

BETWEEN BEING AND BECOMING:
IDENTITY, QUESTION OF FOREIGNNESS
AND THE CASE OF THE TURKISH HOUSE

A Ph.D. Dissertation

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İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

January 2012

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ABSTRACT

BETWEEN BEING AND BECOMING: IDENTITY, QUESTION OF FOREIGNNESS AND THE CASE OF THE TURKISH HOUSE

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How were those narratives telling us about the Turkish House shaped? How did they come to contribute to the formation of our understanding of the history [and theory] of modern Turkish architecture? And respectively, how did they dominate our conception of modern Turkish identity? In light of these questions, this dissertation looks at the historiography of what is the so-called Turkish House as it emerged from Ottoman obscurity into the consciousness of the new Republic of Turkey, between the closing decades of the 19th century and the end of the 1930s. And, following the arguments of post-structuralist (architectural) theorists and the texts of the architectural historians in Turkey, this study intends to open up an ontological discussion around modern Turkish identity, and respectively around the Turkish House, as its architectural translation. Through looking at culturally and politically thick textual descriptions in journals, books, novels and stories; and visual representations in pictures, drawings, and architectural projects of the era, this study first of all underlines that idea/image of the Turkish House appeared and was formed as a response to the question of ‘foreignness’. Then, from a de-constructive perspective, in order to challenge the term’s de-facto usage, this study most productively brings the ‘foreign’ voices of several architects - like Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut and Seyfi Arkan, who were practicing their designs in the late 1930s in Turkey- to the discussion, to reveal a more ‘dialogical’, more ‘contingent’, and more ‘pluralized’ conception of the term modern, and to trace an alternative understanding of the Turkish House. Although in cultural and historical terms, the designs of these architects do not fit into the typological and stylistic principles of traditional dwelling forms, the works, which concentrates on not the ‘essential modern’ character of the Turkish House, but the ‘inevitably national’ character of modern house help us to position a more experimental, more spatial and more universalistic understanding of the Turkish House, rather than a stylistic, decorative, romantic, and culturally relativist one. In other words, through works, one can find a chance to shift from the morphological perspective of modern (and, of national); to show that the terms modern and national cannot be reduced into fixed architectural definitions; to portray a modern-national identity that is slippery, mobile, multiple, heterogeneous, incomplete, and subject to change; and more importantly, to surface an understanding of Turkish House not as a ‘thingness’, as a being, but as a ‘movement’, as a ‘becoming’.

Keywords: Modern (Turkish) Architecture, Architectural Historiography, Modern and Tradition, Foreignness, 1st National Architectural Movement, New Architecture, 2nd National Architectural Movement, Turkish House, Post-structuralism, Deconstruction, Being/Becoming, Tower of Babel, Incomplete-edifice, House.

ÖZET

VARLIK VE VAROLUŞ ARASINDA: KİMLİK, YABANCI SORUNSALI VE TÜRK EVİ OLGUSU

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Doktora, İç Mimarlık ve Çevre Tasarımı Bölümü

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Türk Evi'nin hikayesini dillendiren anlatılar nasıl şekillendiler? Bu anlatılar, modern Türk mimarlığına ilişkin tarihsel ve kuramsal bakışın kurulmasına nasıl katkıda bulundular, ve modern Türk kimliğini algılayışımızı nasıl etkilediler? Bu soruların ışığında, bu çalışma geç Osmanlı döneminden Yeni Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarına uzanan bir süreçte Türk Evi denilen olgunun söylemsel olarak nasıl inşa edildiğine bakma ve bu belgelemenin arkasındaki teksesli-ideolojik yapıyı eleştirel bir gözle tartışma amacı taşımaktadır.

Bu kapsamda, özellikle yapısalcılık-sonrası (mimarlık) kuramcılarının tartışmalarını ve Türkiye'deki mimarlık tarihçilerinin metinlerini izleyerek, bu çalışma, modern Türk kimliği ve onun mimari temsili olarak Türk Evi üzerine varlıkbilimsel (ontolojik) bir tartışmayı yüzeye çıkarmayı amaçlar. Dönemin mimari ve görsel temsillerindeki, dergilerindeki, roman ve hikayelerindeki, öğrenci projelerindeki, ve açılan sergilerdeki kültürel-politik vurguya bakarak, bu çalışma ilk olarak Türk evi fikrinin/imgesinin ortaya çıkışında ve nesnelleşme sürecinde etkin olan 'yabancı' sorunsalına işaret eder. Daha sonra, yapı-sökümcü bir perspektiften, Türk evi kelimesinin süre-giden anlamını aşındırma amacıyla, özellikle 1930'lu yıllarda Türkiye'deki mimarlık ortamında yapıt üreten Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut ve Seyfi Arkan gibi mimarların 'yabancı' seslerini' tartışmaya getirerek, bu çalışma Türk Evi kavramına ilişkin alternatif bir bakış açısını sunmayı amaçlar. Tarihsel ve kültürel anlamda geleneksel konutların tipolojik ve biçimsel prensipleriyle akrabalık göstermese de, 'yabancı' mimarların tasarımları bizlere Türk Evi'nin 'yabancı' bir üretim olarak da görülebileceğinin altını çizer. 'Zaten özünden modern olan Türk Evi' kavrayışının yerine 'kaçınılmaz olarak geleneksel ve ulusal olan modern ev' üzerine odaklanan bu mimarların çalışmaları biçimsellikten, dekoratiflikten uzak daha deneysel, daha mekansal ve daha evrensel bir Türk Evi algılanışını yüzeye çıkarırlar. Daha da önemlisi, bu çalışmalar sayesinde, modern ve geleneksel terimlerinin sabit mimari tanımlara indirgenemeyeceğinin, ulusal kimliğin hareketli, çoğul, tamamlanmamış ve değişime açık olduğunun, ve bu bağlamda Türklüğün evi olarak Türk Evi'nin bir 'şey' değil, bir hareket, bir oluş olduğunun altı çizilebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modern Türk Mimarlığı, Tarihyazımı, Modernite, Modern ve Gelenek, Yaban(cı)lık, Ulusal Kimlik, 1. Ulusal Mimarlık Hareketi, Yeni Mimari, 2. Ulusal Mimarlık Hareketi, Türk Evi, Post-yapısalcılık, Yapı-söküm, Oluş, Babil Kulesi, Tamamlanmamış-Anıt, Ev.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
ÖZET.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	vii
LIST F FIGURES.....	viii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Origin of the Thesis.....	1
1.2. Aim and Scope of the Study.....	3
1.3. Structure of the Thesis.....	13
CHAPTER II: BETWEEN THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF THEORY.....	19
2.1. Architecture as a Metaphor.....	19
2.2. Being, Space and Edifice.....	21
2.3. Becoming, Spacing and Incomplete-Edifice.....	28
2.4. House/Housing.....	36
CHAPTER III: THE TURKISH HOUSE AS THE MONUMENT/ HOUSE OF AN IDENTITY.....	46
3.1. The Term Modern, Identity Crisis, and the Emergence of the Idea of Turkish House.....	46
3.2. Struggle for the Old House: 1 st National Architectural Movement	60
3.3. In Search of a New House: New Architecture.....	78
3.4. A House is not a Home: Foreignness of New Architecture	96
3.5. Return to the home: 2 nd National Architectural Movement and the ‘Essentially Modern’ Character of the Turkish House.....	108
CHAPTER IV: ANOTHER TURKISH HOUSE: BETWEEN IDENTITY AND ALTERITY.....	128
4.1. Question of Foreignness: There is no Pure New Architecture.....	128
4.2. The Idea of Turkish House as a ‘Foreign’ Construct.....	134
4.3. Inevitably ‘National’ Character of the Modern House.....	145
4.4. Translation and Tradition: Repetition of Not the Same.....	157
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION.....	161
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	170

LIST OF TABLES

1. Comparison Between two conceptions of the Turkish House.....	162
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LIST OF FIGURES

1. The image of the Turkish House is on the cover pages.....	9
2. Tower of Babel in Peter Bruegel's 1563 painting.....	34
3. The promotion of 'cubic house' in Yedigün and Muhit journals	49
4. An image of the Turkish House designed by Eldem	59
5. Vedat Tek's Guneş Apartment as an example of civil architecture.....	68
6. A book on Turkish Houses, written and illustrated by Rıfat Osman	70
7. The Turkish Salon designed by Koyunoğlu	72
8. The Propaganda posters of 1930's	83
9. The book <i>How it Was? How it is Now?</i>	83
10. A poster of İhap Hulusi Görey	84
11. Caricatures showing a comparison between old and new	84
12. Illustrations of 1930's, announcing "Towards a big Ankara".....	89
13. The images of the 'cubic' houses	95
14. The representation of 'cubic' houses in Yedigün	96
15. The exterior view of the Balmumcu's Exhibition house.....	106
16. The exterior view of the Bonatz's Opera house	106
17. The paintings of Nurullah Berk	113
18. 'Sofa' and the Plan of Traditional Ottoman House	117
19. Various House projects by Eldem	120
20. Saraçoğlu Building Complex.....	122
21. The images of Taslık Café	123
22. The images of Ağaoğlu House	124
23. Egli's Court of Finacial Appeals Building in Ankara.....	138
24. Arkan's Foreign Minister Residence project.....	148
25. Atadan's house project by Arkan.....	149
26. Arkan's Turkish House	151
27. Arkan's sea-side house project	154
28. Arkan's other sea-side house project.....	155
29. A house project by Arkan	156

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Origin of the Thesis

There is no silent and speechless architecture. All architectural projects tell stories with a varying degree of consciousness. And, like the other stories we have, the (hi)story of an architectural project also embodies a complexity of internal coherences or consistencies and external referents, of intension and extensions, of thresholds and becomings.¹ Very similar to the experience of re-reading a book, when we re-read an architectural project, each time our attentions and inattentions are different with each passage and we encounter aspects that are remembered differently or not at all. Since the boundaries of the text of architecture are not fixed, the act of reading should take in to account various itineraries and detours which are by no means related with the author(ity). As Elizabeth Grosz (2001:58) says, in her book *Architecture From the Outside*, the text of architecture has the potential to produce “unexpected intensities, peculiar sites of indifference, new connection with other objects, and thus generate affective and conceptual transformations that problematize, challenge, and move beyond existing frameworks”. Therefore, it is important to recognize that archi-text-ure is never without inner incompatibilities; never without the slippage, some gap, some residue that can not be silenced,

¹ Etymological relation (and the phonetic resemblance) between the words history and story also exist in German language. The word Geschichte embodies the meanings of story and history one at the same time.

sheltered, institutionalized, inhabited, and concealed.² Moreover, these gaps -which are fundamentally moving- underline violence and resistance against the preservation of authenticity, anchorage of a fixed identity that highlights an alternative reading of architecture without a plan, without an ideal or a model; in other words, with no substantial essence and structure in itself, but only with situational and contextual readings (Rakatansky, 1992: 37).

To think that an architectural project could be reduced either in analysis or design to a definitive map, to a finitude, to an unchanging and timeless image, in other words to a 'monument' frozen in time, is to insist upon the intrinsic nature of a non-rhetorical architecture³; claiming that "a brick is just a brick, a wall just a wall, a room just a room, that stone and steel can not or should not speak" (Rakatansky, 1992: 36). This kind of a hegemonic claim to monumentalize architecture, to impose silence upon space hides, as Walter Benjamin states, "the persistence barbarism in the present" and presents us "a false history by eternalizing the past as a closed space, with an end" (Benjamin cited in Mazumdar, 2002: 75).

Rather than conceiving an architectural project as arising from an addition of a single (hi)story line, this dissertation critically and potentially builds on itself to speak about architecture in the plurality of narratives, in the multiplicity of tongues; thus, exposing certain repressed narratives; thus becoming capable of reading what has not been yet written; thus opening architecture to its outside, to futurity, to becoming, to differentiation, and to otherness. By way of conceptualizing space "as a document

2 The term Archi-text-ure is used to explore the textual formation of space.

3 The term non-rhetorical architecture refers to an understanding that supposes to keep narrative away from architecture.

rather than a monument” (Bois, 2005: 91), this study explores possible ways from a story, particularly the story of the Turkish House, can be rethought in terms of its outside; in terms of the dynamism and movement rather than stasis and the sedentary.

1.2. Aim and Scope of the Study

Building on such a conceptual position, this dissertation first of all tries to understand how those narratives telling us about the Turkish House were shaped; what are the ideological overtones, a-priori claims, behind these documentations; and how they came to contribute to the formation of our understanding of the history (and theory) of modern Turkish Architecture, and respectively to dominate our conception of modern Turkish identity? In light of these questions, this dissertation aims to make a discursive analysis on what is the so-called Turkish House, as it emerged from Ottoman obscurity in to the consciousness of the new Republic of Turkey, between the closing decades of the 19th century and the end of 1930s.

Within the earlier documentations of modern Turkish architecture, which can be dated to the 1970s⁴, there is a dominant tendency to perceive the term modern as a ‘style’: The term modern was often viewed from a morphological perspective and, more importantly, it was commonly taken as a single condition ‘invented’ by the West, which then spread belatedly to the other parts of the world. Rather than questioning how the term modern were selectively appropriated, transformed, and ‘situated’, rather than revealing contradictory and contentious variations of it, the

4 In Turkey, the major texts on the history of modern architecture were mainly produced in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. These texts uncritically linked official ideology with the achievements of modern architecture.

term modern was reductively conceptualized as a unitary and homogeneous condition.

Within this early documentation (or what we may call mainstream documentation)⁵ that has been influential in understanding the history of modern Turkish architecture, there are three different sequential architectural movements: *1st National Architectural Movement* in late Ottoman period and in the 1920's, the movement of *New Architecture* in the 1930s, and the *2nd National Architectural Movement* in the 1940s. Very similar to the other narratives of modern architecture outside the West, it is crucial to note that the above mentioned periodization and categorization of modern Turkish architecture was also conceptualized and structured around such dualities as civilization versus culture, international versus national, and modern versus traditional (Bozdoğan, 1996; Baydar, 1998). While the first part of each pair is associated with progress, rationality and westernization; the other signifies historical continuity, authenticity and local identity. More importantly, within this dialectic structure, the term modern, rather than conceptualizing as something which is 'internal' to the tradition and is relative to the national identity always appears as an 'external', 'imported', and 'imposed' phenomenon, which is 'foreign' to the national consciousness. The terms modern and Western were used interchangeably; they were conceptualized as identical notions and the word modern in that sense was commonly positioned as a condition of 'understanding the foreign'.

5 The term 'mainstream architectural narrative' used here to refer to the 'programmatic' documentation of architectural history of Turkey. What was common for this documentation is the endorsement of Republicanism and Kemalism and a priori acceptance of the official ideology. Although one can recognize different positions within these texts, some of the contributors are Özer (1964), Sözen and Tapan (1973), Alsaç (1976), Aslanoğlu (1980), Sözen (1984), Batur (1984). In addition to these texts, one can also recall Holod and Evin (Eds.) 1984 dated book.

Following the prominent Post-colonial texts of Said (1978), Bhabha (1985), Chatterjee (1986), and Spivak (1988), one can say that when the term modern was suggested as ‘foreign’ and Western; when it was taken as a term opposed to tradition, and when it was understood as a potential of generating a ‘totally new tradition’, it finds an outspoken manifestation of colonialism⁶. As Heynen (1999: 29) puts it, “setting up a colony often links the occupation of a new territory with the desire to leave behind old habits and limits in order to establish another, a new, a better order. The colony was seen as the locus of a new world, where the old world would be rejuvenated through its confrontation with purity and virginity”. Departing from Heynen’s words, one can underline a similar colonial-overtone behind the early documentation of modern Turkish architecture. Within the early documentation, there is a general tendency to conceptualize the term modern as a project of progress and emancipation, of departure and repudiation, of cleansing and rejection. The documentation of modern Turkish architecture forms itself around the perspective of the ‘new-new’, around the revolutionary desire of generating an ‘absolute forgetting’. Each time, when a ‘new’ architectural style that claims to establish another, a better order appears, the old styles were suddenly seen as the source of un-homeliness, as the very mark of alienation, and hence were treated as the representations of intolerable memories that should be ‘muted’, repressed, or left behind. In other words, when the term modern is conceived in the form of a linear time frame, structured around a ‘new fetishism’, and perceived as a rupture with tradition, the narrative unavoidably moves from one style to another, from one structure to another, from one ‘monument’ to another, rather than enabling styles to develop inventions and innovations.

⁶ Since the Republic of Turkey was never colonized as such, the term colonialism was not used here literally, but as a discursive term referring to a ‘dominating culture’.

This line of thought, where the term modern is characterized as a total break with tradition, can well be traced in the documentation of 1st National Architectural Movement. Although it can be positioned as the initiator of modern transformations in modern Turkish architecture, the ‘spirit’ of this movement (which will be described in detail in Chapter 3.2) was commonly represented as an approach that favors traditional and historical values more than modern, progressive ones (Özer, 1964; Sözen and Tapan, 1973; Alsaç, 1976; Sözen, 1984) . Here, through this firm definition of this movement, one can easily highlight the binaries of tradition and modern, East and West. More importantly, one can also recognize that these opposed terms do not work symmetrical: the term modern (therefore Western) hierarchically privileged and it was considered as the exclusive source of creating a national identity. Hence, as Bozdoğan (2002: 74) states, within the earlier documentation of modern Turkish architecture, ‘to be modern’ was commonly taken in the form of a desire to annihilate whatever came earlier and, in that sense, the 1st National Architectural Movement was represented as a style that could not manage to offer the space of ‘preferred purity’. The representations of this era were seen as memories, referring to a past that should be forgotten.

A very similar discussion can also be raised around New Architecture: The ‘spirit’ of this movement (which will be described in more detail in Chapter 3.3) was commonly depicted as a style that supports the modern and progressive ideals, but gives less importance to local and domestic values (Sözen and Tapan, 1973; Alsaç, 1976; Sözen, 1984). Here, one can once again underline that rather than positioning modern as a term co-existing with the traditional, rather than concentrating on their mutually-correspondent relation, they were once again perceived as oppositions.

Although, the characteristics of New Architecture were presented as if it satisfied the desire of creating a break with the tradition, a rupture in time, it was simultaneously positioned as a style that is ‘too modern’, therefore ‘too Western’, to build up a national identity. Here, through the documentation of New Architecture, one can highlight a gap between the emancipatory promises and the suppression of domestic values. While discussing 1st National Architectural Movement, the term modern, from an anti-Orientalist point of view, appeared as a promise for a ‘better’ world, as a quest for totally-new identity, in New Architecture, from an anti-colonial point of view, it turned in to a sense of domination, violation, and oppression of a culture. And, more importantly, because of conceptualizing the term modern as an ‘external’ phenomenon, because of regarding it as antithetical to tradition, the earlier documentations of modern Turkish Architecture inevitably failed to present a from/within ‘criticism’ of the term modern; to show the attempts and the forms of resistances within these movements. Rather, by considering the term modern as a unifying feature, the earlier documentations commonly concentrate on the ‘foreignness’ of this movement: Between 1st and 2nd National Architectural Movements, New Architecture was named without having the label of ‘national’. Moreover, the forms of this movement were degraded by the rubric of ‘Cubic architecture’, and considered as the representations of an alienated society⁷. This line of thought can be traced in Alsaç (1973: 12) words, where he says:

As a short criticism of this period, one can recognize the ‘intrusion’ of ‘foreign’ thought to Turkish culture [...] What is an International Art? Each culture has its own way of creating art. Especially, the movements like cubic architecture can totally be considered as the mark of ‘degeneration’. These are ‘dangerous’ thoughts that ‘threaten’ the national being. There is

⁷ During the 1930s, Turkish architects preferred to use the term ‘cubic’ instead of New Architecture. By using this term, they not only show resistance against the architectural forms of this movement but also against the ‘foreign’ practitioners of it, who were taking nearly all the commissions during this time. This line of thought can be read in Eldem’s (1973) text in Mimarlık journal, where he named this movement as *Ankara-Vienna Cubic Architecture*.

an emergent need to ‘clean’ our culture from these foreign effects and liberate our national art to its old and mature level.^{8 9}

In that respect, the appearance of 2nd National Architectural Movement within the early documentation of modern Turkish architecture, as Bozdoğan (2002) states, underlines a ‘double negation’. Both 1st National Architectural Movement and New Architecture, although documented as attempts of modern national architecture, were at the same time considered as ‘foreign’ to the modern Turkish identity. By negating both 1st National Architectural Movement and New Architecture, the mainstream documentation affirms the 2nd National Architectural Movement, and especially Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s idea/image of the Turkish House (Figure 1), as ‘an absolute synthesis’: By being none of them, but by being both of them, by being both modern and national at the same time, through Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s idea/image of Turkish House (which will be described in detail in Chapter 3.5), the nonmaterial/incorporeal idea of modern Turkish identity finally found a material/corporeal representation. And, although the idea of Turkish House can discursively be traced back to 1st National Architectural Movement and also to the period of New Architecture, it was claimed that only through Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s Turkish House, a will to find out an ‘intrinsically modern’ representation, an image that can bridge the gap between modern and tradition, international and national, civilization and culture, managed to be realized.

⁸ Unless mentioned, all translations in this dissertation belongs to the author

⁹ “Bu devrin kısa eleştirisi olarak Türk kültürüne yabancı düşünceleri de beraberinde aldığını söyleyebiliriz...Ne demektir Enternasyonal Sanat? Her milletin kendine göre bir sanatı olurdu. Milli Yaratıcılık gücü yok mu edilmeliydi? Hele Kubizm denilen akımlar tamamen birer dejenerasyon alameti idiler, hatta milli varlığı tehdit eden tehlikeli düşüncelerdir. Bunlardan temizlenmek milli sanatı yeniden eski olgun seviyesine getirmek gerekti” (Alsaç, 1973: 11-12).

In that context, it is important to note that although Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s approach to the concept of the Turkish House can be seen as an attempt to affirm and internalize the term modern, to bridge the gap between modern and traditional, between East and West one can say that the lack of any from/within criticism of the term modern within this approach reduces the term in to fixed architectural definition. One can critically state that, Eldem’s approach structures itself around the belief to find a ‘complete’ representation, to reach ‘a mean with an end’¹⁰. In order to claim the ‘essential’ and ‘already-modern’ character of the traditional dwelling forms, the idea of the Turkish House, as the house of Turkishness, as the monument of modern Turkish identity, were set in to morphological typologies. In Eldem’s approach the idea of Turkishness, and respectively Turkish House, were understood as a thingness, rather than a movement: The form(ul)ation of modern Turkish identity through Turkish House, rather than taken as a continuity, as a ‘becoming’, as something which is always in flux, was always motivated to find an absolute, solid-still architectural representation.



Figure 1: The image of Turkish House is on the cover pages! (Vanlı 2006: 6).

¹⁰ The phrase ‘mean with an end’ was borrowed from Giorgio Agamben’s (2000) book.

The above mentioned approach by Sedad Hakkı Eldem blinds us to see other web of possible identities; to realize ‘fleeting and fragmented experiences’ of modern, as Baudelaire states it (1863: 38); and, to discuss other possible architectural translations of Turkishness. That kind of a conception of modern which concentrates more on the objective givens than the ways it is subjectively experienced and dealt with, on identity than alterity, on sameness than differences, creates an amnesia, an erasure of past and place, and gloss over the complexity and heterogeneity of the movements. In the early documentations of Özer (1964), Sözen and Tapan (1973) and Alsaç (1976), both 1st National Architectural Movement and New Architecture were ‘idealized’ and ‘unified’. Rather than concentrating on their heterogeneous and pluralistic characteristics, rather than observing how the notion of Turkish House was elaborated and discussed within these movements, each style was taken in the logic of one and sameness, as if they are repeating something same. Moreover, each style was discredited by the early historiography: rather than perceiving them as the potential sources to discuss *other possible ‘houses’ of modern Turkish identity*¹¹, *other Turkish Houses*, the representations of these eras were contrastingly considered as if they failed to represent the ‘true nature’ of modern Turkish identity.

Here various questions related with the above mentioned statements can be raised: Is it possible to underline an alternative understanding of the concept of the Turkish House? Rather than the articulation of generic plan-types of traditional dwellings as the primary generator of the so-called Turkish House, as Sedad Hakkı Eldem did, can one highlight a more spatial understanding of the idea of the Turkish House? Rather

11 In addition to Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s formulation of the Turkish House, it is possible to speak about other conceptions of the ‘Turkish House’. The appearance of the idea of Turkish House, and the appreciation/appropriation of traditional dwelling forms, can be traced back to 1st National Architectural Movement. And although taken differently, in New Architecture, one can follow a similar path.

than a stylistic imitation of the tradition, can one recognize a different relation with the tradition and traces a more experimental conception of the Turkish House? Rather than presenting the idea of the Turkish House as not oriented towards ‘foreign and ’as ‘essentially modern’, by raising a notion modern that does not break up the lines of continuity, can one surface a more universalist understanding of the so-called Turkish house? Can one recognize a conception of the Turkish House that does not work with ‘negation’, ‘estrangement’, ‘amnesia’, but embodies a more dialogical, contingent, and situated sense of modern? In other words, is it possible to document a shift from the coherent morphological perspective of the so-called Turkish House to a more pluralistic and heterogeneous array of formal and individual positions?

Although it will be portrayed in a more detailed way in Chapter 4, in a nutshell, one can say that the above-mentioned questions aim to expose an alternative conception of the term modern; and, hence to open up an ontological discussion around modern Turkish identity, and also around the so-called Turkish House. In contrast to the reductive formulation where the term modern was understood as a new and future-centered chronological category, this study first of all tries to think the term modern as a changing, multifaceted and non-linear condition¹². By doing that, by aiming to speak in the plurality of narratives, this study can find a more fertile soil to portray many ways of ‘being modern’ and being ‘traditional’; and to surface other possible conceptions of the so-called Turkish House.

12 The idea of questioning the linearity (of history) was borrowed from Micheal Foucault’s (1971) book titled as *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History*. Different from the traditional and conventional forms of historical research, Foucault’s concept of genealogy does not offer a linear and static structure; it does not head in a single direction and it does not concerned with the beginnings and endings. The genealogical understanding of history is mobile and non-linear (Foucault, 1984: 140).

That kind of an understanding of history, which does not work with the logic of ‘END’, but with the logic of ‘AND’, can lead us to challenge the conventional positioning of the Turkish House, and modern Turkish identity, as a ‘complete project’¹³. Instead, as Habermas famously called, one can talk about an ‘incomplete project’ that “is substantially formed as a result of the stubborn persistence of the past” (1983: 5). Here, through Habermas’ words, one can underline a conception of the past that is no longer seen as the other of the modern. For Habermas, when the term modern is conceptualized as an ‘incomplete project’, then the past can present itself as a never-ending ‘potential’ of creating new layers of existences. Following Habermas, one can easily declare that, within the early documentation of modern Turkish architecture, the idea of modern was commonly understood around a myth of progression. In order to reach to a point of ‘completeness, the narrative unavoidably structured itself around the ‘objectiveness’ of the present and the ‘foreignness of the past’. Rather than taken as a mobile and sliding notion, the idea of Turkish House was considered as an end-product of the modernization process, and positioned it as a solid-still, mute, and inert representation.

In that respect, this study intends to discuss the idea of Turkish House, in its ‘incompleteness’: to argue that the idea of modern, Turkish, and respectively the Turkish House, can never be totalized under a single category. This line of thought can find a more fertile soil only through a close reading of the aforementioned period. While doing that, the aim here is not simply to disregard the earlier narration of modern Turkish architecture. This study does not intend to write a ‘completely new’ (hi)story of modern Turkish architecture. By moving from/within the

13 There is a close relation between the ideas of progression and ‘end of history’. This line thought can critically be read through Fukayama’s (1992) book *The End of History and The Last Man*.

conventional narration, rather it tries to generate a fresh look and consequently to make a contribution to the already existing criticisms.

Accordingly, it is important to underscore that although the structure of the study follows the conventional 'linearity', the intention of this study is to question the existence of linearity as such. In contrast to the desire to secure a linear development from origin to end, this thesis structures itself around several questions, such as; do beginnings constitute definitive origins? Do developments mean continuous progresses? Or, do endings provide definitive closures? Without departing from the traditional view, by inserting numerous re-readings of this period, this study aims at portraying the inconsistencies within this era. By exposing these inconsistencies, these holes within the fabric of the text, or by representing these possible forking paths, this thesis points at 'a tone of multiplicity'¹⁴; a multiplicity of tongues that will critically lead us to think the Turkish House not as sameness but difference; not as identity but alterity; not as completeness but in-completeness.

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

In addition to the early documentations that have been influential in documenting the modern Turkish architecture between 1910 and 1940, and also the positioning of the Turkish House as a historiographical category, such as Özer (1964), Sözen and Tapan (1973), Yavuz (1973, 2009), Alsaç (1976), Aslanoğlu (1980), Sözen (1984), and Batur (1984), there are also later documentations of Bozdoğan (1987,1996, 1998, 2002), Carel (1998), Baydar (1993, 2002, 2007), Akcan (2002, 2005) , Vanlı

¹⁴ The term multiplicity here refers to the impossibility of reducing any identity to a fixed definition. In that respect, multiplicity acts as a key-concept for not only in philosophy (in post-structural debates) but also in architecture (in post-structuralist architectural theory).

(2006), Tanju (2007), Dođramacı (2008), Köksal (2009), Yasa Yaman (2009) , Ergut (2009), and Dündar (2010) which try to surface and explore alternative looks, new re-readings of this period¹⁵. By inserting several concepts which are foreign to the discipline of architecture and also to the earlier reading, *their texts, which mainly focuses on the issue of the Turkish House*, can be considered as invaluable sources to challenge the conventional documentation of modern Turkish architecture; to elucidate the interwoven relations between nationhood and modern culture. Through their works, which were informed largely by cultural studies, gender studies, post-colonial and post-structuralist (architectural) theories, and which are focusing primarily on the issues of ideology, identity, power, politics and representation, one can find a possibility in a history of another history. By the texts of these architectural historians, one can realize potential ways to discuss the term modern as a discourse, rather than a style; to challenge the old and ongoing debate around the opposition of modern and tradition; to develop a more ‘affirmative’ understanding of the term modern; to celebrate the complexities and heterogeneities of modern Turkish identity, and more importantly to make a critical analysis of the concept of the Turkish House.

Building on these critical readings of the Turkish House in connection to the term modern, this thesis also embodies an interdisciplinary approach. Aside from the case of the Turkish House, the notion of modern is already largely debated in architectural, cultural, and philosophical theories. Within the cultural theory, the writings of Paul de Man (1983), Huyssen (1986), Lyotard (1987), Berman (1988),

¹⁵ The writings of Nilüfer Göle(1991), Çađlar Keyder (1993), Şerif Mardin (1994), Bozkut Güvenç (1995), Reşat Kasaba (1998), Deniz Kandiyote (1998), Meyda Yeğenođlu (2003), Orhan Koçak (2007) can also be considered as invaluable sources to challenge the conventional historiography of Turkish Modernity. Although they are not writing from/within the discipline of architecture, their texts in a very similar way question the ideological-canonical reading of this period.

Habermas(1990), Giddens (1990, 1991), Simmel (1995), and Bauman (2000) offer a fertile soil to develop not only an ‘internal critique’ of the term modern, but also ways to re-write the experiences of it. In addition, the texts of Frampton (1980), Landau (1991), Wigley (1992, 1993, 1995), Cacciari (1993), Burns (1995), Colomina (1996), Heynen (1999), Grosz (2001), Vidler (2002), and Goldhagen (2002, 2005), that widely concentrate on the relation between identity and space, can lead us to show the idea that modern architecture can not be thought independently from the identity politics. Among these names, especially the writings of Hilde Heynen (1999) and Sarah Williams Goldgagen (2002, 2005) play a central role in this study. The concept of Goldhagen’s “situated modern” and Heynen’s explanation of the difference between the “programmatic” and “transitory” view of the term modern are used to challenge the unitary view on the subject in hand. Departing from their texts, one can say that *what is missing in the mainstream architectural historiography of modern Turkish architecture, and especially in understanding the idea of the Turkish House, is its “transitory” conception; the ways of resistance to ‘situate’ space socially, humanistically, culturally, and historically in place and time.* Therefore, both Heynen and Goldhagen’s works will serve as a ground to develop an alternative understanding of the term modern, which is to understand ‘anomalies’ within the projects that do not fit the stylistic image of the modernist architecture.

In addition to the discussions made by the above mentioned cultural and architectural theorists, the notion of any identity can not be reduced in to a fixed definition is also widely discussed within the philosophical debates. The potential ‘impossibility’ of any identity to close on itself is most clearly perceivable in the writings of Baudelaire

(1863), Nietzsche (1964), Adorno (1979), Barthes (1981), Benjamin (1989), Deleuze (1994, 2003), Foucault (1984, 1991), Agamben (1998), and Derrida (1978, 1986, 1996, 2000, 2004). Within these names, the texts of Jacques Derrida especially play a major role in this dissertation to challenge the conventional positioning of the Turkish House. Beside having a close relation with architecture and architectural concepts, his theory of Deconstruction (which will be described in Chapter 2) is used here to show the potential ‘incompleteness’ of any identity-structure; to position any structure as a movement; to generate various ‘itineraries’ and ‘detours’ within the structure without reaching to an end of meaning, and, more importantly to surface multiple openings that already exist within the structure.

Therefore, the contribution of this dissertation to the field can be summarized as to focus on the existing literature on the above mentioned topics, on the notion of the Turkish House. By following the arguments of philosophical and cultural theories on identity and modern condition, the texts of architectural theorists focusing on the relationship between identity and space, and also the texts of the architectural historians in Turkey, this study first of all intends to open up a theoretical argument, an ontological discussion around modern Turkish identity, and respectively around the so-called Turkish House, as its architectural translation. Moreover, through looking at culturally and politically thick textual descriptions- in periodicals like *Arkitekt*, *Türk Yurdu*, *Milli Mecmua*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, *Yeni Adam*, *Yedigün*, and *Resimli Ay*, in novels and stories like *Kiralık Konak* (1922), *Fatih-Harbiye* (1931), *Ankara* (1934), *Ev Sevgisi* (1935), *Cumbadan Rumbaya* (1936), *Sinekli Bakkal* (1936)- and visual representations in pictures, drawings, graphic designs, caricatures, and architectural projects of the era, this study tries to create a synthetic thinking

between theory and practice: *By discussing how metaphysical and material levels integrate in the shifting definitions of the Turkish House, this dissertation tries to engage with the discursive analysis on the idea of the Turkish House.*

In that respect, this dissertation can be considered as an ‘extension’ to the already-existing field. The dissertation aims at re-reading the very idea of Turkish House in relation to the already existing concepts, ideas, and discussions within different fields. That kind of a re-reading is not only important to look at the historiography of what is so-called Turkish House; to see how the idea of the Turkish House were narratively formed, but also to trace the ideological tone behind these narratives. As it will be explained in Chapter 3, one can say that both the emergence of the ‘idea’ of the Turkish House in 1st National Architectural period through the texts of Celal Esad Arseven (1909), Hamdullah Suphi (1912), Ahmet Süheyl Ünver (1923), Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu (1929) and the ‘materialization’ of it by Sedat Hakkı Eldem (1939, 1940) in 2nd National Architectural period embodies a sense of ‘negation’: The appearance of the idea/image of the Turkish House ideologically refers to ‘question of foreignness’. In favor of presenting a ‘solely and essentially Turkish’ architectural representation, in favor of presenting a ‘modern but not Western’ representation, the idea/image of the Turkish House was idealized as an alternative model against the modern architecture in the early 1930s: Different from the architectural examples practiced mostly by ‘foreign’ architects in the period of New Architecture, the idea/image of the Turkish House was ideologically and materially considered as both modern and national. However, as it will be explained in detail in Chapter 4, a close analysis of this period can present us a different point of view. By bringing the

‘foreign’ voices of several architects, like Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut, and Seyfi Arkan¹⁶ who were practicing their designs in the late 1930s in Turkey, to the discussion, one can recognize that the idea or the image of the Turkish House was also a case of study for these ‘foreign’ architects. The texts and designs of these ‘foreign’ architects can present us an alternative, a significantly different conceptualization of the Turkish House. The works which concentrates on not the ‘essential modern’ character of the Turkish House, but the ‘inevitably national’ character of modern house offers a more experimental, more spatial and more universalistic understanding of the Turkish House, rather than a stylistic, decorative and culturally relativist one. Moreover, through works, one can find a chance to shift from the morphological perspective of modern; to show that the terms modern and national can not be reduced in to fixed architectural definitions; to portray a national identity that is slippery, mobile, multiple, heterogeneous, incomplete, and subject to change; and more importantly, to surface an understanding of Turkish House not as a ‘thingness’, as a being, but as a ‘movement’, as a ‘becoming’.

¹⁶ It is important to note that the term foreign is not used here literally, but metaphorically. The term ‘foreign architects’ doesn’t only refer to the non-Turkish designers who were invited to practice their designs in Turkey, but also to Turkish architects. By saying ‘foreign architects’, this dissertation tries to underline those group of people who were ‘estranged’ because of their ‘un-national’ designs.

CHAPTER 2

BETWEEN THEORY OF ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTURE OF THEORY

2.1. Architecture as a Metaphor

The emergence of the idea/image the Turkish House, and its ‘materialization’, is closely related with identity politics. It is in the inherent contradiction of nationalist thought outside the western world- between progressive modern aspirations and nationalist anti-modern- where the idea/image of the Turkish House was appeared. Therefore, the so-called Turkish House can not be considered merely as built form. Beyond its materiality, the Turkish House also works as a ‘metaphor’. The Turkish House can be considered as the very mark of a representation; of representing the idea of Turkishness, and the modern Turkish identity. In that respect, before analyzing how the narratives of modern Turkish architecture dominate our conception of the Turkish House, and before tracing how material and metaphorical levels come together in the definition of the Turkish House, it is important to open a long parenthesis and to bring a philosophical discussion of architecture and ontology in to surface.

The theories and critics of phenomenologist philosophers Martin Heidegger (1971, 1996) and Jacques Derrida (1978, 1985, 1986, 1996, 2000, 2004); and their architectonic concepts, such as; spacing, becoming-space-of-space, incomplete

edifice, and housing, can lead us to frame an ontological discussion around the idea of the Turkish House and to discuss the institutive question of ‘what is Turkishness?’ or, to speak architecturally, from the question of ‘what is the ‘monument’, or the ‘house’, of modern Turkish identity?’

Here, it is important to note that, throughout the thesis this question is going to be portrayed as a question that is ‘impossible’ to answer. However, as far as this study is concerned the impossibility of answering this question is not taken negatively, but in a positive and affirmative way. This line of thought, which will be portrayed in detail in Chapter 4, leads us to say that to find an absolute architectural translation, a solid still architectural representation for the metaphysical idea of Turkishness is impossible. But, this impossibility also gives ways to infinite other possible architectural translations. To do that, to survive the idea of Turkish House in its translation, it is crucial to underscore the collapse of totalizing language(s).

In that respect, in order to challenge the mainstream positioning of the so-called Turkish House, as the ‘house/monument of Turkishness’, as the absolute architectural translation of modern Turkish identity, and in order to recognize other possible translation of Turkishness, it is important to recall an ongoing discussion between Being and Becoming: The philosophical distinction between Being and Becoming, that can be traced in Heidegger’s (1971) and Derrida’s (1986) texts, can present us two models for the representation of an identity. While the term Being refers to a point of completeness, a solid-still understanding of an identity, which can be traced in the appearance of the idea of Turkish House in 1st National and 2nd National Architectural Movements, the term Becoming on the other hand marks an

‘incompleteness’, an understanding of an identity that is always in flux, and which can be traced in the conception of the idea of the Turkish House in New Architecture Movement. As pointed out earlier, in order to overcome the Eastern/Western binary, and in order to present a notion of ‘modern identity that is not Western’, the very idea of the Turkish House was ideologically and nationalistically perceived as a Being, rather than Becoming. Therefore, the idea of modern Turkish identity were understood as a thingness which have a ‘true’ and an ‘ideal’ architectural representation, and the other possible representations of this identity were either ‘silenced’ or ‘estranged’. However, following the below mentioned philosophical arguments on Being and Becoming, this dissertation argues that these ‘foreign’ representations can present us an alternative understanding of the idea of Turkishness, and the Turkish House.

2. 2. Being, Space and Edifice

In *Building, Dwelling, and Thinking*, Martin Heidegger (1971) literally identifies thinking with the practice of building and addresses the ways in which philosophy repeatedly and insistently describes itself as a kind of architecture. Here, it is crucial to keep in mind that to describe the privileged role of architecture in theorizing is not to identify it as a pre-given reality from which philosophy derives. Claiming that “there is no philosophy without space” and “the philosopher is first and foremost an architect, endlessly attempting to produce a grounded structure” (Wigley, 1993: 8-9) is not to say that architecture precedes philosophy. In contrast, those claims underline the fact that architecture and philosophy are the effects of the same transaction. They

are structurally bound to each other. Without creating a hierarchy in between, they are in a reciprocal relation and one is never simply outside the other.

Heidegger's (1971: 12) persistent desire to expose the inevitable role of architecture (or architectural figures) within the theory *can be seen as an attempt to describe architecture both as a built form with its very materiality and also as a metaphor, as a figure of representing a certain kind of thought.* Although architecture is constructed as a material reality, what is central in Heidegger's reading is always how it is raised to liberate a supposedly higher domain. Therefore, architectural figure is bound to philosophy. As Wigley puts it "architecture is not simply one metaphor among others; more than the metaphor of foundation, it appears as the foundational metaphor of thought".

Heidegger (1971: 47) points at the way Immanuel Kant's (1791) *Critique of Pure Reason* describes metaphysics as an 'edifice' erected on secure 'foundations' laid on the most stable 'ground'. Of course, Heidegger's analysis and critique of 'architectonic theory' is not restricted to Kant¹⁷. Departing from this example, Heidegger (1971) argues that Kant's explicit attempt to lay the foundations for a building is the fundamental tendency and necessary task of all Western metaphysical tradition. For Heidegger, metaphysics is nothing more than the definition of the grounded structure: whether under the form of Platonic *Ideas*, Cartesian *Cogito*, or Hegelian *Absolute Spirit*, Western metaphysical tradition from the beginning aims at attaining a 'grounded' structure (Wigley, 1993: 7). The history of philosophy, since Plato, is nothing but that of a series of substitutions for structure; "its history is that

17 Architectonic theory refers to a certain kind of thinking that pertains to architecture. In architectonic theory all knowledge is thought and systematized through the qualities of architecture.

of a succession of different names (idea, logos, ratio, arche and so on) for the ground”, and monumental space inevitably comes in to sight as a figure, as a representation, which manifests grounding, and that which exhibits the most stable ground to the eye (Heidegger, 1971: 146). Therefore, the space, edifice, or monument, as Wigley (1993: 11) puts it, “is as much as a model of representation as of presentation”. *The role of an edifice as an addition, as a structural layer of thought is not simply the exclusion of representation in favor of presence, but it also represents the ongoing control of representation.* As Wigley puts it, “the architectural figure is never simply that of the well-constructed building, it is also the decorated building, one whose structural system controls the ornament attached to it” (1993: 12-13). In order to maintain an order, to restore a secure foundation, philosophy always attempts to control representation in the name of presence, to tame ornament in the name of structure, and the figure of edifice by claiming to mask the disjunction between thought and image, between presence and its representation, between structure and ornament always comes in to sight as a thing having total present to itself, as a thing-complete-in-itself, as a static, sterile, and intact form where there is no outside, and where there is no need of any more representation, addition, supplement, ornament and translation.

In light of Heidegger’s and Wigley’s words, one can underline that the idea of the Turkish House, beyond its materiality, can also be considered as a metaphor: the materiality of the Turkish House, beyond its architectural values, is raised to liberate the very idea of Turkishness, of modern Turkish identity. Hence, *the understanding of the idea of the Turkish House is closely related with the understanding of the idea of Turkishness.* Moreover, the conception of the Turkish House, while on one hand

presenting the ‘true’ nature of modern Turkish identity, on the other hand, as an architectural figure, also controls the ongoing representations. By bridging the gap between presence and representation, the idea/image of the Turkish House presents itself as the ‘essential’, ‘ideal’ and ‘only’ architectural translation of an identity. In that respect, it can be said that the emergence of the idea of Turkish House in 1st National Architectural Movement and more importantly its materialization by Sedat Hakkı Eldem in 2nd National Architectural Movement mark the above mentioned desire to find an ‘absolute’ architectural translation for modern Turkish identity. By setting the idea of the Turkish House in to fixed morphological typologies, in to the appearances and plan-types of vernacular dwelling, Sedat Hakkı Eldem not only tries to find a ‘complete’ representation for modern Turkish identity, but also tries to dominate the conception of it. In order to present an ‘essentially modern’ and ‘essentially Turkish’ architectural representation, more importantly in order to find a modern representation that is ‘not-Western’, a specific house type that spread over the vast territories of the former Ottoman Empire was theoretically and practically embraced by Eldem as the ‘monument’ of Turkishness . In addition, through this ‘monumental’ representation, Eldem aims to present the idea of modern Turkish identity and the idea of Turkish House, as thing-in-itself, as a being complete-in-itself where there is no need of any other representations.

In his later text, Heidegger (1996: 125) criticizes Plato and other philosophers within the Western metaphysical tradition when he says that those totalitarian understandings which struggle for framing, eternalizing, monumentalizing and grounding the identity, truth and meaning in favor of producing an ‘orderly façade’, or ‘the façade of an order’, elude difference, evade conception of the “world in a

constant flux”, and more importantly “betray the memory of true Being”. In the name of liberating an understanding of Being beyond mastery and governance, beyond complete control and dominance, the Heideggerian philosophy digs down in to the pre-Socratics to find the buried understanding of an emergence-of-being whose understanding is no calm contemplation of stationary form but a vision that might inspire instead a movement of ‘Becoming’. *Becoming first of all, in contrast to the hegemonic conceptions of Being pointed out earlier, is not a thing(ness) but a ‘movement’*. And what is liberated in the act of becoming is not some ‘fixed’ meaning but a state of flux; a flux that echoes Bergson’s (2004) protest against the spatialization of time, Nietzsche’s (1964) critique of Apollonian, Heidegger’s (1996) attack on enframing in the age of world picture, Foucault’s (1991) objection against conventional (archeological) historicity, Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) attempt to overthrow ontology, and Derrida’s (2000) obsessive dissent against containability. Although these forerunning voices posit different philosophical positions, what is common in all of them is an endless will to criticize a certain kind of understanding; a criticism against the metaphysics of presence- which can not tolerate differences (the new, the other, the unthought, and the outside) and which endlessly wishes to suppress these differences by forcing them to conform to expectation, to fit in to a structure, and to fix in to a stable image. Against the meaning of pure Being as the closure of a structure on itself, what is tried to be recalled by the theories of above mentioned so-called post-structuralist philosophers is an alternative model of thought that underlines the term becoming as the multiple openings of a structure and as the impossibility of an identity to close on itself. It is important to note that what is aimed here is not only to show the impossibility of an unpolluted or pure structure but, more importantly, to reveal the fact that “the opening of a structure is structural”

(Derrida, 1978: 155); the structure can not be thought as a fixed identity; it can not be reduced to a fixed definition.

Therefore, what is consciously ignored and tried to be eliminated within the metaphysics of presence is the ‘structurality of the structure’, the ‘becoming of being’. As Derrida (1978: 278) in *Structure, Sign and Play* explains:

“...to provide an inward orientation that excludes the other, to define Being as a thing having total present to itself, the metaphysics of presence fundamentally determines the structure as a ‘fixity’ through a reduction or neutralization of the structurality of structure by a process of giving it a center or of referring to a point of presence [...] the center is by definition unique, it governs the structure, yet paradoxically it escapes structurality”.

In architectural terms, within the metaphysics of presence the *figure of edifice* is employed to subordinate spacing. The sense of spacing (which is not space but becoming space of that what is meant to be without space) is hidden by tradition’s never-ending attempt to control space. In favor of valorizing higher constraints like presence, truth, law, stability, security, order, and enclosure, the spacing is always repressed by the tradition and is aimed to be turned in to a ‘mute’ space. Since spacing marks the impossibility of an identity to close on itself, no space, as Derrida (2004: 12) says, by definition, “has space for spacing”. If metaphysic’s timeless monument that is subordinated to sameness, loses its force of indifference always recalls the question ‘*what is left to translate?*’, the monument of Becoming (if there is one) always calls for the question ‘*what is always left by translation?*’¹⁸. The problem of translating the untranslatable, or in architectural terms the problem of inhabiting the uninhabitable, is the problem of how to construct ourselves and live in

18 At first sight, because of the ontological opposition between being and becoming, the ‘monument of becoming’ looks like a contradictory term in itself. However, what it actually underlines is the impossibility of a pure becoming without being. The act of becoming always needs a being to actualize itself. Therefore, through the act of becoming an idealization always exists: But, rather than an absolute one, it always refers to minor and partial idealization.

a world, when one accept that at the bottom there is no essence, no structure, no plan in the spaces; that, in those spaces there always exists the possibility of an ‘event’ that would dislocate what we assume to be natural, essential, structural or monumental about it¹⁹.

Following the post-structuralist point of view, one can say that Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s conception of the Turkish House, and the documentation of his architecture, marks an identity that is closed-on-itself: The idea of Turkishness was theoretically and practically was perceived as a static-inert Being. In favor of presenting the idea of Turkishness as ‘thingness’, the very idea of Turkishness were fixed in to a stable image, in to a fixed definition. In other words, there is only one answer to the question of: What is Turkishness; what is the architectural translation of modern Turkish identity. And, more importantly, what is consciously ignored or tried to be eliminated in the image of Eldem’s Turkish House is Becoming; the Becoming of an

19 The term ‘event’, in that respect, appears as a highly crucial and remarkable concept for most of the above mentioned post-structuralist philosophers. The question of event can lead us to portray an alternative reading of architecture against the conventional and traditional understanding of architecture as a monument. If by monument one understands something built once and for all, with a single origin or end, with a proper and idealized body that denies the possibility of death and attempts to present a realm of transcendence and immortality, architecture of event would be architecture of this other possible relation to history. The aim is eventualize or open up, what in our history, or our tradition, presents itself as monumental, as what is assumed to be essential and unchangeable, or incapable of a “rewriting” as what is fixed in concrete.

Michael Foucault’s (1991: 76) genealogy, for example, can easily be defined as to eventualize our history, rather than to idealize it. Foucault tries to show that events, those singular occurrences, in our history, open up ‘new’ and ‘altogether other’ possibilities. For Foucault, an event is the arrival of something we can’t get over, which does not leave us the same. An event is the “unforeseen chance or possibility in a history of another history”. And, in that respect, genealogy offers to break the air of obviousness to overcome the sense that there was no other way to proceed. An invention, Derrida declares shares the same roots with event; both derive from *venire*. For Derrida, an invention must possess “the singular structure of an event” (1983: 41); the singular arrival of something which retrospectively transforms its very context. In other words, to invent, as opposed to an Aristotelian logic of identity, reflection, reason, self-containment, is to “come upon something for the first time” (1983: 43). It thus an element of novelty and surprise, which would be of a singular sort when what the invention comes upon could not be previously counted as even possible in the history or context in which it arises. It is then an invention of the possible other; it initiates what could not have been foreseen, and can not yet be named.

identity. In favor of reducing the meaning of Turkishness in to sameness, in to a ‘mute and frozen monument’, Eldem’s conception of the Turkish House blocks any other potential translations related with the Turkish identity. Therefore, it is important to note that to look at these ‘silenced’ representations can lead us to perceive the idea of the Turkish House as a Becoming.

2.3. Becoming, Spacing, and the Incomplete Edifice

Maybe the most appropriate example of above- mentioned discussion, of monument of once-and-for-all translated truth and meaning, can be found through the myth of the *tower of Babel*. Rather than simply repeating the myth of Babel, this dissertation re-reads the myth in light of the theory of Deconstruction, raised by Jacques Derrida (1978, 2004), and which can also be traced back to Martin Heidegger (1971). As it will be documented later in detail, one can metaphorically highlight a close relation between the figure of the tower of the Babel and the image of the Turkish House. In addition, through Derrida’s analysis of the myth, one can find a ground to discuss the idea of the Turkish House in its ‘incompleteness’. In that respect, before directly dealing with the myth of Babel and Derrida’s critique, and its relation with the idea of the Turkish House, it is highly important to pause for a moment and to elaborate on the term Deconstruction. Because, similar to the theories of other philosophers, there are numerous different interpretations, explanations and readings for Derrida’s theory of Deconstruction. There is no solid consensus about what the term Deconstruction really is.

First of all, Deconstruction, besides embodying several objections and oppositions in common or parallel with the other post-structuralist theories, occupies a privileged and unusual position where it 'loves what it deconstructs'. Although it is very hard to explain this phrase, maybe the most appropriate beginning can be to say that Deconstruction begins with the denial of the term beginning. As Brunette and Wills (1994: 97) state Deconstruction does not dream about a zero-point where a new theory (or a new understanding of ontology) can be born from the complete ignorance, abolition, and dismissal of the previous understandings and the forms of thought. Past thinkers like Plato and Hegel are not ignored and dismissed, but read over and over. Therefore, as a 'new new criticism', Deconstruction can not be considered neither as a (new) theory nor as a (new) system because it does not assume a position of overthrowing; it stays internal to the (hi)story, to the 'text'. In that respect, one can say that Deconstructive discourse is different but not simply new; its difference is actually internal to the traditions it appears to displace (Brunette and Wills, 1994: 112).

Deconstruction tries to describe a repetition without identity, meaning, and essence. For Deconstruction, as Sarup (1988: 58-59) puts it, there is no hygienic starting point, no superior logic to apply, no principles to be found; without a linear destination, Deconstruction 'loves' the system, embraces the system in order to keep it open; to keep the system open to otherness and differentiation. In other words, the task of Deconstruction is not the 'originality' but a 're-formulation'. Deconstruction does not open up to 'new' possibilities (Sarup, 1988: 60). Rather, it identifies 'multiple openings' that already structure the system. The truly 'new', in Deconstructive discourse, is not simply a new context but the 'affirmation' of the

ever-shifting perspectives by means of which the old appears in a new light. In that sense, as Sarup mentions (1988: 59), Deconstruction does not depart from the traditional view but incorporates it in the next generation of ideas; it maintains the traditional view alive in order to degrade or (de)form it.

In that respect, *Deconstruction does not simply mean destruction* but precisely a *de-structuring* that dismantles the structural layers in the already existing system.

Deconstruction gives birth to a ‘non-static structuralism’, to a system in motion (which does not mean that it is a-structural and/or a-systematic) and by putting structures under pressure, forcing them to their limits, aims to generate various ‘itineraries’, ‘detours’, ‘postponements’, ‘deferrals’ without ever reaching to an ‘end’ or a locus of meaning.

In general, Deconstruction mainly works on the historically anchored texts in a non-architectonic way; in favor of showing the “radical absence”, the “structural failure” of the structure (of the text), and in favor of showing the structural opening of a structure right through its center, deconstruction attempts to show ‘the holes in the fabric of the text’ (Sarup, 1988: 56). Because, as Derrida (2004: 164) states, “it is always possible for a text to become new, since the blanks open up its structures to an indefinitely disseminated transformation”. Therefore, Deconstruction mainly seeks to find this uninhabitable outside within the habitable inside of a text to mark the impossibility for an identity and meaning to be closed-on-itself. Here, one should remember that the term impossibility, to speak deconstructively, is not the opposite of the possible. Instead, as Sarup (1988: 56) underlines impossibility ‘supports’ and ‘releases’ the possible. And to recognize this ‘irreducible exterior’ and ‘indigestible

other' within the very interiority of the text indicates not only the incompleteness of every text but also impossibility of sustaining a pure opposition between inside and outside (of the text). Against the desire for keeping the outside out (which is the fundamental definition of Being) what Deconstruction tries to expose is the recognition of the fact that to exclude something by placing it 'outside' is actually to control it, to put it in its place, to enclose it. As Derrida (1976: 41-42) states, "to exclude is always means to include". Therefore, Deconstructive reading- which liberates the idea of "the inevitable return of what is excluded" or repressed- can simply be defined as a war over taking place, or as a war against taking stand (Derrida, 1976: 46).

To speak architecturally, Deconstruction can be summarized as 'the soliciting of an edifice', or soliciting of the so-called monumental²⁰. Here it is important to underline that to make a building tremble is not to collapse it or erect a new one instead. As Wigley (1993: 36) puts it, to tremble an edifice in entirety means to trace an opening in heart of the structure; a structural opening that does not allow space to be bracketed out in favor of some higher immutable and immaterial constant. Against the essentialist desire to monumentalize 'spacing', to turn 'spacing' in to a kind of a mute space, to domesticate its strange movements and inconsistencies, to block its potential and possible yet-to-come events, the task of deconstruction searches for a 'non-place' (non-lieu, non-site or u-topos) to protect the effacement of spacing by space. These 'non-places', that reside neither inside nor outside (of the system), are not the resources and the reserves of meaning, but they mark a 'mise en abyme', an abysmal staging and setting of meaning; a simultaneous creation and ruination of

20 The word soliciting etymologically comes from Solicitare, an old Latin word means to shake as a whole, to tremble it entirety.

meaning²¹. Therefore, Deconstruction seeks in its marginal (re)reading and (re)writing to inhabit a u-topia, a non-place of alterity that marks the incompleteness of every architectural project, and the impossibility of every act of monumentalizing. And thus, as Wigley (1993: 33) states Deconstruction gives rhythm to every space to “survive” and “to live on” without reaching to an identity closing on itself.

Here it is important to recall the myth of Babel and to trace the above-mentioned philosophical discussion around the architectural figure of tower²². In *Des Tours de Babel*, Derrida (1985: 165-167) states that the figure of the tower acts as the strategic intersection of translation, philosophy, and architecture. First of all, the tower of Babel acts as a profound figure of philosophy because “the dream of philosophy is that of translatability” (Derrida, 1985: 69). For Derrida, philosophy is no more than the ideal of pure translation, the careful recovery, and unmediated presentation of an original truth. And, it is not a surprise to be aware of the fact that the philosophical ideal of a pure translation is explicitly organized around an architectural figure; the tower can be seen as a crystal-clear image of how philosophy (again) calls for an architectural supplement to idealize its building project, the desire for a stable and eternal grounding. In other words, the figure of tower once again appears as the

21 *Mise en abyme* has several meanings in the realm of the creative arts and literary theory. The term is originally from the French and means, "placing in to infinity" or "placing in to the abyss". The term is used in deconstruction and deconstructive literary criticism as a paradigm of the intertextual nature of language—that is, of the way language never quite reaches the foundation of reality because it refers in a frame-within-a-frame way to other language, which refers to other language.

22 According to the book of Genesis, The Tower of Babel was an enormous tower built at the city of Babylon, a cosmopolitan city typified by a confusion of languages. However, the Tower of Babel was not built for the worship and praise of God, but was instead dedicated to the glory of man. Some believe that a vengeful God, seeing what the people were doing, came down and confused their languages and scattered the people throughout the earth.

necessary architectural translation of philosophy to actualize and materialize it's so called 'essence'.

However, following Walter Benjamin's (1923) essay *The Task of the Translator*, Derrida (1985: 171) in *Des Tours de Babel* also argues that "translation is not the transmission, reproduction, or image of an original meaning that preceded it". On the contrary, the very sense something original is but an effect of translation, the translation actually producing what it appears to simply reproduce. A text, as Benjamin (1989: 69) puts it, "calls for" a translation that establishes a nostalgia for the purity, plenitude, and the life it never had". He also adds that there is some kind of gap in the structure of the text that the translation is called in to cover; to cover precisely by forcing it open even further "to liberate what is hidden within that structure" (Benjamin, 1989: 81-82). A translation transforms the text rather than transmits it. A text is never an organic, unified whole complete-in-itself; it can only 'survive' and continue 'to live on' by its very translation which is on the one hand necessary and on the other hand impossible.

In terms of the myth of Babel, the idea of a "survival of a text in its translation" can easily be corresponded with the idea of an incomplete edifice²³. The tower of Babel is commonly associated with the confusion of tongues; God's punishment of the sons of Noah for attempting to build a unified structure and an indestructible tower after the Great Flood. For Derrida (1985) the failure of the tower (and the resulting dispersal of its inhabitants) marks the necessity for translation, the multiplicity of

23 The Netherlandish Renaissance painter Peter Bruegel's 1563 painting named as *The Tower of Babel* also underlines the incompleteness of the tower. Rather than depicting tower as a thing completed-in-itself, Bruegel prefers to represent it as an endless re-building process, as something 'under construction' (Figure 2).

languages, and the free play of representation. Derrida (1985: 25) points out that “the univocal language of builders of the tower is not the language of philosophy. On the contrary, it is an imposed order; a violent imposition of a single language [...] the necessity of philosophy is actually defined in the collapse of the tower rather than in



Figure 2: Tower of Babel in Peter Bruegel's 1563 Painting (Jockel, 1998)

the project itself”. Here it is important to say that the word ‘collapse’ is not used in a conventional way, as a negative term but used in an affirmative way, as the positive expression of the failure which marks the process of endless rebuilding

(endless translation), and more importantly impossibility of finishing. As Derrida (1985:24) states, “the building project of philosophy continues, but its completion is forever deferred”. Therefore, the tower of Babel exhibits an incompleteness, the impossibility of finishing, of totalizing, of saturating, of completing something on the order of edification, architectural construction, system, and architectonics. And what the multiplicity of idioms actually limits is not only a ‘true’, ‘pure’ translation, “a transparent and adequate inter-expression” (Wigley, 1993: 44), it is also a structural order, a coherence of construct.

In this respect, one can conceptually underline a similarity between the tower of Babel and the idea/image of the ‘Turkish House’. *Within the earlier documentations that mostly structured themselves around Sedad Hakkı Eldem's idea/image of the Turkish house*, the Turkish House was positioned as the necessary architectural

translation of a higher immutable and immaterial notion, which is the idea of modern Turkish identity. The idea of ‘Turkish House’, as an ‘end-product’ of the nationalization process, is required to satisfy the desire of finding a stable and eternal grounding for the so-called essence of Turkishness. And, in that sense, the image of Turkish House extend beyond its materiality and operates as the necessary supplement to monumentalize the ‘ontologically obscure’ idea of Turkishness; to fix it in to a coherent structure, to fix it in to a stable and unchanging image. In other words, the idea/image of Turkish House conventionally underlines the desire for a ‘pure translation’ where there is no need of any more/other translation. The idea of the Turkish House was presented as if it controls and blocks any other representation, any other potential and possible yet-to-come-becomings, any other Turkish Houses, and labeling them as ‘unrelated’ with the idea of Turkishness. In that respect, one can say that the image/idea of the Turkish house, as the house of Turkishness, was conventionally considered as an architectural response to the question: ‘what is Turkishness?’. The image of Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s Turkish House was thought as being the necessary architectural representation/translation of this question. However, ‘what is Turkishness’ can be considered as an essentially complex question, a question that can hardly be answered with one-single image. From a Deconstructive point of view, one can say that there is no possibility to answer this question but there are only impossibilities which give rise to various possible answers. Very similar to the Tower of Babel, one can regard the Turkish House as an incomplete edifice: in its failure the very idea of Turkishness survives. In that respect, one can consider the idea of Turkish House as an endless re-building process, rather than a fixed, concrete identity. The building project of Turkish House(s) continues but its completion is forever deferred. In short, there is no

Turkish House as such, but only different possible ways of housing the very idea of Turkishness.

2.4. House/ Housing

The house, like the edifice or the monument, can be considered within architectonic theory as another distinctive figure of a pure interior divided, secured from an exterior. The idea of house as a means of shelter, of separating the inside from the outside, nature from the human beings, the public from the private sphere, has existed since antiquity, and the house, both materially and metaphorically, has served to establish a general opposition between an inner world of presence and the outer world of representation (Wigley, 1993: 103). Since Plato, who is often credited with being the ‘initiator’ of Western philosophy, the figure of the house, has been represented as the traditional example of presentation; as the presentation of an ‘Idea’. The philosophical discourse which is ruled by a desire, an obsession for meaning, a full and unspoiled presence, a foundational *arche* or *telos* always ends up with the figure of the house. According to Kaika (2004) in Plato’s *Republic*, the polis, the public sphere is defined as the very opposite of the private sphere. Or, in *Statesman*, Plato again critically put side by side, the public sphere of the agora to the private sphere of the household (Kaika, 2004: 266). Moreover, it is important to note that, by this strict differentiation between the *polis* and the *oikos*, Plato aimed at representing the private sphere as the ideal emergence of the vessel and the container: due to its sublime capacity of providing shelter from all terror, doubt and division exist in the outer world (the world of representation), the ‘peaceful’ nature

of the 'house' is depicted as a 'coherent structure', as a self-contained entity, as a space-in-itself, as a privileged interior, or as the space of an unmediated presence.

In that respect, it is not surprising to find that Martin Heidegger (1971), in his late works, develops his early motif of the edifice- the grounded structure- in to that of the house. For Heidegger (1971), the metaphysics of presence is sustained by the figure of the house in the same way as it is sustained by the figure of the edifice.

Very similar to the metaphor of edifice, the material presentation of immaterial ideas is established with the metaphor of the house. In his essay *Building, Dwelling and Thinking*, one can easily recognize this move where the edifice is turned in to a house, the building is understood as housing, the grounding is understood as dwelling and the figure of standing gradually becomes that of 'enclosing'. By introducing the metaphor of the 'house', Heidegger (1971) finds a more fertile soil to portray and criticize how Western metaphysical tradition- since Plato- becomes no more than thinking about housing or; more precisely how it is always structured by a "thinking that houses" (Wigley, 1993: 110). Very similar to the analogy between thinking and building, the literate identification between thinking and the act of housing, depicted by Heidegger (1971), shows a similar obsession to frame, to enclose the identity, truth, order, and meaning in itself. And very similar to the metaphor of monument, the house within Western metaphysical tradition always appears as 'fixity: What the figure of house reveals is a never-ending attempt to obtain a stationary form; to control representation(s) in the name of presence, to block 'alterity' in the name of 'identity'. In short, the figure of the house is always represented within architectonic theory as the dominant and inescapable metaphor of

values such as ‘complete-closeness’, enclosure, immediacy, truth, stability, security and order.

Therefore, the house, as Heidegger (1971) states, is always understood as the most primitive drawing of a line that produces an inside opposed to an outside and the act of dwelling is always illustrated as the realm of non-representation where the Being lives an original presence. In contrast to this common definition of Being - where Being is defined as what it is, the outside is outside and the inside is inside- *the argument this study tries to recount here is about whether this line (wall?) between interior and exterior is (or should be) a rigid, an unsurpassable one, or actually is about whether it exists at all.* Such a discussion not only leads us to question the concept of house in philosophical terms, but also to discover the intimate relation between domestication and architecture; in other words, the role of architecture when it is understood as housing. Moreover, through the concept of ‘housing’, one can find a fertile soil to discuss the strategic role of the image of the Turkish House in the formation of our understanding of modern Turkish identity. Within the mainstream documentation of modern Turkish architecture, the idea of Turkish House was presented as a rigid line; *an ontological line between what is modern Turkish identity and what is not.* Both in Sedad Hakki Eldem’s conception of the Turkish House and in its historiographical positioning, it was claimed that through the image of the Turkish House, the modern Turkish architecture at last managed to present a ‘modern but Turkish’ character. Here through this firm conception of the Turkish House, one can say that the idea of Turkish Houses houses a sense of identity that is not Western. Therefore, the line which Sedad Hakki Eldem’s Turkish House draws highlights a boundary between modern Turkish and Western modern. And, it was believed that

only by the existence of such a line, realized through the materiality of Sedad Hakkı Eldem's Turkish House, the 'other', the 'foreign' which is non-Turkish, is at last excluded (or domesticated) and an 'interiority', 'the familiar space of Turkishness' is at last managed to be constructed.

Here, one can question the possibility of drawing such a line; is there a line between Turkish and non-Turkish? If so, is it a rigid, an unsurpassable one? Or, whether this line is mobile and slippery?

In light of these questions, similar to the argument made on the completeness of the edifice- its intense associations with stability and endurance- one can raise an argument on the 'closeness of a house'. Following the arguments of Derrida (2000) and Wigley (1993), one can find a chance to deconstruct the figure of the house as the very mark for closeness, as the fantasy of unitary completeness and in-division. The house of metaphysics is going to be deconstructed by locating the 'traces of alterity' which refuses to be domesticated and yet can not be excluded. By doing that, we can underline the impossibility of achieving a self-contained, self-sufficient entity, the impossibility of realizing a pure interiority, the impossibility of attaining a solid and definite structure.

To understand Heidegger's (1971) conception of dwelling, one must, first of all, put aside the physical matter and notice the necessary difference between the home and the house; between interiority and interior. For Heidegger (1971: 241), "the home is not here, it is that other place where I dwell". Therefore, the idea of home, different from house (or residence), does not solely refer to a corporeal interior; rather, it

designates a sense of ‘interiority’; a psychic structure. In addition to its physical matter, the idea of home assigns a strong sense of cultural belonging, existential and essential shelter. Therefore, the image of home -whether at the level of the private dwelling or at the level of cities and communities which make up the ‘home-land’ of our contemporary nation states- directly associated with identity, representation, and subjectivity²⁴.

In the above mentioned phrase, one can potentially underline the words, interior and interiority which are closely connected with the conception of the home. Just like saying that ‘a house is not a home’, one can easily say that ‘interiority is not an interior’. Containment, confinement, enclosure, imprisonment, privacy, protection, safety, security, familiarity, and shelter: these are the words to which understanding of interiority (so as home) adhere. Also, interiority, in that sense, refers to that abstract quality enabling the recognition and definition of an interior. Interiority is a theoretical and immaterial set of coincidences and variables from which the interior is made possible.

Beatriz Colomina’s (1996) formulation of ‘horizon as an interiority’ can help us to understand such an immaterial and mental construction of an interior. Colomina (1996: 132) observes that the horizon- although it is not a physical matter- “defines an enclosure”. In its familiar sense, “it marks a limit to the space of what can be seen,

²⁴ Maybe the most appropriate example can etymologically be found with the help of the German word *Heimat*. Very similar to the word *Yurt* used in Turkish, the word *Heimat* also embodies the meanings of home, homeland, and native region at the same time. Moreover, it refers to a state of domesticity and an ownership. So it is not wrong to say that, the home (or heim) can not simply be considered as ‘this’ or ‘that’ place; it can not simply be reduced to a physical surrounding. Home should be considered both as a built form, as an interior with its very materiality and also as a metaphor, immaterially as a figure of representing interiority, of representing self sustaining and self-sufficient identity.

which is to say, it organizes this visual space in to an interior”. The horizon, as Colomina (1996: 135) adds, organizes “the outside in to a vertical plane, that of vision. In addition, shelter is provided by the horizon’s ability to transform the threatening world of the ‘outside’ in to a reassuring picture”. Therefore, it can be said that, for Colomina, the horizon marks the very mechanism of attaining such a sense of interiority. The horizon, or let’s say the boundary, becomes the necessary instrument to achieve such a feeling of interiority; to control and moderate exteriority, to control any ‘alien’ intrusion, and to make interior seem safe and secure.

The notion of interiority, therefore, is not an absolute condition that depends only on a restrictive architectural definition. Inside and outside are architectural terms strictly tied to the boundary of building, whereas interiority and exteriority, like in Colomina’s (1996) conception of horizon, weave within and without built constraints of architecture, sometimes between them, and sometimes independent of them. What defines interiority is its horizon, its subjectively produced limit. And, this boundary between interiority and exteriority is not a fixed one. It is instead mobile and slippery. In Bachelard’s (1994:229) words, “interiority is the point at which the understandings of what an interior is become elastic” . Or, as Heidegger(1971: 154) states, interiority’s boundary “is not that at which something stops, but [...] the boundary is that of which something begins its presencing”. Thus, for both Bachelard (1994) and Heidegger (1971), the boundary is a starting point; the boundary not only closes, but also connects. The purity, safety, and closeness of an interior is continuously re-invented, re-produced, re-presented and re-constructed by this never-ending move of the boundary.

To translate these terms within the context of home, one can easily say that there is no home but only a never-ending act of housing. Home, in that sense, does not mean a state of domesticity nor does it signify ownership. It is the version of the active principle that Michael de Certeau (1984:74) calls “practicing place”. In contrast to the traditional view of the home which is privileged, inert, static, and complete-in-itself, the sense of housing (which is not home but becoming-home of that what means to be without home) is always in flux; always open to an exterior; always open to the modes of otherness and becoming. As Jacques Derrida says (2000: 64) “in order to constitute the space of a habitable house and a home, you have to give up a passage to the outside world [...] There is no home or interior without a door or windows”.

Echoing Derrida (2000), one can easily say that there is no home complete- in- itself; no home as a self-contained entity; no home as a space of unmediated presence. Furthermore, what we call home becomes as much a model of representation as of presentation. Home is not simply the exclusion of representation (exteriority) in favor of presence (interiority), but it also represents the ongoing control of representation. The ‘peaceful nature’ of the home is based on its ability to invite and refuse. What is going to be welcomed and what is going to be ignored marks the necessary mechanism to create the sense of interiority, the sweet and familiar face/façade of the home.

Therefore, the sense of interiority, in contrast to its traditional associations, is a point of ‘discrimination’; it categorizes and stereotypes every act of representation. If

to ground a structure is to build a house, then to constrain the unruly play of representations is to house them, i.e, to domesticate them. If, as McCarthy (2005: 118) presents, “interiority is the distance between my body and its outside” then what is named as the outside, or as the exterior, will become the crucial pronouncement to define an interior, to create the sense of interiority, to attain the fantasy of unitary closeness and to affirm subjectivity and identity. The differentiation from outside world becomes the only possible way to locate the interior as an exclusive, restricted, and private space; a storehouse of order. Therefore, home, can be formulated “*as an act of exclusion, as much as one of inclusion*” (Virilio, 1991: 9). In order to achieve the fantasy of unitary closeness and completeness of the home, what is excluded becomes a more necessary source than what is kept inside. As Wigley (1993: 74) portrays following Derrida, *exclusion becomes “a mechanism to construct interiority, rather than exteriority”*.

Here, it is important to underline that exteriority should not be understood as the opposite of interiority; rather, to speak Deconstructively, one should understand it as the necessary source to ‘release’ and ‘support’ the very sense of interiority. If the inside (the familiar) essentially needs its outside (unfamiliar) to actualize and define itself as a purely distinct space, then the outside, in a way, should remain within the inside as a structural and essential necessity. The outside continues to be organized by the logic of the inside and so actually remains in it. As Wigley puts it (1993:107) “the interior becomes an effect of the exterior”. And to eliminate this exteriority, to remove this irreducible alterity, in order to realize a pure and unpolluted inside is always bound to fail. Moreover, to recognize this ‘indigestible other’, ‘irreducible and ‘uninhabitable exterior’ within the habitable inside signifies not only the

incompleteness of every housing project but also the impossibility of sustaining a pure opposition between inside and outside.

In response to the arguments on interiority and exteriority, and their mutually correspondent relation, *this study problematizes the line between the inside and the outside of the Turkish House as a historiographical category*. The ontological line that the so-called Turkish House draws can be considered a point of discrimination: In favor of constructing a ‘pure interiority’, a ‘unitary closeness’ related with the idea of Turkishness, some of the representations were ‘excluded’, were treated as non-Turkish. This line of thought can well be traced to the appearance of the 2nd National Architectural Movement. As pointed out earlier, 2nd National Architectural Movement builds itself around the ‘negation’ of the Movement of New Architecture: the architectural forms of this movement and also its ‘foreign’ practitioner – either Turkish or not- were rigorously criticized and ideologically ‘estranged’ because of having no relation with the Turkish context. The New Architectural Movement was considered as an ‘un-national’ and as a ‘foreign’ architectural style that carried the characteristics of progressive modern (identified as Western) aspirations. However, close analysis of this period, which will be explained in detail in Chapter 4, can present us a different point of view. Moreover, focusing on these ‘excluded’ or ‘domesticated’ architectural examples can help us to challenge the univocal tone behind the mainstream documentation. Rather than simply naming them as ‘foreign’ or as non-Turkish, by bringing these examples in to discussion one can underline the impossibility of attaining a rigid line related with the idea the Turkish House; of reducing the term Turkishness in to a fixed definition; of finding a solid-still architectural representation for the metaphysical idea of Turkishness; and, of housing

the very idea of Turkishness. Moreover, one can alternatively underline that the line between Turkish and non-Turkish is mobile and slippery. The works of architects like Egli, Taut and Arkan, in the 1930s, can point towards a never-ending move of the boundary that re-invents, re-produces, and reconstructs the definition of the modern Turkish identity.

CHAPTER 3

THE TURKISH HOUSE AS THE MONUMENT/HOUSE OF AN IDENTITY

3.1. The Term Modern, Identity Crisis, and the Emergence of the Idea of Turkish House

During the 1920s and the 1930s, architecture constitutes a major ingredient in the making of modern-nationalist narratives everywhere, and modern Turkey is no exception to this. As Bozdoğan (2002:17) puts it during the interwar period, like regimes and political systems from Socialism in Weimar Germany to post-revolutionary Russia, from Fascism in Italy to Zionism in mandate Palestine, Kemalist programme in Turkey also embraced the revolutionary and progressive aesthetic canon of the Modern Movement.

Since the beginning of the new Republic of Turkey, in early twentieth century, the urban landscape has undergone dramatic changes. This is not a situation that is peculiar to Turkey, but one that can be seen in many countries that began their ‘architectural modernization’ in this century or at the end of last one. But, what is interesting for Turkey is that as its landscape of distinctive Ottoman period houses was replaced with concrete apartments and villas, and as the urge to live in modern housing was nourished, an image of the old-disappearing Ottoman House took on symbolic meaning and attained aesthetic value in the Turkish consciousness.

The spirit of the Modern Movement in architecture with its emphasis on universalism, objectivism, and rationalism was suitable for a new republic that was eager to realize an ‘institutionalized forgetting’ against its Islamic-Eastern-Ottoman past and to identify itself with the Western-European civilization. As Baydar (2002: 230) states, “[modern movement’s] aesthetic vocabulary of simplicity, functionality and rationality formed a desirable contrast to the heavy eclecticism of Ottoman architecture” . So, the style of the Modern Movement (with its use of reinforced concrete, glass, the primacy of cubic forms, geometric shapes, and Cartesian grids, and above all the absence of decoration, stylistic and cultural motifs, traditional roofs and ornamental details) became the national style of Turkish modernity (Bozdoğan, 2002: 17). In other words, modern architecture was ‘imported’ and ideologically embraced as a necessary and essential instrument to actualize Turkey’s desire to create a complete rupture in time, to build a totally new identity, and to produce a trans-historical, trans-national and trans-cultural character.

Obviously, what was imported from the West was not only restricted to the discipline of architecture. As Esra Akcan (2005) puts it, westernization was a “common ego-ideal” and architecture was not the single source to reach this goal, to realize the social-engineering project and top-to-bottom modernization. In order to insert utopian ideals in to people’s work habits, living patterns, moral conduct and worldviews, and more importantly to create a sense of *We*, a more radical programme was tried to be actualized. In that sense, such reforms as changing the alphabet from Arabic script to Latin, accepting the Swiss Civil Code, and replacing the Ottoman fez with the European-style brimmed cap, can be considered as the

remarkable signs of this ideological aim. These reforms from verbal communication to clothing, from education to the legal system show the persistent desire of the revolutionary programme to realize a completely westernized, secular, civil, and modern identity not only in the public context but also within the private sphere, through novel everyday practices.

And, it is also important to note that, to ‘ground’ these ideals, to ‘build’ up new life-styles, to ‘house’ new daily practices and to produce a modern and western *wohnkultur*, architecture once again functions as an ideological instrument.

As Bozdoğan (2002:196) states;

“Architecture was an ‘agent of civilization’ not only in the public space of the nation, but also in the most intimate domestic space of the family”

And, as Bozdoğan adds the widespread promotion of the modern house in popular journals of the 1930s, like *Yedigün*, *Resimliay*, *Muhit*, *Modern Türkiye Mecmuası* underlines the above mentioned desire to form a modern way of living appropriate to the new nation-state. The importance of the modern house as an element that serves to form the ‘new life-styles’ extended beyond the architectural framework and was represented as the par excellence cultural sign of the modern living. As an “ideological state apparatus”²⁵, as Althusser puts it, the model-prototype houses of the modern movement operate as the cause that initiates a ‘new way of living’. The modern house was considered as the nucleus, as the most sacred space of the national renewal process. As Baydar (2002:229) says, “In the early stages of nation building,

²⁵ ‘Ideological State Apparatus’ is a concept invented by Althusser to explain his theory of ideology. By the presence of this concept, in his thesis, Althusser tries to show the ‘materiality’ of the ideas. In other words, he highlights the belief that ideas are a product of social practices, and not the reverse. However, this should not be understood as simple (social) behaviorism. By using this concept, Althusser tries to show how society makes the individual in its own image. For further theorization of this concept, see Althusser, L. (1989).

the modern house became one of the most potent symbols of the modern nation”.

More than simply being a house, modern domestic space appears as an icon of modern-ness.

The so-called ‘Cubic-House’ [Kübik-Ev] was the modernist version of the domestic architecture preferred in Turkey. These houses were reinforced concrete structures with non-ornamental surfaces; they had rational appearances with a flat roof, wide glass windows, and simple cubic volumes with white painted surfaces. Designed as the center of a small nuclear family, in popular journals of the era, these houses were presented as conveyors of the desire ‘to be modern’ with all its attendants, norms and values (Figure 3).

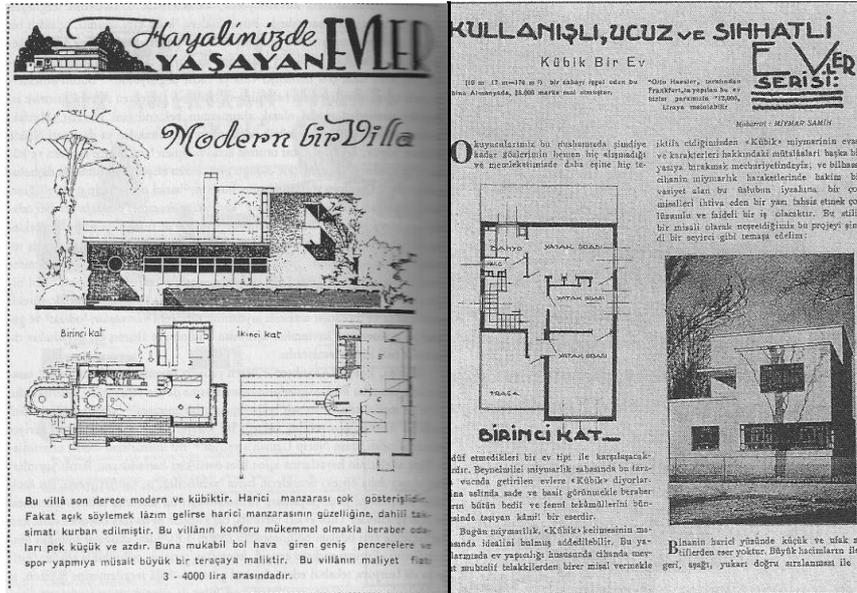


Figure 3: The promotion of ‘cubic house’ in Yedigün and Muhit Journals, in the 1930s (Bozdoğan, 2002: 228).

Yet, in the late 1920’s and 1930s, before and after the revolutionary and progressive aesthetic canon of the Modern Movement was embraced, both modern architecture in urban-public landscape and ‘cubic-house(s)’ in private scale were considered as the emblematic representations of alienation; against their ideological role of

symbolizing the new modern-Turkish identity, they were also seen as the marks of ‘over-westernization’, of ‘degeneration’. The term ‘cubic’, as Bozdoğan (2002: 244) elaborates, was used as a negative adjective representing “alienated, unpatriotic and foreign lifestyles in that period”. Therefore, the modern-cubic architecture, on one hand, was ideologically celebrated and used to monumentalize the idea of Turkishness; the materiality of these houses was considered as the symbol of new-modern-national identity. However, on the other hand, they were also discredited for misrepresenting the so-called ‘essence of Turkishness’. Although, the modern architecture in Turkey was promoted with an ‘ideological sympathy’ to satisfy the desire of being both Western and modern, through the exclusion and repression of national, traditional, and regional values, it also created a sense of doubt, a sense of lacking identity, a sense of homelessness. And, the so-called ‘cubic’ architecture in Turkey, in that respect, considered as not entirely successful in “doing away with the past, with the homey values and go on haunted by it” (Berman, 1988: 53).

In fact, that kind of a conflict between forgetting and remembering, between “authentic nationalism and homogenizing modernity”, as Chambers (1994) puts it, is not peculiar to the context of Turkey. As Berman (1988) writes the simultaneous feeling of loss and discovery or exhaustion and rigor is an inevitable experience of modernity. He says;

To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world—and at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are. Modern environments and experiences cut across all the boundaries of geography and ethnicity, of class and nationality, of religion and ideology: in this sense, modernity can be said to unite all mankind. But it is a paradoxical unity, a unity of disunity: it pours us all in to a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish (Berman, 1988: 15).

Very similar to Berman's words, Chatterjee (1996) underlines a similar paradox by showing the impossibility of attaining an authentic national modernity. She (1996: 34) says:

Nationalist thought by trying to reach to modernity drives itself in to an immense conflict. Nationalism while on one hand tries to be modern and to reach the fundamental values of enlightenment, on the other hand tries to produce an autonomous identity, by claiming an authentic and unpolluted root²⁶.

In architectural terms, Berman's and Chatterjee's words correspond to the alienating nature of modern architecture. As pointed out earlier, the notion of 'homelessness' (and "homesickness") resulting from the violent imposition of single language can be regarded as the fundamental and inescapable metaphor of the modern condition. In Cunningham's (2005: 7) words, "non-dwelling is the essential characteristic of the modern life...the home is past and it no longer is". Echoing Cunningham, Walker (2002:826) similarly highlights the absence of the sense of the home in modernity, by saying: "the modernist architects, most importantly Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius, strongly rejected the homey values and did not prefer to use the term 'home' within their architectural discourses". Through Walker's words, one can easily underline the modernist desire to define a solid opposition between home and house. In favor of creating a trans-national and trans-cultural character, in favor of realizing a standardized and impersonal space, modern architecture systematically desired to cleanse any historical, social, cultural, personal masks and aimed to expose the "true status of the object" (Wigley, 1995: p.5)²⁷. However, that

26 "Milliyetçi düşünce moderniteye ulaşmaya çalışarak kendi içinde büyük bir çelişkiye sürüklenmiştir. Milliyetçilik bir taraftan modern olmaya ve aydınlanma düşüncesinin 'asli' değerlerine ulaşmaya çalışırken , diğer taraftan otantik ve bozulmamış/kirlenmemiş bir kökeni olduğunu iddia ederek kendi özerk kimliğini ortaya koymaya çalışır".

27 Wigley, in his (1995) book states that modern architecture seems inseparable from the whiteness of its surfaces. For Wigley, modern architecture desired to strip off the old clothing of the 19th century to show its new body. And the appearance of white paint (or the white wall) was understood as the active mechanism of this removal, of this erasure process. Moreover, for Wigley (1995), modernist architects

kind of a preferred 'nakedness', an "ornament free honesty of pure functionalism" as Adorno (1979) puts it, failed to offer a peaceful and homey shelter; moreover it created an uninhabitable milieu²⁸.

In that context, Hilde Heynen's (1999) book *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* can bring in to discussion to surface an alternative understanding and more affirmative and positive formulation of the term modern. For Heynen, the conventional use and 'alienating' conception of the term modern as the spirit of the new-new, as the logic of one and sameness, as the erasure of past and place, as the cleansing and rejection, presents us the 'programmatic' view of the term modern. And, she also adds that beyond its 'programmatic' conception, its 'transitory' view should also take in to account. In that respect, before going to analyze Heynen's distinction between 'programmatic' and 'transitory' views of modernity, it is better to open a parenthesis and to look at the origin of the word modern.

The etymological origin of the word modern is from the Late Latin *modernus* and from the Latin word *modo*, which means 'just now'. From the various definitions of the term modern, found in Oxford English dictionary, the ones that are more relevant to our discussion are:

believed that the white paint is the skin of the body rather than a dissimulating layer of clothing. In other words, the image of the white walls is a very particular fantasy. It is the mark of a certain desire that joins with doctor's white coat, the white tiles of the bathroom, the white t-shirts and so on. The image of the white wash is about a certain look of cleanliness. White wash, as Wigley (1995: 5) states, "purifies the eye rather than the building". This line of thought can well be traced through Le Corbusier's () words where he says: "Imagine the results of Law of Ripolin. Every citizen is required to replace his hangings, his damasks, his wall-papers, his stencils, with a plaincoat of white ripolin. His home is made clean. There are no more dirty, dark corners. Everything is shown as it is" .

²⁸ This line of thought can also be recognized through French director Jacques Tati's movies. With films like *Mon Oncle* (1958) and *Playtime* (1967), Jacques Tati made a significant contribution to that small but celebrated group of films in which architecture plays a prominent role. In his films Tati offers a humorous critique on modern architecture. He shows how the monoculture, standardisation, transparency, inflated scale and 'emptiness' of this architecture brought about huge change and alienation in people's daily lives.

- 1- Being at this time, now existing
- 2- “Of or pertaining to the present and recent times, as distinguished from the remote past; pertaining to or originating in the current age or period.
- 3- “Of a movement in art and architecture, or the works produce by such a movement: characterize by a departure from or a repudiation of accepted or traditional styles and values”.

Beside this firm definitions of the term, the French poet and critic Charles Baudelaire presents, in his (1964: 13) book *The Painter of Modern Life*, us an additional meaning of the term. Here, the term modern is presented as being ‘momentary’ and ‘transient’. In Baudelaire’s words, it is as follows:

Modernity is the transient, the fleeting, the contingent; it is one half of art, the other being the eternal and immovable

In fact, Baudelaire’s definition of the term modern acknowledges the possibility of *co-existing with the traditional*. This comes in conflict with the third, above-stated, definition: the modern as the “departure from or repudiation of accepted or traditional styles and values”. Departure from this semantic conflict in the term modern, it is also essential to look at the term ‘tradition’, since it is in the dialectic relation between tradition and modern where the conflict lies. Going back to the Oxford English dictionary, the etymological origin of the word tradition is the Latin *Traditio*. And, from the variety of meanings and uses presented in the dictionary the following ones can be found interesting in relation to our subject matter:

1. “That which is thus handed down; a statement, belief, or practice transmitted from generation to generation.”
2. “A long established and generally accepted custom or method of procedure, having almost the force of a law; an immemorial usage; the body (or anyone) of the experiences and usages of any branch or school of art or literature, handed down by predecessors and generally followed.” It is also important to underline that within the anthropological and social studies, the term tradition is referred to as the ‘continuity’ of culture throughout time.

Therefore, at this point, one could define the term modern as something which aims to depart from, or/and repudiate the long established customs, norms, methods and procedures handed down by predecessors and generally followed by the following

generation. However, one could also consider this definition of the term modern as superficial and hasty, especially if one takes in to consideration Baudelaire's point of view.

In fact, Baudelaire's definition of the term modern goes hand in hand and can also be found through Heynen's distinction of 'modern as programmatic' and 'modern as transient': For Heynen, the programmatic conception views the term modern primarily from the perspective of the 'new'. And, the programmatic outlook is most clearly perceivable in unitary view of the term that is objective, rational, sober and without ornament, and which can extensively be found through the writings of historians, like Sigfried Giedon(1928) and Nikalous Pevsner (1936). In this conception, as Paul de Man (1983: 47) puts it, the term modern exist in the form of a desire to wipe out whatever came earlier, in the hope of reaching at least a point that could be called a true present, a point of origin that marks a new departure. Heynen also adds that when the term modern is understood programmatically, it inevitably finds an outspoken manifestation in 'colonialism'. *The programmatic conception of the term modern leads us to see modern architecture as an exclusively European (foreign) category that non-western others could import, adopt, or perhaps resist but not 'reproduce from within'.*

In contrast to this programmatic conception, the 'transitory' view of the term modern, that stresses the transient or momentary quality of modern phenomena, can help us to portray the term not as a unifying feature but as a complex and heterogeneous category. The transient view, which focuses on differences than samenesses, can lead us to position the term modern not as a single story, but as many

stories. By conceptualizing that modernization and westernization are not identical terms, one can challenge the reductive notion that West invented the term modern (Berman 1988, Giddens 1990, Eisenstadt 2000). By deconstructing the Western/non-Western binary, which privileges the West as the exclusive source of modern transformations in other parts of the world, one can point towards a more pluralized, multiple and reflexive conception of the term modern.

A similar line of thought can also be found through Goldhagen's (2005) text *Something to talk about: Modernism, Discourse, Style*. In her text, Goldhagen, like Heynen, offers to speak about the term modern in its complexities. Goldhagen (2005: 147) says that on the cultural axis, all modernist denounced the authority of the tradition and wanted to develop a radically new architecture. Some thought it would generate a 'new tradition', where to the others it was clear that it would be the basis for ever more innovations and inventions. Goldhagen, by giving examples through the works of modernist architects like Aalto, Gropius, Rietveld and Taut calls for a 'situated modernism'; that seeks to situate the users of their buildings socially and historically in place and time (2005: 148). This line of thought, where Goldhagen offers to move from machine to living habitat, from prototype to types, is also conceivable in her (2002) book, *Anxious Modernities: Experimentation in Post-war Architectural Culture*: In this book, Goldhagen argues to shift from the morphological perspective of the term modern to a more complex and heterogeneous perspective of the movement.

Similar to Heynen's position, for Goldhagen the term modern or modern architecture, does not refer to "a unifying style but an issue, a discourse" (2002: 103).

And, as Goldhagen puts it, conceived as discourse rather than style, modernist architecture becomes both more coherent – a structural field containing variety of equivalent strains- and more pluralistic – a heterogeneous array of formal and individual positions.

Hence, beyond the ‘formal’ orthodoxy, for Goldhagen, it is possible to define or liberate a more heterogeneous conception of modernity. This line of thought is also noticeable in Habermas’s division between ‘aesthetic modernity’ and ‘societal modernization’ (1983: 44). David Harvey also echoes Habermas distinction by bringing outcomes of 4th CIAM Congress and the Athens Charter in to discussion. For him, as apparent in the these organizations 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 programmatic attitude inspired by a social realism (Harvey, 1990: 321).

In that context, it is important to note that with its tangled and difficult dilemma of identity resulting from the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural heritage of the Ottoman Empire, the identity of new Republic of Turkey can be seen as “caught in-between two worlds” as Kafadar (1995: 87) puts it. Like other non-Western nations’ adventures with modernity²⁹, modernization in Turkey also embodies a sense of in-betweenness, of being both ‘modern’ and ‘national’ at the same time. The modernist ideal of absolute forgetting, of *tabula rasa*, of beginning from an empty space

²⁹ The proliferation of modernist vision goes beyond the margins of Europe to other continents and cultures such as post-colonial India, Iran and Latin America. These non-western geographies (including Turkey) are commonly named as “Other Modernities”.

without a trace, contradicts with the nationalistic ideal of remembering, of producing “an effort of memory”, of generating an authenticity. And, for that reason, the process of westernization and modernization in Turkey might be read as an attempt to reconcile the modern with the national, Western with the Eastern, the universal with the local. Like in the other “Other Geographies”³⁰, as Edward Said (1978) puts it, the practice of modernization in Turkey might be formulated as an act of ‘domesticating’ the modern: an attempt of nationalizing the modern with an ‘authentic face’.

However, following Heynen’s, Goldhagen’s, Habermas, and Harvey’s arguments, one can say that although the term modern does not refer to a unifying feature, the embracement of the term by the new Republic, in the late 1920’s, underlines a ‘programmatically’ perception; as a project of progress and emancipation of departure and repudiation, of cleansing and rejection. As Aslanoğlu (2003: 1) states “the international dimension of modern architecture were fitting the progressive and positivist ideals of the Republican state that constructed itself in a similar tabularasa attitude”. The term modern, rather than ‘situated’, rather than seeing as something which is ‘internal’ to the tradition and is relative to the national identity always appears as an ‘external’, ‘imported’, and ‘imposed’ phenomenon, which is ‘foreign’ to the national consciousness. To put differently, the term modern, as the emblematic symbol of rootlessness and as the destruction of tradition was un-Turkish. That kind of a perception of the term modern that positions tradition as the other, and equates

³⁰ The concept of Other Geographies was taken from Said’s (1978) study. Said states that modernization is mostly defined as the ‘universal’ processes guided by the ‘West’. And, in that respect, the ‘West’ is commonly perceived as the subject of this history and ‘non-West’ as its inferior translation; it’s ‘Other’ that is excluded from this definition of ‘universality’. In addition to Said’s above mentioned dialectic positioning, it is very important to note that the term non-West (or the Other) does not correspond to a unified whole. In contrast to the totalizing sound of the word(s), the term non-West embodies a plurality of narratives.

modern with the Western, modernization with the westernization, creates an understanding of the term as a unifying state, and blinds us to see how imported discourse of modern architecture are contested, selectively appropriated, and transformed in peripheral geographies³¹.

The ‘tabularasa attitude’ that does not position the term modern as a part of the national-cultural ‘heritage’, is also visible in the earlier documentations of modern Turkish architecture. One can say that the earlier documentations of modern Turkish architecture go hand in hand with the a priori acceptance of the official ideology. One can easily underline that what is missing in this documentation is the history of ‘transient modern’. Within the earlier documentations, the term modern was also conceived as a program. In that sense, it was structured in the form of a linear time-frame, around a ‘new-new fetishism’, and more importantly perceived as a style rather than an issue. Rather than enabling styles to develop inventions and innovations, ephemerality and changes, anomalies and separations, the documentations, in favor of ending up with stable, unified and homogenous identity, unavoidably moves from one style to another, from one structure to another, from one ‘monument’ to another. Each time, when a ‘new’ architectural style that claims to establish another, a better order appears, the old and traditional styles were suddenly seen as ‘burdens of identity’, and hence were treated as the representations of intolerable memories that should be ‘muted’, repressed, left behind, or eliminated. And, within this linear-destination of the canonical reading, in favor of ending up with a solid-still identity, the previous styles were not only purified, but also seen as reactionary, as ‘foreign’, and consequently ‘marginalized’. In order to create a

³¹ For a more extensive reading and intriguing example on how cross-cultural influences are mediated and how people could perform and express their modernity, see Meltem O. Gürel’s (2011) text.

national architecture as the expression and representation of bi-polar yet unified ‘national-cultural identity’, the earlier documentations that is strictly tied with official-political history blocks and domesticates any alterity, any diversified points of view related with the ideas of modern, and tradition.

In that respect, the positioning of Sedad Hakkı Eldem’s ‘Turkish House’ within architectural historiography appears as a sort of an ‘adaptive strategy of survival’: As an image of an identity rooted in the past but looking out towards the new, as a compromising image of being both modern and national, of being both functionalistic and stylistic, the idea/image of the Turkish house came out as the monument, as the house of Turkishness. The idea/image of the Turkish house was positioned and represented as a ‘synthesis’, as ‘bridge’ in a time of rupture, and as a source of identity at a time of identity crisis. It was believed that the idea/image of the Turkish House is an edifice to negotiate this rupture, to figure out how to use and evaluate the past in and for the present (Figure 4); to be modern without being Western.



Figure 4: An image of the Turkish House designed by Eldem (Arkitekt, 1950:12)

In order to understand the material and metaphorical significance of the Turkish house and to trace how the term modern is discussed and interpreted through the image of the Turkish house, modernization attempts before Sedat Hakkı Eldem's idea of Turkish House should be taken in to account. Documenting these earlier attempts helps us not only to follow the appearance of the Turkish House as a historiographical category, but also to signify the 'other', the 'exterior' of this manifestation.

3.2. Struggle for the Old House: 1st National Architectural Movement

To declare that the course of modernization in Turkey was first initiated and institutionalized with the Kemalist reforms would be an anachronistic statement. Like every (hi)story, the narrative of the revolutionary programme in the 1930s has also had a pre-face. The modernist-nationalist ideology of the Turkish Republic did not begin from an 'empty space' without a trace; previous modernization attempts realized in the late Ottoman period can be regarded as the initiator of the new Republic's desire to create an identity and to facialize the metaphysical idea of Turkishness. Although later, there was an effort to eliminate and they were considered by the new nation-state as the representations of a 'false memory', one can say that these previous modernization attempts were in fact the initial efforts to block alterity, to elude differences, to domesticate any unruly play of representations, and to anchor an identity in to a stationary form. And, although during the documentation of architectural historiography, these attempts were positioned as not truly representing the 'true nature' of Turkishness (Sözen, 1984: 28) one can say that, similar to its revolutionary successor, the spirit of this earlier move can also be

read as a ‘grounding’ process; to ground and build up a new modern-national identity.

Within the above mentioned pseudo-nationalistic move, in the late Ottoman period, The Turkish Hearth Society [Türk Ocağı] - that was founded in 1911 - appeared as the first organizational response to the identity crisis between Ottomanism and Turkism³². The Turkish Hearth Society³³, as Carel (1998: 108) puts it, institutionalized for Turkish-Ottomans “the painful process of separating themselves from what had once been considered as the ‘Ottoman Whole’ ”. The founding principles of the Turkish Hearth Society were Nationalism [Milliyetçilik], Populism [Halkçılık], and Westernism [Garpçılık] but along with these, a unifying interest in establishing Turkish solidarity through the principle of Turkism [Türkçülük]. The principle of Turkism was elaborated as a coherent theory, or as an ideology, by Ziya Gökalp³⁴ who became the editor of *Turkish Homeland* [Türk Yurdu], the journal of the Turkish Hearth Society. The awakening of a consciousness of a Turkish identity and the ideological call for Turkism liberated by Ziya Gökalp was also embraced and disseminated by other members of the Turkish Hearth Society such as Halide Edip Adıvar, Yusuf Akçura, Ömer Seyfettin, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Ahmet Süheyl Ünver, and Mehmet Emin Yurdakul. Through various texts and

³² In the early 19th century, the Turkish Hearth Buildings metaphorically seen as the ‘Turkish Kaaba’. This line of thought can be seen in Peyami Safa’s (1930: 82-83) words, where he says: “ This building, that raises over a small hill of Ankara as a Turkish Kaaba, is a spiritual piece that brings together the material and the spirit”.

³³ Before the Turkish Hearth Association, one can also recall several nationalist organisations like; Turkish Association (Türk Derneği) in 1908 and Turkish Homeland Society (Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti) in 1911.

³⁴ As Cengizkan (2002) notes, in Ziya Gökalp’s (1923) book *The Principles of Turkism* and in his (1926) book *History of Turkish Civilization*, one can easily underline the common use of the terms ‘to be Turkish’, ‘to be Islamic’, and ‘to be modern’ (p.62). In contrast to the use of the term in 1930, in Gökalp’s text, one can recognize that the term historicism and modernism does not imply a binary opposition: To be modern, does not mean to be different than the past.

articles written by these authors, Turkish Hearth Society became the most significant symbol of the process of separation from Ottoman Empire and re-forming a new identity. The above mentioned claim can easily be found through Tanrıöver's words, where he says: "The Turkish Hearth Society was born during the reign of the Ottoman Empire. It has a single intention: To spread solidarity amongst the Turks living in the environment of the Empire" (Tanrıöver, 1912: 1210).

Tanrıöver's desire to be dissociated from the Ottoman Empire and to liberate and to ground a new identity can also be read through the words of Mehmet Emin where he says: "I am a Turk, my faith and my race are mighty" (Emin, 1928: 261). Or, through the words of Halide Edip Adivar (1926: 323), a leader in women's emancipation movement, where she says: "...[the Ottoman-Turk] vaguely faced the possibility of searching, analyzing and discovering himself as something different from the rest...the Ottoman-Turk not only saw himself different, but has also had the desire to find out wherein lay the difference". Here one can easily notice that both Emin and Adivar aim at defining Turkish identity as a unique and distinctive characteristic. Like Emin and Adivar, Omer Seyfettin, the author of the *Secret Temple*, another member of the Turkish Hearth Society and chief author/editor of the *Turkish Homeland* journal, also intends to position Turkish identity as something different from the Ottoman whole. He (1993: 68-69) states:

"Ottomanism is a composite nationality. Ottomanism is neither Turkism nor of being muslim. Every individual living under the Ottoman administration, regardless to national origin and religion, is a member of the Ottoman nation. However, this idea was nothing but an illusion, a fantasy, born of brains produced by the non-nationalistic education system of the Tanzimat [reform] period. It was not possible to constitute a 'composite nationality' [müşterek milliyet] from the sum total of the individuals who have separated religions, languages, moralities, histories, cultures and grounds for pride"

To speak with architectural metaphors, the main motivation behind the above mentioned phrases can be summarized as a 'grounding' or 'enclosing' process. In

favor of liberating an understanding beyond the mastery and governance of multi-cultural, multi-textual and multi-national Ottoman heritage, in favor of ‘grounding’ and ‘building up’ a homogenous and pure structure, and in favor of ‘housing’ a totalized identity, the idea of Turkishness, or Ottoman-Turkishness, was described as a distinct and unique phenomena. And, in that respect, to ‘monumentalize’ the idea of Turkishness, to create the ‘space’ of Turkish identity and to position it as a privileged ‘interior’, Ottomanism was in a way discredited by the above mentioned names and conceptualized as the Other, as the ‘exterior’ of this process.

However, the material presentation of these immaterial ideas, the architectural representation of the above-mentioned ontological and ideological statements embodies ambiguous and contradictory scenery. This line of thought can be traced to Sözen’s (1984:29) words where he says “our architects preferred to use past values rather than manifesting a new architecture suitable for our national consciousness. And, this created a sense of complexity when we consider the revolutions coming through”.

Within architectural historiography, the above mentioned period between 1910 and 1930s was commonly named as the *1st National Architectural Movement*, or as *the Renaissance of National Architecture* (Sözen, 1984: 28)³⁵. It is highly important to underline that those terms were not used in those days but appeared afterwards, in the 1970s, during the documentation of national (architectural) history³⁶. In other words,

³⁵ In addition to the names like *1st National Architectural Movement* and the *Renaissance of National Architecture*, one can also found the use of the names like Ottoman Revivalism (Batur, 1978) or Meşruyet Milli Mimarisi (Aslanoğlu, 1979) to define this period.

³⁶ As Cengizkan (2002: 61) points out the term ‘1st National Architectural Movement’ was first appeared in Metin Sözen’s work *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı 1923- 1983* that is prepared for the 50th anniversary of Turkish Republic .

it is impossible to talk about a ‘pure’ 1st National Architectural Movement as such: One can not attain a ‘unifying image’ for the 1st National Architectural Movement. One can not claim that the architectural forms of this era are exclusively the fixed reflections of the ‘ideology’, even it was highly shaped by it. However, the main characteristic of this era was commonly summarized as taking features from the Ottoman period and combine them with new construction techniques. In other words, 1st National Architectural Movement was a neo-classical style that combined modern technology and materials with the historicist decorative schemes³⁷. In that sense, it had an eclectic approach that took ideas from monumental Ottoman architecture such as symmetry, monumental entrances, arched windows, and rich surface treatments (Yavuz and Özkan, 1984). As Batur says, the National Architectural Movement appeared as a reaction to the foreign-Western architecture in Turkey that can be seen in the late 18th century, and aimed to ‘modernize’ the Ottoman architecture that is Turkish and Islamic (Batur, 1984: 36).

And, as a short criticism of this period, one can recall Sözen and Tapan (1984: 107-109) words where they say: “Between 1910 and 1927, in contrast with the Western eclecticism, in order to create a national consciousness, the architectural elements belong to the Ottoman or even Seljukian periods were used in architectural constructions [...] Without presenting a new understanding of space, the formation of these elements did not go further from being a mere copy of the old [...] The

³⁷ Beside architecture, within this era, a similar attitude of combining modern techniques with the historicist decorative schemes can also be found through the discipline of painting, especially through the paintings of Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910). His 1880 painting *Two Musician Girl* [iki Müzisyen Kız] or 1906 painting *the Tortoise Trainer* [Kaplumbağa Terbiyecisi] both highlight the desire to depict eastern-Ottoman rituals with the western painting forms and techniques. For a more extensive reading on these paintings, see Çelik’s (1996) article.

architectural constructions was only taken as plasticity, and failed to present a true balance between function and form”³⁸. In another text of them, they say:

“The use of the architectural elements just for aesthetic and formal concerns, without going towards any functional aim, is an improper manner. It is highly arguable how this approach can get along with a ‘true’ and ‘radical’ conception of nationalism” (Sözen and Tapan, 1973: 33)³⁹.

İnci Aslanoğlu shares the critique raised by Sözen and Tapan. For her “in terms of structure and ornament, there is no much difference between a high-school, a post-office, a bank, a hotel, and a ministry building” (2001: 31). Without looking at its function, as Aslanoğlu says, nearly all the buildings were designed in light of classical rules of composition, such as: symmetrical plans, dividing the façade vertically in to three sections, the use of Ottoman period vaulted arched windows, the use of Seljukian medals between the arches, and the use of *mukarnas* shapes in column heads.

In architectural historiography, mimar [architect] Vedat Tek, mimar Kemalettin⁴⁰, mimar Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, mimar Ali Talat, mimar Muzaffer, mimar Halim, mimar Hafi, mimar Mehmet Nihat, mimar Tahsin Sermet, mimar Necmettin Emre,

³⁸ “1910-1927 döneminde, Batı Eklektisizminden farklı olarak, ulusal bilinci yaratma amacıyla, Osmanlı ve hatta Selçuklu ...mimari elemanlarının yeni ürünlerde kullanılmasına çalışılmış...elemanların biçimlenişi eskinin bir kopyası olmaktan ileri gidememiştir...Yeni bir mekan anlayışından tamamen uzak bir şekilde, yapı sadece plasti bir ürün olarak değerlendirilmiş, olanaklar ve gereksinmeler arasında doğru bir denge kurulamamıştır” (Sözen, 1984: 107-108).

³⁹ “Mimari elemanların fonksiyonel bir amaca yönelmeden salt estetik ve biçim kaygısıyla kullanılması yanlış bir davranıştır. Böyle bir tutumun ‘gerçek’ ve ‘köklü’ bir ulusçuluk kavramıyla be denli uyuşabileceği tartışma konusudur” (Sozen and Tapan, 1973: 33)

⁴⁰ As, Bozdoğan (2002) states, besides introducing new (structural) technologies to the field of architecture, Vedat Tek and Mimar Kemalettin should be considered as pioneers because of bringing various novelties, like; developing a project-based design process; creating new building typologies for new building types such as banks, offices, apartment blocks, schools, industrial buildings, train stations, hospitals, etc. ; organizing the field of construction and maintenance through the Office of Endowments; developing new scientific norms for preservation and restoration; and organizing architecture (and architectural education) as a profession. And, as Bozdoğan (2002: 63-65) adds, these contributions to the field of architecture can lead us to consider Kemalletin and his colleagues as ‘modern’.

mimar Fatih Ülkü, mimar Nihat Nigisberg and Guilio Mongeri can be considered as the prominent and pioneering names of this period. And, Sirkeci Post-office building designed by mimar Vedat Tek, Kamerhatun mosque⁴¹ (1911), Bebek mosque (1913), Bostancı mosque (1913) and 4. Vakıf Han (1916) in Istanbul - designed by mimar Kemallettin- are some of the important early architectural constructions of this period. After the Turkish war of Independence in 1919, the establishment of Turkish Grand National Assembly [Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi] in 1920, and after Ankara was ratified as the capital city of the new Turkish Republic in 1923, the construction of monumental-state architecture in 1st National Architectural Movement gradually moved from Istanbul to Ankara.⁴² And, the district of Ulus [means Nation in Turkish] in Ankara which can historically be traced back to Phrygian, Galatians, Roman and Ottoman periods progressively turned in to the center of these constructions. Within this region, 2nd Grand National Assembly (mimar Vedat Tek; 1924), Ankara Palace (mimar Vedat Tek and Kemalettin; 1924), Gazi Presidential House (Vedat Tek; 1924), Museum of Ethnography (Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu; 1925), Ziraat Bank Headquarters (Guilio Mongeri; 1926), Osmanlı Bank Headquarters (Gulio Mongeri; 1926), Turkish State Liquor Headquarters (Gulio Mongeri; 1927), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu; 1927), Gazi School (mimar Kemalettin; 1927), and the Turkish Hearth Building⁴³ (Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu;

⁴¹ In that respect, it is not surprising to find several mosque designs during this era. 1st National Architectural Movement never desired to completely done with the past; it essentially embraced the Ottoman-Islamic heritage. And, especially before Ankara became the capital city of the Kemalist programme, 1st National Architectural Movement revealed several mosques within different parts of Istanbul. Later, by 1930s, the revolutionary Kemalist programme did not deal with religious type of buildings.

⁴² In fact, that kind of a displacement (from Istanbul to Ankara) is not peculiar to the discipline of architecture. Before 1920s, within painting, it was very hard to find the depictions of a place outside of Istanbul. In other words, before the revolution, painters considered Istanbul as the only place that “worth painting”. After the revolution, Ankara and other Anatolian cities were also embraced and started to be painted by the names like Namık İsmail, Zeki Faik İzler, Nurullah Berk (Yasa Yaman, 2003).

1927), appear as important and eminent examples of the 1st National Architectural Movement.

Considering the above mentioned examples, it is important to note that the 1st National Architectural Movement, which was essentially based on Ottoman revivalism, was mostly realized through public buildings such as, state-buildings, educational buildings, post-offices, banks, hotels and cinemas. In other words, without having any obsession with the private-domestic scale, the so-called 1st National Architectural Movement was mostly appeared in public gaze through monumental buildings. The 1st National Architectural Movement had been applied to domestic architecture only rarely, like Vedat Tek's Güneş Apartment (1932), Pertev Apartment (1933), Halit Bey Apartment (1935), Yayla Apartment (1939), Azim Apartment (1939) projects; or by Kemalettin, like Derdest İnşaat Evleri, Dördü Bir Arada Evler, Harikzedeğan (Tayyare) Apartment blocks in Laleli (1922), or Vakıf Houses projects⁴⁴ (Figure 5). Although in some of these projects, one can recognize the plasticity of a conventional old wooden house with protruding cumbas, the façade was formed by window shapes taken from a design repertoire of monumental religious architecture. Therefore, one can highlight that the purpose of these designs was not to celebrate the vernacular architecture and its characteristics, but to conceal them.

⁴³ Turkish Hearth Building was commonly accepted as the last public building to be built in 1st National Architectural Movement. While Turkish Hearth Building was constructed, the programme of new nation state already decided to search for a 'new architecture' in spite of the 1st National Architectural Movement.

⁴⁴ Departing from the above mentioned examples, one can say that although the 1st National Architectural Movement was documented by the 'official history' as if it ends with the construction of Turkish Hearth Building, in 1927, unofficially it continues to evolve, to create new relations and new existences in time and space.



Figure 5: Vedat Tek's Güneş Apartment as an example of civil architecture in 1st National Architectural Movement (Batur,1999: 55)

In this respect, it is crucial to note that the above mentioned housing projects were never discussed in relation to the idea of Turkish House. Although one can underline that the idea of Turkish House was first appeared to use during the 1st National Architectural Movement, it stays on a discursive level, rather than a built form. In other words, although its representation was not yet defined, the idea of Turkish House began to take on a symbolic meaning and aesthetic value during this period.

It appears that it was Hamdullah Suphi who first gave voice to the idea of an old House as the marker of Turkish identity. Hamdullah Suphi gave two public lectures called "The Turkish House" which were also published in *Türk Yurdu* journal. He says:

If we ask ourselves: What is it that binds our hearth to the places that we lived, if I ask this, certainly you will say, it is memories that bind us to our surroundings. How did you feel when you left [your old houses]? What memories do you have? Were these houses strongly attached to your childhood? Were you sad when you grow up and move away? (Suphi, 1912: 2063)

In another text of him, he again talks about the old houses as says:

If it were possible to raise our grandfathers from their graves and bring them back to our homes today, as soon as they stepped across the threshold they would turn back with loathing and shout in our faces: These are not Turkish Houses! They are not Muslim houses! You have been 'invaded' by the 'enemy' to the extent that he has 'violated' the sanctity of your house (Suphi, 1912: 1219)

Here through Suphi's words, one can underline the words 'invasion' and 'enemy' to understand the main motivation behind the appreciation of these old houses.

Remembering the earlier discussions on the programmatic understanding of the term modern and its close connection with colonialism, one can say that Suphi's words carries an 'anti-modern' nationalist rhetoric. In his text, in order to liberate a 'Turkish pride', that is not Western, he talks in length about all the items that were found in these houses, such as; mangals (braziers), carpets, embroidery, candles, Quran's and Kütahya and İznik ceramics. His point is not that these items were beautiful, but they were essentially Turkish⁴⁵.

This sense of Turkishness of these houses can also be traced before Hamdullah Suphi- before he names these houses as 'Turkish' in 1912- particularly to the paintings of Hoca Ali Rıza and Rıfat Osman (Figure 6). Through their paintings, although it was not yet named as 'Turkish', one can underline a similar romantic desire to 'protect' these houses against the coming modern situation.

⁴⁵ See, Carel (1998)

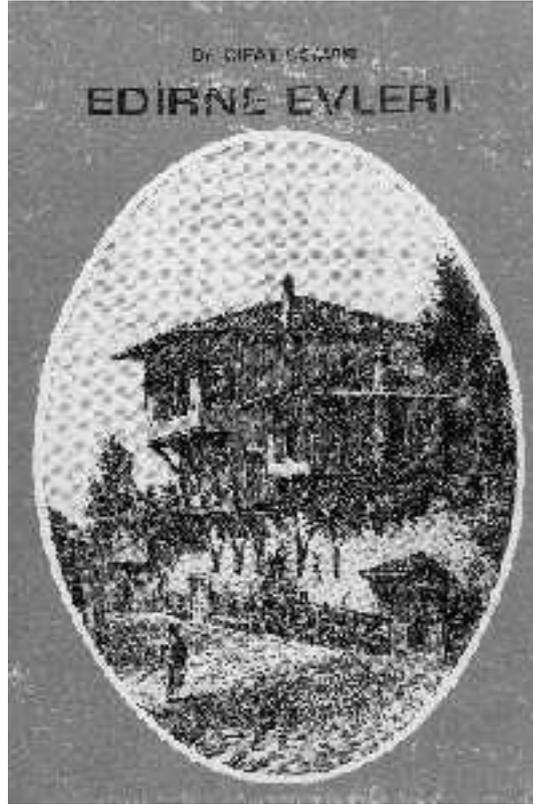


Figure 6: A book on Turkish Houses, written and illustrated by Rifat Osman (Osman, 1976)

Within this era, one can also recall the work of art historian Celal Esad Arseven, whose 1909 dated *Constantinople, De Byzance a Stamboul*, published in Paris contained a section on domestic architecture. He states:

Sadly all these houses were vanishing today, yielding room to unsightly and mis-shapen constructions, painted in loud colors in a banal taste (Arseven, 1909: 247; Kuban, 1969: 18)

Similar to Suphi, in Arseven's words, one can underline a sense of identity crisis, and call for to appreciate our old houses against the 'foreign' and 'ugly' ones.

In 1923, Ahmet Süheyl Ünver, a student of Hoca Ali Rıza, a friend and admirer of Rifat Osman, a biographer of both, and a member of Turkish Hearth Association, wrote an article titled as "The Oriental Room [Şark Odası]" published in *Milli Mecmua* [National Journal]. In his text, Ünver focused on the interiors of old wooden houses, which he illustrated with his own paintings. He say: These [rooms] are

furnished in the true Turkish fashion and appealed to the national taste of those who entered them (Ünver, 1923: 626). This line of thought is made even clearer when Ünver says that these rooms, have changed over the ages, but that “the ones which appeal to our taste are undoubtedly the ones remain in Turkish style (Ünver, 1923: 627).

In an article called *The Houses of Ankara*, written by the minister of culture Mübarek Galip, published in a journal called *Muallimler Birliği Mecmuası*, one can underline a call for to turn the house in to a ‘museum’. By stating “as the days go by our beautiful houses are being destroyed” (1926: 122), Galip, similar to Suphi and Arseven, marks the necessity of preserving our old houses.

In fact, Galip’s call for the museumizing a house, can materially be found in Koyunoğlu’s 1925 dated project, the Turkish Hearth Building. The Türk Salonu (Turkish Salon) that was built inside the Turkish Hearth Building in Ankara and officially opened in 1930s, that can be considered as the centerpiece of project, was in the style, but not a replica, of a guest room of a 17th century or 18th century konak (Figure 7). For example, it had an upper row of stained glass windows but these windows are carried to the ground rather than to the top of a row of interior window seating. The ceiling was intricately decorated with wood inlay (göbekli tavan), recessed shelves and niches framed in arabesque (hücre), and a wall fireplace (ocak) where everything was ‘Turkish’. As Carel (1998:97) refers to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was also involved in conceptualizing the building, and it was he who suggested that it can have a ‘Turkish Room’ based on the old wooden house, thus aligning this house with a Turkish identity.

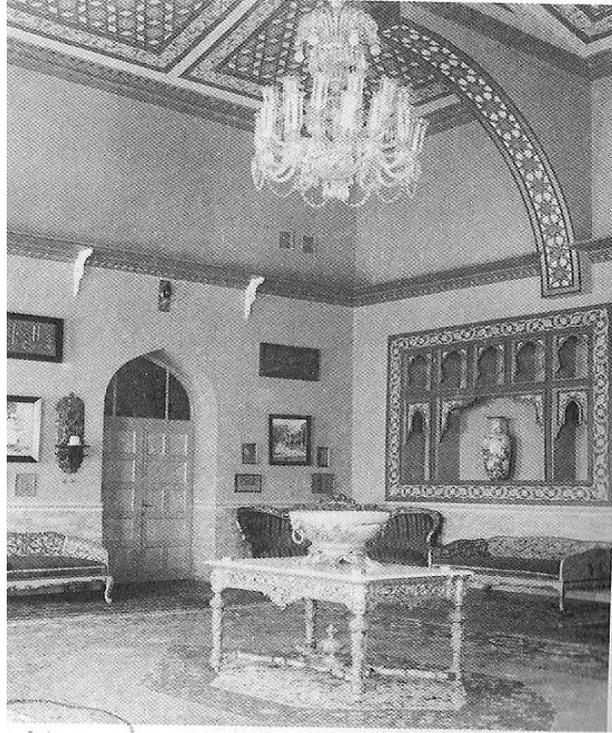


Figure 3.5: The Turkish Salon designed by Koyunoğlu (Kuruyazıcı (ed.), 2008: 268)

Besides his project of ‘Türk Salonu’ in Turkish Hearth Building, one can also recall an article of Koyunoğlu that takes the issue of the Turkish House. In his 1927 article called *Turkish Architecture* (Türk Mimarisi), published in *Turkish Homeland* and written in Ottoman script, Koyunoğlu says:

From the exterior, the traditional Turkish Houses are simple. But, from the interior, one can recognize a contemporary structure where today’s modern-civilized architecture tries to actualize in its plans... I can seriously say that Turks managed to realize a sense of architecture with its harmony and use of space hundreds of years before the modern architecture which we appreciate today. (Koyunoğlu, 1927: 4-5)⁴⁶.

Koyunoğlu’s second article on Turkish Houses published in *Turkish Homeland* journal in 1929 and written in new scripts, again concentrates on the ‘essential and already modern’ character of the traditional houses. He says:

Old Turkish Houses, which are part of our old architecture that has not been studied- and which we consider today to be tumbled down buildings- were constructed in a civilized

⁴⁶ “Eski Türk evi haricen sadedir. Fakat dahilinde bugünkü medeni mimarinin bile planlarında kabul ve tatbik ettiği aksam ve teşkilat vardır. Takdirkarı olduğum modern mimariye ait eserleri mütalaa ederken kemal-i ciddiyetle söylerim ki, ahenk ve fezada teşkil ettiği kontür ile bu mimariye benzer eserleri Türkleri yüzlerce sene evvel vücûda geçirmişlerdir.” (Koyunoğlu, 1927, pp4-5)

manner based on need, and incorporated certain hygienic requirements ... (Their) construction system, which was devised to separate the cold of the exterior from the inside of the building, should not be viewed as 'primitive'. Flat roof which today prevail in all European construction are built using a method called 'Hulç cement', which is nothing but an imitation of the method of construction that has been applied for thousands of years in Erzurum ... Our old cities were composed of houses which, for the most part, were built containing gardens. Making central gardens is accepted even today in city planning as the most hygienic principle of urban architecture (Koyunoğlu, 1929: 41-42).

After describing the interiors, he continues:

In short, the old Turkish house with its design and furnishing is a 'monument' of comfort. The bedrooms, baths with marble basins, and winter gardens (limonluk) show hygienic requirements were fully considered in their construction (1929: 42).

Through the above mentioned words, one can say that Koyunoğlu has established that traditional Turkish houses not only meet but 'anticipate' modern conditions in terms of structure, plan type, decoration, the use of light, ventilation, and hygiene. And by saying that, Koyunoğlu tries to highlight the 'highly civilized aesthetic' of the traditional Turkish houses. Moreover, For Koyunoğlu, the traditional Turkish House can serve as a model to build up a modern Turkish architecture:

It would be possible to establish successfully the design of a contemporary Turkish House inspired from these buildings. The result of a profound and serious study of them would undoubtedly be a success. We expect from Turkish architects the modern Turkish House and its definitive form (1928: 43)

Here it is important to note that, through Koyunoğlu's words one can again underline an ideological reservation against the euphoric celebration of modern architecture. In his 1927 article titled National Architecture and Modern Style [Milli Mimari ve Modern Stil], he criticizes the existence of the Ministry of Health building⁴⁷, and

⁴⁷ In 1927, when Koyunoğlu's Turkish Hearth Building in 1st National Architectural Movement was about to finish, in a close proximity, the construction of Theodor Post's Ministry of Health Building in 'New Architecture' had just been started. That can be considered as the main reason for some of the architectural historians to evaluate the Ministry of Health as the first building of the movement of New Architecture. In contrast to Koyunoğlu's words, the (1927) issue of *Hakimiyet'i Milliye* newspaper celebrates the Ministry of Health Building, with the following lines: "The building that the Ministry of Health was building in Yenışehir was about to finish. This building will start to function before the winter. The Ministry of Health building will be Ankara's most modern building"

says these constructions designed by foreign architects will put us apart from our national essence. He says:

The Ministry of Health Building that we euphorically appreciate today is in fact an Austrian architecture formed by the taste of an Austrian architect [...]. Today, each culture in architecture is trying to find a new way [...] It is a never-changing fact that a sense of new can only be born out of old. If we leave our old architecture away, then we feel 'naked' and without any character⁴⁸ (Koyunoğlu, my translation, 1927: p.2).

In that context, one can say that between 1914 and the end of 1930s, the old wooden Ottoman period house took the name 'Turkish' and, more importantly, as Carel (1998: 102) puts it, against the 'foreign' nature of modern architecture it became a player in cultural identity. The above-mentioned metaphoric and material significance of the old wooden houses can also be read through the novels of this period, such as; Yakup Kadri Karamanoğlu's *Kiralık Konak* (1922), Peyami Safa's *Fatih-Harbiye* and *Cumbadan Rumbaya* (1931), Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın's *Ev Sevgisi* (1935), Halide Edip Adıvar's *Sinekli Bakkal* (1936) and *Arka Sokaktan Görüş* (1939).

For example, a close reading of *Kiralık Konak* [Mansion for Rent]⁴⁹ introduces the Turkish House as the carrier of some specific values, such as that of 'interiority', and in a larger context, a deeply felt 'spirituality', and the Ottoman-Islamic rootedness of this spirituality. In *Kiralık Konak*, Servet Bey is not content with the westernizing the konak with new furniture and a new language, he wants to abandon it altogether. He says:

⁴⁸ "Bugün methü senasını yaptığımız Sıhhiye Vekaleti binası bir Avusturya mimarının zevki selimine misal olan bir Avusturya asri mimarisidir [...] Her millet, mimarisinde yeni bir yol bulmak üzerine çalışıyor [...] Çünkü Değişmez bir düsturdur ki, eskiyi tetkik yenilik doğurur. Kastettiğimiz gibi eski mimarimizi hemen bir tarafa atarsak korkarım ki pek çıplak ve seviyesiz kalırız" (Koyunoğlu, 1927, p.2)

⁴⁹ *Kiralık Konak* was perhaps one of the last novels of the Ottoman Empire. It was written in 1922. In 1923 the Republic of Turkey would be formally established, and before the end of the decade the new Turkey would institutionalize and canonize profound and deep cultural changes as it worked to forge a 'modern' nation. For a more extensive re-reading of this novel see; Mardin (1997), Carel (1998), Bozdoğan (2002), Gürel (2008).

How can we live here? Look at the walls, look at the ceiling! What kind of a room is this?
What kind of a sofa? My god, please please save us as soon as possible (1922: 156)

Similar to Servet bey, for Naim efendi the Konak is also symbol of a non-fragmentation, a spiritual unity. But what is dying in the story is the Konak, as well as Naim efendi.

Naim efendi spent all his childhood, all his youth in the most crowded konak of İstanbul, where he very much liked jovial company, talking with friends, and visits of guests. But...now...how was it possible to find the get-togethers, conversations, visits and guests of the old days (1922: 22)

In Kiralık Konak, as Carel (1998:99) puts it the house carries the burden of the past. It also became a protagonist, a player 'in a drama'. A very similar metaphoric use of the house can be found in Safa's (1931) novel *Fatih-Harbiye*. The name of the novel comes from the names of two district, where Fatih is the symbol of the religious and historical peninsula, Harbiye, or Beyoğlu in a wider context, can be accepted as the symbol of Westernized life-style. Within the novel, the main character Neriman's house in Fatih symbolizes the spiritual and emotional repository of non-western life. The house has a sofa, upstairs, and a *taşlık* below. Therefore, Neriman in a certain extent is grounded in the East: she wears black dresses, covers her head with black scarf, and studies oud at conservatory. One day, Neriman got off at Beyoğlu⁵⁰. And, just like most people who live in Turkish neighborhood, she also felt as if she made a 'big trip' (Carel, 1998: 106). "The distance wasn't even an hour by tram but it appeared to Neriman as long as the way to Afganistan" (Safa, 1931:33). After this initial visit, Neriman begins to take secret trips to Beyoğlu. Neriman, during these trips, decides to stop her oud lessons because they are 'alaturka', and starts to play violin. Here, one can easily highlight that the Western/Eastern binary is depicted

⁵⁰ Pierre Loti's words for Beyoglu and its architecture also underlines the dichotomy West and East. Loti says, beside the harmonious and beautiful old houses of Turkey, the ugly baroque villas of Beyoğlu. A very similar argument can be found in an (1934:52) issue of Mimar journal: Today Beyoğlu is a 'dark' and 'foreign' labyrinth where there is no trace of Turkishness".

around the figures of oud and violin. One can also add Şinasi and Macit as another important binary for the story. In Neriman's eyes Şinasi was the family, the mahalle, the old and the Eastern, while Macit was the new, the West, and along with them he was 'mysterious and attractive adventures' (Safa, 1931: 58). However, Şinasi pulls Neriman strongly to the past and its customs (Safa, 1931: 58)⁵¹. This point can be considered as a 'spiritual return' of Neriman. By the help of Şinasi, Neriman 'rescues' herself from being 'trapped' in alienated, Western society.

Like Fatih-Harbiye, the turning point of Safa's other novel Cumbadan-Rumbaya (1931) also involves an old wooden house, as a metaphorical representation of 'interiority' and 'spiritual unity'. Although Cemile later changed her mind and similar to Neriman makes a spiritual return, at the beginning of the novel, the old-wooden house represented the life that she wanted to erase.

In Huseyin Cahit Yalçın's (1935) *Ev Sevgisi* (Affection for the House), one can once again underline the old-wooden house as a paternal image. In his story, Yalçın first describes the role of the old house, and its spiritual connotations.

So in this sofa our grandfathers had died. In this room, our mother had coins sprinkled on her head when she became a bride. Our house, our family, and ourselves were all one being (vücut)...[Its] wood, its boards, its nails ... none were made of lifeless stuff. Each were from a part of us. They lived along with us, and they brought us a message from our past, from our grandfathers and grandmothers. We united with the past in them (Yalçın, 1935: 5).

Later, he describes the sense of homelessness when the old house has left:

Today... we are separated from the hearth of our fathers (baba ocağı). Our old houses burned, or were torn down. We were unable to live in them, and when a buyer appeared we sold them to the destruction crew. And, they destroyed with a crash and a snap, right in front of our eyes, the old buildings that formed our family history and that had collected in them all the bitter and sweet days that we lived...In our great homeland we are left as if we were homeless and with no nest (Yalçın, 1935:5).

⁵¹ "Maziye ve an'aneye çekti"

Although Yakup Kadri, Peyami Safa and Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın had different political positions, they at the same time shared an image of the old wooden house as the spiritual foundation of our identity. In their works, none of these authors name this house as ‘Turkish’. And none of them speak about Turkish identity. However, one can easily say that the image of the old wooden house in their novels is strongly attached to the identity, and the question of foreignness. The old-wooden house as the central motif of all of these novels serve to liberate a sense of interiority.

Here, it is highly important to note that, *by the 1930s, the above mentioned spirituality attached to the materiality of the (old) house(s) disappeared. Moreover, it was started to be used negatively: there was no image of spiritual authority attached to the modern house at all. In fact, the feelings that the house calls forth in Kiralık Konak, Fatih-Harbiye and Ev Sevgisi, that is a deep interior identity, is being reworked as a republican exteriority* (Carel, 1998: 134). In a 1927 issue of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* journal, the new style of house was contrasted with the old:

The founders of New Ankara want simple and comfortable houses... This attitude represents great progress from the past... The grills adored by Loti no longer decorate the windows of the new city. Modern hygiene demanding ample light and air...has vanquished one of the oldest traditions (cited in Batur, 1984: 77)

Similarly, Arseven in his (1929: 25) text titled *A Modern City Project* (*Asri Bir Şehir Projesi*) calls for a city with full of sunlight and air, and says that these narrow and shadowy streets, these dark and askew houses effect negatively our experience of the city . Or, in a 1933 issue of *Yedigün* journal, as Haydar Fevzi says:

“in old houses there was the sovereignty of the moon. But now, in our houses ...the sovereignty of the sun starts (Fevzi, 1933: 10-11)⁵².

⁵² “Eski evlerde mehtabın saltanatı vardı. Şimdi her tarafı camlı kaplı binalarda güneşin saltanatı başlıyor” (Fevzi, 1933: 10-11).

Another comparison between the old and the new house can be followed through Baltacıoğlu's (1934) text. He says:

The Turkish family before the revolution is not the same family after the revolution... In today's house, different from the old Turkish Houses, we are not able to see mangals(ocak) with chimneys that look like factory chimneys, and with arcs that look like the arcs of a mosque. Today's family, before everything else, needs health and comfort. Sun, light, air, and comfortable furnitures... In light of this irresistible needs, today you can find many people who prefer a small three-roomed but comfortable house to a large konak that is unable to be heated (Baltacıoğlu,1934: 234-235)⁵³.

Or, in an (1939: 3-4) article by Behçet Ünsal, one can recognize the following line:
Today, to use the big, rich wooden houses with huge sofas becomes burdensome.

3.3. In Search of a New House: New Architecture

By the late 1920's, even though there were many architects following this style, many buildings already built in this style, and more importantly as Cengizkan (2002) puts it there was an ideological effort to standardize and to make this style as 'state-style', the 1st National Architectural Movement was certainly out-of-date for the young Republic. Beside raising 'practical' reasons like taking too much time to build, demanding expertise in Ottoman crafts that no longer existed, necessitating expensive materials, 'theoretically' the 1st National Architectural Movement was regarded as unsuccessful in representing the 'true nature' of modern Turkish identity. Although it had an accent on westernization, modernization, and nationalization, 1st National Architectural Movement was at the same time privileging a past that the new Republic wanted to discredit and erase. Therefore, rather than the 'evolutionary'

⁵³ "İnkıaptan evvelki Türk ailesi ve inkıaptan sonraki Türk ailesi aynı değildir... Türk evlerinde fabrika bacası kadar büyük bacalı, cami kerleri gibi kemerli ocaklar görülüyor. Bugünkü aile her şeyden ziyade sıhate ve konfora muhtaçtır. Güneş, ışık, hava ve istirahat edebilecek eşya... Bu ihtiyaç o kadar şiddetlenmiştir ki üç odalı fakat konforlu bir yuvayı ısıtılması kabil olmayan eski bir saraya tercih edenler çokluktur (Baltacıoğlu, 1934: 235-236).

character of the 1st National Architectural Movement- that attempted to generate newness in relation to tradition- a more ‘revolutionary’ (architectural) programme - that did not refer to any act of remembering- was necessitated. This line of thought can be followed through the reactions of architects who practiced their design in 1st National Architectural Movement. For example, through Kemalettin’s autobiographical words, as Tekeli and İlkin (1997: 5) refers to, one can understand the political milieu of late 1920’s in a better way:

“For thirty years, I devoted my life to evoke within my works of architecture the ‘good taste’ peculiar to the Turks. For thirty years, like every other civilized city, I struggled for the Turkish cities also to carry the good taste of our nation. Now, they name and despise this style as tomb architecture or as mosque architecture”

In another text of him, Kemalettin warns us about the risks of copying Western norms and styles in an unconscious way, and says:

No one can deny that not only damaging or destroying our old great cultural heritage that we ruin by being a Western imitator, but also to forget to preserve it is also a sin for our nation (Tekeli and İlkin, 1997: 19)⁵⁴

Or, another architect of 1st National Architectural Movement, Vedat Tek criticizes the coming New Architecture (or so-called cubic architecture), by saying:

I prefer modern Turkish architecture... And, about the Cubic architecture, I can say that it is a suicide... A good architect, after a certain time, starts to search for purity and less ornamentation. But there is a limit of purity. There will be no profession of architecture if we can not differentiate a true purity with cubic architecture⁵⁵.

Or, as Koyunoğlu stresses, in his (1927) text titled *Today’s Architecture* (Bugünün Mimarisi) published in *Hakimiyet-Milliyet* journal:

⁵⁴ “Frenk taklitçiliği ile mahvettiğimiz o eski büyük medeniyetimizin asarını, bakayasını tahrip veya ortadan kaldırmak değil, hatta muhafazada ihmal etmek bile bir millet için şin olduğunu kimse inkar edemez” (Tekeli and İlkin, 1997: 19)

⁵⁵ “Modern Türk mimarisini tercih ederim... Kübik inşaat hakkında ise inhibattır derim... İyi bir mimar yetiştiği süsten kaçmaya... sadeliğe meyletmeye başlar. Ancak sadeliğin bir haddi vardır. Bunu yani temiz sadeliği kubizm denen karmaşık, abuk subuk sadelikten ayırt etmezsek ortada meslek kalmaz”

How an architect can talk about the ‘beauty’ of his/her project if it is completely ‘empty’, without any ornamentation, and if it was drawn by one or two lines, like the sketch of a text (Koyunoğlu, 1927: 2)⁵⁶

However, against Kemalettin, Tek and Koyunoğlu’s reactions, the nationalist agenda desire to break with tradition and, beyond a dramatic change, to reveal a completely ‘new’ architectural character. This line of thought, as Bozdoğan (2002) refers to, can be found through Haşim’s (1928) words where he calls for a revolutionary architecture suitable for the new republic: By accentuating the non-radical character of 1st National Architectural Movement, he underlined the necessity of realizing a ‘completely new’ architecture.

“...İttihak ve Terakki dressed cloak and turban to architecture. The architecture of this politics resemble turbeh and medressehes...To call this reactionary architecture “renaissance of national architecture” becomes a fashion...But, what they call new-born was in fact a very old aged (Bozdoğan, 2002: 152)⁵⁷.

In fact, in the 1930s the concepts of ‘absolute forgetting’, ‘complete rupture’, and ‘totally new’ were not special to the discipline of architecture; these concepts were used as ideological premises and also found their representations in painting, graphic design and literature. Looking at these representations leads us not only to trace the dominant- ideology behind the Kemalist programme but also to understand how this ideology was tried to be monumentalized by architecture. In order to consider ways the idea of Turkishness was ‘housed’ through architecture, it is helpful to see how Turkishness was conceptualized by the revolutionary programme.

⁵⁶ Bir mimar sade ve üzerinde tezyinat-ı mimariyeden bir şey olmayan, iyice bir yazının müsveddesi gibi bir iki çizgiyle yaptığı projesinde ve bundaki süssüzlük içindeki güzelliği hangi dimağa anlatabilecektir? (Koyunoğlu, 1927: 2)

⁵⁷ “...İttihak ve Terakki...Mimariye de bir cübbe ve sarık giydirmişti. Bu siyasetin Mimarisini türbe ve medreseyi taklit eder...Bu mürteci Mimariye “milli Mimari rönesansı” ismini vermek adet oldu. Halbuki yeni doğmuş dedikleri, hakikatte, çok yaşlı birer ihtiyar idi” .

In order to build up a totally new symbolic order and a new identity, the revolutionary programme of the new nation-state believed in a blank page, a *tabula rasa*; it desired to start from scratch, to start from an empty space without a trace. In other words, the term modern [in Turkey] “emerged from the belief that [Turkishness] is fundamentally a clean body” (Lahiji and Friedman, my intention, 1997: 34). In that respect, it is not surprising to observe that the New Republic of Turkey refined and re-forged the principles of Nationalism and Populism that had been flowered during the period of second Mesrutiyet, the period when Hoca Ali Rıza bey and Rıfat Osman were painting urban landscape of wooden houses, when Hamdullah Suphi was positioning them as a symbol of Turkish identity, and when Ziya Gökalp was giving this nationalism its theoretical support. But, moreover, by 1931, “revolutionism” was being codified as one of the ideological themes of the Turkish Republic, along with Etatism, Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, and Secularism (Shaw, 1977: 87). The term revolutionism was used by the programme as a key-concept to create a complete rupture in time, to annihilate historical traces, and to formulate Turkishness as an origin, as an *arche*.

It is important to note that the term Revolutionism was used by the new nation-state as an indirect code-word for modernization along Western lines. The idea of newness was not only associated with the Turkishness but also with the West. By the ‘young’ republic, the term revolution used as the complete denial of the Eastern-Ottoman-Islamic heritage and was reduced in to the norms and forms of the Western world. By the 1930s, the Turkish population had seen a considerable westernization and secularization of the institutional spaces that had once been a part of the Ottoman-

Islamic policy⁵⁸. Between 1923 and 1926 a cabinet system was instituted and the Caliphate [Halifelik] which had linked the state to religion was abolished. There was a systematic westernization of education: the religious schools and Dervish lodges, the medresses and tekkes, were closed in 1925. The religious foundations with their mosque-centered and mosque-administrated social services had been handed over to the state, and memorial gatherings at the graves of the sultans and saints were prohibited. In 1926, the western calendar and the secular Swiss Civil Code were adopted. Among other things, the Swiss Code gave women new rights, abolishing polygamy and repudiation⁵⁹. In 1925, the revolution of general apparel encouraged women to wear western clothing in public⁶⁰. In 1928, with the alphabet revolution, the alphabet which had been associated with Islam was exchanged for the Latin one employed by the Western world. Each and every one these changes highlight the revolutionary desire to completely rescue the nation from the old-traditional ‘burdens’ and to give birth to a totally new identity, truth and meaning appropriate to the modern-western, and ‘civil’ norms. This statement can also be substantiated by the propaganda posters of the 1930s that were published by Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi [Republican People’s Party], the party of Revolutionary Programme, by poster designs of İhâp Hulusi Görey, and by caricatures Cemal Nadir and Ramiz Gökçe (Figure 8, 9, 10, 11). As Bozdoğan (2002: 76-77) states, these propaganda posters which were designed to promote the reforms of the new revolutionary programme

⁵⁸ For an elaborated discussion on the institutional and political history of that period, see: Shaw, S.J. (1977). *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Reform, Revolution, and Republic; The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁹ The Civil Code also involves some negative articles besides of the positive rights provided to women, like: “Man presents family in his capacity of head of the family” (1926:154); “Women’s working is dependent on husband’s approval” (1926:155); “Parental right is paternal” (1926:160); “Women is responsible for nursing of family and children” (1926:153). As is seen, beside to its positive connotations, the Civil Code considers women basically as a housewife and mother.

⁶⁰ The representations of these days, showing the ‘prestigious’ modern life, were mostly focuses around the image of women either depicted as a pilot or as an athlete but above all as ‘unveiled’.

were at the same time positioning Ottoman culture as the source of “illiteracy and darkness” . By creating oppositions like before/after, old/new, traditional/modern, Ottoman culture was illustrated as the ‘other’ of the new Turkish Republic. These images not only created a milieu where anything that had to do with Ottomanism should be replaced with its opposite but also imposed an artificial amnesia, a total forgetting, a “voluntary de-traditionalization” as Nilüfer Göle (1991) puts it.



Figure 8: Propaganda posters of the 1930s (Bozdoğan, 2002: 77).

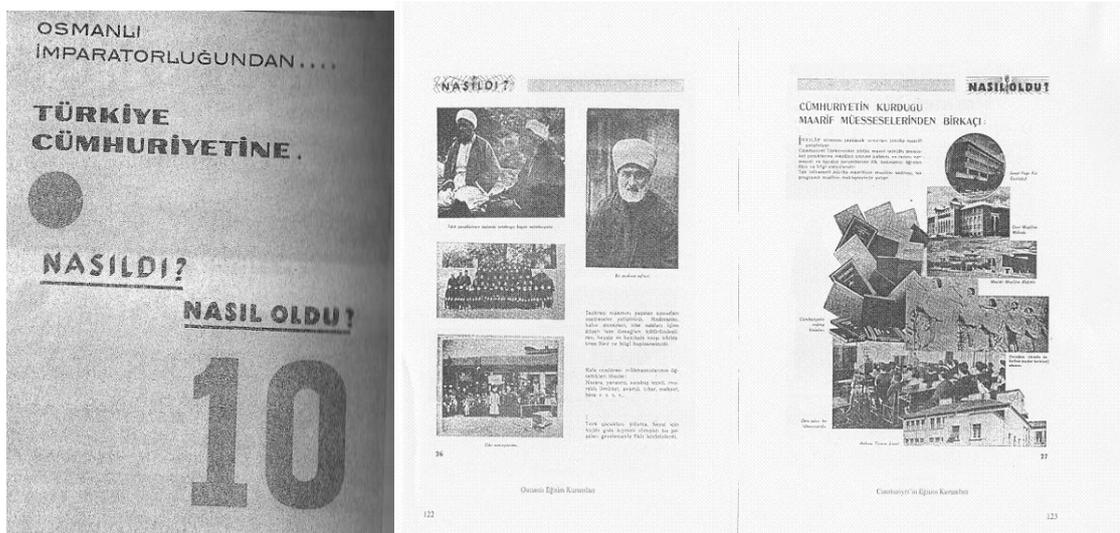


Figure 9: The book *How it Was? How it is now?* (cited in Gürol, 2003: 96)



Figure 10: A poster of İhâp Hulusî Görey
(Merter (ed), 2007: 44)

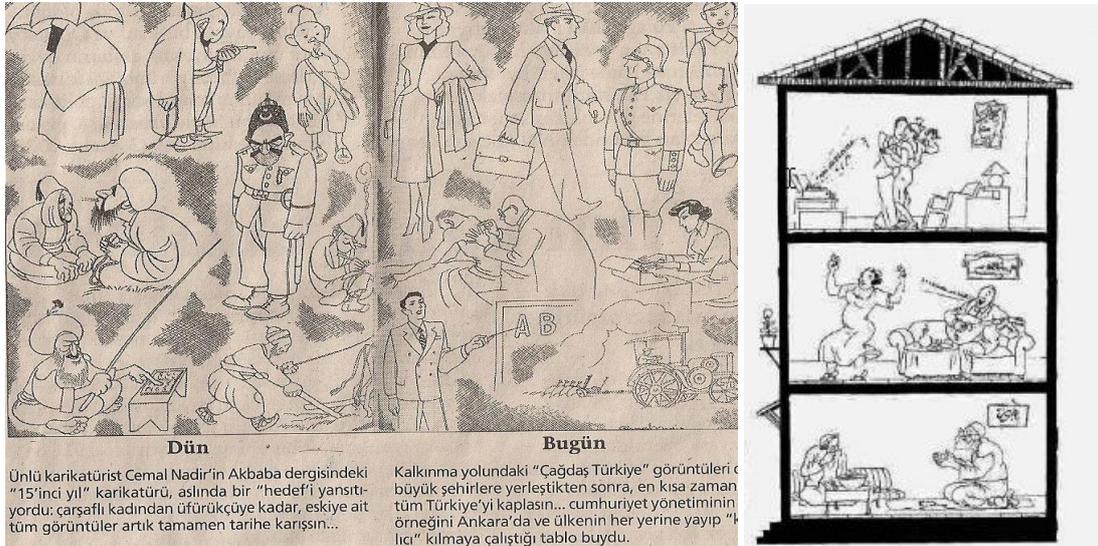


Figure 11: Caricatures- of Cemal Nadir and Ramiz Gökçe- showing a comparison between old and new
(Demirci (ed.), 2002: 112) (Sey (ed.), 1998: 71)

The 'institutional forgetting' and 'de-traditionalization' of the Ottoman past- which included erasings via language, law, clothing, etc- can also be traced in the literary works of this period. The works of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar underline the revolutionary desire to ignore the past and to attain a totally new-modern-western

identity instead of an Eastern-Islamic-Ottoman one. For example, Tanpınar's *Yeni Adam* [New man] was a figure who met the Kemalist ideal with all of its Western-secular connotations, and all of the implied rejection of the Ottoman viewpoint. In *Saatleri Ayarlama Enstitüsü* [Time regulation institute], Tanpınar (2001) similarly tried to surface a psychological analysis of a man who tries to adapt himself to his time, to a new-modern-western time. In short, Tanpınar's works accentuated on the idea of newness; it was structured around the idea of searching for a totally new body, new identity, and new 'house'. And, it is important to note that within these texts the idea of newness was always positioned as the mark of transition from an Islamic-Eastern-Ottoman cultured base to a completely Western one.

Similar to the visual and literary fields, the discipline of architecture was also considered as a necessary tool to represent the idea of Turkishness; to create the new modern-Western-civil appearance of Turkish identity. The architecture of this era once again both materially and metaphorically served to translate the immaterial ideas of Turkishness in to solid and visible forms. Very similar to the other fields, the ongoing idea was to completely 'unveil'⁶¹ the representational masks of the Ottoman period and to surface a completely new character peculiar to the new Republic of Turkey. In other words, in the 1930s, within the field architecture, ideologically there was no longer "any question of custom nor of tradition", as Le Corbusier (1927) puts it, and the whole motivation behind the practice of architecture was to generate a fresh start and to build up a totally new architectural identity.

⁶¹ For further readings of the term 'unveil', see Meyda Yeğenoğlu's (2003) book. Yeğenoğlu positions the notion unveiling as the necessary and essential act inherent in every modern movement. Although She has discussed this term within the Orientalist discourse, the act of un-veiling can also be used within the architectural frameworks. To speak architecturally, the act of un-veiling can be used to formulate Modern Architecture's desire to sustain absolute, objective and universal truth.

This line of thought can be traced through various texts published in Mimar journal, which was founded by Zeki Sayar and Abidin Mortaş in 1931, and which can be considered as the most valuable source to evaluate early 20th century modern Turkish architecture⁶².

In an article published in 1933, the architects Behçet and Bedrettin, by criticizing the evolutionary character of previous architectural attempts, called for a totally new and revolutionary architecture. They say that:

The noble Turkish nation, while making revolutions at clothing, did not think of modernizing the fez but accept brimmed cap. While making alphabet revolution, did not think of renewing some old signs but adopt the Latin alphabet. Also today's architects leave behind the ornamental forms. They walk along a new and logical way (Behçet ve Bedrettin, 1933:265)⁶³.

Or, in a similar way, Behçet and Bedrettin, in their (1933) article called *Turkish Revolutionary Architecture*, urged to prevent continuity in architectural terms and to liberate a radically new representation, by saying:

Of course, revolutionary architecture will be another being that the old Ottoman architecture. The dome, plaster window of this architecture becomes a history with all of its forms. On the way to progress, there is no turning back. Even stillness means to recede (1933: 265-266)⁶⁴.

This line of thought can also be traced in another article of them, published in Mimar journal in 1934, titled as *New and Old Architecture* (Yeni ve Eski Mimarlık). In this

⁶² It is important to note that the name of the journal Mimar (which is an Arabic word used for the Architect) was later changed in to Arkitekt. This simple alteration can show us the persistent desire of the new nation-state to erase the traces related with the Islamic-Ottoman-Arabic culture (Batur, A., 1984). However, as Ergut and İmamoğlu (2010:13) states, while reading these text, it is important to note that the texts published in the Mimar journal was uncritically linked with the official ideology, and with the achievements of modern architecture.

⁶³ “Yüce Türk milleti kıyafette inkılap yaparken fesi asrileştirmeyi düşünmedi, şapkayı Kabul etti. Harf inkılabı yaparken bir takım işaretlerle eskiyi yenileştirmeyi düşünmedi. Latin harflerini aldı. Bugünün Türk Mimarları da kubbeli, çiçekli ve çinili şekilleri bıraktılar. Yeni ve mantiki bir yol üzerinde yürüyorlar”.

⁶⁴ “Şüphesiz inkılap Mimarlığı eski osmanlı Mimarlığından başka bir varlık olacaktır. O Mimarının kubbesi, alçılı penceresi, bütün bir şekil ve hayatiyle tarih olmuştur. Terakki yolunda geri dönmek yoktur. Durmak bile gerilemek demektir”.

text, Behçet and Bedrettin say “to respect and preserve the old is totally different than copying the old” (1934:159).

A similar desire to call for a new architecture can also be found through the words of Abdullah Ziya: In his (1932:97) article called *New Art*, Ziya says that:

“The true works of art can not be achieved by copying and obeying old forms. The true artist is the one who sees the public’s need and taste. 19th century architecture that copies old forms is now dead”⁶⁵.

Or, in Ünsal’s (1935:116) article, named as the *Truth in Architecture*, he says:

“Today’s architecture is looking for the beauty of a naked body, rather than a dressed and ornamented one. This attitude does not create a monotone in works. The ornamentation is a expression of people who bends and kisses skirts”⁶⁶.

Departure from the voice of the above mentioned names, one can underline why, by the 1930s, Ottoman Revivalism or the evolutionary character of 1st National Architectural Movement was suddenly abandoned and the so-called *New Architecture* [Yeni Mimari] or the *Revolutionary Architecture* [inklap Mimarisi] was ideologically embraced by the young Republic. However, it is also highly important to state the fact that later, during the documentation of architectural historiography in the 1970s, New Architecture or Revolutionary Architecture was not evaluated as a ‘national’ architectural style: Between 1st National and the 2nd National Architectural Movement, New Architecture was positioned as a ‘transition’ period, rather than a movement having its own ‘national’ voice (Sözen, 1984: 174). In other words, although it was employed to materialize nationalistic idea(l)s, New Architecture was not canonically depicted as a ‘national’ architectural movement: Rather, New

⁶⁵ “Hakiki sanat eseri eskilerin taklidi ile biçemlere itaat ile olamaz. Hakiki sanatkar asrın ihtiyaçlarını, toplumsal zevklerini gören ve yaratan sanatkardır. Taklit eden 19. yy in mimarisi ölmüştür.”

⁶⁶ “Bugünkü mimarlıkta; süslemek ve süslenmek ile takma gösteriş değil, çıplak vücut güzelliği aranıyor. Bu; eserlerde monotonluk yapmaz. Süsleme eğrilen, kıvrılan, bozulan ve etek öpen insanlığın ruh ifadesidir.”

Architecture was conventionally portrayed, and in a certain extent 'netgated', in the mainstream historiography as unsuccessful in producing the sense of being 'at home'. This line of thought can well be traced to Sözen's (1984:177) words, where he states "we can easily say that this period was formed under different foreign influences".

Through Sözen's words, one can easily underline the 'foreignness' of this style. Within the earlier documentations, while New Architecture was on one hand embraced because of its utopian and revolutionary connotations, like 'absolute forgetting' and 'tabularasa' to built up a totally new identity, on the other hand, because of its 'foreign' appearance, it inconsistently was seen as the representation of 'unhomeliness', 'alienation', or 'degeneration'. This line of thought can also be found through Sözen and Tapan's (1973:98) words, where they describe this architectural movement as a style "repeated directly from the west".

Therefore, New Architecture or the Revolutionary Architecture was simply seen as the 'imported' version of the Modern (architectural) Movement in the West. And, as Aslanoğlu (1994) states, within the discipline of architecture, what is 'imported' from the West was not only limited to the appearance of the buildings; various practitioners of the Modern Movement like Clemens Holzmeister, Ernst Egli, Teodor Post, Bruno Taut, Martin Elsaesser, Franz Hillinger, Hans Poelzig, Herman Elgötz, Robert Oerley, Alexandre Vallauray, Gulio Mongeri, Wilhelm Shutte, Gustave Oelsner, and Paul Bonatz were also invited by the government to practice and to take charge of the architectural curricula in the Turkish Academy of Fine Arts (Aslanoğlu, 1994: 35). As Batur states, the role of these foreign architects was to construct

monumental-public buildings, and hence to give the public face/façade of modern Turkish identity⁶⁷. Most of the major government commissions were designated to these foreign architects, leaving private and residential architecture to the local architects whom they had trained (Aslanoğlu, 1994:76).



Figure 12: Illustrations of the 1930s, announcing “Towards a big Ankara” (Bozdoğan, 2002: 84)

By 1930, Ankara, or Yenişehir [*New-city*] as it was called in these days, (once again) turned in to a building-site where the above mentioned architects applied their designs⁶⁸. Although, it had a ‘history’, in these days Ankara was conceptualized and represented as a *tabula rasa*, as “the birth-place (tanyeri) of a nation” as Hasan Ali Yücel (1998) puts it.⁶⁹. Very similar to Plato’s *Ideal State*, More’s *Utopia*, Zamyatin’s *We* or Orwells’ *1984*, Ankara was considered as a Utopia, as ‘the city of

⁶⁷ It is important to note that local-Turkish architects could not find a chance to design buildings in a monumental scale; they mostly dealt with the private-domestic scale. Only few local architects like Sevki Balmumcu, Şekip Akalın, Seyfi Arıkan and Sedad Hakkı Eldem realized their projects in monumental-public scale.

⁶⁸ In that respect, Emlak ve Eytam Bank was founded in 1926 to provide loans for buildings to be constructed in the city (Aslanoğlu. 1986: 21).

⁶⁹ By 1930s, the historical Ulus region was certainly out-of-date for the ‘young’ Republic. Because it was not only an historical site but also was embodying buildings referring to the 1st National Architectural Movement. To realize the sense of tabularasa, the Kızılay region was chosen to construct buildings in so called New Architecture.

tomorrow' (Figure 12) . It was believed that Ankara was to be built as the symbol of new ideals⁷⁰, and its success was metonymically regarded as synonymous with the success of the whole regime. This line of thought can be marked out in Le Corbusier's (1925) words published in *L'art decoratif d'aujourd'hui*, As Bozdoğan (2002) refers, he said:

Some time ago, by the "Sweet waters of Europe" at the far end of the Golden Horn, I heard the whine of countless gramophones on the caigues plashing the water. And I reckoned that Abdulhamid was dead, the Young Turks had arrived, that the Bazaar was changing its signs and that the West was triumphing. And already today we have *Ankara*, and the monument to Mustafa Kemal! Events move fast. The die is cast: one more centuries-old civilization goes to ruin (Le Corbusier, cited in Bozdoğan, 2002: 3).

Echoing Le Corbusier's words, one can say that Ankara was canonically considered as the mark of the new modern-Western Turkish identity, and its appearance was ontologically thought as the complete denial and dismantling of the six-centuries-old Eastern-Islamic-Ottoman past. In other words, Ankara, as a new 'home-land' (*heimat*) for the new Turkish identity, was a built form with its very materiality but, more importantly, it was thought as a metaphor of representing some higher metaphysical thought; that was the thought of 'Turkishness'.

During the period of the New Architecture- which can be dated between 1928 and 1940, in addition to Herman Jansen's Ankara City Plan (1932), National Conservatory (1928), Court of Accounts (1930), Ismet Pasha Girl Institute (1930), Ankara University-Faculty of Political Science (1935-1936) by Ernst Egli, Ministry of National Defense (1927-1930), General Staff Building (1929-1930), Presidential

⁷⁰ In 1930, a film was made by the Russian director Sergei Yukeviç, who was invited to Turkey to represent the theme of 'new life' in Ankara. The name of the movie was chosen as *Türkiye'nin Kalbi Ankara* [Ankara as the Hearth of Turkey] and by this movie it was desired to show 'the revolutionary character of the Kemalist Programme and the symbolical importance' of the 'new city' for the whole republic . For further reading about this movie, see Ocak and Özgün (1997).

Residence (1930-1932), Ankara Central Bank (1931-1933), Ministry of Internal Affairs (1932-1934), Ministry of Prosperity (1933-1934), Building of Supreme Court (1933-1934), Grand National Assembly (1938-1960) by Clemens Holzmeister, Ankara University- Faculty of Language, History and Geography (1937) by Bruno Taut, Sümerbank General Headquarters (1937-1938) by Martin Elsaesser, Ministry of Health (1926-1927) by Theodor Post, Florya Residential Mansion (1935-1936) by Seyfi Arkan, Ankara Exhibition House (1933-1934) by Şevki Balmumcu, Prime-ministry (1937) by Sedat Hakkı Eldem, Ankara Train Station- Restaurant(1935-1937) by Şekip Akalın appeared as the most eminent and notable architectural examples⁷¹⁻⁷².

Although these buildings address something singular in terms of design and appearance, although one can not easily talk about a ‘pure’ New Architecture as such, the intense ideological load around these constructions leads us to ignore these differences and to reduce them in to one-single image. In that respect, within the earlier documentations, the main characteristics of these buildings were usually explained by the ideals of the Modern Movement such as objectivism, rationalism, and functionalism. As Sözen(1984: 177) states “this period in a certain extent can be defined with its functionalist and rationalist approach”. And, these ideals were conventionally tried to be presented through the use of simple geometric shapes, the

⁷¹ Akpınar’s (2006:58) article, *Secularisation of Islamic Community: The Istanbul Plan of Henri Prost*, can be raised here to show metaphorical significance of Ankara for the new-nation state, and also how Istanbul, in that respect, conceptualized as the ‘other’. As Akpınar says “Contrary to the ideological emphasis of Ankara, and the Jansen plan, the Prost plan has been perceived by the mainstream documentation as a ‘beautification’, rather than a modern and rational design”.

⁷² In 1930s, the Clock-Tower was a highly important and structural element within the field of architecture. Both in Şevki Balmumcu’s Ankara Exhibition House (later Opera House) and Şekip Akalın’s Ankara Train Station Restaurant, the clock tower was intentionally inserted to the materiality of these buildings. By these clock-towers, the idea was to provide the sense of ‘new –modern time’. For a more intense study on clock towers of this period, see Cengizkan, 2002: 15-29.

primacy of cubic forms, modern materials like reinforced concrete, steel, glass and above all through the non-ornamental surfaces without any traditional, regional and cultural reference⁷³. In addition, as pointed out earlier, these features which are actually described by referring to the idea of universalism, were at the same time depicted as the representations of a nationalism; they were seen as the essential elements to create a rupture in time, to show the preferred dis-continuity with the past, and to monumentalize the idea of Turkishness as new modern-nation state.

And, besides public-monumental constructions, it is important to note that the Kemalist programme also aimed at revolutionizing the material and metaphorical significance of private-domestic architecture, at ‘monumentalizing the everyday-life’. As Ünsal states in his 1939 text, *Cubic Architecture and Comfort* (Kübik Yapılar ve Konfor), today’s architecture will be remembered in history of art as the art of housing” (1939:6). In addition to Ünsal’s (1939) text, one can also recall Abdullah Ziya’s (1931) *Binanın İçinde Mimar* (Architect inside the Building], İsmail Hakkı Oygur’s (1932) texts *Yeni Tezyin-i Sanat* (New Art of Interior Decoration) texts published in *Mimar* journal. All of these texts focus on the importance of interior space in an architectural project. This line of thought can also be traced in Emin Necip Uzman’s (1939:39) text *A Project of a City-House* (Bir Şehir Evi Projesi), published in *Arkitekt* journal, where he says “While preparing a house project it is highly important to design the house from the interior, without effecting

73 It is very important to note that within this era it is nearly impossible to find such a building-type functioning to the purpose of religion. Mosque-design, which was a very popular theme in the 1st National Architectural Movement, was intentionally banned and any element (like dome) serving to recall the Islamic-past of the country was moved away. This line of thought can easily be traced through Müderris (1929) words where he said: “Vedat Bey’in Yeni Postane ile açtığı yeni devir, klasik devirle yeni ihtiyaçların birleşmesinden ibaret tamamiyle Romantik bir zihniyetin devridir ki Kemalettin Bey gibi büyük bir Mimarın ve daha bir çok genç san’atkarların zuhuruna takattüm etti [...] Bu noktadan itibaren kubbe fikri ancak eski bir fikirdir. Kubbe milli bir motif değildir, belki zaruretin icap ettirdiği bir yapı tarzıdır. Şu halde kubbesiz damlar yapmak mümkün iken kubbeyi asrileştirmeye çalışmak hiç de akıllıca bir hareket olmazdı” (Müderris, İ. H, 1929: 111).

by the exterior-facade concerns”. Hence, during this period, the essential and structural role of architecture to objectify the idea of Turkishness not only deals with the exterior of buildings but also with their interiors⁷⁴. In that respect, it is important to add that the house had also been considered as an important site of modernization in the late Ottoman period as well. In the late 19th century, the Ottoman “tray culture” was replaced by eating at the tables or the built-in furniture was replaced by western-movable furniture (Tanyeli, 1996).⁷⁵ In that context Ahmet Mithat Efendi’s (1894) text titled as *Avrupa Abad-ı Muşşreti yahut Alafranga* (European Manners of Social Interaction) and Mehmet İzzet’s (1903-1911) three-volume study titled as *Rehber-i Umuru Beytiye* (A Guide to Care of the House) can bring in to discussion to surface how the interior space, especially the house, also took in to consideration before the Republican period, and how it was seen as a site of modern way of living. However, although referring to a certain desire to change one’s cultural identity and life-style, these reforms, compared with the ‘new-Republican house’, can be assumed as ‘minor’ modifications. The new Republican period desired to revolutionize the idea of house with all its attendants, norms and values. By the new nation-state, architecture was not only used to realize a social-utopia and to create the public face/facade of the new republic, but also to transform daily practices and to create a totally-westernized subject⁷⁶. In that respect, the architecture of this era extended beyond its framework and functioned as a bio-political⁷⁷ instrument not only to

⁷⁵ ‘Tray culture’ refers to eating the food from the trays rather than plates placed on a table. For a more extensive reading on the consumption of modern furniture, see Gürel’s (2009) and Yasa Yaman’s (2009) texts.

⁷⁶ Very similar to the idea of Turkishness, the term totally-westernized subject also underlines a process of idealization.

⁷⁷ The term bio-politics used by Michel Foucault (1991) refers to a model of governmentality that regulates populations through the application and impact of political power on all aspects of human life. Invaluable re-reading of this concept can also be found in Agamben (1995).

domesticate the idea of Turkishness, but also to domesticate the Turks. As Göle (2005: 47) puts it “Whilst the multi-functional Ottoman Empire was turning in to a secular nation state republic, Kemalist reformers took the ‘state instrument’ beyond modernization and tried to effect the life-styles, behaviors, and daily habits of the public. As one of the “most potent symbols” of national renewal process, what was presented through the idea of modern-house was not only its new-modern architectural appearance but also its role of offering new daily practices and formations appropriate to the western lifestyle.

The ‘Cubic-House’ [Kübik-Ev] was the modernist version of domestic architecture preferred in Turkey. These houses were reinforced concrete structures with non-ornamental surfaces; they had rational, functional, and ‘hygienic’⁷⁸ appearances with a flat roof, wide glass windows and simple cubic volumes with ‘white’ painted surfaces and without any cultural-regional supplement (Figure 13). Similar to the buildings realized in public context, these examples of private-domestic architecture also claimed to be designed in light of the act of ‘de-traditionalization’. Echoing Adolf Loos’ (1997) famous motto ornament is a crime⁷⁹, or Le Corbusier’s (1927) “the same everywhere and in all times”, the idea behind these constructions was also

⁷⁸ The term hygienic, or the rhetoric of light and cleanliness, was commonly used to represent the opposition with the traditional-Ottoman housing. In other words, those words underline a process of ‘Othering’, of rescuing from the dirty-dark ages (Bozdoğan, 1998).

⁷⁹ *Ornament and Crime* is an essay written in 1908 by the famous Austrian architect Adolf Loos under the German title *Ornament und Verbrechen*. In the essay, Loos's "passion for smooth and precious surfaces" informs his expressed philosophy that ornamentation can have the effect of causing objects to go out of style and thus become obsolete. It struck him that it was a crime to waste the effort needed to add ornamentation, when the ornamentation would cause the object to soon go out of style. Loos introduced a sense of the "immorality" of ornament, describing it as "degenerate", its suppression as necessary for regulating modern society. In that respect, Loos (1997: 67) describes the greatness of the 20th century by stating “designers would no longer design ornament. Decoration was left behind to enter in to a new world without ornament”.

explained as removing any ornamental trace referring back to the Ottoman past and liberating a completely new-modern Turkish identity.

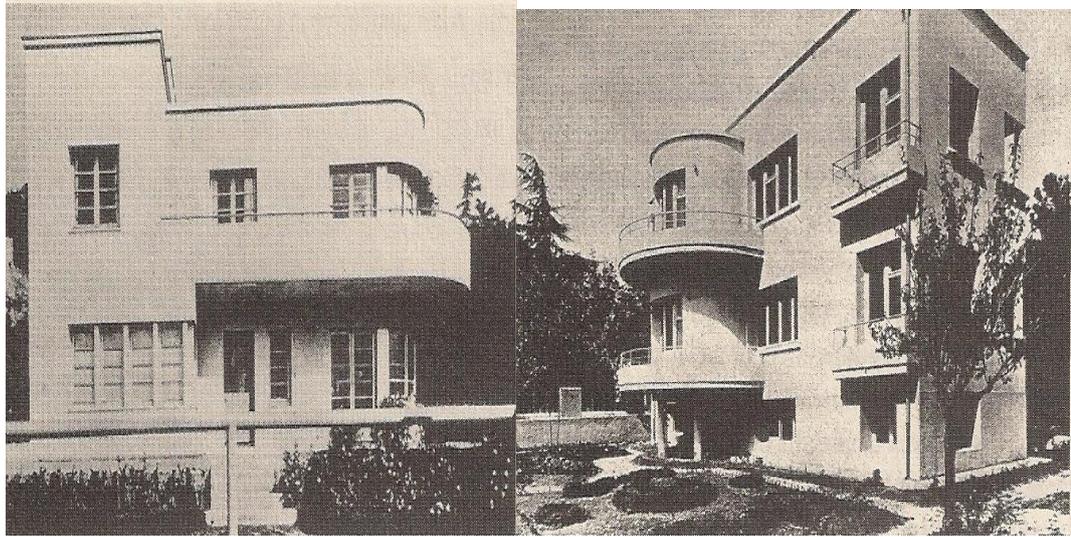


Figure 13: The images of the ‘cubic’ houses (Bozdoğan, 2002: 204).

Through these domestic spaces (different from the public-monumental ones) the never-ending desire of westernization-civilization was not only achieved physically through the above mentioned material changes but also mentally through incorporeal modifications, by changing the life-style. In several journals, like *Yedigün* and *Resimliay* these ideal-prototype-model houses were appreciated and introduced as the cultural signs of modern-western-civil way of living (Bozdoğan, 2002: 224). The meaning of the ‘new cubic-house’ was explained in these journals that discussed at length how to furnish a ‘modern interior’ in order to lead the life of the Republican ideal (Figure 14). In other words, the idea of house was conceived as metonymically referring to the nation; as the ideal representation of national identity, and as the site of social and moral regeneration. By this way, the ‘spiritual’ character of the inward looking traditional Ottoman wooden-house that set above the street and that enclosed a large family within its garden walls was replaced by the modernist cubic houses that is open to outside. Designed as the center of a small nuclear family, these houses

were the carriers of the desire to ‘be Modern’ (therefore to ‘be Turkish’) with all its forms, norms and values (Carel, 1998).



Figure 14: The representation of ‘cubic’ houses in Yedigün (1936: 23)(1937:22)

3.4. A House is not a Home: Foreignness of New Architecture

In fact, in the 1930s, even in Ankara, very few cubic-houses were built, far out of proportion to their appearances in magazines and to the ideological service they were called upon to perform. As Baydar (1993) states, modernism [in Turkey] was an elitist move, not coming from the root and few cubic-houses that were built were commissioned and owned by a small group of people. In other words, the idealized cubic house- with all its modern-western-civil connotations- was continually in the public gaze but out of public reach.

Beside the above-mentioned euphoric celebration of ‘cubic houses’, as the cultural sign of western-modern way of living, in the 1930s there is also a group of people like Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu and Halide Edip Adıvar

who see these spaces as referring to something ‘alienating’. Against their ‘ideologically familiar’ forms, they were, on the other hand, depicted as creating something ‘unhomely’. The accent of New Architecture, both in public and private scale, was seen as referring more to westernization than to the nationalization: These spaces were thought of being the marks of alienation, of ‘over-westernization’, and of ‘degeneration’. Those constructions that were built to monumentalize the ‘new’ Turkish identity around the westernized ideals were discredited for misrepresenting the so-called essence of Turkishness. The ideologically desired examples of New Architecture, and also the Cubic-houses, were not conceived as an intrinsic part of historical and social reality: they were regarded as the Other; as something external and alien to the national consciousness, as well as to practice of everyday life.⁸⁰ In short, the so-called ‘imported’ face/façade of the New architecture claimed to create a domestic yet unfamiliar, homely yet un-homely impression and generated the sense of “not being at home in one’s own home” (Vidler, 1994: 4).

In his *Ev sevgisi* [Love of Home] article published in *Yedigün*, Yalçın (1935: 5) criticized the modern-cubic architecture by stating:

“We, within our houses, used to love our family, neighborhood, and ancestry. Today, maybe we moved in to modern apartments. But, this space is not a place, not a home to use. We are only tenant in these spectacular buildings. The meaning of the house has lost its meaning”⁸¹.

⁸⁰ Here, one can recall Bozdoğan’s (2002) study to realize the conflict between forgetting and remembering, between newness and tradition, between the desired homogeneity and practiced authenticity. By bringing the interior image of a modern-cubic house, designed by Zeki Sayar, Bozdoğan states that even the reachable cubic-houses were chosen to be decorated not by simple, modern and non-ornamental furniture but by the old and traditional ones. One can find a similar criticism in Gürel’s (2009) text that highlights an unbridgeable ‘gap’ between so-called modern furniture and its daily consumption. Or, in Gürel’s (2008) articles titled as *Bathroom as a Modern Space*, one can again underline a conflict between the desired and presented bathrooms and their actual use.

⁸¹ “Biz evimiz mefhumu içinde ailemizi, muhitimizi, ecdadımızı severdik. Bugün belki modern apartmanlara taşındık. Fakat bu bizim için bir ocak değil, bir ‘ev’ değil. Bu mükellef muhteşem binaların içinde bir kiracıyız. ‘Ev’ manasını kaybetmiştir”

Or, in a similar way, in his *Ev ve Apartman* [House and Apartment] article, Yalçın (1938: 33) again made a critique of the modern architecture by stating:

In this civilized life, our apartments turn us in to nomads who don't have a home or homeland⁸²⁸³.

Here, through Yalçın's words, one can easily underline the clear opposition between the house and the home. For Yalçın, the character of modern-cubic house failed to offer a 'peaceful shelter', interiority, a true and natal home. For him, modern architecture's violent imposition of one-single-universal language failed to produce the sense of 'being at home'. Similar to Yalçın's position, Karaosmanoğlu (1934) laughed at the un-homely sense of new-modern cubic house. When he described the interiors of Hakkı Bey's new house, it was abundantly clear that the cubic house was not accepted and embraced⁸⁴.

...They too used to live in a house with a tower and overhanging eaves. Later, like all the other families, they were affected by a consuming urge for the modern. Hakkı Bey outdid everyone else in the matter of a house and displayed the first example of the cubist everybody. Hakkı Bey's house became the first of the buildings with glazed corners, lacquered doors and ceilings hallowed out for concealed electrical installations... Couches like dentist chairs, seats like operation tables, sofas resembling the interior of automobiles, and finally, scattered all over these, some weird, grotesque knick-knacks (Karaosmanoğlu, 1981 (1934): 124-125).⁸⁵

The last sentence of his text clearly portrays the 'unlivable' character and 'alienating' nature of cubic houses, and underlines the feeling of 'homelessness' within these

⁸² "Şu medeni hayat içerisinde apartmanlarımız bizleri evsiz, barksız, yurtsuz, ocaksız birer bedevil haline sokmuştur".

⁸⁴ Karaosmanoğlu's story was also cited and discussed by many of architectural historians, like; Batur, Baydar, Bozdoğan, Carel, and Gürel.

⁸⁵ "Hakkı Bey, her hususta olduğu gibi ev hususunda da herkesten bir parça daha ileriye gidip, aleme, kübiğin ilk örneklerini gösterdi. Köşeleri baştan başa camlı, kapıları lakeden ve tavanları gizli elektrik enstallasyonlarına göre oyuk binaların ilki Hakkı Beyin evi oldu. Selma Hanımın kocası, bundan, gizli bir iftihar duymaktadır. Hele Berlin'in veya Paris'in son mobilya sergi kataloğlarındaki eşya resimlerine göre döşenmiş odalarını, salonlarını herkese ilk gösterdiği günler, adeta, bayramlıklarıyla sevinen bir çocuk gibiydi. Birer dışçı sandalyesini andıran koltuklar, birer ameliyat masasına benzeyen sedirler, bir otomobil içi gibi kanepeler, sekiz köşeli masalar, eski zahire ambarlarından hiç farkı olmayan büfeler, dresuarlar [vitrinler] ve nihayet, bütün bunların üzerlerine serpilmiş duran birtakım acayip, korkunç ve ihtilaçlı biblolar; çıplak duvar, çıplak yer... ve hepsinin üstünde soğuk bir klinik parıltısı..."

spaces. Through Karaosmanoğlu's words one can also trace homesickness, a profound nostalgia for pre-modern. Both Yalçın (1935) and Karaosmanoğlu's (1934) texts can be read as a call for the repressed 'tradition', for the repressed 'regional' and 'authentic' values.

Adivar in her (1939) work *Tatarcık*, also underlined the gap between "homogenizing modernity and authentic nationalism" and criticized the cosmopolitan- homeless- decadent-degenerate, and "pathologic" character of modern-cubic architecture by stating:

This new building is the yalı of Mr.Sungur Balta. Built along the water's edge, Kübik Palas attracts the eye and, according to some, disturbs it. Its style, as evident from the name, is cubic... It has all sorts of arbitrary shapes, projections, and setbacks, and in the most unexpected places, strange balconies covered with glass. One gets the impression that the architect conceived this building during a fit of malaria (Adivar, cited in Bozdoğan, 2002: 256-257).

In a general sense, Yalçın, Karaosmanoğlu and Adivar's words can be considered as calls for a type of modernism that does not assume a position of overthrowing. By portraying the un-homely character of 'imported modernism', they were in fact echoing an alternative tendency, which was to create 'another type of modernism', to realize a "Westernism in spite of the West"⁸⁶. In contrast to the tone of modernity that supposed a complete rupture in time, a total break with the tradition, this 'other type of modern' should be formulated around the idea of 'continuity'; around the belief that the "canvas is never empty"⁸⁷. In contrast to the revolutionary programme which underscored an 'institutional forgetting' and a process of de-traditionalization,

⁸⁶ The slogan of "Western-ism in spite of the West" [Batıya rağmen Batıcılık] was very popular in the late 1930s. The phrase underlines the common tendency of realizing a tone of nationalism that was both national and modern at the same time

⁸⁷ Gilles Deleuze (2003) makes a very similar argument with regard to sensation in his work on Francis Bacon, when he suggests that the canvas is never empty but is always already filled with preconceived notions and conceptions. A very similar argument can also be found in John Rajchman(1997) . By referring to the above-mentioned texts of Gilles Deleuze, Rajchman discusses the nature of abstraction, especially in painting and cinema.

they underline a necessity for a more evolutionary programme. To generate the sense of “being at home”, to produce a sense of ‘interiority’, more importantly to comprise nationalism with modernism, regionalism with universalism, forgetting with remembering, the tradition that was desired to be repressed has to be recalled. And, rather than creating a solid opposition, a wall between tradition and newness, a more porous threshold needs to be constructed.

This line of thought can be reinforced through the statements of a group of ‘Kemalist’ intellectuals of this era, who were later named by the historians as Gelenekçi-Muhafazakarlar [traditionalist-conservatives] (İrem, 1997: 52-99). Following İrem’s (1997) study, as Baydar (2007: 5) states, “while this group of intellectuals on one hand declared themselves as Kemalist, on the other hand they tried to formulate the philosophical, aesthetic and cultural components of the Kemalist reforms in the light of the idea of continuity”. In other words, in contrast to the majority of the intellectuals of this era, the traditionalist-conservatives aimed at preserving the traditional elements; by emphasizing national-cultural differences rather than universal abstractions, they “aimed at the reconciliation of positive knowledge with tradition and faith” .

For example, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu⁸⁸ - a leading intellectual of this period, a member of Traditionalist-Conservatives, the publisher of Yeni-Adam [New Man] journal and the writer of the book entitled Demokrasi ve San’at [Democracy and Art]– explicitly positions himself as opposing the abstract formulations of Modern Movement. For Baltacıoğlu, as Baydar puts it, “the past was to be neither glorified

⁸⁸ Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Peyami Safa, Hilmi Ziya Ülken are the other names for the traditionalist conservatives

nor petrified, and the ideal of a utopian future was to be abandoned” (Baydar, 2007: 5). For Baltacıoğlu, being modern (or being ‘new’) in Turkish context should never exclude the country’s historical, cultural and traditional references. Moreover, these references do not embody a unifying character; any interest related to modernism (and nationalism) “involves a selective process with serious social consequences” (Baydar, 2007: 5).

Through the expressions of Yalçın, Karaosmanoğlu, Adivar and Baltacıoğlu, one can underline a criticism against the ‘imported’ and ‘homogeneous’ character of modern architecture. For them, there is ‘something missing’ within these constructions and they are failing to present us the ‘true’ essence of Turkishness. In other words, the above-mentioned contradictory texts of Yalçın, Karaosmanoğlu, Adivar and Balatacıoğlu highlight an un-homeliness in relation to appearance of New Architecture. The un-homely character of the New Architecture was described by these names as a result of the desire to create the ‘space of complete rupture’. The term modern, as they discussed, should not necessarily promote the new-new, the significant break with the tradition: Rather, the idea of modern can be thought in relation to the idea of ‘continuity’.

In that context, very similar to the criticisms of Yalçın, Karaosmanoğlu and Adivar, within the earlier documentations of modern Turkish architecture, one can underline a similar tone of ‘un-homeliness’ related with New Architecture, and also a call for a ‘newer’ architecture. The positioning of New Architecture (and the Cubic-houses) in these documentations presents us a question of ‘foreignness’. As pointed out earlier, in favor of ‘creating’ a national identity that is not Eastern, from an anti-orientalist

point of view, the term modern was equated with the Western. Rather than raising a from/within criticism of the term modern, the 1st National Architectural Movement was described as being ‘not-modern enough’. By doing that, by denouncing the authority of the past, the earlier documentations were motivated to generate a totally new tradition, and to develop a radically new architecture. In other words, departing from a ‘programmatic’ conception of the term modern, as a project of progress and emancipation, the earlier documentation desired to leave behind old habits and limitations in order to establish a better-new order. In that respect, the notion of tradition, or the traces related with the (Ottoman) past, was considered as the ‘other’ of the (aesthetic) regime. *However, the clearing (of the past) was in fact pervaded by a constant ‘concealment’*. This excluded otherness inevitably returned, haunted the space of New Architecture, produced the sense of ‘foreignness’ and homesickness; and seen as an essential-structural element to create the ‘familiarity’ of the inside.

This line of thought that highlights the ‘return of the repressed’ can be followed around the figure of the Turkish House. As pointed out earlier, in 1st National Architectural Movement, one can underline the emergence of the idea of the Turkish House against the modern architecture. Although it was not materialized as such, although it stays on a discursive level, one can say that during 1st National Architectural Movement, the old-wooden Ottoman period houses take on symbolic meaning and aesthetic value in the formation of Turkish identity. However, as also pointed out earlier, this image of the Turkish House loaded with the sense of interiority, a deep interior identity, was being reworked as a Republican exteriority. The republican ‘cubic’ houses was discussed and presented as an alternative model to the old wooden houses. However, the so-called ‘foreign’ and ‘un-homely’

character of these houses again recalls the idea/image of the Turkish House as the metaphorical and material source of an identity. This state of ‘returning’ to the home, to the idea/image of the Turkish House, can be considered in architectural historiography as the beginning of the 2nd National Architectural Movement.

In that respect, the ‘foreignness’ of New Architecture, the ‘foreignness’ of its practitioners, and the urge to recall the idea of Turkish House to the architectural context, can be followed through various text in the late 1930 and the early 1940s.

For example, in an (1944) article called Today’s Culture and Housing (Bugünkü Kültür ve İkametgah), published in *Arkitekt* journal, one can recognize the following lines:

“In new apartments of Ankara and İstanbul, unfortunately there are corridors ‘imported’ from Europe... We hope that this situation is not permanent, and the beautiful sofa- which is a traditional element in Turkish culture- will soon be alive again (Shütte, 1944: 1-2).

Or, in (1931: 34) article written by Abdullah Ziya, in *Mimar* journal, one can underline an unbridgeable gap between the idea of Turkish House and foreign architects:

“It is something certain that, a foreign architect, because of not knowing our social needs, by no means manages to built up a Turkish House”⁸⁹.

A similar point of view can be traced in Abidin Mortaş’s (1941: 115) text titled Modern Turkish Architecture (Modern Türk Mimarisi), published in *Arkitekt* journal. Abidin Mortaş, start his text by stating:

“In the last few years... there is a persistence desire to built up a National Architecture... On one hand, while we were shouting to find a National Architecture suitable to our national consciousness, on the other hand we gave all our commissions to the ‘snob’ foreign artist... In principle, our cities, our architects, even our sculptors must be ‘essentially’ (öz) Turkish”.

⁸⁹ This line of thought can also be followed in Sayar’s (1938) article “Local and Foreign Architects”, published in *Arkitekt* journal.

Then he adds:

For a group of people who wants to see that a modern architecture can be realized by Turkish architects, the Yalova Thermal Hotel, The Exhibition House in Ankara... the Railway Station building can be considered as satisfactory examples (Mortaş, 1941: 116).

Bedri Uçar, in his (1940) text, that was written for the 352nd year anniversary of Architect Sinan's death, and titled as *Great Sinan and his Works*⁹⁰, goes one step further and besides saying that it is impossible to realize a modern architecture through local architects, he positions the Turkish architects as the founder of today's modern architecture. He says:

In other countries [especially in European countries], while Sinan's contemporaries were dealing with ornamentation and surface treatments, Sinan in his designs were dealing with the relationship between space and function. In that respect, in those days, Sinan not only declared but also practiced the principles of today's modern architecture. Without any hesitation, we can say that we Turks are the founders of today's modern art" (Uçar, 1940: 11)

Therefore, it is not wrong to say that, in the late 1930s, there was an emergent call to realize a 'national architecture' by 'local' architects⁹¹. However, in that context, it is highly important to note that *the so-called 'foreignness' of New Architecture was more related with the forms of the buildings rather than its practitioners*. In 1934 issue of *Arkitekt* journal, Şevki Balmumu's Exhibition House project in Ankara, which can be considered as the first competition won by a Turkish architect, was presented as a 'glory' for the local architects who were fighting to take commissions against their foreign partners. The article, besides giving all the architectural drawings of the project, states the following lines:

"This last competition shows that in our country's architectural works we do not need foreign hand (ecnebi ellere) anymore"

⁹⁰ In that respect, it is highly important to note that the re-appearance of the figure of Arkitekt Sinan within the architectural discourse coincides with the appearance of the question of foreignness.

⁹¹ In 1934 the first Turkish Opera, named as Özsoy which means the 'essential root' was performed. This attempt also shows us that in late 1930 there is general tendency to 'Turkify' everything.

Another article published in *Arkitekt* (1935: 97-98) follow a similar overtone:

“The materiality of the Exhibition House shows that there is no need to ask something from the foreign architects...The materiality of the Exhibition House differs from other buildings in Ankara, not by using expensive materials as foreign architects did, but by its use of space”.

However, The Exhibition house project⁹², which was designed by Şevki Balmumcu in 1934, was later, in 1948, turned in to Opera house by a ‘foreign’ architect Paul Bonatz, a close friend of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and a supporter of Second National Architectural Movement, in the name of making this building more ‘national’, more ‘Turkish’. Therefore, in addition to change of its functional purpose, an ideological intervention can also be seen through its design (Figure 15). As Balamir (2003: 31) notes, this is a remarkable example where one can easily observe an exercise of ideological politics over a single building. Through the below mentioned images of Opera House (Figure 16), one can recognize that, in Bonatz intervention, the clock-tower was eliminated, the white surfaces of the building was colored, and ornamented with the traditional motives. These ideological ‘modifications’, these acts of ‘Turkifications’, can lead us to recognize how the term modern in Turkey was understood and exercised programmatically, how the milieu of experiencing New Architecture was missed.

⁹² Similar to Balmumcu’s Exhibition house project, one can recognize several other articles celebrating the designs of local architects, like: The Turkish Embassy at Baghdad by Seyfi Arkan (1934: 9), Makbule Atadan house by Seyfi Arkan (1935: 11-12), Sümerbank project competition (1935: 3). All of these articles try to define a privileged position to Turkish architects against their foreign colleagues.



Figure 15: The exterior view of the Balmumcu's Exhibition house (Vanlı,2006: 28)



Figure 16: The exterior view of the Bonatz's Opera house (Vanlı,2006: 29)

One can say that the conception of New Architecture, similar to the 1st National Architectural Movement, is also structured around the hierarchically ordered binary of tradition and modern. Like the documentation of 1st National Architectural Movement, New Architecture was also discussed around the conception of modern that can not be traditional. Rather than portraying their mutually-correspondent relations, these terms are taken as contradictory and exclusive. In that sense, within the earlier documentations, the spirit of New Architecture is commonly depicted as 'foreign' style that is 'too-modern', therefore 'too Western': Rather than focusing on

how the term modern was discussed and ‘situated’, the representations of this era were reduced in to sameness; rather than focusing on their differences, it prefers to concentrate on their ‘foreignness’. And, as pointed out earlier, the question of foreignness within this movement can not be described around the ‘nationality’ of the architects: Whether they are Turkish- like Seyfi Arkan, Kerim Arman, Fazıl Aysu, Şevki Balmumcu, Ruknettin Güney, Rebii Gordon, Bekir İhsan, Abidin Mortaş, Zeki Sayar, Leman Tomsu, Behçet Ünsal, Ahsen Yapanar- or not-Turkish - like Egli and Taut- the practitioners of this movement were ‘estranged’. In favor of liberating a ‘national’ architecture, the forms of this era were seen as un-national, un-Turkish.

However, at this point, it is important to say that what is missing in the earlier documentation of New Architecture is its ‘transitory’ perception. In order to understand New Architecture in a better way, rather than an idealized and generalized perception of this era, a more close analysis is needed. That kind of a look, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, is not only important to surface the a-priori claims related with this style, but also to document the ‘anomalies’, which are the projects that do not fit in the stylistic image of this era. Through these inconsistent examples, through these different voices, one can go beyond the unifying-totalizing language related with this style, and can observe the complexity and heterogeneity of this movement. Moreover, more important for our case, although it was named as ‘foreign’ and ‘un-national’, through a close analysis of this period, one can surprisingly recognize that the idea of the Turkish House was also an object of study within this movement. In other words, within the period of New Architecture, it is possible to surface a ‘foreign conception’ of the Turkish House. In

contrast to its canonical positioning where the idea/image of the Turkish House emerges as a reaction to the ‘foreign’ interventions, one can alternatively liberate an understanding where the idea of the Turkish House can be seen as a ‘foreign’ construct.

But before doing that, before tracing this ‘alternative’ Turkish House, it is better to open a parenthesis and to position the role of the 2nd National Architectural Movement, and respectively the re-appearance of the idea/image of the so-called Turkish House in architectural historiography.

3.5. Return to Home: 2nd National Architectural Movement and the ‘Essentially Modern’ Character of the Turkish House

In order to materialize a more compromising image of being both ‘modern’ and ‘national’, in the late 1930s and in the early 1940s, one can underline an ideological tendency to leave New Architecture back and to search for a more ‘authentic’ and ‘continuous’ representation for modern Turkish identity. In other words, in the 1940s, Westernism –with all of its homogenizing, colonizing, and alienating connotations- was conceptualized as the ‘other’ of Turkishness. The revolutionary will to create an ‘institutionalized-forgetting’ and to build up a fresh start, a completely new identity, was transformed in to an ‘institutionalized-nostalgia’, and mourning for the ‘happy days past’. Very similar to Bachelard’s (1964) positioning of ‘oneiric-house’⁹³, one can underline a profound ‘nostalgia’ in the architectural

⁹³ Oneiric-house was described by Bachelard (1964) as the house of dreams. But more importantly, the oneiric house was conceptualized as a sacred space which was destroyed by the rational-functional character of the modern house. In his text, *Poetics of Space*, Bachelard (1964: 17) said that “I do not dream in this geometric cube, in this cement cell, in this room with iron shutters so hostile to nocturnal subjects...When I dream well, I go younger, to a house in champagne, or to few houses within which the mysteries of happiness are distilled”.

representations of this era⁹⁴. And, very similar to Odysseus's 'homeward' journey, one can highlight an ideological desire to return to a 'true' and 'natal' home.

Therefore, the idea of Turkish House that was ideologically embraced during the 1st National Architectural Movement by Tanrıöver, Arseven, Ünver, Galip and Koyunoğlu, again took on symbolic meaning and aesthetic value for the formation of national identity.

The *Arkitekt* journal that celebrates and promotes the movement of New Architecture in the 1930s, by the 1940s started to published articles concentrating on the Turkish Houses, like; Albert Gabriel's Turkish House (1939: 149-154), Bedri Uçar's *A Yalı in Bosphorus* (1939: 11-12), Sedad Hakkı Eldem's *A Yalı in Bosphorus* (1944: 7-8), Zeki Sayar's *A Yalı in Vani Village* (1945: 1-2), Halit Uluç's *Antalya ve Burdur Houses* (1946: 246), Harbi Hotan's *Erzurum Houses* (1947: 2730), Mahmut Akok's *Trabzon Houses* (1951: 1033), and *Çankırı Houses* (1953: 1433). In addition, the *Arkitekt* journal also published several articles about projects realized by Turkish architects, like; Sedad Hakkı Eldem's house project for Ağaoğlu family (1938: 10-11), Emin Onat's villa project in Göztepe (1941: 145-148), Sedad Eroğlu's villa project in Cadde Bostan (1941: 213), Emin Necib Uzman's house project in Ayazpaşa (1945: 3-4), Halit Femir's project in Suadiye (1950: 7-16), Emin Necip Uzman's apartment project in Nişantası (1951: 163-165), Nizamettin Doğu's house projects in Ankara (1952: 11-12). All of these projects were boldly underlined by their 'new but Turkish' character. Similarly, between 1940 and 1950, *Arkitekt* journal also gave pages to the graduation projects of the students of the Academy of Fine

⁹⁴ Ackbar Abbas (1997: 67) defines the term nostalgia "as a dejavu without uncanny", or "as a memory without pain". Through Abbas' positioning of the term nostalgia, one can find a fertile soil to understand new nation state's relation with the past.

Arts. These projects⁹⁵, that belong to Aydın Boysan (1945: 260), Muhlis Türkmen (1945: 260), İbrahim Moro (1945: 261), and Rasit Uyboydu (1945: 261), were discussed at length by emphasizing their local character, and by appreciating their traditional approach in terms of climate, material and form. In a 1941 issue of the journal, Zeki Sayar, wrote, about an exhibition of graduation projects, the following lines: “Today, national architecture is trying to escape from a rootless architecture, and to find an authentic architecture” (Sayar, 1941: 51).

Through the above mentioned articles of *Arkitekt* journal, one can underline the architectural tendency in the 1940s: an architectural project, in terms of its designer, its forms and the use of space, and its materials used in the projects must be ‘national’. This line of thought can be clearly perceived in an anonymous article on ‘Art School’s Exhibition’. The article ends with the following lines: We will do everything by ourselves! (1938: 187-188)⁹⁶. Echoing *Arkitekt* journal, the *Mimarlık* journal, another important architectural source for this era, also supports the appearance of local-traditional architecture. In 1940, the journal published a survey, called Survey of National Architecture, and asks the following questions (cited in Tümer, 1998: 51):

1. Do you admit that a case (dava) called national architecture exists? If yes or no, please explain
2. What is the essential characteristic of national architecture for you?
3. What is the most true way to realize a national architecture as such?
4. What are the possible and potential moves (tedbirler) that can be activated initially?

⁹⁵ Throughout the 1940’s, the study of Turkish residential vernacular architecture became the norm in the architectural education. In addition to several projects made in the schools, one can also recognize various thesis studies, like Leman Tomsu’s (1941) thesis on Bursa Houses.

⁹⁶ A similar point of view can also be traced in 1950 issue of *Arkitekt* Journal, in a campaign message that announces “Use local goods!”.

Before looking at how the architects of this era responded to these questions, and how, in a more general sense, architecture transcends its object status, and operates in public and private spheres as an extension of this 'nationalistic' desire, it is better to summarize the ideological scene of the 1940s.

In the 1940s, there was an ideological will to ignore the recent past and, in favor of a preoccupation with the pre-Ottoman-Islamic culture, to trace the deeper roots of Turkishness. In other words, although Turkishness emerged and appeared from/within Ottoman culture, it was ideologically believed that it had a 'historical-identity' rooted in times, before the Ottoman civilization. In that context, to expose the historical significance of Turkish identity, to change the collective remembrance, two alternative intentions can be observed. On the one hand, there was the ideological programme passionate with the pre-Islamic Anatolian civilizations. Through governmental organizations like Turkish Historical Society [Türk Tarih Kurumu] and Turkish Language Association [Türk Dil Kurumu] and through official theories liberated through these organizations like Thesis of Turkish History [Türk Tarih Tezi] and extravagant Sun Language theory [Güneş Dil Teorisi], the idea of Turkishness was positioned in relation to these civilizations. For example, Thesis of Turkish History (1932) holds that the history of Turkish identity as known today doesn't consist merely of Ottoman history, but is much older and in fact dispersed cultures including classical Greek culture, the Hittites, the Sumerians, the Chinese, the Romans and all European nations. And the Sun Language Theory (1935) holds that Turkish was the first language ever spoken by humans, and is the foundation for all other languages, be they classical Greek and Latin, Romance or even Anglo-Saxon languages. In addition, through several archeological excavations, the

relations between the above mentioned civilizations were exposed in a more material way. Most of the findings from these excavations were exhibited in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (1938-1940) in order to show the deeper roots of Turkish identity (Temizer, 1969)⁹⁷.

On the other hand, in addition to the pre Ottoman-Islamic civilizations, there is another tendency to create relations with the local culture of Anatolia; a distinctive national character can be built through the synthesis of local values with Western norms and techniques. The paintings and sculptures of Group D (1933-1951), which was an artistic collaboration formed in light of the ideological accent of 1940's by Nurullah Berk, Bedri Rahmi Eyüpoğlu, Cemal Tollu, Elif Naci and Züftü Müridoğlu, can show this belief. One can easily recognize the act of re-traditionalization, the adaptation of western (painting) techniques to the local-authentic scenes and folkloric motives in the paintings (Figures 17)⁹⁸.

Similar to the artistic expressions realized by Group D, the architecture of the 1940's was also interested in opening a new era. The idea was also to focus on local-

⁹⁷ This line of thought can be read in parallel with Derrida's (1996) famous concept Archive-Fever. In general, Archive Fever discusses the nature and function of the archive, particularly in Freudian terms and in light of the death drive. But he also draws attention to the fact that the prefix *arche* found in both archive and architecture. For Derrida (1996), archiving traditionally understood as an act of remembering is at profound levels a simple act of forgetting. So, one can say that Derrida (1996) was suggesting remembering and forgetting not as binary oppositions. For Derrida all remembering is informed by forgetting. In that respect, in our case, the above mentioned archeological obsessiveness can be read in relation to the act of forgetting. While the revolutionary programme desired to erase, to forget the traces of the (Ottoman) past, on the other hand it never managed to rescue itself from archiving, from remembering. So echoing Derrida (1996), one can say that again the act of remembering was driven by the act of forgetting.

⁹⁸ Here one can refer to Artun's (2011: 61) text where he says "suddenly in Turkish and Islamic Arts, cubism was re-invented: in carpets, altars, hat drawings and traditional ornamentations, a geometric abstraction already exists. In that respect, Selahattin Eyüpoğlu discovered miniature in Matisse, Sedat Hakkı Eldem in Le Corbusier and Frank Lloyd Wright found the Turkish House... During that period, the cubism became national... Hakkı Anlı, Nurullah Berk, Sabri Berkel and Cemal Tollu paint by adapting traditional matters in to geometric templates.

authentic values, and by combining them with western construction techniques to create, in Hegelian sense, an “absolute synthesis” of being both modern and national at the same time.



Figure 17: The paintings of Nurullah Berk, combining cubism with the local scenes (Berk and Özsezgin, 1984: 54-55)

As Carel (1998: 356) puts it, the new commission of buildings under the ministry of Public Works declared in 1934 that a Turkish National Style should be developed, although what this style was to look like was not specified. The commission was certain however “this new architecture should be designed by Turks [not by foreign architects] as well as have a Turkish form” . Here, one can underline a search for a ‘type of modernism’ that should reflect a totally national character, without any ‘foreign effects’. This line of thought can be also traced in Koyunoğlu’s words. As Baydar (1990) refers to, Koyunoğlu, by showing the risk of realizing a national architecture through foreign architects and also through foreign forms, says that:

“...It is an appropriate [time to] open a new architectural era in this country [...] yet it is necessary to think of a Turkish modern architecture that this nation will like. Ankara is a new capital, [but] only Turkish architects can determine the identity of this city. Architect Holzmeister is a talented person with a respectable position. But he is not the person to understand our country’s revolution, and build its edifices (Koyunoğlu, cited in Baydar, 1990: 44)

Therefore, other than the ‘imported’ face of the New Architecture, Koyuncuoğlu called for realizing a ‘real’ modern national architecture. For Koyuncuoğlu, the idea

of Turkishness can only be represented by local architects who can reflect the true nature of this metaphysical term.

Sedad Hakkı Eldem was groomed by history to answer Koyunoğlu's call and has proven himself as an architect to crystallize the general feeling: there was the need for a new architecture to nationalize, authenticize and domesticate the modern⁹⁹. In 1934, Eldem began his now famous seminar series on 'National Architecture' at the Fine Arts Academy [Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi] in Istanbul, which he organized around the motto of 'towards a local architecture', and around the image of 'Turkish House' as the definitive element of this style (Bozdoğan, 2005: 49-50)^{100 101}.

In that respect, Eldem published 'The Question of National Architecture' and 'Towards a Native Architecture' in *Arkitekt* journal respectively in the years 1939 and 1940 and announced the fundamentals of his concept of 'national architecture'. In these articles, Eldem first states that "in today's architecture there is a tendency towards a local architecture than an international architecture" (1939: 220-223). And then, he openly declared his opposition both to the employment of 'Kübik'

⁹⁹ The main reason behind a call for a new national style is complex. Tekeli suggests that interest in a national architecture grew from Turkey's post-depression alliances with fascist Germany (1984:20). Aslanoğlu suggested that the "call" for a new national style reflects Turkish architects wanting to take control of the profession from foreign architects (1984: 92-95). Alsaç suggested that revivalism is a natural and necessary step before moving forward (Alsaç, 1984: 98).

¹⁰⁰ Here one can easily underline that the inspiration of the title of Sedad Hakkı Eldem's work *Towards a Local Architecture* [Yerel Mimariye Doğru] undoubtedly follows Le Corbusier's *Vers Une Architecture* [Towards a New Architecture].

¹⁰¹ In fact, as Sezer (2010: 107) shows, the interest to study the old-vernacular Turkish house started before Sedad Hakkı Eldem: it can be traced to 1920's, during the 1st National Architectural Movement. By bringing Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, Ahmet Süheyl, Süheyl Ünver and Rifat Osman's voices to the discussion, Yavuz (2010) states that during the 1st National Architectural Movement, one can document how vernacular Turkish house became an object of research. In that context, during New Architecture in the 1930s, an interest to use the architectural qualities of these houses can also be documented. Therefore, one can say that the image of the Turkish House was already an object of study, a reference of design before Sedad Hakkı Eldem.

International Style and the practice of foreign professionals in the country, by saying: “the effect of ‘foreignness’ was confounded the taste in us and hampered the development of a national style” (Eldem, 1940: 69)¹⁰². For Eldem, “the national architectural style is not a commodity (meta) that can be ‘imported’ (1940: 72). A similar line of thought, where previous architectural attempts of modernization and nationalization were negated, can also be traced in another text by Eldem: As Bozdoğan (1987) quoted, Eldem said “As a student I was doubly rebellious. Firstly I was violently against the non-Turkishness of domes and arches; Secondly, I was equally against the ‘küçük’ international style. And, at the same time, I was passionately in love with the Turkish House (Eldem, cited in Bozdoğan, 1987:26).

At the Fine Art Academy, in 1935, Eldem set up a curriculum in which his students went in to Anatolia to document all remaining vernacular architecture with drawings, photographs, and measurements. As Carel (1998) puts it, these students were convinced that they were accessing something that is essentially ‘Turkish’. This line of thought can also be read through Eldem’s own words where he said:

“We can read the Turkish character inside these houses [and] we have no difficulty in feeling the Turkish taste in their architecture and their decoration. All of the buildings of this type have a single spirit, the Turkish spirit” (Eldem, cited and Trans. in Kömürcüoğlu, 1950: 109).

Here, the term Turkish House actually refers to an old-wooden house that characterized the Ottoman urban space but did not survive as a viable built form in the Republican period. In addition, it can also be said that the pre-modern Ottoman world embodied an ethnic fragmentation in relation to these housing structures. It is

¹⁰² Although, within the earlier documentations, Eldem seems to position himself against New Architecture, it is important to note that, till 1938, Eldem designed various projects that does not have any intention on locality. These projects are Turkish Pavillion in Budapest exhibition (1931), his project proposal for Ankara Exhibition House (1931), Project for Satie Electric Company (1934). As Vanlı (2006) states Eldem’s project proposal for Sumer Bank competition can be considered as a ‘change’ in his architectural language. In this proposal, one can recognize how Eldem leave modernist language, and lead himself to a more nationalistic tone.

certain that local variations were great. But the origin of the differences, or diversities lay not in a desire to create a group identity. In other words, before Eldem introduced his idea of ‘Turkish House’, there was no claim for the unity of its discourse. The vernacular houses- that were mostly built by Christian Greek and Muslim Turk builders- were re-produced and re-presented by Eldem (and his students) as the image of a venerable past, and to incorporate Turkishness; its lost origin; its missing arche¹⁰³. The vernacular houses that were constructed observing traditional, regional, cultural, and climatic variables and with a mimetical¹⁰⁴ knowledge rather than a rational one were taken by Eldem to portray a national, essential characteristic and to expose a single and homogenizing image. In other words, the old-wooden Ottoman houses by ignoring references to differences were reduced and codified by Eldem in to a typological and stylistic canon in theory, education, and practice. In Eldem’s (1984) monumental work titled Turkish House, the Turkish House posits the articulation of plan as the primary generator of the ‘type’, and it provides an elaborate typological matrix of house plans based on the shape, configuration, and location of the hall, or sofa, as the key element (Figure 18). The Sofa is an unspecialized space giving access to other rooms of the house such that- in an interesting analogy between the house and the city- Eldem visualized the rooms of the house as individual houses in themselves and the sofa as the street or square allowing access to them. In that respect, Eldem identified three generic plan types that are; house with an external sofa, house with an internal sofa, and house with a central sofa. These generic plan types not only provided the analytical tools to

¹⁰³ This line of thought was adapted from Baydar (2000). In her article Baydar, by referring to Rudofsky (1964), states that the vernacular was the lost origin of modern-west.

¹⁰⁴ As Hasan Ünal Nalbantoğlu (2008) underlines one of the most remarkable move of modernist thought can be found through the suppression of the mimetical knowledge and domination of rational knowledge. In favor of creating a solid identity, in favor of instituting the logic of one and sameness, the modernist thought tried to repress any mimetical knowledge, any alterity that does not repeat the same.

study and document existing examples, but they also provided the underlying principles for many object-type villas Eldem designed in his long career. In short, rather than working with the ‘types’, Eldem’s study on the Turkish House searches for a ‘prototype’.

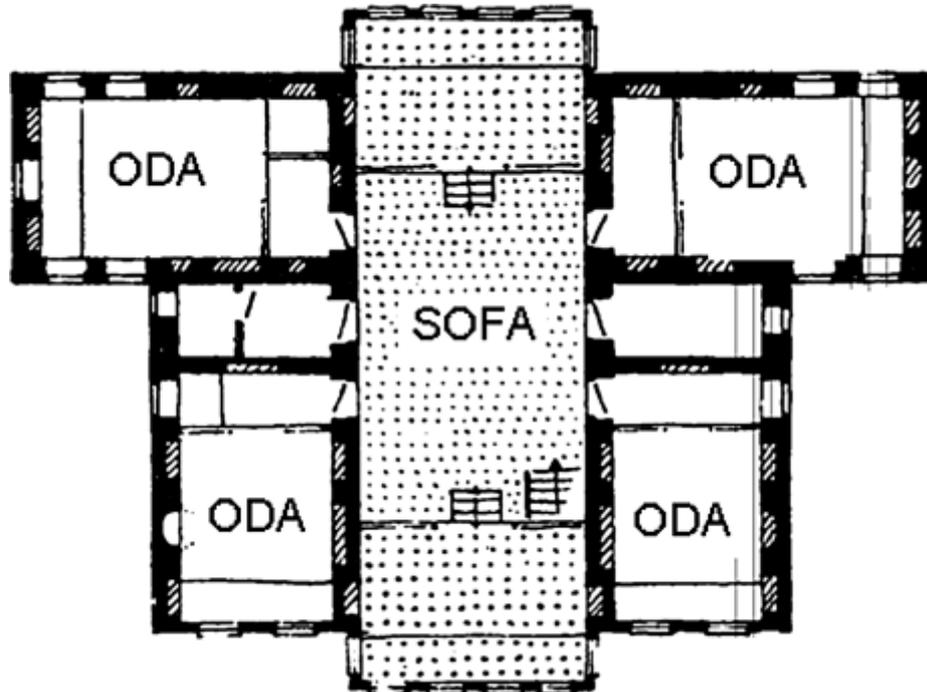


Figure 18: Sofa and the Plan of Traditional Ottoman House (Eldem, 1954: 112)

In that context, considering the difference between types and proto-type, as Bozdoğan (2002:91) says, one can underline “a choice of the word ‘national’, rather than regional [...] within the architectural discourse of that period, the term ‘regional’ did not generally preferred to be used”. As Bozdoğan (1994:51) adds, rather than a true regionalism that works with the regional diversity, “the basic motivation behind Eldem’s approach was nationalism, to realize a single construct of a unitary cultural identity”. This line of thought, that underlines an opposition between regionalism and nationalism, and also the inadequateness of native and regional qualities to built up a national architecture, can be found through Eldem’s (1983:16) own words, where he says:

“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 of results from their being the houses and the works of the same nation” .

Hence, one can say that Eldem promoted the ‘modern reconstruction’ of the traditional Turkish house in a typological method. And, more importantly, these typologies then functioned as a data-base for a ‘National Architectural Movement’; for the 2nd National Architectural Movement as architectural historians commonly name it.

In that respect, the 2nd National Architectural Movement, which was formed around the idea of vernacular Turkish house, was a style that was not about regionalism, and houses: It was more about nationalism, and public monumental architecture. The image of the Turkish house- rather than simply referring to a housing structure- was embraced by Eldem to monumentalize a higher domain, to ‘erect’ the monument of modern Turkish identity, to ‘house’ the very idea of Turkishness. *The un-monumental nature of these houses was taken to produce a monumental structure.* The appearance of the Turkish house was ideologically considered as an icon of Turkishness. As an image rooted in the past but looking out towards the new, as a continuing and compromising image of being both modern and national, the appearance of the Turkish house was seen as the house of modern Turkish identity. The figure of the Turkish house was positioned as a bridge between modern and traditional in a time of rupture, and as a source of identity at a time of identity crisis. Eldem believed that the image of the Turkish house is an edifice to negotiate this rupture, to figure out how to use and evaluate the past in and for the present. This line of thought where the Turkish house was assumed to be ‘already modern’ can be read through Sedat Hakkı Eldem’s (1942:16) words:

But what kind of cubic [do we see]? Imported cubic. One resembles a German house, one Italian, the other French. But a real Turkish house? This you will not find... Many nations are able to find a modern architecture by grafting on to their old architecture. And we too, have no other choice but this... The system of built-in furniture demanded in the modern house exists in ours from old days. [In old Turkish house] besides cupboards, there are niches shelves, lamp niches, clock niches, everything is thought as a part of the house and is built in to its walls. Heavy portable furniture is not to be found. Isn't this fundamental to what is required in all modern houses? Furthermore, the bedroom can be used as a sitting room during the day. In Europe doesn't everyone have sofas that can turn in to beds? Aren't American beds that can be hidden in a closet a modernist version of our old bed? Furthermore, aren't Europeans now making the same wide seating [sedirs] that were used to sit on? Aren't the fireplaces that we had in our rooms being replicated in today's fireplaces? And above all, isn't the local tile that is used in the houses of Rumeli just like the tile that they are making in Germany?... The most important message is that the old Turkish house is close to the modern house of today to a surprising extent.

Here, one can easily underline that, for Eldem, the most satisfying feature of the Turkish house was its 'un-imported' nature. In contrast to the modernization attempts realized earlier, Eldem believed that the image of the Turkish house is not 'extrinsically', but 'intrinsically modern'¹⁰⁵.

In that context, within the earlier documentation of modern Turkish architecture, rather than conceptualizing it as another effort to 'situate' the term modern, to 'house' modern Turkish identity, Sedad Hakkı Eldem's idea/image of the Turkish House was presented as the 'proto-type' of national architecture: With its 'essentially modern' character, the idea of Turkish House was presented as if it fulfilled the desire of producing the sense of being 'at home', while being 'modern'. In that sense, the image of the Turkish House was documented as an 'end product', as a 'stationary

¹⁰⁵ As Bozdoğan (1987) brings in to discussion, there is an intimate relation between Sedad Hakkı Eldem's Turkish House and Frank Lloyd Wright's Prairie houses, and this relation can also be found through Sedad Hakkı Eldem's own words. As Bozdoğan (1987) refers to, Sedad Hakkı Eldem says: "In Berlin, I first saw the Frank Lloyd Wright album published by Warmuth: 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 in these designs. The long row lines, the rows of windows, the wide eaves, and the shapes of the roofs were very much like the Turkish House I had in mind. These romantic, naturalist houses were far more attractive than the box like architecture of Le Corbusier" (Eldem, cited in Bozdoğan, 1987: 33). Here through Eldem's words, one can underline that although Eldem tries to put a distance against the euphoric celebration of modern architecture, one can still trace some 'exchanges'.

form', as the material representation of the domestication process, which was the process of domesticating both Turkishness and the modern (Tanyeli,2001: 20-21).

Faculties of Science and Letters, Istanbul University (1944) by Emin Onat and Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Saraçoğlu Housing Complex, Ankara (1946) and the renovation of Exhibition House in to a Opera House (1948) by Paul Bonatz, Faculty of Science, Ankara University (1943), Oriental Café [Şark Kahvesi] at Taşlık (1948-1950), Zeyrek Social Security Complex, Istanbul (1963) and various house projects - like Ayaslı House, Kıraç House, Komili House, Rahmi Koç House, Safyurtlu House- designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem can be considered as the most remarkable and eminent monumental architectural examples of this era¹⁰⁶ (Figure 19)

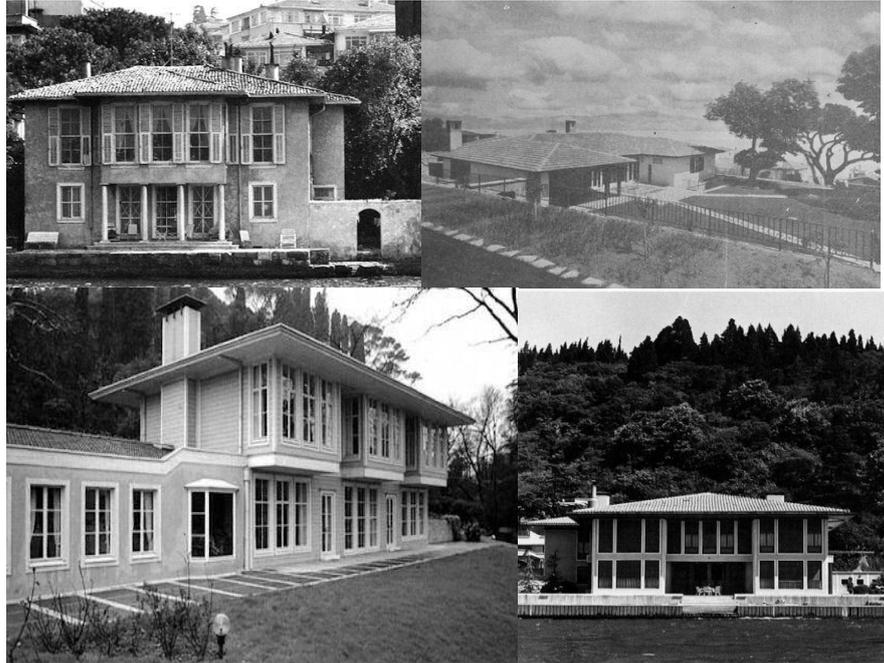


Figure 19: Various House projects by Eldem (Tanyeli, 2001)

Through these examples, the Saraçoğlu Housing Complex especially plays a remarkable role. Remembering the arguments on 'foreign architects', it is highly

¹⁰⁶ One can also add the projects made by Nizamettin Doğu, M. Ali Handan, Arif Hikmet Holtay, and Tuluğ Baytın.

important to note that Saraçoğlu Housing complex which can be considered as one of the most important example of 2nd National Architectural Movement was designed by a ‘foreign’ architect. As a foreign architect, Bonatz appears as a highly remarkable figure for his Movement. The *Arkitekt* journal, in its (1943) issue dedicated to the New German Architects exhibition placed in the Exhibition House, translated and published Bonatz’s speech on “New German Architecture”. In this text, Bonatz underlines ‘a new sense of romanticism’ and ‘return to tradition’, and says:

In last few years, after ‘purifying’ architecture, after transforming the profession as a schema that can be quickly learned, and after eliminating the differences between nations and climates in favor of International (Beynelmillel) architecture, we now started to think and to search for our national roots” (1943: 67)

The following part of the speech, was translated by Arif Hikmet Holtay, and published in another issue of the journal. In this article, Bonatz adds:

Today, in every country, there is an ongoing architectural discussion about in what extent to benefit from the tradition is possible, and in what extent it is acceptable. After twenty years of experiencing an that negates (yok nazariyle bakan) the climatic and national differences, we again started to turn our eyes to our national roots. Today we feel the pain of rootlessness, but still sense the ‘power’ that will emanate from our ‘essential soil’ (öz toprak)” (1943:119).

Two years after this speech, Bonatz took his biggest commission in Turkey that is the Saraçoğlu Hosing project. Through the image of this project, one can say that, the main idea behind the design was to adapt Eldem’s idea of Turkish House (Figure 20): One can easily say that the most important design element of the project is the protruding bay, the *cumba*. In fact, the use of the *cumba* or the windowed room that projects from the upper storey, is not peculiar to Bonatz’s project, but can be seen nearly all of Eldem’s projects as a structural element to create the sense of historical continuity. However, the architectural journals of the era, although ‘sympathies’ the use of the *cumba* by a foreign architect, they also made some critics about the projects. In 1945 issue of the *Mimarlık* journal, Orhan Alsaç blames Bonatz for using

the elements and motifs of Turkish architecture without looking to their functions.

He says:

“We can immediately see the effort of a ‘foreign architect’, who was highly impressed by the ‘fascinating beauty’ of our old houses, to resemble his design to a Turkish House. But, we would like to say that this effort which will be appreciated by many people, is in fact the result of ‘forced style’ (1945: 16)

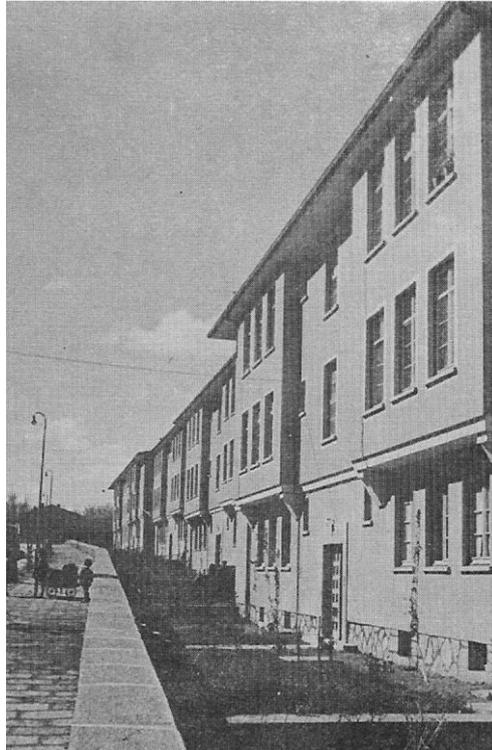


Figure 3.18: Saraçoğlu building complex
(Sayar, 1946: 171-172)

For Alsaç, Bonatz’s project, in favor of using the exterior view of the Turkish House, negates and sacrifices the interior and functional organization of the building. A similar critique of the project can also be found in 1946 issue of the *Arkitekt* journal. Similar to Alsaç’s point of view, the project was criticized for its bad plan-organization, for having too-much corridor, and for not having built-in furniture that is typical in a traditional housing (1946: p.12).

A similar critique can also be raised for Sedat Hakkı Eldem’s buildings. For example, Eldem’s Taşlık (Oriental) Cafe appears as a giant cumba with exaggerated

eaves (Figure 21). By this way, the Taşlık Café resembles an authentic house viewed from the street¹⁰⁷. However, the cumba in Taşlık Café design was not used to satisfy its original purpose but symbolically to synthesize the modern with the regional and to provide the sense of historical continuity. In contrast to its original use, Taşlık Café is only an upper story with no lower one. Although, the project was celebrated by *Arkitekt* journal, as the “most important example of modern Turkish architecture” with its utility, honesty, and simplicity, and chosen as the cover-image (1950: 207), one can say that , similar to Saraçoğlu housing project, Eldem’s project also embodies a stylistic and decorative appropriation of traditional forms, rather than a spatial one. This line of thought can also found in Vanlı’s (2006: 6) study, where he says *the image of the Taşlık Café is the symbol of a milieu that block speaking about modern Turkish architecture*. By saying that, Vanlı criticizes the historiographical positioning of the Taslık Café. For him, within the architectural historiography, this project was presented as ‘untouchable’, and as the absolute image of modern Turkish architecture. However, from a critical perspective, it can be considered as not ‘original’, thinking the fascist reactions against the modern in Europe, and as ‘anachronistic’, thinking the way it was produced (Vanlı, 2006: 6).

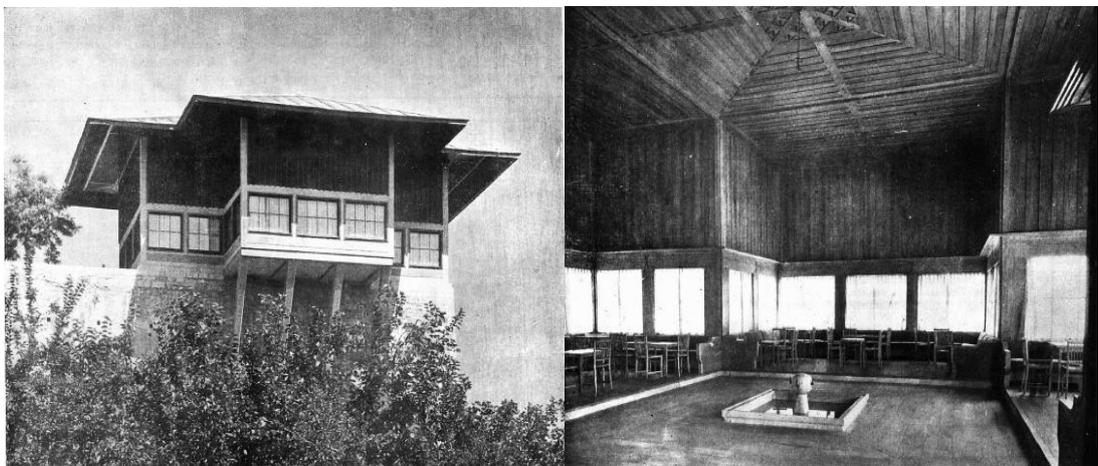


Figure 21: The images of Taslık Café (Eldem, 1950: 207-210)

¹⁰⁷ In fact, in terms of plan , the Taşlık Cafe building appears as the exact replica of Amucazade Pasa Yalı (Uysal, 2004: 88).

Similar to Taşlık Café, the appearance of cumba in the Ağaoğlu house also extends beyond to its traditional use (Figure 22). Like Taşlık Café, the Ağaoğlu House was also celebrated by the *Arkitekt* journal as an example of “new, modern, and more importantly Turkish architecture”. The article, after talking about its architectural features, ends up with the following lines:

“This successful (muvaffak) work (eser) of Sedad Hakkı shows us how those efforts and studies are important to give our new architecture a Turkish character” (1938: 277)

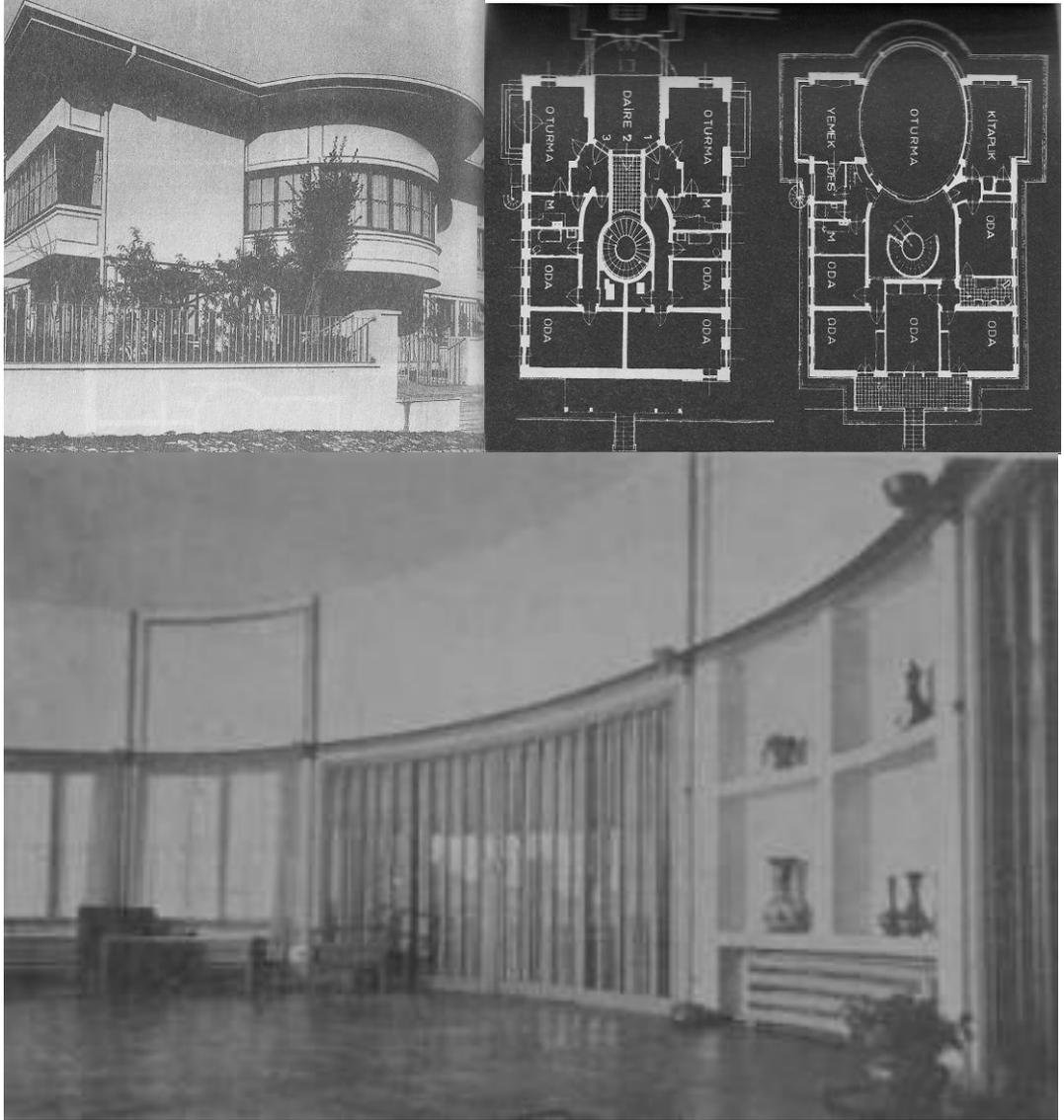


Figure 22: The images of Ağaoğlu House (Tanyeli, 2001)

However, as opposed to the tone in *Arkitekt* journal, one can also say that in contrast to its traditional and regional use, the cumbas in this house does not project over the street to catch the sunlight, breezes and expand the view, but are positioned over the gardens, on the sides of the house. Therefore, the use of cumba in the Aġaoġlu house once again remains as a “tradition-conscious gesture” as Bozdoġan (1987: 61) puts it, rather than having a functional purpose. It was employed ‘symbolically’ and ‘decoratively’ only to give a sense of ‘historical’.

In short, these constructions never managed to revive or even evoke what the Turkish Houses actually meant. As pointed out earlier, Eldem tried to re-produce and re-present Ottoman period vernacular houses. Eldem believed that these houses carry something that is essentially Turkish and essentially modern. But, in fact, these houses were taken by Eldem to create the essence of Turkishness. In other words, as Carel (1998: 342) states, “instead of translating an abstract conception in to a visible form, Eldem tried to translate a visible form in to an abstract conception”. In order to find ‘the edifice’ or ‘the house’ of Turkishness, in order to obtain a stationary representation for Turkish identity, the so-called Turkish houses were embraced only as vision-based forms, only as external images. These houses which were fragmented in to topological and morphological essences were repositioned in places that were foreign to their origins or use, to their original scale and particular way of life. By using the interior and exterior elements of design, beyond their contextual meanings, by eliminating the cultural varieties of these houses related to the ethnical class or use, and also by discarding the notion of regionalism related with the materials and construction techniques, Eldem tried to realize a single construct of unitary identity, that is not Eastern-oriental and also not Western-colonial. As, Baydar (1993: 71)

says, Eldem neglected the ethnical diversity in the name of achieving a unified representation. In that respect, as Bozdoğan (1994) characterizes, Eldem's constructive attitude that subjugates the existing regional diversity, can be described as a totalizing and repressive approach. In favor of liberating a topologically oriented national style, Eldem, in his designs, rather than concentrating on the heterogeneous character of these houses, tires to develop a more homogeneous and stable image, with 'fake-authentic' elements.

This line of thought- that criticizes the reduction idea of the Turkish House in to an image, rather than an idea- can also be followed through various articles published in architectural journals of this era. For example, Üstün Alsaç's (1973: 16) article published in *Mimarlık* journal, by criticizing the positions of Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Paul Bonatz, says that:

As promoted and advised by several newspapers and as Paul Bonatz made, national architecture does not mean to take the motives, that looks beautiful to us, and to install them to our buildings. Today's Turkish architecture is an architecture that responds to today's needs with today's techniques¹⁰⁸.

Similar to Alsaç's conception, where he criticizes the 'romantic' and 'formalistic' approach of the 2nd National Architectural Movement, Seyfi Sonad's (1949) text published in *Arkitekt* journal, also emphasize on the euphoric celebration of the vernacular Turkish house as an image. Sonad states that:

"The case is flawed from its foundation. In order to put this foundation on a secure ground, before the ongoing taxonomies related with the national architecture such as climate, function, plan technique, purity, proportion, rhythm and relief [...] and before the euphoric celebration of the silhouette's of our masterpieces, we are confronting several social problem to be solved" (1949: 361)¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁸ "... milli mimari demek, gazetelerde yazılıp herkese tavsiye edildiği ve Paul Bonatz'ın yaptığı gibi, eski eserlerimizin bugün bize güzel görünen fakat hiçbir ihtiyacımızı karşılamayan motiflerini alıp binalarımızın üstüne takmak değildir. Bugünün Türk mimarisi bugünün tekniği ile bugünün ihtiyaçlarına cevap veren mimaridir.

¹⁰⁹ "...dava temelinden bozuktur. Bu temel sağlam bir zemine atılması için ise milli Mimari davasına ait bugüne kadar mütemediyen bahsolunan iklim, fonksiyon, plan tekniği, sadelik, proporsiyon, ritm ve röleve gibi beylik tasniflerle 'karlı ovalar dumanlı dağlar' gibi tabiatı

Or, in Mortaş's (1941) article, titled as *The Modern Turkish Architecture*, published in *Arkitekt* journal, one can again find a criticism against the appreciation of the stylistic forms. For Mortaş, these stylistic forms were presented to validate the term 'modern' for the local audience, to show that the forms of our old houses are already modern. But, as he adds;

“How modern national architecture- that we want from our architects to realize it - will look like?...Are we going create forms in relation to old proportions and motifs? Or, are we going to copy the old materials and construction techniques?...Today, in what extent, is it possible to structure an architecture around a style? Today, in our architecture, the age of searching for romantic elements is over” (Mortaş, 1941: 115-116).

However, against these reactions, within the early documentation of modern Turkish architecture, the idea of Sedat Hakkı Eldem's Turkish House appeared as an image that manages to overcome the 'gap' between national and modern, between old and the new.

tamamlayan şahaserlerimizin ufuklara Türk damgasını vuran silüetleri karşısında gösterilen hayranlıktan evvel hal olunması icabeden birçok içtimai meseleler karşısında bulunuyoruz”

CHAPTER 4

ANOTHER TURKISH HOUSE BETWEEN IDENTITY AND ALTERITY

4.1. Question of Foreignness: There is no Pure New Architecture as Such

Within the earlier documentation of modern Turkish architecture, *the idea of Turkish House was commonly discussed around the framework of 'National Architectural Movements'*. In light of the contradiction of nationalist thought outside the western world- between progressive modern aspirations and nationalist, anti-modern rhetoric- both in 1st and 2nd National Architectural Movement, the idea of Turkish House was recalled as a representation that can bridge the gap between the past and the present, between national and modern, between East and West. In the documentation of the 1st National Architectural Movement, through the writings of Arseven (1909), Suphi (1912), Ünver (1923), and Koyunoğlu (1929), the disappearing Ottoman-period house, as an image of the old, began to emerge and take on symbolic meaning and aesthetic value in the Turkish consciousness. And, in the documentation of 2nd National Architectural Movement, especially through Eldem's architectural projects, published texts in various architectural magazines, and researches made within the National Architectural Seminars, the idea of the Turkish House was tried to be materialized. One can say that, both in the 1st and 2nd Architectural Movements, the idea of Turkish House as a historiographical category was offered as an architectural

model against the representations of the so-called modern architecture, or New Architecture as it was called in the 1930s. In contrast to the ‘imported’, ‘un-national’, ‘un-homely’ and ‘alienating’ character of New Architecture, the metaphorical and material significance of the Turkish House was embraced because of being not ‘extrinsically’ but ‘intrinsically’ modern.

This line of thought that claims the ‘already modern’ character of the Turkish House can be traced in Koyunoğlu’s (1977) words, published in *Mimarlık* journal:

Prof. Egli, when he took too much commission, gave some of his projects to me. They gave me a room in academy to study. One day, Egli said to me “Look at this book, Hikmet”. The book was in German language. There was a salon design. When you enter the building, there was a separated space. From this space, you step in to the salon with a level difference. Side of the salon, there was another space, named as “Lezeke” which means a study room. When everyone is having a talk in the salon, one can take his/her book and read there silently. I laughed! Egli said “What is so funny?” I said, the plan of this project was taken from our old Turkish Houses. After this conversation, I took Egli to visit a house in Kütahya. I said “Look!... Here is the separation, and here is the lezeke.” (Koyunoğlu, 1977: 150)¹¹⁰.

In that context, it is important to note that the appreciation/appropriation of traditional dwelling forms, within the 1st National and 2nd National Architectural Movements, can be seen as an attempt to affirm and internalize the term modern. But, the lack of any from/within criticism of the term modern within these movements reduces the term modern in to a fixed architectural definition. Within these movements, rather than developing a more ‘dialogical’ and ‘contingent’ relation, the term modern was commonly tried to be validated and domesticated for the local audience. This line of thought can also be traced in Ergut’s (2008) study on Celal Esad Arseven’s (1931) book titled as *Yeni Mimari* (New Architecture). As

¹¹⁰ “Profesör Egli fazla iş alınca, bana verirdi. Akademi’de de bir oda verdiler, orada çalışırdım. Bir gün “Şu kitaba bak, Hikmet” dedi. Almanca bir kitap. Adam bir salon yapmış; içeri giriyorsunuz, parmaklıklı separe bir kısım var. Oradan bir kademe ile çıkılıyor salona. Yan tarafta ayrıca bir köşe var, planda bu kısım üzerine “Lezeke” yazılmış, yani mütalaa köşesi. Salonda herkes konuşurken, birisi kitabını alıp, orada sakince okuyabiliyor. Ben güldüm, “Ne gülüyorsun?” dedi. Dedim, “bizim eski Türk evlerinin planını almış.” Sonraları Egli’yi Kütahya’da bir eve götürdüm. “İşte” dedim, “separe burada, lezeke de şurada” (Mimar Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu ile Bir Söyleşi, *Mimarlık*, Ocak 1977: 150)

Ergut (2008: 2) puts it, “Yeni Mimari was one of the most significant media through which architects in Turkey became familiarized with modern architecture”.

Although, as Ergut adds, Arseven’s book can be considered as a one-to-one copy of the French architect Andre Lurçat’s book about the new architecture, Arseven in his book preferred to omit some parts and add some information about the change towards the new in architecture in Turkey. For Ergut, this intervention of Arseven to the original text can be read as an exemplary of a double-sided attempt. Different from Lurçat’s text, the emphasis of the ‘newness’ of the ‘modern’ in Arseven’s book carries a question of foreignness and an attempt to mediate between past and present, between East and West.

Here, similar to Arseven, one can also find a ‘reservation’ against the term modern in the mainstream architectural documentation. The earlier documentation of modern architecture also carries the problem of defining the ‘other’; the ‘question of foreignness’; the dichotomies of culture and civilization, tradition and modern, national and international; and the limits of writing the architectural history. Within the earlier documentation of modern architecture, *to criticize the term modern was understood as the complete denial of the modern forms, and returning back to a traditional-historical architecture*. In other words, rather than sustaining a mutually correspondent relation, like the term modern, the term tradition was also reduced in to a fixed definition. In this respect, the idea/image of Turkish House was presented as an ideal model to bridge the gap between modern and tradition. And, rather than offering a more spatial, more experimental and more universalistic relation with it, the idea of the Turkish House was taken and practiced as a decorative and stylistic entity; and reduced in to morphological typologies.

In that respect, *the 'essential and already' modernness of the Turkish House- which can be considered as the main motivation of both National Architectural Movements- marks a point of discrimination:* rather than offering an interaction, an exchange between the terms modern and tradition, the appearance and the materialization of the Turkish House within these movements contrastingly underlines a solid and unsurpassable line between these two terms. The term modern, and respectively the forms of New Architecture, were considered as 'foreign', as the 'exterior' of preferred interiority. The term tradition, or national, was always discussed and structured around the architectural examples of national architectural movements, and, in that sense, the representations of New Architecture, that was subsumed under the rubric of 'Cubic', were elaborated as an 'indoctrination', or as the 'direct and dogmatic transfer' of modern architecture from the West.

However, the above mentioned totalizing view of New Architecture blinds us to see the pluralities within this movement. In contrast to its mainstream positioning, one can say that there is no pure New Architecture as such. One can potentially underline different architectural positions within this movement. And to see these differences leads us not only to underline how the notions of tradition and national were discussed, but, more importantly, to say that the idea of Turkish House was also a subject of study within this movement. But before analyzing how the very idea of Turkish House was taken, discussed and materialized by New Architecture, and to surface its difference from Eldem's approach, it is important to open a parenthesis and to focus on the 'foreignness' of New Architecture.

As pointed out earlier, within the architectural historiography, the period of New Architecture was commonly described as a ‘transition’ period: Without having a ‘national’ character, the forms of this movement were presented as if they ‘copy’, or ‘transfer’ the examples of modern architecture in the West. However, as Nicolai (1998: 17) puts it, when they were invited to Turkey the foreign architects of this era were making a critique of modern architecture . This line of thought, from a different perspective, can also be traced in Yavuz’s (1973) words. While talking about New Architecture, or International Architecture as he calls in his article, he draws attention to the plan and facade organizations of several projects built by foreign architect Clemens Holzmeister, like Central Bank (1933), Ministry of Internal Affairs (1934), Estate and Credit Bank (1935), Ministry of Trade (1935) projects¹¹¹, and says that:

“When we examine the International Architecture between 1930 and 1940 the following remarks can be made: Their plan and façade organizations, like the previous National Architectural Movement, were mostly symmetrical, monumental, and authoritarian” (Yavuz, 1973: 11).

Here, it is important to underline that, for Yavuz, most of the projects built during the period of New Architecture, does not refer to forms of modern architecture in Europe in the 1930s, rather they were designed with a neo-classical approach and in that sense shows similarities with the 1st National Architectural Style, with their symmetrical plan organization, classically ordered facades, and their monumental and authoritarian look. Therefore, although the main characteristics of New Architecture were described by the ideals of the Modern Movement such as objectivism, rationalism, functionalism, through Yavuz’s words, one can potentially highlight a gap between the verbal and material representations, between the

¹¹¹ One can also add this list Holzmeister’s other ministry building projects, Martin Elsaesser’s Sümerbank (1937), and projects of the local architects like Central Train Station (1937) by Şekip Akalın, General Management Building for State Train-way (1941) by Bedri Uçar.

documentation of New Architecture and its built forms. Another distinction can be made by surfacing the material treatments of the built forms. Within the earlier documentations, the New Architecture was documented through its use of simple geometric shapes, the primacy of cubic forms, modern materials like reinforced concrete, glass and above all through the non-ornamental surfaces without any traditional, regional and cultural reference. However, following Aslanoğlu's (1994) argument, one can underline the use of local and traditional materials by foreign architects in the 1930s. As she says, even architects like Holzmeister and Elsaesser who fanatically support Western-based modern approach in architecture, prefer to use Ankara stone in their projects (Aslanoğlu, 1994: 31). Balamir's (2010) study on Holzmeister's (1955) published book titled *The Face of Anatolia Caves and Khans in Cappadocia*, not only surface architect's desire to interact with local features but also challenge the mainstream positioning of these architects as dogmatic supporters-carriers of European inspired modern architecture. As Aslanoğlu (1994) says, these foreign architects, like Holzmeister, while on the one hand try to structure the architectural education in Turkey, on the other hand, through the courses they gave, or through the articles they wrote, they try to remind young architects about their old and rich architectural history.

Therefore, as Doğramacı, in her (2008) book *Cultural Transfer and National Identity*, discusses within the earlier documentation one can trace an a-priori perception related with New Architecture. By raising the concept of *akkulturationsvorgang*¹¹², Doğramacı, rather than conceptualizing New Architecture as a 'direct-transfer', positions it as a product of an exchange, of a mutually

¹¹² The term *akkulturationsvorgang* can be defined as the exchange of cultural features that results when groups of individuals having different cultures come in to continuous first-hand contact

correspondent relation between different cultures. In that respect, Ernst Egli and Bruno Taut's studies play a central role for this study: Like Holzmeister, through Egli and Taut's texts and material representations, one can challenge the 'foreignness' of these architects and trace how they 'situate' themselves to the Turkish context. More importantly, different than Holzmeister, both Egli's and Taut's texts draw attention to the issue of the Turkish House. Through their studies, one can highlight another Turkish House.

4.2. The Idea of Turkish House as a 'Foreign' Construct

Swiss architect Ernst Egli came to Turkey when 1st National Architectural Movement was about to finish, and the so-called New Architecture was about to begin. His first project in Turkey can symbolically be considered as a project that 'actualizes' this transition. Rather than realizing his own project, Egli was commissioned to make a modification to an already-designed project. The project was Teacher's School Building in Ankara whose design was prepared by Kemalettin's in the style of 1st National Architectural Movement. As pointed out earlier, in the late 1920s, the Kemalist programme, rather than the 'evolutionary' character of 1st National Architectural Movement, desires to liberate a more 'revolutionary' architecture. And, Ernst Egli was officially invited to Turkey to bring this 'revolutionary' architecture and to teach it to young Turkish architects. On Kemalettin's project, Egli suggested to make several changes, like: removing the pointed-arches of the windows; changing the monumental character of the entrance; and, making the dome smaller. Egli's modification to the building was announced by texts as the beginning of a new age, and more importantly as the end of Kemalettin's period. As Malik Aksel puts it:

“The building was 100 meter in width and 80 meter in depth. In front of it, there was a balcony standing over four columns, and at the top of the building there was a dome. When this building was realized, within the desert of Ankara, it was like the architecture of a fairy-tale [...] After the building was finished, an architect called Egli came, and in the name of economics and simplicity he made the dome smaller. After this move, mimar Kemalettin cried, by saying ‘this will be my final piece’” (Aksel in Köksal, 1988: 9)

A similar line of thought can be followed in Mehmet Emin’s (1977) text published, in *Arkitekt* journal, for the 50th death-day of arkitekt Kemalettin. In this text, Emin says:

In, the Minister of Education, Necati Bey’s room, there was an ongoing conversation about the renewal of Ankara Teacher’s School, and they were arguing about removing the arches of the windows, and making the entrance simpler. Suddenly, arkitekt Kemalettin by hiding his face turned back. We came face-to-face. I saw two tear drops! (Emin, 1997: 129)

For Sedat Çetintaş, this particular moment is not only important for Kemalettin’s career, but also for ‘Turkish’ architecture in a broad sense. For Çetintaş, we missed the chance to experience Kemalettin’s architecture, and to reach a ‘national’ architecture rooted in the historical roots of Turkish culture: After this event, like Kemalettin, all the Turkish architects felt in to disfavor, and Ankara was ‘invaded’ by ‘foreign’ styles. Through Çetintaş’s words, one can underline the tone of ‘foreignness’:

A ‘foreign’ architect, when arrive to Ankara with an expression of ‘prophet’ of the modern architecture, started to ‘play’ with arkitekt Kemalettin’s Teacher’s School Building. Although, in terms of art and technique, this person was incomparable with Kemalettin, he was criticizing the project of the building to change it [...] Kemalettin, without wanting any of these changes, was forced to modify its project. The building lost so many things from its beauty and nobility (Çetintaş in Tekeli and İlkin, 1997: 74)¹¹³.

Therefore, echoing Aksel, Emin and Çetintaş’s words, one can say that more than being a simple modification of a building, Egli’s touch on Kemalettin project, was

¹¹³ “Ecnebi mimarlardan ilk defa gelen biri, bir modern mimarlık peygamberi edasıyla Ankara’ya varınca, mimar Kemalettin’in o vakit Ankara’da başlamış olduğu Gazi Terbiye Enstitüsü binası da maceralara maruz kaldı. Bu zat, sanat ve teknik bahsinde, Kemalettin’e ulaşamayacak durumda bulunduğu halde, bu binayı hırpalamak için birbir tenkid yağdırıyordu... Kemalettin ise maddi ve manevi rabitalarla bağlanmış olduğu bu binayı Vedat Beyi’in yaptığı gibi bırakıp gidemezdi. İstenilen tadilatı istemeyerek yapmaya mecbur olurken bina da güzelliklerinden ve asaletinden bir çok şeyler kaybetmiş oluyordu. (Çetintaş in Tekeli and İlkin, 1997, p74).

considered metonymically as leaving the ‘national architecture’ behind, and facing towards an un-national architecture, that will be realized by the ‘foreign’ forms and also ‘by foreign’ architects.

However, it is important to note that as a designer Ernst Egli was putting himself apart from all the stylistic and formalistic architectures. And, 1st National Architecture was not exception to that. But, at the same time, he was not a dogmatic modernist. Egli did not propose a rough transfer by imitating an architecture which was developed in other cultures and climates. Instead he considered physical and psychological conditions of Turkey. As Batur (1984: 75) states, Egli’s architecture differs from Holzmeister’s representative and authoritarian architecture with its functionality, honesty, simplicity, and anonymity. Batur also adds that Egli had never proposed to directly transfer the European inspired modern architecture to the context of Turkey. As a practicing architect and as an instructor, he theoretically and practically carried a ‘contextual sensitivity’ and respect to the historical and cultural conditions of the country (Batur, 1984: 76)¹¹⁴. Echoing Batur, one can say that, within his career in Turkey, Egli tried to contribute to architectural field, with several novelties like: re-organizing and transforming the architectural education of the Academy along modernist lines; bringing a functionalist approach to architectural theory and practice; designing various building types from house to cinema, from airport to school, from factories to state buildings; realizing plans of the cities like Edirne, founding the first institute of city-planning and urbanism in Turkey. More importantly, in addition to these contributions, Egli also offered to make researches

¹¹⁴ For an intriguing example of how Egli relate himself to context, see Alpagut (2010) study, where she brings Egli’s Turkish Bath design in to discussion.

about Ottoman-Turkish architecture¹¹⁵. In that respect, beside realizing the first study on architect Sinan^{116 117}, Egli, while he was teaching at the Architecture Department of Fine Arts Academy in İstanbul, also gave support to document Anatolian architecture, to start the ‘National Architecture Seminars’, and to research vernacular Turkish architecture.

Here it is important to note that Egli’s above-mentioned interest to understand Ottoman-Turkish-Anatolian architecture did not remain in the theoretical level but, in practice, also extend to his projects. At this point, Egli’s (1927-1930) buildings, Conservatory for Teachers of Music Building [Musiki Muallim Mektebi] and Etimesgut Boarding School [Etimesgut Yatılı Okulu] can bring in to discussion. Through these material experiences, one can recognize more easily how modern architecture was understood, interpreted, and translated by Egli.

The Conservatory Building was planned by Egli around a courtyard whose three sides were surrounded by porticos with a water element at the center. This type of planning, as Atalay (2010) puts it, was reminiscent of the plan of typical traditional educational institutions- the *medresses*- in the Ottoman period. Therefore, although the building directly refers to a sense of traditionalism, in fact its spatial organization was structured around a traditional use. A similar attitude, the inner use of the

¹¹⁵ In 1942 Egli started to teach in Zurich ETH School, and in his courses, he gave a remarkable place to explain Ottoman-Turkish Architecture. As Dođramacı puts it in 1942, he also published a book called Turkish Architecture: Past and Today. The book was composed of the course notes Egli prepared in İstanbul and in Zurich (Dođramacı, 2008: 66).

¹¹⁶ Arkitekt Sinan (1490-1578) was the chief Ottoman architect and civil engineer for sultans Suleiman I, Selim II, and Murad III. He was responsible for the construction of more than three hundred major structures.

¹¹⁷ In 1954 Ernst Egli wrote a book called Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture [Sinan: Der Baumeister Osmanischer Glanzzeit]. For a more detailed study on Egli’s (1954) Sinan book, see Giese (2009).

courtyard for educational spaces, can also be observed through Egli's design of Etimesgut Boarding School. Like the Conservatory Building, this design was also oriented inwardly towards an inner courtyard. ¹¹⁸

This line of thought can also be followed by Gökyay's (1928: 78) text. The text, by referring to Egli's school buildings, states that: "These small and big school buildings that remind us vernacular houses of Turkish villages". Here it is important to underline that in Egli's words and texts, for the design of these schools, one can not highlight a direct reference with the Turkish House. Moreover, one can not even show a relation between Egli's designs and the vernacular Turkish houses. May be the closest example that one can point out is Egli's Court of Finacial Appeals Building in Ankara, with its abstract interpretations of traditional window projections (Figure 23). However, even for this building, one can not find a fertile soil to highlight a direct relation with the Turkish House. But, although it was not materialized as such, for Egli the idea/image of the vernacular Turkish House plays a significant role in formation modern Turkish architecture.



Figure 23: Egli's Court of Finacial Appeals Building in Ankara

¹¹⁸ Another School design by Egli, The Girl Institute Building in Ankara, can also be recalled. The Girl institute building can present us a similar perspective with Conservatory Building and Boarding school, with the use of inner garden, For a more detailed analysis of this building, see Gürol's (2003) text.

In his (1938) seminal article, called *Architectural Context* [Mimari Muhit], Egli talks about Turkish Houses, and positions them as the ‘thoroughly rational responses to nature’¹¹⁹. In his article, he surfaces a ‘geographical’ understanding of context: He describes context as “the things that are in proximity to a building”, and as the overall character of “light, air, sun, wind, topography, terrain, water, vegetation, landscape, the harshness or the charm of nature, the distinct quality of night, and the mysterious music of dusk” (Egli, 1938: 34). In that respect, in his article, Egli celebrates the introverted character of the traditional houses, with its cool and shady courtyards open to starry sky above and closed to the dust of the street. And, he concludes the article by saying: “if designed with modern means for modern lifestyle, this could be a model house for Anatolian towns” (1938: 36).

Here, it is highly important to note that, while talking about the term context, Egli did not use any reference related with the issues of history, culture, race, and nationality. For Egli, these features can not be considered as the determinants of the ‘context’. However, this does not mean that Egli’s architecture does not carry a sense of contextual sensitivity. Both Egli and Eldem share an interest to use the idea/image of the Turkish House as a model for modern Turkish architecture.¹²⁰ As pointed out earlier, for Eldem, the traditional Turkish House is already modern in-itself. Hence, for Eldem, by copying the forms of these Turkish Houses, one can inevitably build up modern-national architecture. However, for Egli, a modern architecture that makes sense can only be actualized though “the cross fertilization of international seeds of modern architectural progress with the specific forms of architectural

¹¹⁹ For a more detailed analysis of Egli’s article see Baydar’s (1993) and Bozdoğan’s (1996) articles.

¹²⁰ For Egli, the European type villas, that are foreign to their contexts, can not be a model for the Anatolian houses. Rather, As Egli defends in his 1930 dated text published in *Türk Yurdu* journal, for the new modern turkish house, the traditional housings should be taken as a model (Egli, 1930: 35-36)

context” (Egli, 1938: 36). Therefore, for Egli, what we need is not a transfer, but a translation; an idea or the image of the Turkish House should be re-designed in terms of modern means. So, in contrast to Eldem’s approach that closes itself to the modern, to new, to ‘international seeds’ so to speak, Egli’s approach offers to actualize a sustained interaction between international and contextual forces. Egli’s Turkish House- that was encompassed more by the new than the old- presents us constant simultaneous translations. In contrast to Eldem’s approach, Egli’s conception of the Turkish House does not refer to a definitive morphology, to a fixed, stable and ideal image. Rather, it refers to a movement, to a movement of ‘Becoming’, where *the idea of Turkish house always leaves its promise unfulfilled*. It resists to be reduced in to fixed definitions and becomes a site of the permanent re-writing of past and present, old and new, traditional and modern. In that respect, one can say that Egli theorized the idea/image of the Turkish House beyond the term’s de-facto usage.

Egli’s successor as the Head of the Architectural Section in Academy was Bruno Taut. As Nicolai puts it - in his 1997 text *Akademi Reformu ve Türkiye için Yeni Bir Mimariye Uzanan Yol* [The Academy Reform of Bruno Taut and A Road to A New Architecture for Turkey] – similar to Ernst Egli, Bruno Taut also tried to formulate a synthesis of modern and traditional in Turkey’s architectural context (1997: 54). And, in that sense, they both inspire the so-called 2nd National Architectural Movement.¹²¹ However, as pointed out earlier, although one can underline similar interest between Eldem and Taut in terms of their synthetic approach to architecture,

¹²¹ This line of thought can be traced in Behcet Unsal’s (1973) words where he says: “...in Turkey, a nationalist architecture is showing itself second-time. This time it was flowered in Ankara, in the materiality the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography building” (Unsal, 1973, *Mimarlığımız 1923-1950*: 11).

there is also a significant distinction to be made. 2nd National Architectural Movement was mostly centered to the paradigmatic works and the career of Sedat Hakkı Eldem. And, more importantly, it was motivated around a ‘nationalist’, ‘anti-modern’, rhetoric: Rather than raising a from/within criticism of the term modern- and respectively modern architecture- the rhetoric of 2nd National Architectural Movement formed itself around the ‘foreignness’ of this term. In that respect, it is important to note that Taut also shares a similar position with Eldem against the euphoric celebration of the term modern; and respectively modern architecture. However, for Taut, this does not mean to leave modern architecture behind and to search for historical-national architecture. As Tanju (1997: 23) puts it, in his text *Türkiye’de Farklı bir Mimar: Bruno Taut* [Bruno Taut: A Different Architect in Turkey], Taut’s architecture tries to settle with the a-priori claims and definitions of modern architecture. A similar point of view can also be found in Spiedel’s (1997: 47) words where he says: Taut’s architecture fight against the superficial and tenuous understanding of modern architecture, which is called ‘Cubism’. Echoing Tanju and Spiedel, one can say that Taut’s architecture criticizes the ‘homogenizing’ forms of modern architecture that does not show enough attention to the context; and, forms itself around an abstract thought and the ‘hegemony’ of technique. This line of thought can also be followed through Taut’s own words where he says:

“[...] as a result, what we have now is a ‘world-architecture’, a plenty of built-forms that we see their images in magazines. And, if one does not mention their built places or their countries underneath these images, no one will know that these buildings are in Turkey, in Germany, in France, in England, or in Japan” (Taut in Nicolai, 1997: 55)¹²².

¹²² “Sonuç bir bütün dünya mimarisi, bugün resimleri bütün dünya dergilerinde görülen çok sayıda yapı. Eğer yapıldıkları yer, ülke bu fotoğrafların altında belirtilmese, bunların Türkiye’de, Almanya’da, Fransa’da, İngiltere’de, Japonya’da, v.b. bulduklarını kimse bilmeyecek”

Therefore, Taut's architecture does not celebrate a discontinuity, a de-traditionalization, a rupture in time, rather it offers a material exchange between modern and traditional features, and searches for to create a sense of continuity, a sense of re-traditionalization. However, it is also highly important to trace that Taut's architecture does not form itself around a will to 'return' a historical and traditional architecture, as Eldem did: Instead, it offers a from/within criticism of modern architecture. This line of thought that underlines Taut's architecture not as a modernist but as a modern can be followed in Taut's (1938: 61) words:

"It is impossible to think architecture- that we belong to- disconnected from the unity of rationalist components formed by the triad of technique, construction, and function. For this reason, we – architects- should have to think: we should search for a way that does not obscure the truth, but also that does not waste away the senses. We should try to grasp a synthesis between the traditions of the old cultures and the contemporary civilizations. And, we should evade forming this relation one sided"¹²³.

Echoing the above mentioned words of Taut, one can say that Taut's architecture was a modern architecture, but it escapes from being a pure modernist architecture. In that context, in his career in Turkey, Taut realized several theoretical and practical works to 'situate himself' to Turkey's context. For example, in his (1938) book titles *Mimarlık Bilgisi* [Lectures on Architecture], one can find a profound theoretical analysis of Byzantine and Ottoman architecture. Through this text, one can trace how Taut tries to formulate an understanding of architecture that is both functional and symbolic. In addition to this profound study, one can also bring Taut's Faculty of Language, History, and Geography building project¹²⁴ in to discussion to see the practical results of his approach. In this project, one can recognize Taut's critical position towards the formal concerns of both national and international features. One

¹²³ "Bizim mensubu olduğumuz sanat dalının mimarlığı teknik, konstrüksiyon ve fonksiyon üçlüsünün oluşturduğu akılcı öğeler bütününden kopuk düşünmesi olanaksız. Bu nedenle biz mimarlar düşünmek zorundayız: Gerçeğe gölge düşürmeyen ama aynı zamanda duyguların da körelmediği yolun arayışı içinde olmak zorundayız. Eskinin gelenekleriyle çağdaş uygarlık arasında bir sentez yakalamaya çalışmalı, ancak bu arayışın tek taraflı olmasından kesinlikle kaçınmalıyız".

¹²⁴ For an extensive analysis of this building, see Erdim's (2005) study

can say that instead of a ‘resistance’ against what is cultural, traditional, and historical, Taut aims at promoting a “sustained interaction between local and global forces” (Erdim, 2005: 110). For example, Taut’s alternating stone and brick pattern that covers the exterior and interior facade of the building can be considered as an attempt to challenge the theoretical limits of European-inspired modernism and to create a sense of modern-regionalism instead. In that respect, the idea of *almaşık* pattern which refers back to early Ottoman and Seljukian building tradition, can be regarded in light of Taut’s formulation as a “responsive modernism” that could grow out from the specific conditions of each place and culture (Taut, 1938: 56). Rather than a homogeneous one, the use of this constructive and structural pattern throughout the building underlines Taut’s desire to create a site and culture specific modern architecture. A similar line of thought can also be followed through his other projects like Ankara Atatürk High School and Trabzon High School for Boys projects¹²⁵.

In addition to these school projects, more important for our case, it is important to note that, Taut also gave attention to the issue of the Turkish House. For him, the traditional Turkish House, either in itself or in its relation to the urban fabric, appears as an important field of study. Like Egli, Taut positions himself against the euphoric celebration of modern forms, and calls for the necessity of analyzing the traditional housings to built up the ‘new Turkish House’, as he calls it. In his (1938: 93) text titled *Turkish House, Sinan, Ankara* Taut clearly stated that “the new Turkish will be born only when architects abandon the cubic style which has turned in to a mainstream stylistic fashion”. In this same article, by showing the “already modern-

¹²⁵ For more extensive analysis of these projects, see Aslanoğlu (1983) and Uysal’s (2004) studies.

ness” of some traditional elements, he talks at length about ‘the wide eaves and shading devices above the windows’ which he use in his school designs for Turkey (Taut, 1938: 95). He also praised the traditional almashik walling system which he adopted in his design for the Faculty of Language, History and Geography building. In that respect, although Taut’s position against the cubic style and his conception on traditional elements show similarity with Eldem, there is significant distinction to be made. As pointed out earlier, Eldem’s architecture, and his conception of the Turkish House, was motivated by a tone of nationalism. The idea/image of the Turkish House was celebrated because of its ‘already modern’ character, and realized as an ‘alternative’ to the modern architecture. And, although it was presented as a synthetic thinking between history and present, between tradition and modern, these terms were used reductively. The term present, or the new, or the modern, rather than positioning as the permanent re-writing of past and future, they were situated as a transition from past to future. In that sense, the Turkish House was reduced in to morphological typologies. It is important to note that, Taut’s architecture, and respectively his conception of the Turkish House, rejects any formal and stylistic orthodoxy either related with the term modern or national. Taut develops a resistance that escapes from both of these extremities. Taut seems to have resisted both to the cubic architecture and nationalistically driven search for a national architecture. This line of thought can also be read in Taut’s own words, where he says:

“It is important to avoid any superficial imitation (of tradition). Otherwise this tendency can lead to a sentimental romanticism, and misunderstood nationalism resulting in kitsch. The more fervor with which a misunderstood nationalism is pursued, the worse will be the result [...] All nationalist architecture is bad but all good architecture is national” (Taut, 1938: 333).

Departing from his words, one can underline that against Eldem’s “already modern” character of the Turkish House, Taut stresses on the “inevitably national” character of the modern house. That kind of shift can lead us to portray an alternatively

different conception of the Turkish House: Against Eldem's conception, both Egli and Taut's conception carries a sense of contextualism, rather than nationalism. And, in that sense, the idea of the Turkish House escapes from being reduced in to a single image, but opens itself to an infinite repertoire of translations. In other words, rather than positioning the idea of the Turkish House as a thingness, as the ideal translation of a solid-still identity, Egli and Taut's approaches point towards an alterity. Within this approach, the idea of the Turkish House does not refer to a prototype, to a point of completeness, but to types, to point of incompleteness, which can potentially be formed and re-formed by the continuous re-writing of past and present.

4.3. Inevitably National Character of the Modern House

Although, Egli and Taut's formulations remained on a theoretical level and was not architecturally materialized as such, through Seyfi Arkan's projects, one can find a fertile soil to observe the material representations of an alternative understanding of the Turkish House.

As pointed out earlier, the 'foreignness' of New Architecture does not only relate with the architects, but also with the forms. Although within the earlier documentation of modern Turkish Architecture, New Architecture was depicted as a movement shaped by works of invited 'foreign' architects, it is important to note that within this era one can also recall the works of various local architects¹²⁶ who did not incorporated 'nationalist tones' in to their designs and support the forms of modern architecture. Between 1930 and 1940, most of the practitioners of New Architecture

¹²⁶ These local architects are: Seyfi Arkan, Burhan Arif, Sevki Balmumcu, Rüknettin Günay, Zeki Sayar, Rebiî Gordon, Abidin Mortaş, Bekir İhsan Ünal, Sabri Oran, Adil Denктаş, Harbi Hotan, Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, Emin Necip Uzman.

were underrated because of ‘directly imitating’ Western forms and not giving enough attention to the traditional-national values. Within these names Seyfi Arkan plays an important role. Although, in the 1930s, he can be considered unofficially as the principal architect of the government, and also of Atatürk, in the late 1930s and early 1940’s, he became out of date and did not succeed to get any governmental commissions¹²⁷. The nationalist agenda of the late 1930s has ‘estranged’ Seyfi Arkan from the architectural stage.

That kind of ‘de-familiarization’ can also be read in the earlier documentations. Sözen and Tapan (1973) described architecture of Seyfi Arkan as “directly repeats itself from the West”. Özer’s (1964) study also carries a similar point of view related with Arkan’s architectural language. Özer, by giving reference to Arkan’s Kozlu and Zonguldak workers houses projects describes Arkan’s architecture as “not original”, and more importantly warns us about presenting these buildings as the success of Turkish architecture (Özer, 1964: 7). Therefore, although designed by a ‘local’ architect, Seyfi Arkan’s architecture were seen ‘foreign’ to the preferred identity.

However, a close analysis of his projects can present us a different perspective and lead us to challenge the mainstream positioning of him. Moreover, through these studies, one can recognize that Seyfi Arkan also deals with the issue of the Turkish House. And, like Egli and Taut, his conception of the Turkish House and his effort to materialize it can present us a totally different approach from Eldem. But, before analyzing how the issue of Turkish House was taken, discussed and designed, it is

¹²⁷ During this period, Foreign Minister Residence (1934), Florya Residential Mansion (1935), Makbule Atadan’s House (1936, also known as Glass House), Kozlu and Zonguldak workers houses (1935-1936), İller Bank (1937) and Tahran Embassy (1938) can be considered as Seyfi Arkan’s most prominent projects.

better to open a parenthesis and recall Akcan's (2005) study. In her text titled *Ambiguities of Transparency and Privacy in Seyfi Arkan's Houses for the New Republic*, Akcan also surfaces a similar criticism against the historical positioning of Arkan's architecture. In her study, Akcan first states that 'Arkan's formal approach can not be neatly categorized with the same terms that define the formal preferences of many of his contemporaries such as Holzmeister and Jansen' (Akcan, 2005: 29). And by stating that Akcan not only questions the pureness of New Architecture as such, but also says that Arkan promoted a European inspired modern architecture more enthusiastically than many of the foreign architects working in Turkey in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. For Akcan, apart from the formal expression of modern architecture such as horizontal windows, white walls, and flat roofs, Arkan also explored the organization of 'open plan', the potential of 'transparency', and the dissolution of boundaries between inside and outside. In that respect, by bringing Arkan's Foreign Minister Residence project (1933-1934) to the discussion, Akcan aims to make a comparison with Holzmeister's architecture (Figure 24). As Akcan (2005) states Arkan's conception of the plan differed from Holzmeister's Presidential Mansion project in one important aspect: instead of using a reinforced concrete as just another construction material, Arkan's project explored the use of free-plan expression of the new structural techniques made possible by reinforced concrete (Akcan, 2005: 30). The entrance floor of Arkan's project, as Akcan declares, was composed of spaces without fixed and solid walls in between: the living, dining, dancing, and smoking rooms flow in to each other as a part of a single volume (2005: 30).

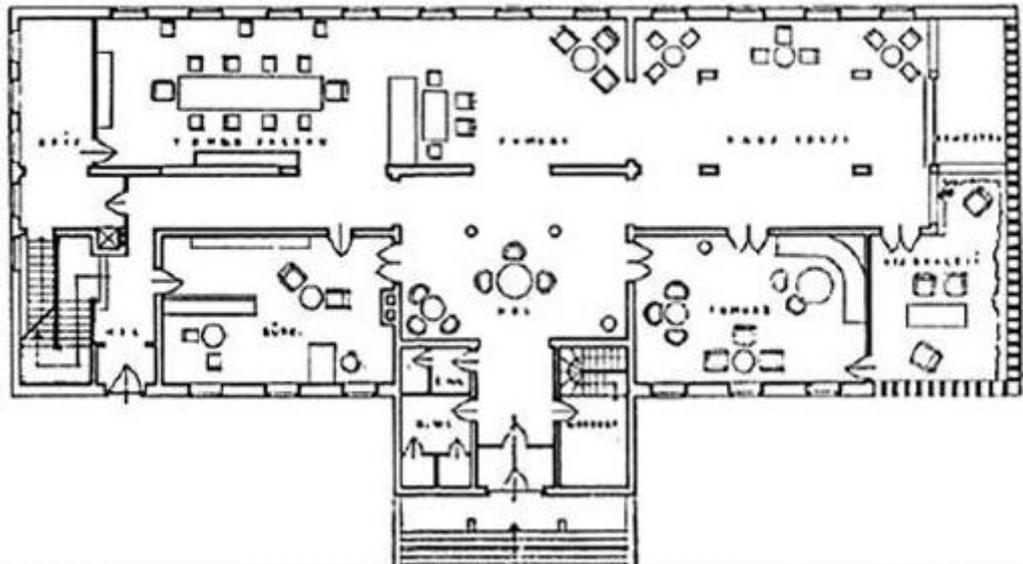


Figure 24: Arkan's Foreign Minister Residence project (Arkitekt, 1935: .312-316)

Secondly, in addition to Arkan's above-mentioned 'progressive' attitude towards design, Akcan states that in Arkan's architectural language one can also observe a critical contact with the local and traditional features. In that respect, Akcan brings Makbule Atadan's house and Florya Residential House projects in to discussion to show how Arkan 'translates' the European modernist features to the Turkish

context¹²⁸. While analyzing Makbule Atadan's¹²⁹, Akcan refers to Arkan's (1935) published article in *Arkitekt* journal¹³⁰, to surface his critical relation with the traditional elements (Figure 25). For Akcan, in this article, Arkan himself mentions his climatic concerns about the project and explains that he was 'inspired' by the 'wide extending eaves of the old Ankara houses' (2005: 34).

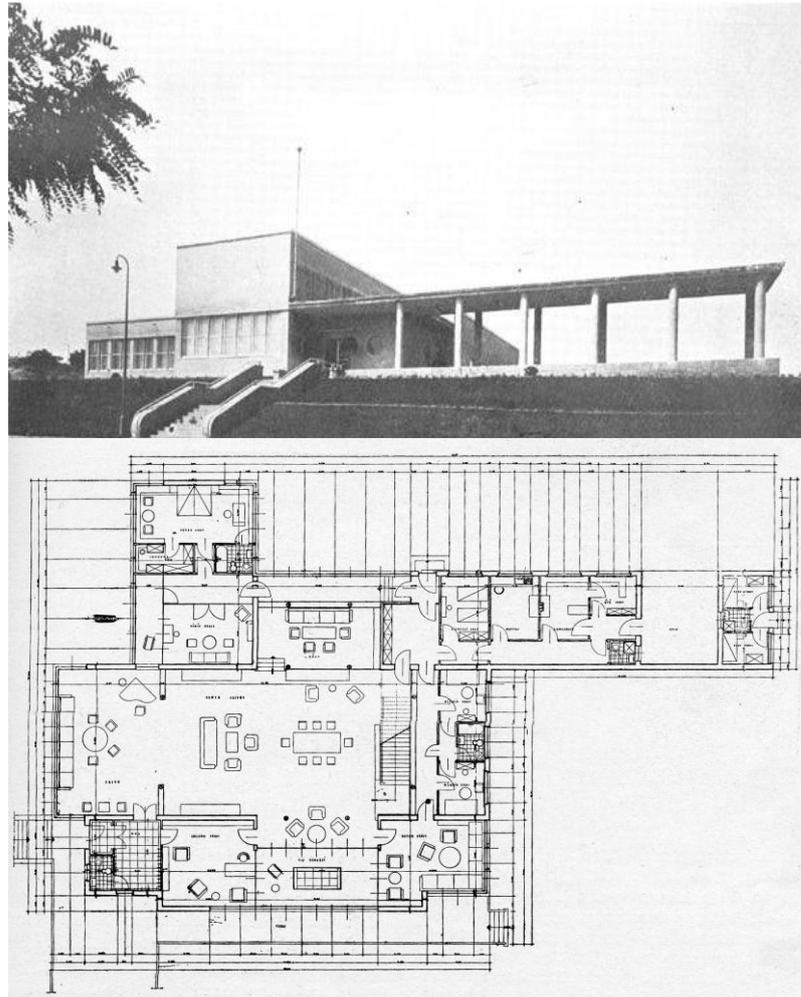


Figure 25: Atadan's house project by Arkan (*Arkitekt*, 1935: 179)

¹²⁸ The words 'translation' plays a central role in Akcan's historiographical studies. Similar to Dođramacı's (2008) study, Akcan also keeps herself away from defining the term modern as a direct-transfer from the West. Rather, she prefers to conceptualize this term around the concept of translation. The key-concept of translation and its historiographical connotations can be found in her (2009) study, titled *Çeviride Modern Olan* [Modern in Translation]

¹²⁹ Makbule Atadan was the sister of Kemal Atatürk

¹³⁰ Arkan, Seyfi (1935) "Hariciye Köşkü" *Arkitekt* 11-12:311

In that context, Akcan's analysis can lead us to challenge Özer's (1964) and, Sözen and Tapan's (1978) studies, which position Arkan's architecture as a direct-copy from the West and as not having an 'originality' in itself. Through Akcan's analysis, in contrast to the 'preferred foreignness' of Arkan's architecture, one can highlight a contextual and traditional sensitivity in relation to place. Moreover, one can also say that, *in contrast to Eldem's approach, Arkan did not prefer to 'imitate' the traditional features but to 'inspire' from them.* The traditional elements was re-designed and re-produced by Arkan in modern means.

In addition to Makbule Atadan's house project, Akcan in her (2005) article also talks about Florya Residential House project and how Arkan translated the term modern. Rather than seeing it as opposed to the term tradition, he tried to realize a sustained interaction. For Akcan, the Florya Residential House project refers to İstanbul's 'watertubs' of the Ottoman period. Departure from Akcan's analysis, one can say that similar to Makbule Atadan's House project, this project of Arkan also liberates a sense of new out of old, out of tradition: Although the 'inspiring' traditional elements are not obvious and apparent in his design, in Arkan's project one can underline a 'critical' interpretation in the use of these elements. In both of his projects rather than using these elements decoratively, rather than creating a material-based and form-based traditionalism, Arkan tries to generate a sense of traditional out of a 'spatial' interpretation.

That kind of a 'spatial' interpretation is also visible in Arkan's approach to the issue of the Turkish House. It is important to note that Arkan's understanding of the Turkish House extends beyond the term's de-facto usage: Rather than creating a

form-based and style-based approach to Turkish House, Arkan prefers to materialize the idea of the Turkish House ‘spatially’. In other words, while Eldem tries to built-up a national architecture by ‘rationalizing’ the already-existing Turkish House(s), Arkan ‘s approach escapes from being trapped in to morphological typologies, rather it aims to build up a modern architecture that carries the spatial and every-day life traces of the Turkish House. This line of thought can be traced in Arkan’s (1934) text titled *A House Project* [Bir Ev Projesi] published in *Arkitekt* Journal (Figure 26). In this text, Arkan proposes his project as an example of his Turkish House studies which were made while he was studying at Hans Poelzig’s studio in Berlin, between 1930 and 1933. As Dündar (2010: 4) states, this text can be considered as the only source that one can find Arkan’s interest in the issue of the Turkish House ¹³¹.

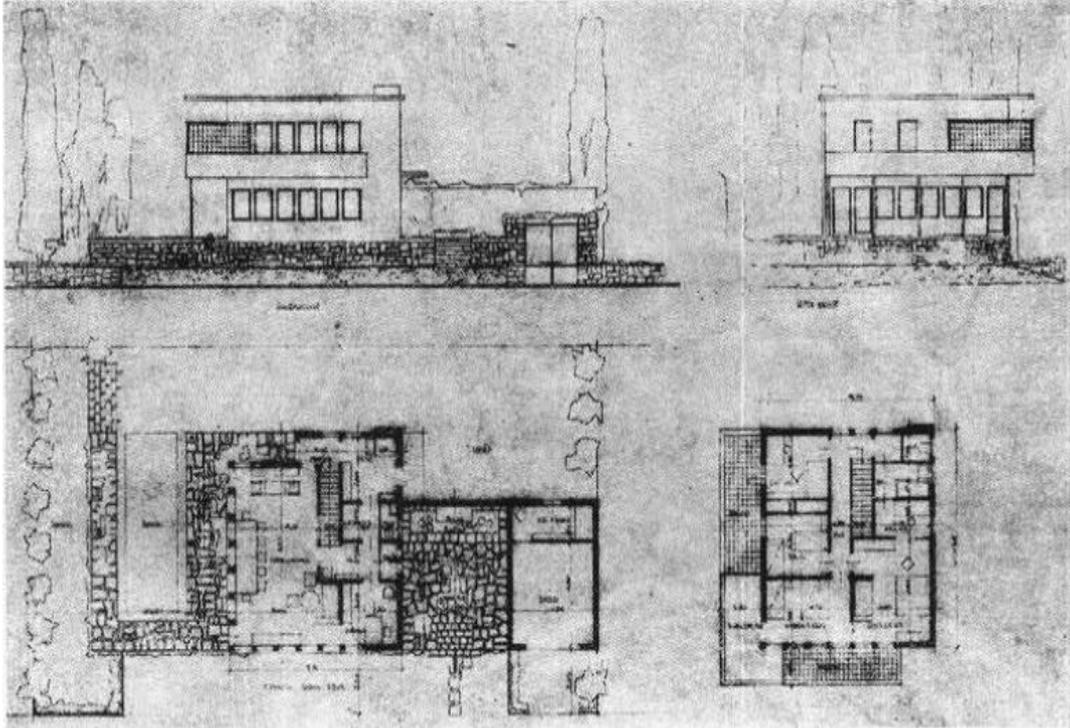


Figure 26: Arkan’s Turkish House (Arkitekt, 1934: 16)

¹³¹ Dündar’s (2010) unpublished study titled as *Seyfi Arkan’ın Mimarlığında Türk Evi* [The Turkish House in the Architecture of Seyfi Arkan] was presented in a symposium called *Modernist Açılımda bir Öncü: Seyfi Arkan*.

Through the images of this project, one can first recognize the use of local stone and the rhythmical usage of the vertical windows. However, in addition to these features, what is more important for our case is its spatial organization. As Dündar states, the spatial organization of the project formed around an open-space, that one can relate with the *Taşlık* of the traditional Turkish Houses. In the project, this open space was placed between the service spaces. Here, as Dündar also refers to, it is important to remember that Eldem in his study on the Turkish House made a spatial analysis: For him, in the traditional Turkish Houses, the service spaces are placed on the ground level, and the living spaces are positioned on the first floor. And, the open space that was framed by the walls called *Taşlık* was related with and served to the service spaces. In Arkan's project published in *Arkitekt* journal, one can recognize a similar approach. In this project, the service spaces were separated in to two blocks and between them an open space was positioned. As Dündar (2010:4) states, although in terms of plan organization and their spatial interpretations Arkan's other house projects differ from each other, the use of open space in relation to service spaces remains as a 'dominant gesture'. In his text Arkan did not explain the spatial organization of the project; rather he talks about the interior spaces:

“On the ground level, an office space [...] and a salon were organized to make this small space bigger, to create the perspectives of a modern interior space” (Arkan, 1934: 16)¹³².

Departure from Arkan's words, one can say that in terms of interior organizations, there is no direct reference with the traditional Turkish House. Arkan, as a follower of modern architecture, prefers to use open-plan organization within interior spaces: rather than creating solid boundaries between living spaces, Arkan prefers to use more porous boundaries between them. Therefore, one can say that Arkan's approach

¹³² Alt katta methale yakın bir büro ve büyük bir salon bu küçük binayı çok büyütmüş bir şekilde tertip edilmiş ve son modern cereyanlarda dahili mimari için lazım olan perspektiflerin teminine çalışılmıştır” (Arkan, 1934, p.16)

to Turkish House is not plan-based but carries a spatial sensitivity. Arkan did not intend to translate the idea of the Turkish House by reducing it in to morphological and formal typologies. Arkan's architecture did not celebrate the idea of the Turkish House for its 'already-modern' character. Rather, by 'inspiring' from the spatial organization, Arkan's Turkish House offers a modern architecture that is essentially national. In that respect, Arkan's spatial understanding of the Turkish House does not propose us a single image, a solid still architectural representation. Related with its climatic and environmental context, and also with its life-style, it suggests a more 'experimental' approach.

As Dündar's (2010) intriguing text also refers to, A sea-side house project [Deniz Kıyısında Bir Konut Projesi], published in *Arkitekt* Journal in 1933, can be raised here to understand the importance of context in Arkan's projects (Figure 27). At first sight this project shows some similarities with his 1934 dated project, in terms of using two blocs and an open-space between them. However, different from 1934 dated project, this open space does not serve as a Taşlık where the service spaces meet. Rather, it acts as gathering area of the living spaces, and with its pergola structure functions as semi-open space related with the sea . In this project, as described by Arkan, the Taşlık space, unrelated with the separated blocs, was designed in relation to only one bloc, "related with the Kitchen" and "framed by walls" (Arkan, 1933: 111). Therefore, through Arkan's house projects it seems impossible to create a 'typology'. Although the open-space appears as a repeating spatial element, its use in his projects differs from each other in terms of site, its relation with the environment, and the everyday practices.

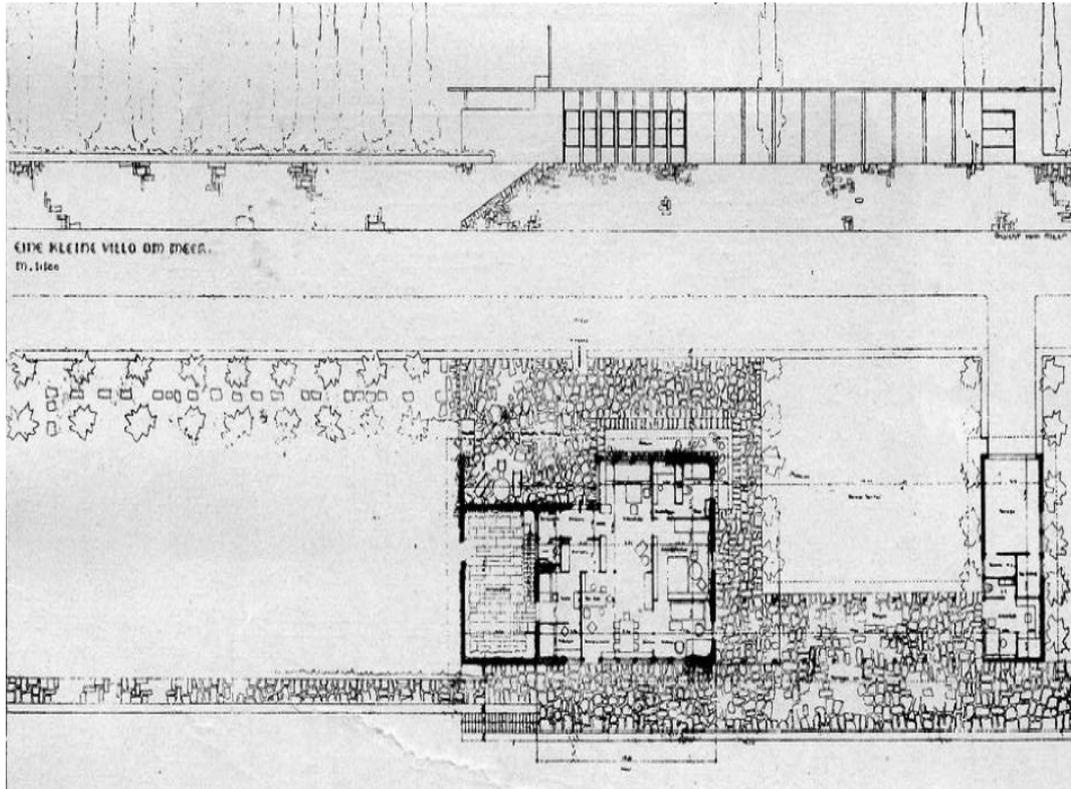


Figure 27: Arkan's seaside house (Arkan, 1933: .383)

In Arkan's other seaside house project published in *Arkitekt* journal in 1933, one can also highlight the importance of the open space in spatial organization (Figure 28). Similar to above mentioned projects of Arkan, one can also recognize the separate use of two blocks and an open area between them. Different from the other two projects, in this project, a long wall connects the two blocks, and at the same time divides the open space in to two parts. By the use of this wall, Arkan on one hand tries to relate one part of the open area with the street, and respectively with the entrance of the building, and on the other hand the other part with the sea. Similar to the other sea-side project, the open space does not appear only as a service space. But because of its context, and its relation with the sea, the open space also serves to the living spaces.

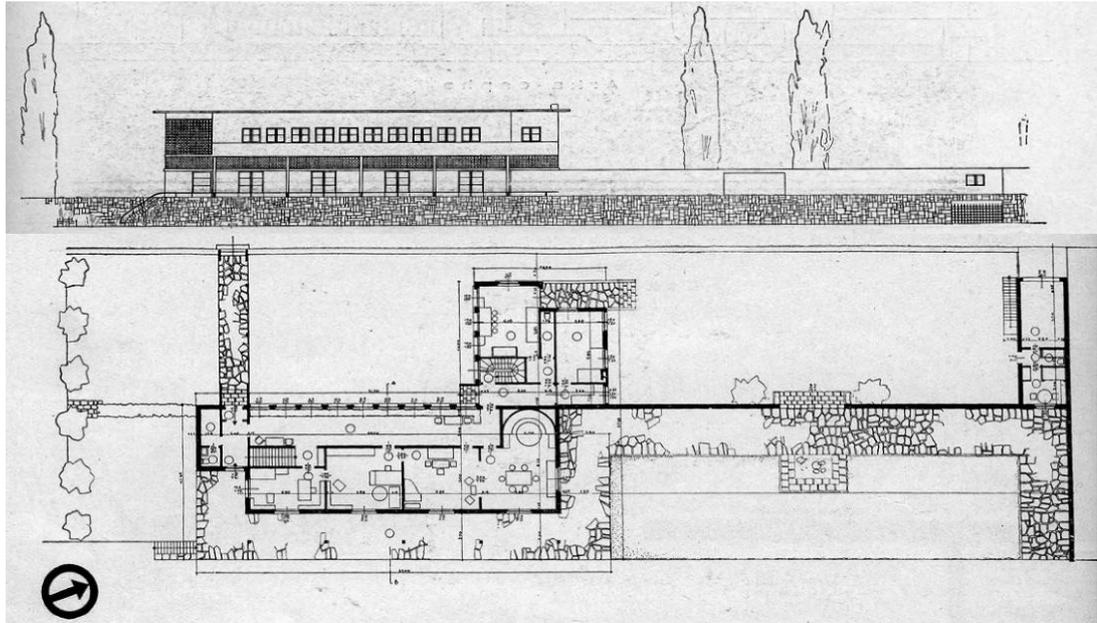


Figure 28: Arkan's other sea-side house project (Arkan, 1933: 111)

As Dündar (2010) brings in to discussion, in Arkan's 1935 dated project, one can recognize a different interpretation related with use of open-space. For Dündar, Arkan's 1935 dated project differs from his other projects in one major aspect: all the main interior spaces in this project were related with the exterior not directly, but with winter-gardens (Figure 29). Therefore, one can say that between interior and exterior space, Arkan tries to create a 'third-space' that carries the potentials of both inside and outside. Moreover, in Arkan's project, these winter-gardens does not offer transparent surfaces to the main interior spaces: Rather, the main spaces were related with the winter gardens through small openings. For Dündar (2010: 6) Arkan's desire to create a 'third-space' between inside and outside, and to control its level of transparency, can easily be read in relation to projects climatic context. But, moreover, one can also consider these winter-gardens as *cumbas in ground level* that offers visual access but close itself to the gaze of the outside.

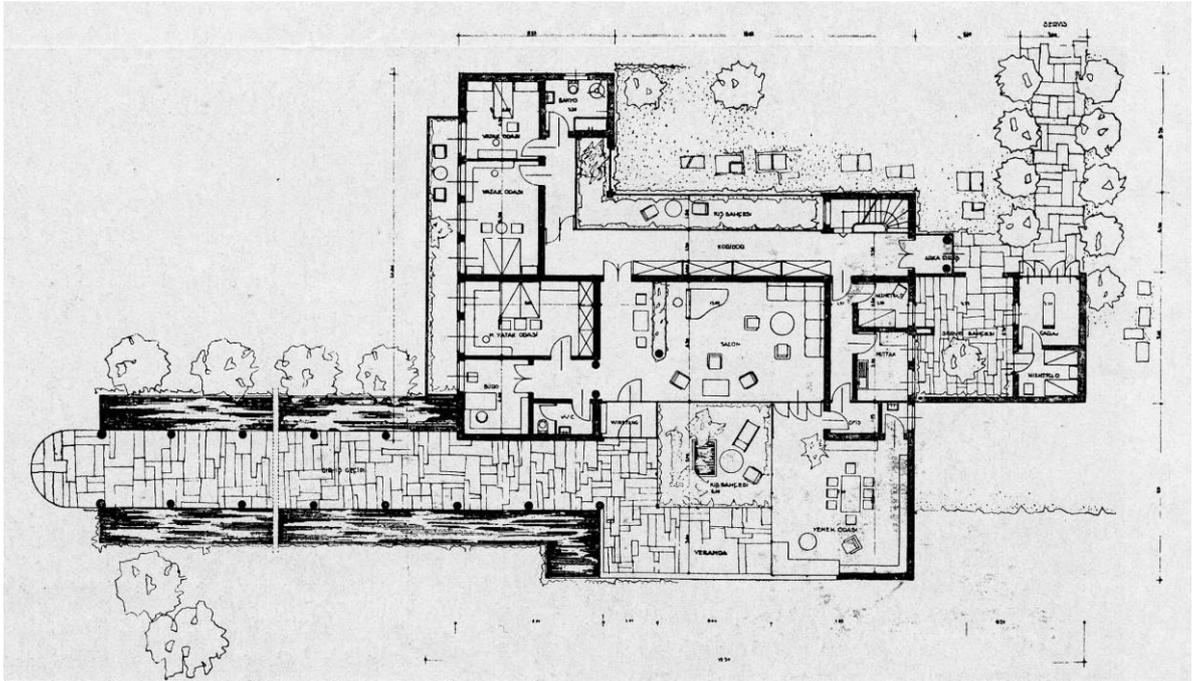


Figure 29: A house project by Arkan (Arkan, 1937: 167-169)

The above-mentioned projects of Arkan show that nearly in all of his house projects Arkan tries to create a relation between inside and outside. And, departure from his article published in *Arkitekt* in 1934, one can say that the idea of Turkish House, and more importantly the Taşlık space of it, plays a central role for this variation. Moreover, the latest example of Arkan shows that in addition to relating the interior with the exterior, Arkan also carries sensitivity about the term ‘privacy’. This line of thought, as Akcan (2005) and Dündar (2010) refers to, is most visible in Makbule Atadan’s house. Both for Akcan and Dündar, in this project one can easily underline how Arkan draws attention to the Turkish life-style and deals with the issue of privacy. In this project, one can easily recognize the boundaries between public, semi-private, and private spaces. As Dündar (2010) puts it, the bedrooms do not offer a direct relation with the public spaces. For example, the main bedroom was disconnected from the main living space by placing a semi-private space – a sewing

space. In contrast to the relation of the private spaces to the public spaces, the public spaces were designed around an open plan organization.

Although within the earlier documentations of modern Turkish architecture, Arkan's architecture were seen and 'estranged' as a direct-transfer from the West, through the above-mentioned projects, one can underline the 'contextual' sensitivity in his project. And, in addition, this contextual sensitivity is not only related with climatic and environmental issues but also with life-style and every-day practices.

4.4. Tradition and Translation: Repetition of Not the Same

Egli's, Taut's and Arkan's conceptions can lead us to challenge the mainstream positioning of the term Turkish House. Moreover, their understanding of the Turkish House puts in to question the transcendental idealism that claims the idea (of Turkishness) is infinitely repeatable as the same. Unlike Eldem's conception of the Turkish House, within their approach, one can not claim that there is a transcendental signifier or signified related with the idea of the Turkish House: In Egli, Taut and Arkan's approach there is no Turkishness and Turkish House as such¹³³. There is not one ideal and pure translation, but, rather, there are various translation that produce the myth of the Turkish House. The idea of Turkishness, or respectively Turkish

¹³³ In that respect, one can recall and address the Plato's key conception of the world as distinguished in to two: as the world of ideas and the world of appearances. Whereas the world of ideas houses all the transcendental(ideal forms, the world of appearances, the material world that we live in, is barred from these pure ideas, leaving us with nothing but representations of these unmediated forms. It is indispensable to note that the Platonic formulation necessarily produces a binary- between the unmediated idea and mediated appearance- that can never be reduced in to one. The first term of this duality, the Form, is always favored to the latter, the earthly forms, and marked as the supreme model to be respected and proliferated. This is the Platonic understanding of mimesis, which always provides one a preceding totalized image to mimic. The main motivation behind this structure, resting on definitive models, is to restrict plurality, is to restrict multiplicity of languages. That is, by preventing the possible arbitrary dissemination of meaning and forms, this totalizing structure aims at securing the repetition of the Form/Udea/Truth as 'same'. For further reading, see Plato (1908).

House, escapes from the institutive question of philosophy, ‘what is’. The identity of a sign or signifier, the identity of Turkishness and Turkish House, can only be created by repetition of the past-present, which is not reducible to the identity.

In that sense, a gap remains between the word Turkishness and the image of the Turkish House. In every act of representation, this gap always remains unsignified and potentially allows us to build up new meanings in new contexts. So, the act of representation/translation can never be finalized. The gap between the word and the thing can never be bridged. The word Turkishness, and respectively Turkish House, becomes a performance of its own meaning. The meaning of the word Turkishness is not pre-existent as an essence, but is constructed by its relation to the other signs.

And, what the diversity of representations underline is not the repetition of the same, but repetition of not-the-same which is continuous shaping and re-shaping of the idea of the Turkish House¹³⁴. Therefore, in every (architectural) representation, the word Turkishness, and the Turkish House, performs its meaning in to something else, in to something other than itself.

That kind of an understanding of the Turkish House, presented by Egli, Taut and Arkan, as an endless rebuilding, seems as the only way to actualize Turkish House immediate connection to the present. Rather than finding an inert model, a timeless image, to believe that the idea of the Turkish House is nothing but a never-ending act of writing, a “writing under erasure” as Derrida (1978) puts it. In every act of

¹³⁴ In that respect, one can recall Gilles Deleuze’s phrase “Only that resembles differs” to understand the logic of transcendental idealism. This phrase underlines that all differences can differ from each other to the degree of their relation with the ‘essence’. In contrast to this phrase, Deleuze surfaces what he calls quasi-transcendentalism (minor idealization) and brings the phrase “ Only differences can resemble each other”. Departure from this phrase, Deleuze wants to show the missing essence behind all structures. To see more about this discussion, see Deleuze (1987: 232-310).

representation the essence of Turkishness is re-written differently from the previous one. In that respect the idea of Turkishness marks an incompleteness; and can be considered as a becoming, rather than a static being.

This line of thought is embodied in Oscar Wilde's (1998) famous novel *The Portrait of Dorian Gray*. In the novel, the main character Dorian Gray, on 'returning home', was surprised to notice the face in his painting had changed. Rather than depicting Gray's portrait as a fixed, stable structure, and a solid-still appearance, Wilde prefers to surface a structure/appearance that is always in flux. Each time he comes back to his home, the face in the painting was found as if it had moved to outside. In that respect, Wilde's portrait, as a representation, does not refer to a fixed-static being, but to a becoming, to a movement of change. Through the image of a portrait that continuously rewrites itself, Wilde liberates an understanding of identity that can not be reduced in to sameness. Or, to put differently, Gray's portrait refers to a formulation of identity, which is repeating-not-the same. The portrait can be considered as a model of representation that does not lose its immediate relation with the present.

Similar to Gray's portrait, one can say that there is no absolute face/façade for the idea of the Turkishness. Or, the face/façade of the Turkishness can not be eternalized as a closed space with an end. Although, within the earlier documentation of modern Turkish architecture, Eldem's conception of the Turkish House was presented as if the idea of modern Turkish identity finally meets with its face/façade, through Egli and Taut's texts, and through Arkan's projects, one can underline the impossibility of finding such a sovereign face.

In that respect, Egli, Taut and Arkan's works underlines a differentiation; a differentiation, or differing, as the authentic condition of an on-going structural process. One can say that the structure of the Turkish House, as the house of Turkishness, is not a fixed identity but embodies a movement; a movement of drawing and re-drawing the boundaries of modern Turkish identity. In other words, *the solidity of the Turkish House is always a product of a slippage*. In that sense, in contrast to the earlier documentations, the idea/image of the Turkish House, rather than referring to a fixity, refers to a multiplicity; the idea/image of the Turkish House is precisely not in the 'end' but in the 'and'. While, 'end' marks a closed space, a monument, an interior with unsurpassable boundaries, a solid still identity, 'and' on the other hand is neither one thing nor the other. It is always in between, between two things. One can say that the idea/image of the Turkish House is something that is always yet-to-come; instead of beginning and ending, the idea of the Turkish House refers to entering and leavings, to flows and becomings.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Gürbilek, in her (1998) book, *Ev Ödevi* (Home Work), makes a critique of the history of modern Turkish literature. In her book, she states that the modern Turkish literature structures itself around the issue of house. By analyzing the texts of Ömer Seyfettin, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Peyami Safa and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, she draws attention to the appearance of themes like; ‘boredom at home’, ‘shame from home’, ‘try to escape from home’, ‘a will to find a new home’. And, at the end of her text, Gürbilek asks the question: Why do we feel ourselves so ‘homely’ in these texts of homelessness” (1998:74).

In fact, Gürbilek’s question is also relevant for the history of modern Turkish architecture. Within the earlier documentation of modern Turkish architecture, similar to the field of literature, one can recognize the metaphoric and material use of the term home. And, moreover, one can similarly underline the sense of homelessness to construct a homely structure. This line of thought, throughout the thesis, was discussed by bringing the Turkish House and the modern House as a binary opposition. Although, within the earlier documentations, the modern house as seen and admired as the promise of a new identity, it was also ‘negated’ and ‘estranged’ for its unhomely character. In other words, within the earlier documentations, one of the oppositional terms, Eldem’s Turkish House, is always

privileged and positioned as controlling and dominating the ‘other’, the modern house. Hence, the opposition between the Turkish House and the modern house does deal with a peaceful coexistence of a *vis-à-vis*, but rather with a ‘violent’ hierarchy.

In that respect, from a deconstructive perspective, the dissertation questioned the ‘dominance’ of the privileged term by reversing the hierarchy. In contrast to its mainstream positioning, by bringing the texts and projects of Egli, Taut and Arkan, the modern house was discussed not by its unhomely and foreign character, but by its ‘potential’ to create a new national identity, to create a new house of Turkishness. Against, the ‘already modern’ character of the Turkish House, the inevitably national character of the modern house tried to be portrayed as an alternative model.

Therefore, the opposition somehow remains intact, but the attention is shifted from the dominant term to the dominated term, from the center to the margin. The metaphysical and rhetorical structures that are at work within canonical texts tried to be dis-placed by re-reading the very idea of the modern house. The mainstream positioning of the modern house, as the dominated term, as the margin of the text of the modern Turkish architecture, tried to be reversed.

The below mentioned table can be brought in to discussion to summarise the arguments made throughout the dissertation (Table 1).

Table 1: Comparison between two conceptions of the Turkish House.

Mainstream Conception of the Turkish House	Alternative Conception of the Turkish House
Structured around Eldem	Structured around Egli, Taut, and Arkan
Ideological and Homogeneous	Autonomous and Heterogeneous
Single story- Linear destination	Plurality of narratives-nonlinear condition

Carries a national overtone	Carries a universalistic tone
There is a reservation against the term modern	Contingent relation with the term modern
Embodies a question of foreignness	Doesn't embody a question of foreignness
Already modern	Inevitably national
Searches to find a point of completeness	Marks a point of Incompleteness
Works with the logic of END	Works with the logic of AND
Offers us a single face/façade	Multifaceted
Totality	Multiplicity- Arrays of individual positions
Identity as Being	Identity as Becoming
Plan-based approach	Contextual sensitivity
Stylistic and Decorative	Spatial
Stylistic imitation of tradition	Dialogical relation with the tradition
Reductive	Experimental
Thingness-Inertia	Movement

In this respect, it is important to note that to deconstruct the binary oppositions does not only mean to reverse them, for to simply replace the central term with the marginal is to remain locked in the 'either/or' logic of binary opposites. One should simultaneously take note of the 'gap' that occurs in the reversing. Only by the existence of this gap, the entire structure of the binary opposition between the Turkish House and the modern house becomes unstable and opens itself in to an infinite play of 'undecidables', as Derrida puts it (2004: 220).

Positioning the idea of the Turkish House as a 'movement' (between the national and the modern) rather than as 'inertia', can portray an alternative look to the history of modern Turkish architecture. By conceptualizing the space of Turkish House not as

an ‘end-product’ but as an ‘and-product’, not as a monument but as incomplete edifice, the canonical documentation of history of modern Turkish architecture can be ‘eventualized’. Through the conception of Turkish house as a never-ending act of monumentalizing/housing, the mainstream positioning of the Turkish house, which eternalizes and purifies the past as a closed space with an ‘end’, can be deconstructed. By doing so, *the idea/image of Turkish House can re-create its immediate connection with the ‘present’, and more importantly can open itself to the ‘singular’ arrival of something new.* In other words, to claim that there is no Turkish house as such and to conceptualize that the idea/image of Turkish house refers to an endless re-building process, leads us to eventualize or open up what in our history, or in our tradition presents itself as ‘monumental’, as what is assumed to be ‘essential’ and ‘unchangeable’, or incapable of a re-writing. Conceptualization of the idea/image of Turkish house as an incomplete edifice, as a never-ending act of housing, is to see the unforeseen chance or possibility in a history of another history.

Therefore, one can say that *there is no history of Turkish House without this iterability*¹³⁵; a privileged path is radically absent. In that sense, the historiography of the Turkish House always functions in more than one direction. Without a linear destination, without ever reaching an end, it is always the movement of the Turkish House that defines and constitutes the boundaries of the Turkish House.

Throughout the thesis, the above-mentioned movement, as a repetition without identity, was tried to be portrayed by deconstructing the earlier documentation of history of modern Turkish architecture, ending up with the Eldem’s idea/image of the

¹³⁵ The word iterability names the recognition that every repetition is an alteration.

Turkish house. In contrast to the narration that tries to ‘fill in the holes’, to cover up the gaps, ruptures and inconsistencies in order to present a totalizing and idealizing view, this dissertation, on the contrary, highlighted *the importance of opening up a radical ‘gap’ in the very edifice of the Turkish House*. By doing so, by surfacing a ‘structural gap’ in the hearth of the structure (of the Turkish House), and also by showing the inconsistencies within eras, this study desired to trace the relations that prevent the assertion of an identity that would be self-identical to itself, that would refuse its relation to others.

As pointed out earlier, through Eldem’s idea/image of Turkish House, the idea of Turkishness ideologically reduced in to one-single appearance. And, within this representation, the idea of Turkishness was structured either in analysis or in design in to the traditional-vernacular dwelling forms. And, all the other ‘possible’ appearances were either positioned as the ‘other’ or seen as ‘foreign’ representations of Turkishness. That kind of a preferred purity around the term Turkishness where the other is reduced in to a same can only actualize itself through a process of transcendental idealism. Only by defining a solid boundary between Turkish and non-Turkish, the gap between the metaphysical and material can be bridged, and the immaterial idea of Turkishness can find its solid-still representation.

However, through a deconstructive perspective, this excluded otherness was tried to be seen as a mechanism to construct interiority rather than exteriority. Rather than defining them as ‘Other’ to the preferred identity, these representations can potentially be seen as the other possible faces/facades of Turkishness. And, to recognize this ‘irreducible exterior’ lead us to challenge the transcendental idealism

around the term Turkishness. In contrast to the attempt that aims to obtain a stationary form, a privileged interior, a space-in itself, to recognize this ‘indigestible other’ gives us a chance to define the idea of Turkishness as a non-stationary form, as a becoming rather than being, as a spacing rather than space. What we find in the idea of Turkish House is always a ‘fragment’ rather than a ‘totality’; no one can produce a concrete determination out of becoming-Turkish House. Instead of a clear and distinct perception, what we have is a blurring and confusing focus; instead of a stable and fix form of the Turkish House, what we have is a repertoire of shifting forms.

In that context, the idea of Turkish house can not be reduced either in analysis of design to a definitive map, to a finitude, to an unchanging and timeless image; it always escapes from the institute question of ‘what is’. What the idea/image of Turkish house actually underlines is the ‘impossibility’ of an identity to close on itself. The idea/image of Turkish house highlights an alterity, rather than a solid identity; it posits the multiplicity of tongues, rather than an imposition of single language.

One can say that the history of modern Turkish architecture can be discussed through the plurality of representations by exposing the multiple faces of Turkishness, the multiple facades of Turkish Houses. Rather than conceiving the idea of Turkish House as arising from an addition of a single (hi)story line, the idea of Turkishness can be described in the plurality of representations.

In order to highlight these other possible houses of Turkishness, the period of New Architecture, plays a significant role for further studies. As pointed out earlier, the documentation of modern Turkish architecture, which is mostly structured around the tone of ‘nationalism’, and around the architectural examples of national architectural movements, carries a sense of ‘foreignness’ against the New Architecture¹³⁶. However, the ‘foreign’ character of this movement also leads us to document alternative relations with the term modern and traditional, and respectively the idea of the Turkish House. This line of thought, throughout the thesis, was documented by bringing Egli’s, Taut’s and Arkan’s works in to discussion. In addition to these names, the other practitioners of this era, like; Burhan Arif, Kerim Arman, Fazıl Aysu, Şevki Balmumcu, İzzet Baysal, Adil Denктаş, Ruknettin Güney, Rebiî Gordon, Arif Hihmet Holtay, Bekir İhsan, Abidin Mortaş, A. Sabri Oran, Samih Saim, Zeki Sayar, Kemali Söylemezoğlu, H. Hüsnü Tamer, Leman Tomsu, Behçet Ünsal, and Ahsen Yapanar, should be examined in further studies. That kind of a look is important to expose that there is no period of New Architecture as such. Moreover, this impure structure related with the New Architecture can be seen as a potential; as a potential to challenge the autonomy related with this style, to underline the transient-fragmentary nature of this era, to observe more pluralistic and heterogeneous array of formal and individual positions, and to highlight the web of other possible identities.

¹³⁶ This line of thought is also relevant in today’s architectural context. The ‘foreignness’ of New Architecture is still present. When Eldem’s Taslık Coffee House project was destroyed during the construction of a hotel project, it was then re-made and ‘protected’ as an architectural heritage. However, in contrast to this example, most of the eminent architectural examples of New Architecture were either destroyed or ruined. And now, from this period, beside some monumental-public projects, it is very hard to find housing projects. And, the ones who are still present can be destroyed tomorrow.

In that respect, it is important to note that, for these names, against Egli, Taut and Arkan, it is very hard to underline a direct relation with the issue of the Turkish House, with the traditional housing structures. However, apart from the term's de-facto usage, one can still underline a conception of the Turkish House, as the house of modern Turkish identity. As tried to be pointed out, rather than a plan-based and stylistic conception of the Turkish House, a more experimental and spatial understanding of the Turkish House can also be portrayed. And, although, morphologically, these 'alternative' houses does not show any similarity with the traditional dwelling forms, they can potentially offer us a more experimental relation with the Turkish House; the ways to 'house' the very idea of the Turkishness socially, culturally, and historically in place and time.

In that context, in addition to the above-mentioned architects, the interior architects like Vedat Ar, Nizami Bey, Hayati Görkey, Zeki Kocamemi, Abdullah Ziya Kozanoğlu, Selahattin Refik (Sırmalı), and Marie-Louis Süe should also be studied. Because of discussing the very idea the Turkish House in a more general sense, in an ontological point of view, these traces related with every-day life practices, social and cultural issues, didn't manage to be brought in to discussion in detail. Hence, for further studies, in order to highlight the 'transient' and 'fragmented' nature of the Turkish House, it is highly crucial to actualize a more 'material' re-reading. In other words, for further studies, rather than discussing the very idea of Turkishness, it is important to document how the very idea of Turkishness was 'housed' differently in each project. And to do that, to trace these differences, a critical analysis of the interior space is also needed. The overall organization of the interior space, the preferred relationship between spaces, the question of publicity and privacy, the

question of transparency, the use of furniture in these spaces can lead us to trace how the term modern and traditional was understood, discussed and practiced differently. Rather than finalizing the past as a closed space with an end, through exposing the “production of every-day life”, as Lefebvre (1991) puts it, the past can be staged as a prologue to our presentness. Hence, rather than a ‘represented’ conception, a ‘lived’ conception of the Turkish House can be achieved.

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