, and keeping the self-identity, as the polarity of the same pendulum. (Akcan, 2001:38)

Again in the same book, "Houses and People of Japan", a conversation, which was made with a Japanese architect about the false implementation of modernity by importing the Western culture and civilization, gives the hints of Taut's understanding of the cultural tension that existed because of the inherent duality in the context:

> Nobody said you were to imitate the old style completely! That would be as terrible a mistake as slavish imitation of foreign styles. But it does seem as if some of your countrymen feel ashamed, if their houses don't look exactly like every house in Paris or Berlin. (Taut, 1937:263)

On this matter, Taut saw the solution in the search of an alternative for the 'modern' and he prescribed the necessity of the coexistence of the 'traditional'

with the 'modern' in a new synthesis.[9] In his views about the Japanese context, Taut expressed this view as follows:

> For more than seventy years now, Japan had been importing Western civilization with all her might...(but) not to be compared to a natural growth...Perhaps they have to make even more mistakes yet before they finally solve the problem of cultural synthesis. (Taut, 1937:265)

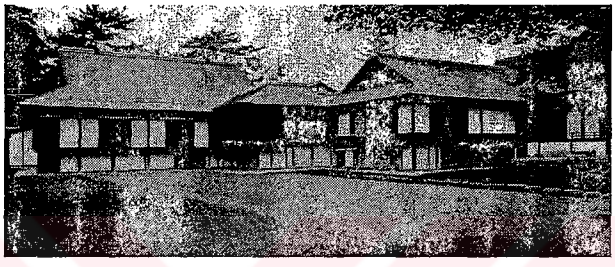


Fig.36. Katsura Palace. Source: Taut (1937)

Consequently, when Taut finally made his way up to the Turkish context, he was very well aware of the 'cultural crisis' and dissolution, which was brought about by the subsequent experience of modernity in places outside the Western center of modernization. Through his subtle insight about the dichotomies between the 'East' and the 'West', the 'traditional' and the 'modern', or the 'national and the 'international', Taut came to be responsive for the 'tension' in the cultural realm that was promoted by the process of westernization.

As stated by Akcan, the existing internal dichotomy in the Turkish context of 1930s, between the 'reaction against the West' and an 'admiration for it', did come to be perceived by Taut again as being the internal polarization of the same swinging pendulum, which oscillated within an unchanging vicious circle.

[9]As an example to this non imitative synthesis of the 'modern' and the 'traditional', Taut gave the 'Katsura Palace' in Japan as an ideal outcome of a weld made between the external impacts and original culture. (Fig. 36) (Taut, 1937: 260)

(Akcan, 2001:39) As it will be discussed later in detail, Taut came to propose for this context an isochronal resistance that refrained from both of those two extremities.

4.2.2 Taut in Early Republican Turkey

When Taut was invited to Turkey, the fervent nationalistic drive, which appeared as an opposition towards foreign professionals and the *kübik* International Style, was becoming spread together with an effort for the attainment of a 'modern' yet 'national' cultural identity to resolve the existing cultural tension in the dichotomous social formation in the country.

In this context, after the recommendation of Martin Wagner, Bruno Taut was invited by the Republic in 1936, to hold the position that was left vacant by the sudden death of Hans Poelzig, who had originally been invited to work in Turkey. (Spiedel, 1998:46) By his arrival on 10.11.1936, Taut was appointed both as the Head of the Architecture Department of the Fine Arts Academy and the Head of the Architectural Office of the Building Council in the Ministry of Public Works. As Wagner describes in his memoirs, after the professionally stagnant years he had spent in Japan, this offer of the Republic appeared as a rather tempting opportunity for Taut. (Spiedel, 1998:46)

In the Academy, the educational program in the architecture department was in a regional conscious modernist outlook, which had previously been introduced by Ernst Egli, another foreign architect working in Turkey at the time. Further, the National Architecture Seminar of Eldem was still continuing and the critique of the *kübik* International Style had already been established. In this context, among the names that Taut came across in the Academy, there were Hans Zimmermann, who was Poelzig's assistant, Burhan Toprak, who was the head of the Academy at the time, Arif Hikmet Holtay, and Sedad Hakkı Eldem. In the Academy brochure of 1936, Taut's arrival was announced as follows:

> Under the direction of the prominent and experienced German architect Professor Taut, the

> students of architecture are preparing to combat the non descript style, totally devoid of identity, that has been invading...the cities of the nation under the rubric of 'modern'...The Turkish architecture will be born out of this combat. (Quoted in Bozdoğan, 1997:163)

The first enterprise that Taut initiated in the Academy was to change the educational system. In line with his rationalist and realist modern attitude, Taut firstly prompted to found a new program that would be based more on materialistic issues of architectural design. On this account, he established a basic course that was inspired by the preliminary program of the Bauhaus, which included lectures on free hand drawing and building materials. (Nicolai, 1998:33) In the Academy, the change brought about anxiety and uneasiness. Taut had to face serious arguments against the change in the system. However, despite the rejections, he succeeded to found the new system, which was based on a rationalist attitude on architectural design issues. (Nicolai, 1998:33)

Taut's rationalist attitude becomes manifested in the projects assigned to students at the time. One of those assignments was a housing project that would be designed in Ankara for the officers of the government. The program of the project was quite a realistic one that included the assessment of some factual inputs, such as the rent estimations for the varieties of houses, which would totally cover four hundred individual dwellings, the investigations and explanations about roads, sewage canals, electrical, gas, plumbing and central heating systems, or the calculations about the total building budgets. (Taut, 1937a:211) Additionally, the proceeding of the design would also include examinations about the climatic conditions and the land qualities of the region.

On this account, Taut's rational educational program in the Academy comes to have strong connections with the modernist social programs of the Weimer Republic. (Bozdoğan, 1997:175,176) Later on, as his former students and colleagues describe it, this attitude of Taut brought to the Academy a rational approach in design, which did not reject traditional values yet did form the rudiment contemporary design understanding. (Aslanoğlu, 1992:125)

> It can be stated that the conscious architectural education starts with professor Taut. We- my generation- got used to making draft sketches for the first time in his educational semester. In other words, before that we had not even have the notion of such a thing. (Mehmet Ali Handan quoted in Nicolai, 1998:33)

In the architectural office of the Ministry of Public Works, Taut was firstly given the commission for the design of the Faculty of Languages and History building in Ankara, the initial project of which had been prepared by Poelzig's assistant Hans Zimmermann. About this project a dispute occurred between Taut and Zimmermann due to the 'different architectural sensations' of the architects. On this account Taut achieved to persuade the authorities for preparing a new project for the Faculty and thus the building of the Faculty of Languages and History came out to be the first architectural work of Taut in the Republic. (Nicolai, 1998:32) According to Taut, this project would be the expression of his 'new' architectural understanding at the time and the conception he developed about the 'new' Turkish culture. He emphasized his view of the new cultural task he acquired in the Republic as follows: "Here, the architectural trajectory almost needs to be created from the very beginning." (Quoted in Spiedel, 1998:48)

Through his personal background, Taut was very well fit for the ideals and needs of the Republic. In his years in Germany, Taut had been both an experienced school architect and a very well known practitioner in housing industry, which occupied the focus of his professional practice from 1924 until 1933 in the GEHAG Housing Cooperation in Berlin. Additionally, he was also eligible in urban issues through his educational background in urbanism and through his professional practice in Magdeburgh Council of Public Facilities in 1921. Thus, by his professional background extending from 1921 onwards in the subjects of housing, urbanism and school design, Taut was quite eligible for the tasks that were given him by the Republic. (Spiedel, 1998:47) Further, his aptitude for societal modernization was also making him the right person for the

ideals of the state. Accordingly, a contract that would cover Taut's five years of practice for the state was signed with Taut in April 1938. (Spiedel, 1998:47)

Taut's rational attitude informed by the social programs of the Weimar Germany could be followed in the school designs he devised for the Republic. Having an anti-formalist, modern character that was informed by the rational considerations of the program, site or construction details, Taut's school designs, specifically Atatürk High School of 1937-1938, and Cebeci Secondary School of 1938, became the prototypes for later school projects in the country. (Bozdoğan, 1997:175)

In the Atatürk High School, which was designed in collaboration with Asım Kömürcüoğlu, Taut created a simple and rational design that covered the integrated functions of the school in a linear arrangement in the east and west direction. (Fig. 37) In this organization, the main building, with its simplistic façade organization, is tied to the other sections and to the open front garden by a continuous arcade (*revak).* (Aslanoğlu, 1983:30)

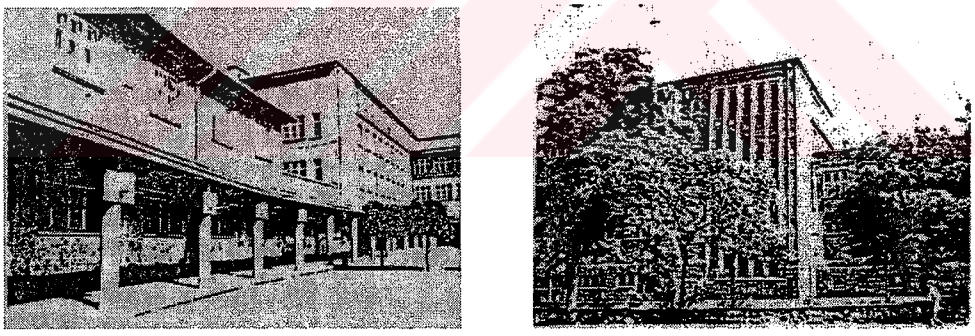


Fig.37. Atatürk High School, Ankara, outer views.
Source: Aslanoğlu (1980)

In the Cebeci Secondary School, which was designed again with a collaborator, Franz Hillenger, the triple arrangement of windows, which were combined by plain and continuous sunshades, became the standard façade organization in school designs at the time. (Fig. 38) (Aslanoğlu, 1983:30) The building with its natural lighting and spacious organization lining in the east-west

direction, is again an example of a functional and rational architectural understanding.

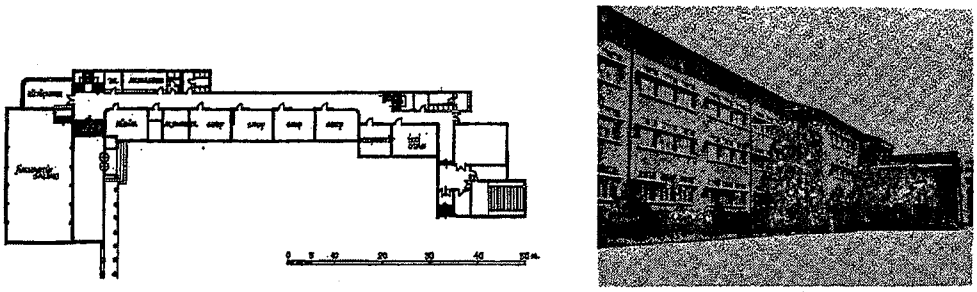


Fig.38. Cebeci Secondary School, Ankara. Source: Aslanoğlu (1980)

Consequently, with his modernist understanding, Taut became a distinctive name in the Republican context, who opened up a new conceptual awareness of architectural understanding in the Turkish architectural milieu at the time. In the following sections, his relevant conceptions of architecture and architectural discourse will be discussed in detail.

4.2.3 The Revision of the Modernist Precept and the Consequential Regionalist Attitude

The major characteristic in Taut's professional life, be it in Turkey or in former times, is defined as his dislike and rejection of any kind of formal/stylistic orthodoxy. (Bozdoğan, 1997:164) In the book he published in Turkey in 1938, '*Mimari Bilgisi*' (Knowledge of Architecture), Taut was harshly criticizing various kinds of those formalist attitudes, or conformities. The book was comprised mainly of seven chapters that included general information and views about architecture and its relation with proportion, construction, function, technique, quality and finally with other arts and societies.

For the part of modern architecture, Taut was giving the hints of his awareness about the depravity that occurred in the avant-garde basis of modernism. (Nicolai, 1998:34) On this basis, he was insisting on the creative and artistic quality of architecture, and defined architecture as the 'art of proportion'. (Taut, 1938:24) Here, describing architecture as a form of art, Taut was rejecting the development of pre-determined styles and formal qualities. He stated that this kind of a formalist pre-determined approach to architecture would slaughter the essential spirit of its artistic nature. (Taut, 1938:335)

On this account, the 'doctrinaire self-righteousness of orthodox modernism' was also rejected in his statements. (Bozdoğan, 1997:183) As Bozdoğan rightly testifies, Taut was praising the original precepts of Modern Architecture before it was turned into a stylistic attitude. (Bozdoğan, 1997:188) Making a critique of Modernism from within, Taut was complaining about the fetishistic attitude that was initiated towards an isolated preoccupation with technique, construction and function. (Taut, 1938:16) Observing this approach of modernism as a 'reductionist' attitude, he was lamenting about architecture's turn into a 'show of fashion' (*moda tezahürü*):

> They claimed that architecture had come out to be based on the 'factual' foundations that were useful in practical life; in other words, they asserted that it (architecture) was formed out of technique, construction and function. These words were needed at the time for getting rid of the costumes of historical styles, which were changing in time as fashion. However these were bland theories…These were again theories that dealt only with the external costume of architecture. They were fighting with the previous theories, and like every other thing that is fighting, they had to stand in the same level with the thing they were fighting with. (Taut, 1938:16,17)

Modernism's move away from its original theoretical intentions and its reduction to an easily applicable tool were identified by Taut as such a reductionary equalization of level. In his statements, those variations produced in the course of modern architecture through the changes made in the external costumes of buildings, were characterized as 'modern types', which caused

'uniformization' (*üniformalaşma*) of environments in the name of an international modern style. (Taut, 1938:16,17) Taut was for certain against this kind of a monotonous development in the built environment throughout the world. He harshly criticized the non-contextual, technique-oriented outlook of the International Style:

> ...There happens the consequence (in architecture) as in the case of the machines that could be used anywhere in the world without the need of making any alterations. The consequence is a world architecture that appears in the form of modern buildings, which we come across in all architectural journals today. If the place or the country they were actually built in is not written underneath, nobody can know whether they are in Turkey, in Germany, in France, in England, in America, or in Japan. (Taut, 1938:34)

Being opposed to this monotonous development caused by the worldwide influence of the 'International Style', Taut emphasized the diversity to be rooted from in contributions made within modern architecture itself. Instead of the 'International Style', Taut came to assert the presence of a 'universal art of construction' that was being described as to have the 'transnational creative spirit of architecture', which was formed and fed by the authentic qualities of local or 'national' character. (Bozdoğan, 1997:181) In other words, the local or 'national' adaptations of the 'transnational creative spirit of architecture' could certainly be created.

Thus, as it becomes obvious in the book '*Mimari Bilgisi*', Taut opposed to every kind of stylistic orthodoxy that claimed to possess international validity or applicability. This motive in Taut's attitude on architecture is defined by architectural historians as 'critical regionalist' or 'contextual modernist'. (Bozdoğan, 1997:184) On this basis, the top-down infliction of modern architecture, or rather the modern 'style' in its accepted form, was rejected by Taut, as it was the product of quite a different context, namely the context of Europe. As it was made clear in his statements about Japanese architecture, Taut was against both the imitation of past/historical styles and the total acceptance of

the European modern; rather he sought for a synthesis that would be developed between among the new, the old and the present. (Taut, 1937:263)

The notion of 'continuity' between the old and the new, in a way would solve the dilemma between the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. The 'local building tradition' in this sense, was representing the old, original expression of one region. Making a synthesis of local tradition would form the necessary physical and cultural continuity in that region, without the advent of a rupture that would be brought about by the top-down infliction of the foreign 'modern' style. As in the general socio-cultural context, this kind of a rupture would bring the possibility of an unwanted consequence of 'cultural crisis'. On this basis, Taut's solution was the revision of modernism by re-linking of the 'traditional' with the 'modern'. This way, the inherent dilemma of the 'traditional' and the 'modern', both in Taut's career and in 'modernity' in general, be it in Europe or in the periphery, would be resolved by way of the synthesis that provided cultural and architectural continuity in that region. In the opening speech of his retrospective exhibition in the Academy, Taut was expressing this view as follows:

> What we should look for is a synthesis between the old tradition and the modern civilization. This pursuit would neglect any kind of one-sidedness. I am way ahead in this line of thought and I am also doing the same thing today; for this reason, I do not consider important to insist on specific forms or to develop a personal style that would make me recognized immediately. (Taut quoted in Nicolai, 1998:34)

In this manner, as some of the other native architects did such as Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Taut inevitably came to reject the ongoing application of the *kübik* 'International Style' in the early Republican context. He stated that a real 'modern Turkish architecture' would show up only after that *kübik* style was left aside:

> The modern Turkish house will be born, when our architects break loose of the kübik fashion, which is prevalent everywhere today. (Taut, 1938a: 93)

Beside his opposition towards the *kübik* style, Taut was also against the typologically oriented 'national style'. The search for 'nationality' and 'typology', which was a pursuit Sedad Hakkı Eldem was after at the time, was definitely the attribute that Taut rejected in his architectural attitude and practice; since the implementation of the 'type' in architecture would definitely destroy the creative spirit of the 'universal art of construction'. (Taut, 1938:41)

Portraying architecture as an 'expression of culture' and as the 'reflection of nature', Taut was stating that an architectural culture could well be present, but the canons, or the rules, that prescribe its form of existence should not be present and be espoused. (Taut, 1938:67) About these 'local architectural cultures', Taut was emphasizing the deteriorization that was formed due to the infiltration of 'modern types' within the architectural agenda and praxis. (Taut, 1938: 69)

In "*Mimari Bilgisi*", a re-evaluation of the original precepts of modern architecture was being made on this basis of cultural or local diversity and adaptation. Through this course of action, the general conception on architecture was being re-defined together with the notion of 'culture' in its broader sense. In this re-interpretative theorization, the notion of 'culture' was being identified with the general phenomenon of 'nature', which itself was described as to be comprised of the combination of the 'climate', or in other words the climatic and contextual elements of the region, such as wind or light condition, and the character, or in other words the characteristics of people living in that region. In this equation, Taut was also stating that the 'characteristics' of a people living in one region, which was specifically defined as to include the temperament and the bodily proportions of that people, was also being shaped under the dominant influence of 'climate', which was itself portrayed among the two constituents of 'nature'. This aspect in Taut's approach to local architecture also had showed itself up in the chart that he had prepared for the "Houses and People of Japan", which was showing the differences between Japanese and European male body proportions. To his view, the regionally differing and developing aspects, such as bodily proportions or characteristic personalities, were giving architecture its locality. (Taut, 1938:74) This kind of a locality would come out in Taut's view as the '*baukunst*' or the '*wohnkultur*' that would be the product of a genuine

'national' or 'local' character. (Bozdoğan, 2002:290) Furthermore, this privileged consideration of the local aspects and human characteristics of one region, would also melt away the dogmatic formalist preoccupations in architecture:

> How the spaces look is not important without there being the presence of the people living in them...The measurements of everything should develop from the human being. This way the dogma in the forms would also disappear one by one. (Taut quoted in Hartmann, 1983:42)

'Climate' in this theoretical formation undeniably comes to appear as the major element that Taut indicated. It was described as an element that would bring in the 'universality within the locality'. (Taut, 1938:53) Possessing 'universal' qualities on account of its being an innate element belonging to 'nature', the climate also represented the 'locality', since it was also specific for each different region. On this basis, the architectural formations would have both universal qualities and local characteristics at the rate of their appropriateness and the suitability to local climatic conditions. Here, the climate conscious approach to architecture was including both the diverging and the unifying aspects in architectural culture, as it provided differentiation on the foundation of a rational and common basis.

Additionally, the climate was also defined as the main unifying factor in the realization and the concretization of architecture out of those distinct attributes of proportion, construction, function and the technique. Here, the 'climate' was presented as the 'starting point' in architecture, which would occupy any context, such as the existing Turkish context. (Taut, 1938:72) The attempt of prioritizing climate was a solution devised for the realization of the compromise within the 'modern' and the 'traditional' dilemma. As Akcan affirms it, the specific appropriation of climate was used by Taut as a 'metaphysical glue' that would initiate the formation of a specific brand of modernism, which was basically not European-centered. This approach would provide, on architecture's account, the way out of the existing dichotomous formation in the socio-cultural sphere, by providing both universality and locality depending on the particular consideration of the climate. (Akcan, 2001:39-40) This attempt could assuredly

be observed as the 'revision of the modern', bringing about the possibility of local diversity and adaptation.

Being sensitive on the local building tradition and on the continuity that is to be provided by the assessment of these regional factors, Taut expectedly came to appreciate the local or vernacular architecture in Turkey. As it is stated in his "*Mimari Bilgisi*", he was praising in this sense, the 'traditional Turkish house' for its possession of a 'purified spirit and cultural authenticity' collated with its 'simplicity, utility and structural honesty'. (Bozdoğan, 1997:184) Taut believed that the traditional 'Turkish house' had those qualities which would always be 'modern' because of the 'rationality' that was inherent in their making. (Bozdoğan, 2002:290) Taut's admiration of the local and regional architecture, and specifically the traditional 'Turkish house', is compared by some historians to the Second National Architectural Movement. (Tanju, 1998:23) In one of his reports, Eldem also mentioned about this aspect by declaring that,

> In those years, the 'National Architecture' style was dominant in the Academy. Taut did not want to move away and be excluded from this movement. (Eldem quoted in Aslanoğlu, 1983:26)

However, even though the influence of the prevalent process in the Academy on Taut cannot be denied, his regional-conscious modernist approach departed in many major aspects from those of the 'National Architecture'. As it was discussed in detail in the previous section, the attempt in the Seminar was to reach a typological method and processing of the traditional 'Turkish house' for the development of a 'national style' that would represent the new 'national' and 'modern' Turkish identity. Taut's regional-conscious attempt in architecture did come out as contrary to this search that was carried out for the attainment of a 'national style', and even more came forward to be against the development of a 'style' in general. As indicated previously, those formal and typological approaches were being harshly criticized by Taut. Taut's regional-conscious modernist approach was rather accepted as a 'critical discourse' that was employed in the Turkish context. (Bozdoğan, 1997:184)

Along with the concern for the local architecture and the traditional 'Turkish house', Taut stresses in his book "*Mimari Bilgisi*" another major factor in the realization of a synthesis between the 'traditional' and the 'modern': the collective 'conception' of architecture. Defined as the comprehensive and common idea of living and inhabiting in one region, this 'conception' was described as the essential and single thought, or concept, behind the harmonious architectural development in a region. (Taut, 1938:41) By way of its essential physical features, which had become 'traditional' over time, the deeply inscribed architectural conception of inhabitance was thought to direct regular architectural formation in one region from within. In its completion by way of continuous repetition or reproduction, a subtle presence of 'diversity' was thought to come out in the concretization and functioning of this 'conception'. This inherited and deeply inscribed presence of an 'architectural conception' was designated by Taut as the foundation of a sound architectural development. Being the leitmotif of the spontaneous 'anonymity' of traditional environments, this 'conception' also generated and put forward the fundamental axiom, which was identified by Taut as the essential principle of architecture, that is 'continuity'. (Taut, 1938:69)

Praising 'continuity' that was provided by the coexistence and re-linking of the 'traditional' with the 'modern' within a spontaneous architectural development driven by the inherent presence of an architectural 'conception', Taut was stating that, in the earlier times, "it was possible to build something that was both modern and traditional, since the conception behind was the same". (Taut, 1938:67) He thought that, unlike the reproduction of an inherent abstract conception of living in former building traditions, there appeared at the present day the relentless repetition of 'modern types', which eroded vernacular cultures and gave the environment a standardized uniform-like quality.

On this basis, for the architectural context of the twentieth century, Taut resisted both the imitative 'historicism', which lacked the understanding of the deep 'conception', and also the 'modern style', which turned out to be a standardized disposition. Here, Taut was determined that the predicament of contemporary architecture of the twentieth century was to be solved by the re-attainment of the 'continuity' in the existing cultural and environmental realms.

(Taut, 1938:69) For the realization of this 'continuity', he was stressing on the sacrifice to be made in the individual and personal eclectic claims on architecture, towards the achievement of a unifying 'collectivity'. To his view, architecture, being a collective form of art, should not come to reflect the personalities of individuals. (Hartmann, 1983:44)

In its conviction, this form of 'continuity', which could be provided by a common 'conception' and unifying 'collectivity' as in earlier building traditions, was actually nothing more than the 'anonymous stylistic unity' that Eldem was talking about. The unchanging 'inner logic', or the 'limited field of pre-constrained concepts', which accommodated the completion of an 'infinite variety' of spatial variations provided by the folk designer, appears identical to Taut's notion of 'conception'. Similar to Taut's line of thought in this sense, Eldem was also desiring the contemporary architecture to conform to the 'continuity' which had been present in the traditional settlements, through the 'collectivity' and 'conception' that subsided the eclectic, individual claims on architecture. However, on the development of a 'typological method' to be operated in the attainment of this desired 'continuity' that moved towards the realization of a 'national style', Taut and Eldem were at once appearing in opposite sides.

Taking into consideration the context of early Republican Turkey, which initially had problems with its own cultural past and with the imported culture of the Western world, the desire to attain a 'continuity' seemed rather as a 'utopic' aspiration. However, Taut was optimistic about it. For the realization of this continuity, his solution for architecture was based mainly on the aforementioned attitude that depended on the 'climate'. Through this course of development, this climate-conscious approach on architecture, with its claim on 'universality', would provide the basis for a future development that established the 'continuity' by re-linking the 'traditional' with the 'modern' in its resistance to the European-centered modernism.

Although being observed today as to have a rather straightforward or naïve side to it, this approach points out to the presence of a strong-willed discursive effort that was spent for the avoidance of the existing 'cultural tension'

in the dichotomous social and architectural context of the Republic at the time. As Akcan affirms it, the contextualist and climate-conscious attitude of Taut, designates the presence of a 'critical' examination of the existent context at the time. (Akcan, 2001:39,40)

In the projects he designed during those years, Taut put into practice the ideals he formed along these lines. Along with his rationalist and functionalist modern approach, he made references to traditional, local 'Turkish architecture'. Özer describes Taut's attitude in those years as a sound approach to design that did not fall into the trap between the romantic polarity of formalist regionalism and strict universalism. (Özer, 1963:62)

About the building of Ankara University Faculty of Languages and History, Taut himself declared that its project would be the rehearsal of the latest architectural understanding that he developed for Turkey. (Spiedel, 1998:48) Designed and built between 1937 and 1939, the building lies longitudinally on the Atatürk Boulevard in the north-south axis. (Fig. 39, 40, 41) The building is consisted of four stories. The ground floor has a different spatial organization than the upper floors with its planimetric organization. The blocks at two ends are used for larger spaces such as auditoriums. The upper floors, accessed by a monumental staircase in the ground floor, are organized as to contain various smaller spaces such as classrooms, which lie on the sides of lengthy corridors.[10]

[10] By some of its spatial and visual features, such as the expressive entrance gate with its curved fronton, the distinctly different organization of the plan and façade of the ground floor, the monumental staircase of the ground hall, the higher leveling of the entrance access or the hierarchical change of materials on the facades, the building is likened by some historians to a former project of Theodor Fischer, namely the Jena University building of 1904-1908, to which Taut had participated in the design and building as a trainee in the early years of his professional life. (Spiedel, 1998:49)

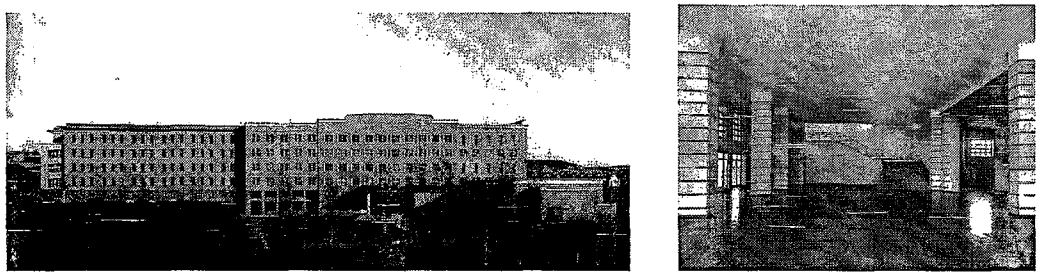


Fig.39. Ankara University Faculty of Languages and History, Ankara, 1937; front view and interior view. Source: DTCF (2003)

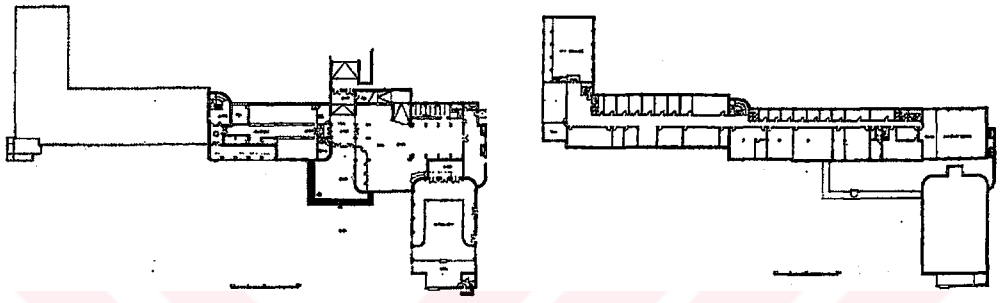


Fig.40. Ankara University Faculty of Languages and History, Ankara, 1937; entrance and first floor plans. Source: Aslanoğlu (1980)



Fig.41. Ankara University Faculty of Languages and History, entrance. Source: DTCF (2003)

In terms of the finishing materials, the front, side and rear façades have hierarchical differences. In the front/entrance façade, the ground floor is covered with rustic stone while the upper floors are covered with regular ashlar facing. On the side wings a different type of technique was utilized, formed by the combined use of stone and brick walling materials. The rear and side façades are of plain plaster.

The building was accepted as to make references to traditional 'Turkish architecture' as the architect used the early Ottoman brick and stone walling on the side wings and the turquoise encaustic tile decoration at the entrance hall. (Aslanoğlu, 1980:184) Taut himself expressed such a quality of the building as follows:

> My project of the Faculty of Languages and History Building, which is recently to be realized in Ankara, is an experience about the utilization of some specific formal elements belonging to Turkish architecture, in the compromise made with the modernity of the building. (Taut, 1938a: 95)

The reference to traditional 'Turkish architecture' in the building was also criticized as being solely a surface ornamentation. (Spiedel, 1998:50) On the face of it, being not an application of the *kübik* aesthetics, the building can be characterized as the product of a search for a synthesis made between the central European tradition, and the inspiration taken from the traditional 'Turkish architecture'. (Aslanoğlu, 1980:184)

Exemplifying the reference to traditional elements and sources in Taut's architecture, two other projects among his designs in Turkey can also be mentioned: Trabzon High School for Boys (1937-1938) and Taut's own house in Ortaköy (1938).

The High School in Trabzon was designed in collaboration with Franz Hillenger in 1937. (Fig. 42) Stretching out longitudinally on the east-west axis on a plain site, the building is comprised of one major block and two additional blocks at the far ends that were connected to the major block by a *'revak'* at the front. On the façades of the classrooms, which are placed on the south section, a triple arrangement was made in the windows with their continuous sunshades. By the brackets that were utilized to support the wide eaves of the roof, the building is accepted to make reference to 'traditional Turkish architecture'. (Aslanoğlu, 1983:31)

In terms of Taut's emphasis on climatic conditions over architectural design, the High School in Trabzon could be regarded as a sensitive example.

With regard to the utilization of evident wide eaves in the roof, it might be speculated that the rainy weather of the Black Sea region was decisive in the development of the design. When compared to the Atatürk High School in Ankara, this sensitivity could be better observed. Designed for the dry and stable climatic conditions of the Central Anatolia, the Atatürk High School does not contain any emphasized architectural precautions, such as those evident wide eaves in the Trabzon High School. Hence, taking into account the different climatic regions where they were built in, the two buildings might be regarded as the evidences that prove Taut's sensitivity for climate in design.

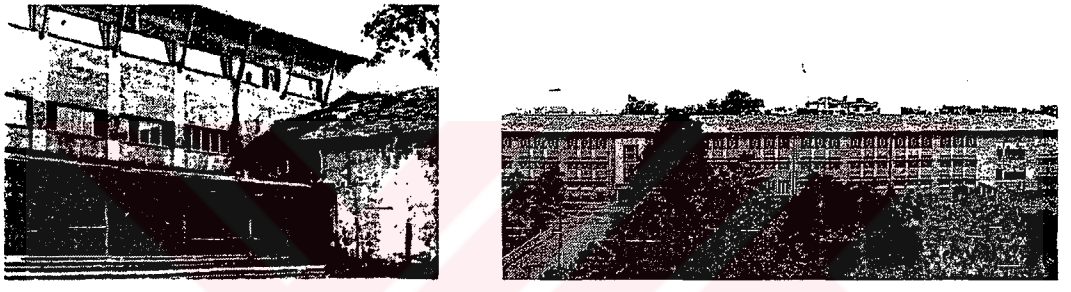


Fig.42. Trabzon High School, Trabzon, 1937; outer views.
Source: Spiedel (1998)

The house in Ortaköy, which is located in the small woody and steep area of *Emin Vafi Korusu*, is characterized by Özer as a project that summarizes in the best way both the personality and the activity of Taut in the Turkish context. (Fig. 43) (Özer, 1975:37) According to Özer, the building makes references to both the Japanese building tradition and the traditional civil architecture of Istanbul. (Özer, 1975:37) Resting on a steep slope, a small portion of the rear side of the house, which is single storied, directly sits on the ground, while the rest of the structure stands on top of *pilotis*. (Fig. 44) Lying in the northwest-northeast direction, the building views the panoramic view of the Bosphorous.

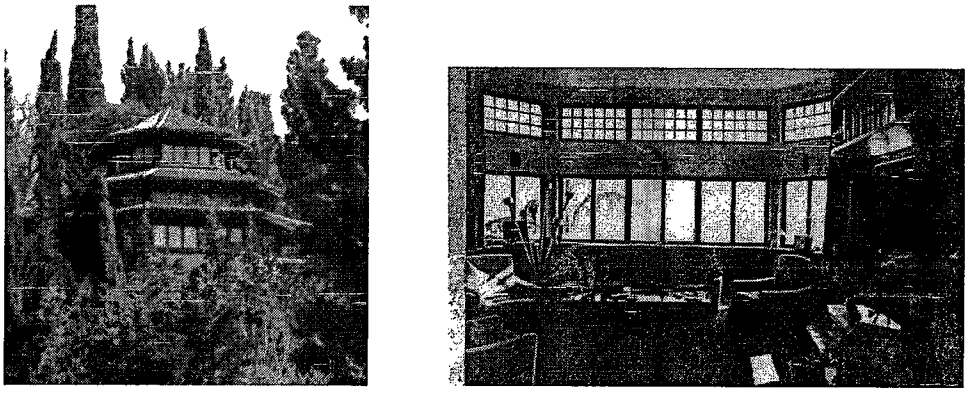


Fig. 43. House in Ortaköy, İstanbul, 1938; outer view and the panoramic interior of the top story. Source: Akcan (2001)

On the two-storied part of the house, the bottom story, with its windows that are separated vertically into two sections by a sunshade in the form of a clay-tiled roof, looks as if it is two storied. The top part has an octagonal pyramidal form, which has a panoramic from its windows covering its six sides. Due to the special, octagonal form of the roofs, the building also resembles a Japanese pagoda. (Aslanoğlu, 1983:28)

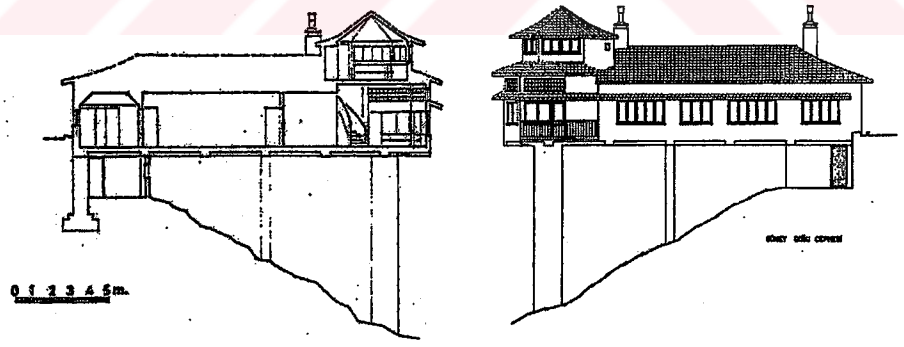


Fig.44. House in Ortaköy; side sections. Source: Özer (1975)

Taut's architectural practice and understanding in the Turkish context in general is characterized as resulting from a sound and rational approach. (Aslanoğlu, 1980:60) However, the contextually sensitive modernist attitude of Taut contradicted the contemporary nationalist sentiment of the late 1930s.

Altogether, Taut became the only German architect in Turkey who negated the ongoing neoclassical monumental style the period. (Aslanoğlu, 1976:46)

4.2.4 In Conflict with the Nationalist Sentiment

In the late 1930s, when the nationalist sentiment was strong in Turkey, the reactionary attitude towards the West became dominant, which promoted a return to the origins of the 'national character'. The inevitable consequences of this socio-cultural formation on architecture came to be observed as to objectify the direct turn away from an architecture that was oriented to the Western modernism, towards a search for a genuine 'Turkish national style'. In this context, Taut's approach in architecture came to resist both of the sides of the inherent polarity: Being strictly against any kind of dogmatic one-sidedness in architecture, Taut criticized both the doctrinaire modernism and the formalist 'national architecture'. Being a socialist and an opponent of nationalist ideology in the first place, Taut necessarily came to deny those fervent aspirations of the nationalistic sentiment.

As Bozdoğan states, Taut's standing in the Turkish context developed as a 'critical' position to all orthodoxies of modernism and 'national architecture'. (Bozdoğan, 1997:164,188) In his terms, he was against both the 'uncultured' modern and the formal expression of the national. (Taut, 1938:325) In this sense, his contextually sensitive modernist approach both appeared as a rejection of this inherent polarity and also as a melting pot where those two inclinations could be fused into each other. Both as an educator and a practitioner in Turkey, Taut tried to redeem architecture from the formal/stylistic understanding, which had the aim of identifying architectural forms as 'modern' or 'traditional'. (Bozdoğan, 1997:164)

Regarding the creation of a 'national style' that would express the new 'Turkish national identity' and the Republican state ideology, Taut stated his views openly and clearly. In his book '*Mimari Bilgisi*', he forthrightly rejects the

existing view held in architectural circles at the time, which asserted the possibility of expressing those abstract notions, such as the 'grandeur of the state', 'collective identity' or various other political ideals, through architecture. On this basis, he identified this kind of an aspiration as a great burden and obstacle for the creation of a new and good architecture. (Taut, 1938:330,333) According to him, for the creation of an architecture of quality, 'liberty' should be provided for the architectural discourse and practice. Hence architecture was to be free from state oppression and ideology, because, a non-liberal state would force architecture 'to represent a thing, which is quite different from what it originally was', and such an attempt would be an 'act of bewilderment'. (Taut, 1938:257)

As such, Taut asserts that the aspiration to attain a 'national architecture' appears as the desire of architects themselves, or their state patrons, rather than the desire of the nation or the countrymen that it was destined for. (Taut, 1938:334) In line with this, those architects who acclaimed for the creation of this kind of a specific architecture would not be able to produce, for Taut, anything valuable other than formalist attempts. Identifying those attempts as 'costume productions', Taut expressed his views about the subject as follows:

> Whether the architects were obliged to realize a 'national architecture' by modernist means, or they were forced to use historical styles...the consequence of both of the efforts would be disappointment...all of these attempts are the 'costume productions' that were made out of stylistic patterns. (Taut, 1938:334)

On this account, although he believed that the 'national' or the 'local' adaptations of the 'transnational creative spirit of architecture' could be made, Taut rejected the production of 'stylistic formulas' that would express a 'national character' in architecture. (Bozdoğan, 2002:290) Those stylistic attempts, be it for personal expression or for national one, were being identified as the 'signs of decrepitude' by Taut:

> Art is not a stage of inventions. Architecture, above all, is not a bit so. We had seen that the main principle for architecture to

> survive is the 'continuity'...and due to this condition, for an architect to create a 'personal style' of his own is a 'sign of decrepitude' for him rather than being a capacity. (Taut, 1938:190)

Initially a contextual modernist, Taut believed that modern architecture would already have a 'national' character, if it were executed by a loyalty to its original precepts. The realization of architectural designs according to the climatic and characteristic qualities of intended lands, would create those specific architectural works, which genuinely belonged to their proposed regions of appearance; and it is by way of those specific architectural productions that the aspired 'national architecture' would come out naturally by itself. Thus, the architecture, which was realized in a contextually sensitive manner, would already be 'national' and it would naturally produce the 'national architecture'. By saying that "every good architecture is national, yet every national architecture is bad", Taut was expressing this view. (Taut, 1938:333) In this sense, the conscious realization of a regionalist attitude in architecture, would provide the necessary differences out of which a 'national style' could emerge:

> To take into consideration the specific conditions in a country means to be saved from the 'fashionary movement', which was prevalent throughout the world.... This way... the differentiation of architecture according to the country it inhabits, would already produce the 'national architecture', which is being desired today with some unconscious sentiments. Every good architecture would be 'national architecture'. (Taut, 1938:336)

Regarding the studies and proclamations that were made at the time about historical styles and traditional architecture, Taut was warning his audience of the danger of falling into the pit of 'historicism'. In this manner, the re-reading of traditional architecture, and the 'traditional Turkish house' in particular, as a formal justification or as the objectified form of the Turkish character, would have the strong inclination to fall into this pit, if it was employed in the form of a formal imitation. Taut was identifying this attempt as 'romanticism', which

would easily appear in the form of 'kitsch'. In '*Mimari Bilgisi*', he expressed this motive as follows:

> With no doubt, a superficial formal imitation should be avoided. Otherwise, this feeling of proclivity would easily slide into a 'romanticism' or into a misguided 'nationalism' that would appear as an ugly imitation, which come to be called as 'kitsch'. It would fall to this end at the rate of the vehemence of the desire for the attainment of this national architecture...Every national architecture is bad, but every good architecture is national. (Taut, 1938:333)

It is for sure that the regionalist approach, which promoted at the first hand a physical diversity, was not quite appropriate for the unifying and homogenizing actions of the nation-building process, which was being directed by the nationalist sentiment of the 1930s. As discussed in the previous chapters, the major emphasis in line with this sentiment was on the development of fixed architectural forms or types that would represent the homogeneous and unified character of the 'national identity'. For example, Eldem's attempts in the late 1930s could be viewed as a direct reflection of such a desire. His survey studies of the 'traditional Turkish house', which were utilized in the typological method of analysis and design in the course of the Seminar, was at this point the exact approach that Taut came to resist and reject in his architectural attitude. As it becomes clearly observed in his statements, the codification of a 'national style' by way of those developed 'types' was in sharp contrast in many aspects with Taut's architectural understanding. Its being the outcome of the search for a 'national style' that was to be in the service and support of the state ideology, and its typological approach in the codification of 'national' attributes, were all against Taut's conceptions of architecture.

Furthermore, Taut was also criticizing the survey of the traditional and the classical buildings to develop the formal codes; and he was identifying those kinds of efforts as hazardous and attempts and 'staggering' attempts, which could only cause 'a loss of time' on the part of architectural development. (Taut, 1938:53) On the same issue, Taut made a fundamental statement, which could be

observed as the summary of his architectural understanding: "It would be much more rightful to investigate what the old masters looked for, rather than inspecting on what they did." (Taut, 1938:53)

It is observed that Taut's architectural attitude, which was far from being dogmatic, used to possess an understanding of cultural diversity. As Bozdoğan indicates, his 'anti-stylistic and formally indeterminate critical understanding of modernism', enabled him to comprehend and acknowledge both the rationality of modern design and the messages of traditional architecture. (Bozdoğan, 1997:188)

Before his sudden death in 24.11.1938, his last realized work was the design and execution of the catafalque of Atatürk in 15.11.1938. (Fig. 45) Formed by the quadrangular organization of four bordering columns with the torches on their capitals, the catafalque was surrounded by greenery and lattice walls on the sides. Taut died one month later in Istanbul, of an asthma coma, and laid to rest in Edirnekapı cemetery in Istanbul. (Spiedel, 1998:51,52) Today, a total of twenty-four projects, five of which were realized, is documented of the time he spent in Turkey.[11] (Nicolai, 1998:32)

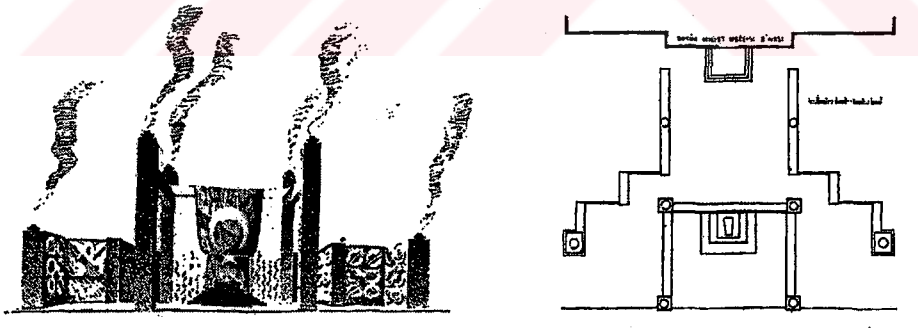


Fig.45. The Catafalque of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Ankara, 1938.
Source: Suda (1996)

It is observed that, Taut's architectural attitude and professional practice in Turkey appear as sincere efforts spent for the contribution to the architectural

[11] See Appendix 4 for Taut's projects in Turkey.

field in the country. The designs he executed do not seem to be individualistic attempts of attraction, but are honest objectifications of theoretical discussions he presented. As such, Taut appears as a distinguished personality and as a notable professional in terms of his earnest contributions to the theoretical dimension of architecture in Turkey. Whether or not he was able to reach the synthesis he aimed to form for the Turkish architecture may appear questionable. However, in terms of not only the questions he asked and the solutions he devised about the cultural and architectural state of the context but also his sensitivity as a western professional, in perceiving the internal dilemmas and dualities of the existing socio-cultural formation, Taut's attitude and practice in Turkey still exists as significant subject matters today.

4.3. A COMPARISON BETWEEN CONCURRENT CONDUCTS OF SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM AND BRUNO TAUT

The 'cultural tension' of the early Republican context surfaced in the attitudes of both Eldem and Taut in the late 1930s. The analytical discussions made in the previous sections reveal how the discursive response expresses and reflects itself in their works. Although their approach to the contemporary dualities of 'cultural identity' vary, one thing that is common in their attitudes appear as the search for a solution to disband the tension between such dualities. On the relevant issues of the context such as modernism, national architecture or cultural continuity, their attitudes diverged as well as intersected at some points.

Under the banner of modernization, which was equated with Westernization and advocated by nationalism in the Republic, the dualities between the 'modern' and the 'traditional', or the 'international' and the 'national', were determining the shifts and inclinations of the socio-cultural context. On this basis, both Eldem's and Taut's acclaims on architecture were efforts for finding an in-between way to provide a proper synthesis. Their sensitivity on the dualist nature of the context was surfacing in the strive for the amalgamation of the two sides of the dichotomy for the dissolution of the tension

between the two. This inherent dichotomous formation of nationalist sentiment, together with the 'cultural crisis' that was brought about by the subsequent experience of modernity peculiar to peripheral countries, necessitated the redefinition of 'cultural identity' and the subsequent architectural expression so as to satisfy both sides of the inherent dualities.

The shifts between the two components were either promoting an unquestioned 'admiration of the West' or a fervent 'reaction against it'. Consequently, the swing between internationalism and nationalism appeared in the form of a vicious circle in the architectural scene.

In this framework, Eldem reflects those inner conflicts, hybrid formations, and the internal dual nature of the Republican context in its full sense. Taut on the other hand, represents the outside observer, who came from the West-the center of modernity. While objectifying the opposition between native and foreign professionals, both of the architects represented a similar trajectory. In their search for a proper synthesis between the 'traditional' and the 'modern', both Eldem and Taut rejected one-sided inclinations. Their renunciation of the ongoing *kübik* International Style exemplifies this kind of an attempt.

On the attainment of such a synthesis, the concern of 'climatic conditions', 'native qualities' or the interest in the indigenous 'vernacular architectural traditions', were also common in their attitudes. Similarly, the issues of 'cultural continuity', 'anonymity' and 'collectivity', were present in their architectural agenda. On this issue, both of the architects praised and referred to the traditional 'Turkish house'.

However, as it was made clear in previous discussions, Eldem's interest in the 'Turkish house' was in a different manner. The 'Turkish house' for Eldem appeared as the element of the native culture, which would be used in the representation of the 'national character' and qualities. As in the construction of the 'national identity', this element of the native culture was used to provide a new 'architectural identity', a 'national' character. Behind the selection of this source, there seems to be the appropriateness of the 'Turkish house' for the will-be attained modern synthesis. However, identifying the 'Turkish house' with the innate quality of 'Turkishness', Eldem was studying and using this source in the

production of an operational typology that would form the backbone of his aspired 'national style'.

For Taut, this kind of a survey study that aimed to formulate an operational formula for a 'national style' was unacceptable and characterized by him as 'historicism', which was itself a rootless waste of time for architectural development. To his point of view, this kind of a typological method and stylistic attitude would kill the very essence of architecture. The 'national style' would be a limited and formalist external costume in this sense. As it was mentioned previously, Taut accepted that to build and design according to the regional and climatic conditions would by itself form the desired 'national architecture'.

Eldem's more ardent internalization of the nationalism of the early 1940s and his desire for the state guarantee and control over the production of a 'national architectural style', draws the architectural understandings of the two architects yet wider apart. About the 'national style', which would represent the ideology of the state, Taut declared that this kind of a motive was far from a desire of the population, and to desire such a thing would totally be wrong, since architecture could not represent something other than what it really was. (Taut, 1938:257) For a good architecture to develop in a country, what was really needed was nothing other than 'liberty'. Thus, Taut preserved his opposition towards any kind of formalist attitude, be it 'national architecture' or 'orthodox modernism'. For this reason, it can be stated that Taut succeeded in keeping a critical position as an external observer and thrived in not getting stuck in the 'vicious circle' of the early Republican cultural context.

Because of such aspects of thought and belief, Eldem and Taut opposed with each other both in the Academy and in professional life. However, later, Eldem regretted that conflict and expressed his views about Taut as follows:

> ...(*about Taut*) His way of working was appearing strange and opposing to us. At a rate that I have told him that I could not be able to help him anymore. However, he was intending to get down to the 'national architecture' that was in trend at the time and wanting to benefit from its director. Now I understand that I couldn't realize the value of the qualities of his architecture... (*about the Faculty of Sciences and Letters*

> *building*) He had a heterogeneous way of working...It was as if the motifs and elements were added to each other without being blended...However, the humanistic aspect in Taut's architecture was this side of it. It could not be categorized in a norm or in a scheme. Especially he did not like the axial and geometrical systems. His compositions were soft and according to our current expression today, were in organic inclination. This same attitude existed also in his teaching. He used to prefer group studies, free critiques and desired that the students would be more liberal. Of course for this reason, he was experiencing difficulties in his executions. His humanistic and liberal style, in place of Egli's methodic and slightly schematic system, was too progressive even for the students and assistants of the Academy. He was too modern for our current era and milieu...Not being able to establish closer relations with him and not being able to make the students be closer to him is still left as an unresolved affliction in me. (Eldem, 1983a: 13)

Expressing his regrets as such, Eldem also regarded Taut's utilization of Turkish elements in his designs, for the attainment of a Turkish character, as a successful enterprise. (Eldem, 1983a: 34)

Altogether, both Eldem's and Taut's attitudes in the early Republican era appear as concurrent responses to the existing cultural tension in the social sphere. In such a context, their sensitivity for the dichotomous social formation and their effort and enthusiasm for the realization of a synthesis between the 'modern' and the 'traditional', appear as assets to be emphasized.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In the upheavaling socio-cultural atmosphere of the early Republican period in Turkey, which witnessed the dual inclinations and a cultural tension in the agitated exploration of a proper 'cultural identity', the architectural attitudes and practices of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut come to the fore as immediate architectural responses given in the development of solutions for the very cultural predicament of the context. In terms of providing an awareness of how the contextual reality is observed from within different, or rather averse, perspectival outlooks, the attitudes of both of these architects appear as significant cases to be analyzed.

In the resolution of the cultural tension through architectural means, their specific conceptual and practical strategies were conducted as to reach a compromise within the hybrid existence of the dualities between the 'modern' and the 'traditional', or the 'international' and the 'national' attributes. Appearing as the two distinct approaches that both foresaw the necessity of the reconciliation to be made within the two poles of the dualities, the conceptual attitudes of Eldem and Taut come out as the possible architectural solutions in the disband of the tension between the bi-polar cultural inclination of the context. On this basis, their significance lies in their sensitive and responsive attitudes for the contextual cultural predicament and in their sincere efforts to reject one-sided solutions for this predicament.

In terms of the contextual development of architecture in early Republican period, it could be noted that the duality and tension about the proper definition of a 'cultural identity' was influential in the architectural production with its oscillating movements and one-sided shifts, which still prevail in the architectural formation of contemporary Turkey.

In this framework, the thesis has discussed how the socio-cultural tension in the pursuit of 'cultural identity' was effective and reflected as a contextual base in the shaping of the architectural development in Turkey. Specifically, this motive was exemplified through the examination of the distinguished conceptual and practical strategies in architecture that worked for the disband of this tension and duality. In particular, the architectural attitudes and practices of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut in the late 1930s and the early 1940s appear as those distinguished attitudes in architecture to reveal the effect of the socio-cultural bi-polar oscillation and the subsequent effort for a proper synthesis.

On this basis, the thesis suggests that duality and tension in the definition of 'cultural identity', which itself appeared as a natural outcome of contemporary Westernizing nationalist state ideology, were determinant in the formation of the architectural attitudes of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut. The similarity of efforts in their attitudes and practices, i.e. the compromise between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' characteristics, comes to be rooted in the cultural tension as an endeavor for its resolution by bringing the two poles of the duality together.

However, in this framework, although architecture is seen as to be directed here by the subsidiary influence of the tensions caused by the Westernizing nationalist state ideology, it is also accepted that not all the changes and developments in architecture could be formed and directed by political and socio-cultural breaking points in the context. As Tanyeli affirms, this kind of a historiographical attempt that tries to explain architecture directly according to the political attributes could disregard the plurality in the changing atmosphere. (Tanyeli, 2003:159) However, when we accept the fact that the 'changes' or the 'shifts' in the architectural realm are more or less dependent on the social scene, we cannot ignore the influential presence of the dualities and tensions that occurred within the definition of 'cultural identity'. This motive necessarily brings the initiation of a theoretical and a contextual examination.

In order to grasp the reason of the existence of duality and tension within the definition of 'cultural identity', the developmental pattern of the phenomenon was initially examined in this study. As mentioned in the previous chapters, being

originally a modern phenomenon that came with the foundation of the modern nation-state, the 'cultural identity' carried with it the summary of the socio-cultural inclinations that the nation experienced. Therefore, in this thesis, the determining concepts, which consist of modernity, nationalism and specifically the modern nation-state, were discussed as definitive of 'cultural identity' in its developmental pattern.

In these theoretical discussions, the common idea is that the 'cultural identity' is a modern construction and a consequence of nationalism, which tries to define and engender the 'nation' as a specific entity within certain borders, having a unified 'cultural identity'. (Gellner, 2001:306) On this basis, the inherent dualities of nationalist ideology, which is itself a consequence of modernity, come to be active in the definition of this 'cultural identity'. The dualities accepted between the 'traditional' and the 'modern', the 'national' and the 'international', or the 'Eastern' and the 'Western' attributes come out from the dual desire of nationalist ideology to participate within the international system of the nation-states while keeping a national self-identity.

Such incidences of the socio-cultural sphere expectedly bring forth a continuous 'cultural tension' between the dualities. Besides this dual inclination within the definition of a unified 'cultural identity', there occurs the effort of forming a proper synthesis between those dual aspirations to provide the coexistence of both of the attributes possible. On this tense formation of the socio-cultural context, architecture undoubtedly appears as an integral component, both as a 'tool' of and a 'field' for the ideological and practical dissemination of the nationalist sentiment and its existing dualities or tensions that surface in the definition of 'cultural identity'. (Ergut, 1999:38)

In late 1930s and early 1940s in Turkey, all these aspects of the modern nationalist sentiment were active in dissemination. In this process, architecture was appearing as a reflection setting to the fore the shifting definitions of 'cultural identity'. Alongside the stylistic oscillation between the 'international' and the 'national' poles, there was also the struggle of reaching the unified expression of a 'national architecture'.

In these attributes, there appeared several attempts of 'nationalization' and 'internalization' of the 'modern'. The regional-conscious interest for the local architecture or the advocation of the purist modern forms through their proximity to traditional architectural qualities were among such attempts. (Bozdoğan, 2002:275) Through these efforts, once again the compromise between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' was being satisfied within the supposedly unified expression of a 'national' architectural identity.

In this thesis, through the comparative analysis and the examination of the works of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut, the presence of the need for a synthesis between the 'modern' and the 'traditional' attributes is evaluated as a strategy that was developed for the resolution of the existing cultural tension between such dualities. Through the adaptive re-use of traditional attributes towards the internalization of 'modern' aspects, this strategy was disbanding the tension by bringing the two poles of the duality together.

On this basis, the contribution of Eldem and Taut to the conceptual and professional development of architecture in Turkey lies not merely in their contextually sensitive conceptual attitude, but also in their concievement of a sincere effort for the reconciliation of the 'modern' and the 'traditional' characteristics in the pursuit for the revision of the 'modern' towards an authentic, non-imitative 'Turkish architecture'. The thesis suggests that, although the attempt of reaching one unified and coherent expression of a 'national architecture' is rather a utopia, the endeavor for surpassing the tense chaotic inclinations of the context by rejecting the adoption of one-sided formalist attitudes should still be accepted as an effort worthy of study.

Appearing in the similar track of development in this sense, the divergence between Taut and Eldem in their attempts comes forth in the aspiration of a unified national architectural style. In this picture, representing the inner conflicts and hybrid dispositions of a native professional, Eldem's discursive and practical formation to reconcile the 'traditional' and the 'modern', took its reference and inspiration from the traditional, timber framed 'Turkish house'. In brief, in his pursuit of a 'native/national style' he made a typological reconstruction of the 'Turkish house' using the principles of the modernist

discourse. (Bozdoğan, 1987:26) On this basis, in the construction of a 'Turkish architecture' that was to be both 'modern' and 'national', the reference he took from the 'traditional Turkish house' appeared as a tool of synthesis. As Tanyeli testifies, the typological reference of the 'Turkish house' also carried with it the regionalist sensitivity that promoted the internalization and the nationalization of the 'modern'. (Tanyeli, 1998:252)

Eldem's typological approach in the development of a 'modern Turkish architecture' appeared both as a method of analysis and as an operational design methodology, which was utilized in the end for the formation of the formal and planimetric essence of Eldem's architecture. Needless to say, in this motive, the modernist approach of Eldem to the 'traditional Turkish house' was for the realization of a dialogue between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' attributes for the disband of the existing cultural tension towards the re-attainment of a cultural continuity.

In this context, Taut's attitude also favored the dialogue to be built between the 'traditional' and the 'modern' characteristics. As a western professional in a non-western context, Taut aimed at the revision of modernism and put forth the emphasis on cultural diversity by rejecting the reckless Westernization of the world. On this aspect, his awareness for the inherent duality of the context between the 'admiration of the West' and the 'reaction against it' also manifested itself in his delineation of the need for the compromise to be made between the 'modern' and the 'traditional' characteristics in the architectural development of the period.

Being aware of the contemporary oscillating movement between the two opposite poles of internationalism and nationalism, Taut was all together against both of these one-sided attempts. Likewise, being critical of any kind of formal orthodoxy and one-sided dogmatism, he was rejecting both modernism's formalist attitude and the stylistic pursuit of nationalist architecture.

On this basis, his solution for the realization of a continuity to be provided between the 'modern' and the 'traditional' characteristics was also being manifested from within a regionalist-contextualist attitude. Pursuing the original sensitivity of a critical modernism, Taut was emphasizing in this sense the careful

consideration of the climatic conditions of a region as the main point of departure for an architecture that would be both 'national' and 'modern'. Providing his solution for the compromise between the traditional and the modern, the 'climate' was coming to be the tool of synthesis in his architectural conception. In brief, Taut proposed a climate conscious contextualist modernism as the way out of the cultural duality and tension that was being experienced in the architectural scene of the period. Stating that the regionally conscious architecture would be 'national' by itself, he was warning his audience against the hazards of a formalist 'national style'.

Apparently, the ideological and conceptual positions of both of the architects were being manifested in their architectural productions. However, alongside the common points that were present in their architectural conceptions, such as the contextualist sensitivity, the endeavor of reaching a synthesis between the 'traditional' and 'modern' characteristics, the effort spent for the resolution of the existing cultural tension or the emphasis on cultural continuity and collectivity, there were also strict divergences between them on certain issues such as typology, unified 'national architecture' or stylistic pursuits.

However, it can be briefly argued that, in terms of providing the contextual and the conceptual sensitivity for the incidences of the period, both of the approaches appear as sincere efforts spent for the resolution of the tension towards the creation of a sensible and coherent architecture. Hence, together with their enterprise in the generation of a 'modern' yet 'national' architecture in Turkey, their achievement of a contextual and socio-cultural sensitivity is valuable and praiseworthy. The incidental insight and information provided by this study would expectantly help the understanding of the current architectural development in Turkey that has grown in the continuous shadow and trace of those shifting and oscillating definitions of 'cultural identity'.

All the same, when the current stage of the architectural development in Turkey is examined today, the traces of the dilemmas that were rooted in the discussions on cultural or architectural identity of the early Republican period, could still be observed in terms of the still existing effort of reaching a coherent and adaptive synthesis through the regionalist praxis. (Tanyeli, 1998:253) As

Tanyeli asserts it, although there exists a variety of pluralist formal dispositions, the architectural praxis in Turkey today is still being governed by the single presence of the regionalist-contextualist discourse. (Tanyeli, 1998:254) The stable and still existing internalization of the regionalist-contextualist paradigm in Turkey exists as a binding discourse that is rooted in the desire of internalizing the 'modern'. As Tanyeli further testifies, as it was in the 1930s, the regionalist sentiment is still utilized today as a remedy and a tool for the nationalization and the internalization of the 'modern' to solve the 'identity problems' of the peripheral countries, such as Turkey. (Tanyeli, 1998:247)

Yücel asserts that, after the regionalist/contextualist sensitivity of Second National Architecture in the late 1930s and the early 1940s, 'regionalism' re-enters the Turkish architectural scene as a lively debate around the mid-1960s. (Yücel, 1983: 124) Although what is dominant in the architectural production of Turkey for the last three decades is portrayed as 'pluralism', it is still widely accepted that, in the current context of imprecise 'conceptual terminology' and 'operational criteria' on architecture, the 'new regionalism' appears as a fully developed debate. (Yücel, 1983: 148)

As Kortan describes, this 'new regionalism' did initially focus also on the development of a new 'national architecture' that would include the synthesis of Anatolian Turkish regional qualities with the basic principles of rational architecture. (Kortan, 1973: 147) While it was praised at the time of its initiation as a 'real way of modern architecture', this 'new regionalism' was also being condemned by architectural theoreticians like Özer as an eclectic and romantic attitude. (Özer, 1963: 80)

As asserted by Eggener, the 'new regionalist' architecture began in the world by the 1940s and continued to the present as an "awareness of and an effort to subvert the universal technological norm, the effects of global capitalism, international style architecture and the sense of placelessness that these fostered".[1] (Eggener, 2002: 229) Since the First World War, 'regionalism', as an architectural strategy, accompanied the endeavors to 'situate modernism' in the

[1] Published in 1954, Sigfried Gideon's work of 'Space, Time and Architecture' is depicted as one of the initial major works that carried the issue of regionalism to the intellectual scene.

world. This 'new regionalism' appeared in architecture as to cultivate a sense of place to take up issues of personal and cultural identity and to help local communities and political interests. (Eggener, 2002: 230) As Tzonis and Lefaivre describe it, regionalism appeared as a second thread of modernism as an alternative way to it. (Tzonis and Lefaivre, 1996: 484)

Still occupying the current debates on architecture today, the term 'critical regionalism' was coined for the first time by Tzonis and Lefaivre in 1981. Since the time of its first initiation, it has been an influential concept whose appliance keeps on being pervasive. (Eggener, 2002: 228) It has been an important tool for 'situating modernism' and internalizing it, as Tanyeli mentions. (Tanyeli, 1998:247) Bringing up key questions about modernity, tradition, cultural identity and place, it has become a tool for interpretation and amalgamation in architecture. (Eggener, 2002: 230)

Following Tzonis and Lefaivre, Frampton defined the fundamental strategy of 'critical regionalism' as "to mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly form the peculiarities of a particular place". (Frampton, 1983: 21) Having a concern for 'place' and proposing the use of regional design elements, the critical regionalist architecture, identifies, abstracts and melds local physical and cultural characteristics with more ever-present modern practices, technologies and economic and material conditions. (Eggener, 2002:229) In this manner, it aims to achieve a 'self-conscious synthesis' between universal civilization and world culture. (Frampton, 1983: 22) Here, 'critical regionalism' stems from the binary opposition, of which Ricoeur described in his arcticle: "How to become modern and return to sources... How to revive an old dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization." (Ricoeur, 1961: 271) On this basis, as Eggener asserts, it is the 'tension' that arise from this problem and the endeavor to resolve it that provocates critical regionalist discourse. (Eggener, 2002: 234)

When the situation in the early Republican period and the attitudes of Eldem and Taut in that context are considered, it becomes apparent that the basis of critical regionalism, that is the tension between the desires of being modern and keeping the self identity, is the same as the basis behind the efforts of Eldem

and Taut in the early Republican period. Hence, the attitudes of Eldem and Taut bear a similarity to the current architectural strategy of critical regionalism in its endeavor to deal with the issues of cultural duality and tension.

Moreover, especially Taut's emphasis on the consideration of climate for providing architecture its natural disposition as a product of world culture and a vehicle of universal civilization, is very much in line with critical regionalism's strategy that has been proposed as a solution to contemporary identity problems in architecture. For the parts of both Eldem and Taut, being after a coherent expression of a synthesized architecture for the resolution of the tension between the dualities, is a common goal that they share with critical regionalism.

However, it is for sure that, today, especially under the zealous effect of global interaction, creating a unified and coherent architectural expression is an impossible case: at the outset, in the globally communicating economic market of today's world, the cultural interaction does inescapably bring forth international influences and the imported architectural expressions everywhere. As Tekeli asserts on this point, an internally coherent expression in architecture could only be possible in closed economic systems. (Tekeli, 1983:25,31) The Turkish context of the 1930s could be interpreted as such, yet even then, we still observe the deep traces of that kind of an interaction and importation of stylistic or conceptual attributes from the architectural magazines of the period.

A couple of questions to delineate the differences of the current context and practice could be summoned at this point: Can identities could still be defined according to the dichotomous formulations of the 'modern' versus 'traditional', or the 'international' versus 'national' today? Or is the architecture still an essential repository of cultural identities in our age? Recent theory questions the definition of both architectural expressions and identities in such limited terms. As Abu-Lughod asserts, together with the spatial location and the social formation congruence, the 'traditional' and the 'modern' dichotomy within the various definitions of cultural or architectural identity has elucidated today. (Abu-Lughod, 1992:7)

The unmediated link between architecture and culture is also questioned in these terms. Focusing on this point, Baydar argues that, along with the

necessary questioning of culture as an architectural category, architecture as an identity category itself should also be problematized today. In this statement, architecture and culture are portrayed as significatory entities with constructed boundaries, and the architectural discourse is argued to be utilized in the name of filling the empty space of signification. For Baydar, in this picture, the deconstruction of culture should be realized with the deconstruction of architecture as an equally problematic identity category. This kind of an attempt would propose ways of thinking architecture outside the 'cultural identity' categories and would free the architectural discourse. (Baydar, 2004:19)

By the acceptance of the relation between culture and architecture, or between a space and a culture, as problematic, the identity-culture relation is also problematized. As Featherstone and Lash argue, the possibility of 'inhabiting a shared cultural world, in which cultural meanings function in a same take for granted manner' comes to recede. Thus, it becomes portrayed that the assumed uniformity of 'national cultures' within nation-states is naturally seen more as a 'myth' today. (Featherstone and Lash, 1999:1) Here, Gupta and Ferguson state that, by the industrial production of culture through global distribution and communication, the 'cultural identities' are becoming 'deterritorialized'.[2] (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:9) There appears a loss of territorial roots and an erosion of cultural distinctiveness of places, together with the deterritorialization of identities. Gupta further states that, in today's culture of *diaspora* (homelessness), the lines between here and there, or between the center and the periphery also comes to evaporate.[3] (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:9,10) In this picture, where the uncertain relation between a culture, a place, an architecture, and a people are being problematized, the dichotomies between the 'traditional' and the 'modern', or the 'East' and the 'West', also disappear. (Gupta and Ferguson, 1997:9,10)

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[2] At this point Featherstone and Lash assert that today the identities are coming to be limited by personal identities, which become formed as self-identified hybrid identities that inhabit a multicultural world. In this context, the hybridity appear as a form of identity. (Featherstone and Lash, 1999:11,12)

[3] On the issues of 'cultural identity', culture and nation relationships, the recent cultural theory comes to be compartmentalized under the three categories of 'new culturalism', which emphasizes the need of the reconstruction of the relation between a culture and a nation; 'interculturalism', which stresses on culture's interrelated existence that clashed with other cultures within a dialogue; and 'multiculturalism', which observe societies as being composed of multiple cultures. (Featherstone and Lash, 1999:11)

However, when we examine the current state our architectural culture has been brought into in Turkey, it still seems that much of the ambiguity and disturbance in its development is due to the very dichotomous inclinations between the 'traditional' and 'modern', or the 'national' and the 'international' attributes, within that problematic exploration and definition of the 'cultural identity'.

On this basis, to provide the initial contextual and architectural analysis of the same contextual basis of the 1930s and the 1940s appears to be important in terms of understanding the current state of architecture in Turkey. Thus, through the examination of the architectural attitudes and practices of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Bruno Taut in the early Republican period, the thesis aimed to show how the dual inclinations of the socio-cultural sphere determined the architectural development in the period through the accompanied struggle of reaching a compromise in the resolution of the existing cultural duality and tension. The understanding of these specific efforts would hopefully help develop a better contextual evaluation of the current architectural scene in Turkey.

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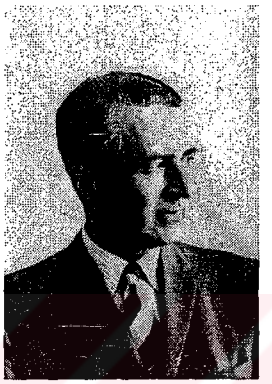
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APPENDIX 1

SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM: BIOGRAPHY



1908	Born in İstanbul as Ömer Sedad Hakkı Alişanzade.
1924	Completed his primary-secondary education abroad and returned to Turkey from Germany, to enroll in the Academy of Fine Arts Department of Architecture.
1928	Graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts, Department of Architecture.
1928-1932	Completed his post-graduate training in Europe.
1932	Returned to Turkey and started his academic career in the Academy.
1934	Initiated the 'National Architecture Seminar' in the Academy.
1978	Retired from the Academy.
1988	Died in İstanbul.

APPENDIX 2

BRUNO TAUT: BIOGRAPHY



1880	Born in Königsberg, Germany.
1897	Graduated from Kneipphöfisches Gymnasium.
1901	Graduated from the Institution of Higher Education on construction and started his professional career in Berlin.
1901	Worked in the office of Theodor Fischer as an architect.
1919	Published his well known book 'Alpine Architecture'.
1920	Started the Glass Chain Letters.
1932	Left Germany for Moskow.
1933	Returned to Germany.
1933-1936	Migrated to Japan.
1936-1938	Migrated to Turkey from Japan.
1938	Died in İstanbul, Turkey.

APPENDIX 3

PROJECTS OF SEDAD HAKKI ELDEM, FROM 1930 TO 1950

1. Turkish Pavillion – Budapest International Exposition, Budapest (1931); realized.
2. Project for 'SergiEvi'/Exhibition Building, Ankara (1931); not realized.
3. İclal Sadi House, İstanbul (1932); realized.
4. Naci Paşa House, Ankara (1932); realized.
5. Tevfik Azmi Yalı, İstanbul (1933); realized in 1985 as Mehmet Hattat Yalı.
6. Ceylan Apartment Building, İstanbul (1933); realized.
7. Bayan Firdevs House, İstanbul (1934); realized.
8. Electric Company Building/SATIE, İstanbul (1934); realized.
9. State Monopolies General Directorate, Ankara (1934-1937); realized.
10. Termal Hotel, Yalova (1934-1937), realized.
11. Project for Conservatory and Theatre, İstanbul (1935); not realized.
12. Project for the President's Residence; Büyükada, İstanbul (1935), not realized.
13. Project for Sümerbank, Ankara (1935), not realized.
14. Project for the Third Army Headquarters, Erzurum (1936), not realized.
15. Fethi Okyar House, Büyükada, İstanbul (1936-1937); realized.
16. Ahmet Ağaoğlu House, İstanbul (1936-1937); realized.
17. Music Conservatory Extension, Ankara (1937); realized.
18. Tahsin Günel Yalı, İstanbul (1938); realized as Ilıcak Yalı in 1978.
19. Süleymaniye Area Redevelopment Study, İstanbul (1938): not realized.
20. Ayaşlı Yalı, İstanbul (1938), realized.
21. Eminönü Area Redevelopment Study, İstanbul (1938); not realized.
22. Beyazıt Square Redevelopment Study, İstanbul (1939-40); not realized.

23. Turkish Pavillion – New York International Exposition, New York (1939); realized.
24. Project for Çamlıca Coffee House, İstanbul (1941); not realized.
25. Raif Meto House, Adana (1941); not realized.
26. İstanbul University – Faculty of Sciences and Letters, İstanbul (1942-44); realized.
27. Safyurtlu House, İstanbul (1942); realized.
28. Project for Atatürk's mausoleum/Anıtkabir, Ankara (1942); not realized.
29. Project for Ankara Technical University, Ankara (1942-44); not realized.
30. Project for Çanakkale War Memorial, Çanakkale (1943); not realized.
31. Proposal for Çırağan Palace Hotel/Casino, İstanbul (1943); not realized.
32. Ankara University Faculty of Sciences, Ankara (1943-45); realized.
33. Admiral Bristol Hospital – Nurses' Building, İstanbul (1943); realized.
34. Project for Adana City Hall, Adana (1944); not realized.
35. Project for İstanbul Radio Broadcasting Headquarters, İstanbul (1945); not realized.
36. Taşlık Coffee House, İstanbul (1947-48); realized.
37. İstanbul Palace of Justice, İstanbul (1948-78); realized.

APPENDIX 4

PROJECTS OF BRUNO TAUT IN TURKEY, FROM 1936 TO 1938

1. The Faculty of Sciences and Letters (26.12.1936-4.11.1940); realized.
2. Istanbul Institute of Chemistry (1936); not realized.
3. Technical High School in Ankara (1937); not realized.
4. Sivas School of Garrison (1937); not realized.
5. Cafeteria of Istanbul University (1937); realized.
6. Istanbul Morphology Institute (1937); not finished.
7. Trabzon High School for Boys (1937-38); realized.
8. Ministry of Education (1937); not realized.
9. Competition project proposal for the Turkish Parliament building (1937); not realized.
10. Atatürk High School (1937-38); realized.
11. İzmir Cumhuriyet Institute for Girls (1938); partly realized.
12. Draft for Ankara Opera Building (1938); not realized.
13. Taut's own house in Ortaköy (1938); realized.
14. A sketch for a sinagog (1938); not realized.
15. Cebeci Secondary School (1938); realized.
16. Ministry of Education Pavilion in İzmir International Exhibiton (1938); realized.
17. Nissen House (1938); not realized.
18. Secondary School Project in Hamamönü (1938); not realized.
19. Decorations for the 15th anniversary of the Republic (1938); realized by Schütte Lihotzky.
20. Atatürk plaquette (1938)
21. A Medical School (1938); not realized.
22. Sketch for Ankara Medical School (1938); not realized.

23. Catafalque of Atatürk (1938); realized.

24. Sketch and Report for the Mausoleum of Atatürk (05.12.1938); not realized.