

**MODERNISM AND DWELLING:
Residential Architecture in Early Republican Turkey**

by

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MODERNISM AND DWELLING
RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

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Abstract

The entire cultural and social context of the 1930s' Turkey was heavily influenced by the modernization reforms and the official ideologies of the Republican regime. By these reforms, Kemalist regime aimed to transform the whole society and its cultural production. While the existing transformations in the social context was already on their way to Westernization, they were appropriated and accelerated by the Republican modernization reforms. On the other hand, architectural discourse experienced more radical and abrupt transformations when modern architecture was introduced into the architectural culture. Although precedents of modern architecture existed in the pre-Republican period, the official Republican ideology incited the introduction of modern architecture into Turkey. Despite the exceptional importance given to the architectural field, usually it was the foreign architects who got the large scale commissions. This discrimination eventually created a discomfort among Turkish architects. Consequently, Turkish architects who were enthusiastic to produce modern architectural examples had been compelled to operate in the domain of residential architecture. Hence, 1930s' architectural culture experienced the intricate amalgamation formed by the interaction of contradictory ideologies such as dwelling, modernism and nationalism.

In addition to the brief analyses made on the Istanbul households and the architectural discourse of the 1930s, the main aim of this study lies in the close formal readings of the residential examples built in Istanbul between the years 1931 and 1940. In this section, I focused on some of the recurrent formal features of these buildings. By analyzing the cultural and ideological significance of these recurrent architectural features, I avoided the architectural examples to determine the framework of my study with their seemingly coherent images. Hence, it became possible to analyze the constitutive gestures of this architectural culture without being influenced by the larger collective images of the buildings. The analyses on the social and symbolic functions of these recurrent features help us to understand the unique characteristics of the architectural culture of the early Republican period.

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INTRODUCTION

Modern architecture defines a broad cultural framework in which concepts from technology to psychology are incorporated. Due to its immense complexity, there is no single definition of modern architecture. Yet, one of the constituent aspects of modernist discourse is that it departs from an aspiration to transform individuals and society through architecture. This belief and the accompanying sense of mission was the only constant aspect of modern architecture. Within this broad framework, residential architecture, together with the emerging field of urbanism, became one of the central themes in the Western modern architectural culture. Since any modification on the domestic architecture would have directly effected the society, modernist architects enthusiastically turned their attention to residential architecture. By the 1920s modern architecture was almost synonymous with residential and housing projects, especially in Weimar Germany.

When Turkey found herself embracing Western civilization after the turmoil of two consecutive wars and the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, residential architecture had already become the keyword in modern architecture at large. After the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, Turkish architectural culture enhanced its links with Western modernism while being supported by a state initiated modernization program. Although, the introduction of Western architectural culture into Turkey was initiated earlier than the proclamation of the Republic, the legitimizing force of the modernization reforms under the Republic turned Western modern architecture into a clearly defined model for Turkish archi-

tects in the 1930's. Yet, this does not imply a direct import of Western architectural culture to Turkey. Industrialization as one of the constitutive factors for the emergence of modern architecture, was non-existent in Turkey. On the other hand, Turkey had her own unique social, political and ideological circumstances to which architectural culture had to respond. Given these facts, Turkish architects were manipulating their Western models and creating a modern architectural culture that was unique to Turkey.

Politics and Ideology

After the Lausanne treaty that was signed in 1923, political reforms were immediately initiated by Kemal Ataturk and his colleagues. Since the imperial Istanbul government had become obsolete during the 1918-1922 Independence war, the nationalist leaders of the war, led by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, convened a new Grand National Assembly in Ankara marking the end of the Ottoman dynasty. In October 1923, the Republic was proclaimed and Ankara was established as the capital of the new Turkish Republic.

These dramatic historical changes formed the grounds for larger social and political reforms. Since Kemalist regime's main concern was modernization, any kind of political or ideological opposition to this process was systematically eliminated by the new Republican regime.¹ First of all, Istanbul government and the Ottoman sultanate were officially abolished and this was followed by the elimination of the caliphate authority. In 1925 all religious sects and lodges were closed. By the same year, the Hat Reform was accepted

1-Zurcher, J.Eric, Turkey: A Modern History, 1993, pp.180-181

in the Grand National Assembly. Hat law abolished all kinds of religious dress including the fez that men wore during the late Ottoman Empire. In 1926, the Swiss civil code was adapted as the Turkish civil code. It made the Islamic religious law (*seriat*) obsolete and regulated marriage, divorce and inheritance issues. In 1928, the Arabic script was replaced by the Latin alphabet.

While these secularizing and political reforms were being initiated, Kemal Ataturk formulated a set of ideologies which were established to be the pillars of the regime. Those were nationalism, secularism, republicanism, populism, revolutionism and etatism. While the first two of those ideologies were well defined and their tasks were more clear, the remaining ones relied on ambiguous definitions. Thus, even having a determined set of ideologies, Kemalism never became a “coherent and all-embracing ideology” as Eric Zurcher comments, but it was more close to a large “set of attitudes and opinions.”²

The two best enforced Kemalist ideologies, nationalism and secularism, relied highly on the social developments that took place in the Young Turk era, at the turn of the century. Most of the figures of the early Republican state had experienced the Young Turk era and its intellectual environment. The inspirational sources in forming the ideological framework of the Young Turk movement were mostly Western intellectual figures. For instance, Ziya Gokalp, to whom early the Republican state owed much of its nationalist idiom, was influenced by Emil Durkheim. Similarly, August Comte’s positivism was enthusiastically adopted first by the Young

2- Zurcher, J.Eric, Turkey: A Modern History, 1993, p.189

Turks, later by the Kemalist regime. The theoretical grounds of secularization reforms relied on the Comtean positivist doctrines. On the other hand, Gokalp as a student of Durkheim, provided most of the ideological framework of the nationalist ideals of the early Republican Turkey. While those ideologies formed the framework of the Kemalist regime, the canvas was definitely the modernization of Turkey. Although the terms modernization, civilization and Westernization were used interchangeably, the stress on modernization and being contemporary (*medenilesme, asrilesme*) was more emphasized. Although the West was the model for civilization, Kemalist regime was reluctant to use the word Westernization. One of the frequently used official phrases “To be Western in spite of the West” is telling in this respect. Although Turkey did not experience direct Western colonization, this ironical phrase was showing the Kemalist regime’s particular modernization agenda. It borrowed Western knowledge, technology, civilization etc. within an anti-colonial and anti-imperial nationalist spirit.

Economy and Culture

Since industrialization, in the Western sense, was not actually accomplished even decades after the proclamation of the Republic, Turkey’s economy mainly relied on agriculture. Apart from being devastated by eight years of continuous war, early Republican Turkey’s economy was affected by the 1929 depression, which prevented the export of agricultural products. Since industrialization was closer to an ideal than a reality in early Republican period, all the social and urban consequences of industrialization in the West, did not manifest themselves in 1930s’ Turkey. We have to note some

demographic facts on Turkey and Istanbul at this point. The total population of Turkey rose steadily from 13.6 million to 17.5 million between the years 1927 and 1939. According to 1927 census, 83.7 % of the whole population was living in the settlements with a population less than 10,000. On the other hand, Istanbul's population in 1927 was 691,000, almost 200,000 less than its 1885 population. In 1927, 72% of 65,000 manufacturing companies employed two or three workers. Thus, the majority of the industry consisted of small scale workshops. So class structure, in the manner of Western industrial society, did not exist in Turkey. The backbone of the economy was formed mainly by the farmers and secondly by a merchant class. While the former group formed most of the population of the rural Anatolian hinterland, merchants were living in the big cities, like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir or Adana. Besides these two classes, a small elite of bureaucrats, professionals and urban bourgeoisie formed the upper crust of the early Republican period. Despite the existence of those classes, Kemalist regime denied any antagonism between classes and melded them under the larger nationalist idiom. Kemal Ataturk's words were clear about the perception of class structure by the Kemalist regime.

“In my view our nation does not have classes with divergent interests which will be in a continual process of struggle. Existing classes need each other and are interdependent. Therefore, People's Party will secure the rights, the progress and the happiness of all classes”³

3-Ataturk'un Soylev ve Demecleri (Ataturk's speeches) Turk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1959, p.97-98 translated by Ilkay Sunar in The State and policy in the politics of Turkey's development, Ankara, 1974

In spite of this polemical blending of different class interests under a unified national ideal, the social pyramid of early Republican Turkey had different groups separated by blurred lines.

Within this social structure, cultural production was limited to a small group of elite class. The so called “Republican elite” was the real power behind the early Republican culture and politics. Their origins could be traced back to Young Turk era in the Ottoman Empire, even maybe further back to mid 19th century. Bernard Lewis’s comments on the nature of the elite class in Turkey are important:

“...Far more important than the ruling class-if indeed such a thing can be identified- was the ruling elite; the small, associated groups of men who, in conjunction with the sovereign authority itself, effectively controlled the day-to-day working of the apparatus of power. There were several of these administrative, religious, and military elite groups, defined not primarily by economic class, but by training, function, and the method of recruitment. Their formation, rivalries, and vicissitudes are vital to the understanding of the Turkish Revolution, for in a sense the Kemalist Republic was the culmination of a long process, whereby the Turkish governing elite transformed itself, the state, and finally the country.”⁴

In the last phase of this self-transformation, the state was governed by the above mentioned Republican elite and made continuous interventions on the cultural field. For instance, music as a modernizing agent, became one of the contested

4-Lewis, Bernard, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, London, 1961, p.485

fields in early Republican culture. In order to formulate a national music type, the Kemalist regime ardently supported Turkish folk music while denigrating the traditional Ottoman music. In this process, Western music was also enthusiastically but cautiously welcomed. Kemalist regime urged musicians to blend the Western and Turkish folk music to form the new music for the new nation. Architecture experienced particularly important treatment from the Kemalist regime as a modernizing agent. As well known, the new Republic put an enormous amount of effort to transform Ankara into a modern capital. Foreign architects who were fleeing from the German National Socialists' oppressive regime were invited to Turkey by the state. Most of the state buildings in Ankara were commissioned to these foreign architects from Germany and Austria. They were also appointed to major educational and state institutions as consultants and instructors. This situation caused a shortage of commissions for Turkish architects eventually stirring a discontent among them. Furthermore, they argued that a truly national architecture could only be produced, not by foreign but by Turkish architects.

The strong emphasis on 'national identity' makes the investigation of Modern Architecture in Turkey even more intriguing because by that time, Modern Architecture in the West was already on its way to establish more universalized and international codes by CIAM meetings. By the rise of National Socialists in Germany in mid 1930s, Turkish architects faced a complex situation. Nationalist state ideology forced them to disregard the ideological premises of the "International" Modern Movement. Yet, the formal aspects of Modern Movement was incorporated under the nationalist

disguise in the 1930s architectural culture of Turkey. Embracing the Modern Movement in architecture, yet cut off from major state commissions which went to foreign architects, residential architecture became the major domain for Turkish architects to operate in.

Method

This study will cover the modern residential examples built in Istanbul between the years 1930 and 1940. Although there are some studies pertaining to modern Turkish architecture, they either attempt to define a broad and generalized view of the architectural products, disregarding their complex social, political and ideological backgrounds or try to make sociological, cultural and political analysis by using architecture as a springboard rather than as a main concern. Metin Sozen's and Afife Batur's studies on modern Turkish architecture may fall into the first category. Both of them formulated modern architecture of the early Republican period by their formal aspects and treated it as an episode between First and Second National styles. Ustun Alsac's studies on the other hand, may fall into the second category. His emphasis on the political background of the early Republican period overshadows the actual architectural products in his studies. On the other hand, Inci Aslanoglu took the economical and political background of the 1930s' Turkey into account while analyzing the formal aspects of the modern Turkish architects. However, she overlooked the larger social context and her formal analyses were not tied strong enough to the political and economic background she introduced. Contrary to all these studies, Sibel Bozdogan's approach to modern Turkish architecture embraces the social, cultural, political

and ideological context extensively. Moreover, she studies this specific cultural period by giving emphasis to Turkey's particular role in a larger international context. Yet, even in her studies, architectural products demand more interest for close readings in order to express their various roles in the complex cultural composition that Bozdogan presents.⁵

Any kind of artistic product reflects the social context of its own period. However, sometimes we lose sight of the character and the complexity of the artistic products and instead, their cultural backgrounds became more important, or to put it differently, the reflection prevents us to see the mirror. Roland Barthes's book "Camera Lucida" is a critique of this attitude. Although the main concern of the book is about the pleasure that photographs provide, the method employed by Barthes is similar to my approach in this study: in the introduction of his book, Barthes explains why he felt necessary to write a book on photography with the following words:

"...The books which deal with it, much less numerous moreover than for any other art, are victims of this difficulty. Some are technical, in order to "see" the photographic signifier, they are obliged to focus at very close range. Others are historical or socio-

5-Sozen, Metin. *Cumhuriyet Donemi Turk Mimarligi 1923-1983*. Ankara, Is Bankasi Yayinlari, 1984. Alsac, Ustun. *Turkiye'deki Mimarlik Dusuncesinin Cumhuriyet Donemindeki Evrimi*. Trabzon: Karadeniz Teknik Universitesi, 1976. Batur, Afife in *Modern Turkish Architecture*. eds. Holod, Renata and Evin, Ahmet Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1984. Aslanoglu, Inci. *Erken Cumhuriyet Donemi Mimarligi 1923-1938*. Ankara: Orta Dogu Teknik Universitesi, 1980. Bozdogan, Sibel. "Living Modern: The Cubic House in Early Republican Culture" Paper for *History of Housing and Settlements in Anatolia*. Istanbul: UN Habitat II Conference, 1996 and "Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview" in Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba eds. *Rethinking the Project of Modernity in Turkey*, University of Washington Press, 1997

logical; in order to observe the total phenomenon of the Photograph, these are obliged to focus at a great distance. I realized with irritation that none discussed precisely the photographs which interest me, which give me pleasure and emotion.” ⁶

With this study, I intend to focus on only a fraction of the architectural products that belong to a short but intricate period. This close look at the selected few objects will hopefully open up new paradigms in the study of modern Turkish architecture.

Sources

The study of the early Republican architecture is complicated by several factors, the main one being the scarcity of research material. Apart from a single architectural journal, a few books on architecture and a few essays by architects, almost no published contemporary sources regarding the architecture of the period exist. What is more constraining is the rapid destruction of the buildings of the period, which are not covered by the current preservation laws. The existing ones have survived with major renovations, additions and drastic transformations that make it hard to reconfigure their original states. Since there are at least two generations between the 1930s and today and because of the insufficiency of municipal archives as well as of personal archives of most of the architects, it is almost impossible to find out who were the clients or even the architects of the buildings in some cases.⁷

6- Barthes, Roland, Camera Lucida, New York, 1981

Istanbul is selected as the study site of modern residential architecture of Turkey because most of the examples of this period are clustered in particular areas of Istanbul that will provide a representative set. Also, Istanbul was one of the two intellectual hubs of that period in Turkey; the other being Ankara. Despite the significance of Ankara as a newly established capital, Istanbul was the city where most of the Turkish architects practiced and published. Also most of the other intellectual figures of that period either resided in Istanbul or created a dense intellectual link reaching from Istanbul to Ankara.

Given this scarcity of research material, my study will be based on two main sources: the available published material and the photographic documentation of existing examples that I have undertaken in 1995 and 1996. The magazine *Arkitekt* is scanned between the years 1931 and 1940 and the buildings of this period will form the material of this study. *Arkitekt* was the first professional journal of the Turkish architects which started its publication in 1931 under the name *Mimar*, in 1935 it was renamed as *Arkitekt* because of the enforcement of the official move to cleanse the Turkish language from Arabic and Persian words. This title change helped *Arkitekt* to circulate easier in the international architectural context. Zeki Sayar noted that, by using almost a universal name, the journal was able to be exchanged with other international materials periodically. These international journals formed the main source for the international architectural news

7- There are only a few architects like Sedad Hakki Eldem who have left a considerable and organized archive, however most of the current archival materials are being preserved by the relatives of the architects in a disorganized condition. Even an archive of *Arkitekt*, the only architectural journal of the period, does not exist today.

section of the *Arkitekt* and they covered a large geographic area reaching from Japan to the United States.⁸

I will also refer to *Arkitekt* as a major source to grasp the intellectual discourse of the contemporary architectural culture of the period since it was essentially the only medium in which architects of the time exchanged ideas. Apart from *Arkitekt*, novels, family and women's journals and similar popular publications of the early Republican period were scanned to picture the general cultural history.

On the other hand, unpublished photographs of the buildings that I have documented, will be used to construct a visual archive of some surviving architectural examples located in two selected areas of Istanbul. The first area is the axis extending from Taksim to Sisli where the urban and architectural manifestations of the Westernization of the Istanbul elite has been most prominent historically. Long before the 1930s, Art Nouveau, Art Deco, Neoclassic or eclectic styled apartment buildings were built on this axis serving an elite, rich class of Istanbul. In the 1930s this area was still one of the most favored sites both for architects and for their wealthy clients. The second area, the Kadikoy-Bostanci axis, is on the south coast of the Anatolian side of Istanbul. Before the 1930s, this area was a summer resort for the Istanbul upper class families who built their mansions (*konaks*) within large gardens. After the improvement of transportation facilities, this area started to be filled with more small villas for middle and upper class clients.



Fig.1.1. Istanbul Map showing the areas that are covered in this study

8-Sayar, Zeki, from an interview published in *Arredemento-Dekorasyon*, March 1990, p.38

Structure

The focus of this study is a formal analysis of the residential architecture of the early Republican period. However, the social and theoretical background will be closely intertwined into this analysis. The first chapter will briefly outline the transformations of the household structure and domestic culture in early Republican Istanbul. Here issues on women, family and children will be discussed with regard to their implications on architectural culture. In the second chapter, the professional discourse of Turkish architects on residential architecture will be studied. The third chapter will present close formal readings of selected examples of modern residential architecture of the 1930s, focusing on some characteristic, recurrent features of these buildings.

By focusing on these recurrent features, I do not intend to constitute a catalogue of “stylistic features” of the modern architecture of 1930s’ Turkey, nor do I intend to locate the studied examples in a pre-determined and coherent period. My intention is to derive the rationale behind these recurrent features and observe, their implications on larger social and ideological grounds. The analysis of those recurrent features shows that Turkish architects relied heavily on the visual aspects of modern architecture, while deliberately neglecting its larger ideological and political framework. This selective process was part of a rapid construction of the visual context of the early Republican period. Rapidity became the keyword in the cultural context of 1930s’ Turkey, where traditionalist status quo had the potential threat to erode the modernization process, unless it was enforced quickly.

Within this turmoil, architects quickly charged some architectural elements with progressive meanings and used them frequently. The existence of such recurrent features may lead to a stylistic reading of a cultural period, as most of the studies of architectural history of the early Republican period did until now. In this study, I focus on the underlying intentions of these recurrent features without letting them constitute an architectural style. Even though Turkish architects intended to rapidly fabricate a “new” visual context, buildings of the 1930s were too multifarious to constitute a coherent stylistic period.⁹ So, by decomposing the buildings into their smaller recurring elements, I wanted to show that there are other layers behind the totality of the architectural image in the early Republican period.

9- For a visual and rough outline of the residential architecture built in Istanbul between the years 1931 and 1940, refer to the appendix of this study.

CHAPTER 1

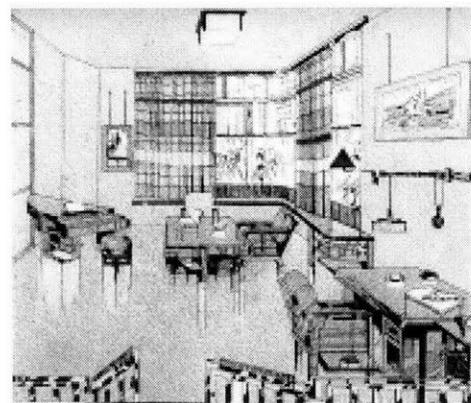
ISTANBUL HOUSEHOLDS ON THE EVE OF MODERNITY

On the entrance door of one of the apartments in the Taksim area, the fashionable residential and business district of Istanbul, there is a decorative representation of a musical instrument from the violin family and some musical notes, crafted meticulously by thin metal ribbons (Fig.2.1). One could immediately ponder the meaning of this curious feature on the entrance door of a residential building. While in this case we do not know the architect or his client, we know that Western music and musical instruments was an essential trope of Republican modernity and they were seen in many buildings of which we know their architects. For instance, in a fictional apartment design for contemporary 20th century life, architect Abdullah Ziya placed a piano in the living room (Fig.2.2). In a few other examples, pianos occupied an important place in the arrangement of the interiors.

Western music was considered to be one of the modernization symbols by the official propaganda of the state. The origins of using music as a Westernization device go back to 1826 in the Ottoman Empire, when the Janisseries military band (*Mehterhane*) was closed and Western music began to be favored by the imperial circles. Almost a century later, in 1925 early Republican reforms abolished all religious sects and dervish lodges within the secularization project, thus eliminating the primary sources of traditional music. As the secularization reforms were being enforced, the state was also imposing Western classical music upon the population. For instance, any kind of traditional Turkish music was



*Fig.2.1 Billur Apartment.
Talimhane, Taksim.*



*Fig.2.2 Abdullah Ziya, An apartment
interior for a fictitious client, 1930.
(Arkitekt 1931, p.17)*

banned on private radios for a period of fifteen months between the years 1934 and 1935.¹ The state-organized Republic balls were one of the stages for that kind of propaganda which were also used as scenes in several of the 1930s novels. The press was also using Western style music and dance constantly as one of the images of modernization. (Fig.2.3) The recurrent emphasis that architects placed on wide dancing terraces in the modern houses of the 1930s, can only be meaningful in this larger cultural context of the Republican modernization.²

So, we can suggest that the reason for representing a viola on the entrance door signifies that the building is a “modern” apartment for “modern” residents. However, this speculation leads us to other questions: was it the only with the proclamation of the Republic that Western music was introduced into Turkey? Were there other kinds of representations of “modernization” in the domestic culture of Turkey? Had the domestic culture really been transformed that radically by the modernization reforms?

Another representation of music in the Turkish culture will be a good starting point to answer these questions. This picture named as “*Beethoven in the Palace*” by Abdulmecid Efendi, represents a gathering in a palace or a large mansion in 1910s’ Istanbul (Fig. 2.4). As Ugur Tanyeli also argues about this picture, it was not uncommon for the upper classes of Istanbul to listen and play Western music in their house-



Fig.2.3 Cover of *Yedigun* magazine (X-249, 1938)



Fig. 2.4 “*Beethoven in the Palace*”, Abdulmecid Efendi, 1910

1- Ozbek, Meral, “Arabesk Culture” in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba, 1997 Washington University Press

2- Behcet Unsal’s “Kubik Yapi ve konfor” (*Arkitekt*, 1939, p.61) and an article in *Yedigun*, (XI-269, 1938,10) are two of the articles among many other texts where wide dance terraces were mentioned.

holds. In most of the novels of the period written before the proclamation of the Republic, piano or viola lessons were leitmotifs to represent life patterns of the characters who were exposed to Western education, culture and tastes. Tanyeli argues in his essay “*Westernization-modernization in the Ottoman Wohnkultur: The evolution of new symbols*”, that one can even go back to 15th century Tulip period to trace the origins of Westernization symbols in Ottoman history.³ Music was not the only symbol for representing changing life styles. Alongside the introduction of Western music into late 19th century Ottoman upper class life, we also observe a continuous introduction of European furniture, eating and domestic habits, and social demeanors.

At this point, we have to introduce the differentiation between Westernization and modernization. As Marshal Berman also argues in his book “*All that is solid melts into air*”, the degree of consciousness turns the social or personal transformations into modernization processes.⁴ In the case of societies where social transformation became the main concern of the ruling authorities, modernization was undertaken as a state project, as in the case of Republican Turkey. State interventions create social consciousness about the transformations by means of reforms and mark the beginnings of modernization projects and periods. So, although similar patterns of transformations can be observed before and after the proclamation of the Republic, we should be aware of the differences between Westernization as a cultural influence and modernization as an official program. Since

3- Tanyeli, Ugur, “*Westernization-modernization in the Ottoman Wohnkultur: The evolution of new symbols*” in Housing and Settlement in Anatolia: A Historical Perspective, Istanbul, 1996

4-Berman, Marshall. All that is solid melts into air, Verso, 1983

modernization processes have the state interventions behind them, they usually overlap with politically significant dates, as in the case of first the *Tanzimat* (reordering) reforms of 1839, which introduced new laws regulating social institutions and individual rights, or later the proclamation of the Republic in 1923.

Changes in domesticity represent another layer in the modernization of societies; a layer that on the one hand is affected by political and ideological movements and on the other hand, is detached from those kinds of ruptures, preserving its gradual piece-meal change. The case of Turkish domestic life and its history is a good example of this gradual transformation within a politically fluctuating environment. For this reason, we have to keep in mind the subtle but critical difference between the terms transformation and transition. The first implies a more instantaneous, radical change such as a rupture caused by state interventions, political revolutions etc., whereas transition implies a more natural and gradual change and hence a continuity.

Until the emergence of recent studies on Turkish domesticity, Turkish households had remained an area which was thought to be free of controversy as claimed by the official propaganda of the Republican state. After all, it was advertised that women and the Turkish family had been liberated and civilized in the Early Republican period as a result of the modernization reforms. However, recent studies on women and family issues reveal the actual continuities in the history of Turkish domestic culture, extending the change to earlier periods, at least in the case of Istanbul's elite.

The main thread in most of those studies suggest a continuous and gradual transition of households since late 18th and early 19th centuries, as opposed to sharp breaks marked with politically significant dates, such as the proclamation of the *Tanzimat* or the Republic. I believe it is more convenient to divide the general subject of domesticity into several issues, concerning family patterns, women, men, and children.

While many recent studies address the issues of women and family in the early Republican period, issues of masculinity and children still demand more interest. Deniz Kandiyoti, in her essay "*Gendering the Modern*", draws our attention to a lack of studies on the formation of modern masculine identity in the early Republican period.⁵ According to her, the place of women in society had always been believed to be more convenient as a symbol of modernization than that of the masculine identity. She states that, although the state regulations of the dress code (or "hat reform" as officially called)⁶ was a modernization reform aimed towards men rather than women, and there was only an unofficial discouragement of the women's veil, the reforms regarding the women have always drawn more attention in the social studies of early Republican Turkey. The proclamation of a civil code, the formation of women's schools or the voting rights given to women had been used repetitively in support of official propaganda, that the progressiveness of Republi-

5- Kandiyoti, Deniz, "Gendering the Modern" in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba, 1997, University of Washington Press

6- On 25th of November, 1925, Hat Revolution, or the dressing code was accepted as a law in the National Assembly. By this law, the religious outfits and the traditional hat of men were banned from the daily life. However, there were no regulations concerning the women's outfits, including the veil and the scarves, which were nonetheless discouraged strongly by the official Republican ideology.

can reforms rescued women from traditional slavery. Hence these reforms and their consequences constitute the basis of a prolific womens studies.

On the other hand, very few studies focus on the early official ideology towards children in the early Republican Turkey. From the few articles that were published in women's and family journals, we can get a sense of the contemporary ideas on child bearing and rearing in the 1930s. For instance, in *Muhit*, Ahmet Cevat claimed that "Turkish mothers" were far behind from their European counterparts in terms of child rearing. He claimed that only educating the women could lead to a healthy population.⁷ The main theme of this and similar articles, was the demand for 'healthy' children for the new nation. The psychological training of the children was almost ignored while robustness, as an hygienic issue, was almost seen as the single essential qualification that a child should have.⁸

Since issues of masculinity and children regarding the early Republican period still need to be studied extensively, I will only focus on the women and family issues within the scope of this thesis.

7- Cevat, Ahmet "Cocuk Meselesi" (Child problem) in *Muhit*, May 1931, n.31, p.1-4

8- One of the important child magazines of the 1930's was entitled as "Gurbuz Turk Cocugu" (Robust Turkish Child)

Family patterns

One of the misleading images about women and families of the Kemalist era was the constructed and idealized family patterns generated by the novels, the press, the official propaganda and the intelligentsia of the period. This kind of emblematic usage of family was more visible in the Istanbul context, the cultural center that provided the environment for these kind of idealizations to be generated. Until recent studies on the domesticity in Istanbul, the common impression was that most households of pre-Republican Istanbul had a large family with at least three generations living all together in a large mansion, with several servants, and an income of more than the average. This kind of spectacular household patterns were used extensively by Turkish novelists, which provided them the suitable settings to construct intricate personal relationships for their audiences. Those family patterns were cited by the architects of the 1930s, to condemn the traditional way of living and to praise the new “modern” life in “modern” houses and apartments. In a fictitious design for an ideal apartment, architect Abdullah Ziya, claimed in 1931 that apartments provide the suitable environment for a contemporary 20th century life, whereas the mansion life of large families belonged to a bygone era.⁹ The realities in fact, were far different than what the novels, the press and some architects had claimed. The extensive study on Istanbul households by Cem Bahar and Alan Duben, reveals the actual family patterns of the Istanbul between 1880-1940. It will be impossible to portray all of their arguments and

9- Abdullah, Ziya “Binanın İcinde Mimar”, in *Arkitekt*, 1931, p.14

evidences within this study, but a few brief comments can be derived.¹⁰ Basing their arguments on demographic statistics, Duben and Bahar claim that, contrary to commonly accepted belief, the majority of Istanbul households consisted of nuclear families. By analyzing the 1907 Istanbul census, Duben and Bahar found that 46 per cent of the all households in Istanbul were formed by nuclear families with an average of 3.6 members per family. Also, those nuclear families did not have servants or relatives living in the same household. In 1907, only eight per cent of the Istanbul households could afford to have servants registered as residents. Another striking figure is the amount of single person households. 21 per cent of the Istanbul households were accommodating individuals living alone and a considerable amount of them were women. For instance, in 1907, 14 percent of all Istanbul households were female headed and 32 percent of those female household heads lived alone. While the social status of those single living women were not mentioned in the censuses, Bahar and Duben argued that, those women must have been widows and the mothers of married couples or unmarried women living together. Similar striking figures were also found for the age of marriage, divorces, fertility rates and abortions. Contrary to common assumptions, Istanbul households had much lower fertility rates as well as higher marriage age, divorce cases and abortions when compared to families living outside Istanbul. In short, Istanbul families displayed distinct domestic patterns which did not fit the stereotypical Ottoman life as portrayed by official Republican accounts.

10-Duben , Alan and Bahar, Cem, *Istanbul Households*, Cambridge University Press, 1991

At this point, an interesting account pertaining to Istanbul households can be introduced. As it was also mentioned in Bahar and Duben's study, diaries of an Istanbul townsman written between 1901 and 1909, gave valuable evidence regarding the everyday life of an Istanbul household. Said Bey, the owner of the diaries, was a member of the Superior Health Council at Istanbul and was at the same time a palace translator with his perfect French. With those meticulously written diaries, we could learn how he spent his days, how much his daily expenses were, where and when his family went for shopping or entertainment, who lived in the house apart from the family members and so on. Although these diaries are the sole source, that had been studied until now, it is highly possible that Said Bey was one of the typical idle Istanbul officials, which was satirized by the novels and the press of the time. From his diaries, we learn that he melded Western and traditional Turkish life styles in everyday practice, ranging from eating habits to entertainment.¹¹

As Said Bey's diaries also prove, long before the Republican reforms, Istanbul families started to experience a democratization between family members, in contrast to the ever used picture of the patriarchal family pattern. Although gender-based spatial divisions within the house (*harem-selamlık*) survived at the turn of the century, strict gender segregation suggested by these spatial divisions was not followed by the family members. Said Bey had accounts about the days he spent a few hours with his wife's female friends in the *harem*. His wife also frequently spent nights with her husband and both of them attended social entertain-

11- Paul Dumont, "The Everyday Life of An Istanbul Townsman at the beginning of the Twentieth Century", *The Modern Middle East*, eds, A.Hourani et al., Berkeley, 1993, pp.271-287

ments. So the picture of gender-based social and spatial segregation, which was also fueled by accounts generated in the West, had actually started to disappear since the late 19th century.

As stated earlier, Westernization was also not a new experience for Istanbul families and European manners, furniture or symbols were gradually penetrating into Istanbul households at least since the end of the 19th century. Even a short glance at some of the illustrated papers and periodicals published at the turn of the century and during the first years of the early Republican period, shows us interesting continuities. For this study, a random selection was made among the illustrated family and women's journals of the period including *Resimli Kitap*, *Karagoz Salnamesi*, *Muhit* and *Aylik Mecmua* covering a period roughly between the years 1908 and 1931. (Figs.2.5, 2.6) The illustrated Western social etiquette articles, the guides showing how to make a perfect tie or how and where to wear different kinds of hats (almost two decades before the "hat reform"), different dancing techniques, musical notations, sitting arrangements, fashion news etc., were all forming the meat of most of these periodicals that elite Istanbul families had read.¹²

While such publications had been promoting Western culture for several decades before the establishment of the Republic, the resistance to that process was by no means absent.

12- One of the many examples of that kind of magazines was *Resimli Kitap* which was started to be published in Istanbul in 1908. Another one was the *Karagoz Salnamesi* where Karagoz and Hacivat, two main characters of traditional shadow play, were illustrated while interacting with various Westernization symbols like women, fashion, automobiles, airplanes, European decorum etc. *Karagoz Salnamesi*, Istanbul 1910-1913



Fig.2.5 Cover of 1911 *Karagoz Salnamesi*



Fig.2.6 An article on art by Selim Sirri [Tarcan], published in *Muhit*, 1928

Certain parts of the urban fabric and the members of certain classes were experiencing Westernization in varying degrees, making generational and socio-geographical demarcations more apparent. The conflicts regarding life styles were not only confined to the generational levels in families, but also carried into the urban life which embraced a multitude of social and ethnic classes residing in particular neighborhoods. Traditionally, Istanbul neighborhoods were not separated by class distinctions. Ethnicity defined neighborhoods more than class distinctions. Nonetheless, the neighborhoods inside the historical peninsula accommodated more traditional or conventional households, whereas the Pera region across the Golden Horn had always been closer to Western life: firstly because of its Greek and Levanten non-Muslim population, and secondly because of its economic status. The cosmopolitan character of the Pera region even created interesting semantic shifts in colloquial language. The word “Istanbul” had been associated exclusively with the Pera region by the some residents of the historical peninsula and the Bosphorus villages, despite the fact that geographical limits of Istanbul covered all of them.¹³ This colloquial usage of the word ‘Istanbul’ also reflects the central character of the Pera region in the urban context, although a downtown in the Western sense had never existed in Istanbul.

13- The usage of Istanbul in the colloquial language has numerous variations. The residents of the Kadikoy area used to call the historical peninsula and the Pera region as Istanbul. This kind of distancing the Kadikoy from other parts of Istanbul can even be heard today. On the other hand, architect Behcet Unsal in one of his articles called the historical peninsula as Istanbul while pointing out the different urban and social characteristics of Pera region and the historical peninsula. He suggested a reconciliation between the “two sisters” of the city by addressing the official authorities to give more importance to historical peninsula in terms of locating public buildings in the city. **Unsal, Behcet**, “Mimarlik Dusunceleri” (Thoughts of Architecture” in *Arkitekt*, 1940, p.134

While the democratization of Istanbul families was developing since the turn of the century, there were also conflicts which were becoming more abundant. Critiques of the Westernization were spreading in the press and in the literature. Novels of the period were dramatizing the consequences of this Westernization process and democratization of families. Nuket Esen's study, "*The Family Institution in the Turkish Novel*", examines the recurrent themes of personal relationships and family patterns in the novels written between 1870-1970.¹⁴ We should remember, at the outset that, most of the family types presented in these novels actually reflected a small part of the overall social structure of Istanbul. Furthermore, they hardly employed the rural Anatolian family patterns. Thus, we must be careful not to use novels as exact reflections of the social structure of the late Ottoman and Turkish society. Still, the novelists and their subjects roughly belonged to the same class with the architects and the clients of the 1930s, making the novels an important source in the analysis of the architectural culture of the early Republican period.

One of the frequently employed themes in those novels was the "family crisis" or the decadent life styles of upper class people who were subject to Westernization. As Duben and Bahar suggest, the writers of those novels had a family backgrounds similar to their characters' and thus generalized their own experiences by projecting them over a larger social context.¹⁵ Yet, the middle and lower class families were less exposed to Western manners and life-styles. In reality, elite

14- Esen, Nuket, *Türk Romanında Aile Kurumu, 1870-1970* (The Family Institution in the Turkish Novel, 1870-1970), Bogazici University Press, 1990

15- Duben, Alan and Bahar, Cem, *Istanbul Households*, p. 197

classes, which were formed by bourgeois families of bureaucrats or merchants, were aspired models furthering Westernization of middle and lower class families. Families which did not belong to upper classes, were not directly faced with Western life-styles but they experienced a mediated process of Westernization. Their models were the higher class Istanbul households and the local press. The novels frequently portrayed the clash between the over-Westernized bourgeoisie and the lower class. The two terms, *Alafranga* (related to French or European in a larger sense) and *Alaturka* (related to Turkish) were repetitively used to picture this conflict between classes that maintained their traditional manners and the ones that adopted Western lifestyles.

The urban and architectural settings in those novels also reflected the social and generational demarcations caused by the Westernization of private lives. For instance, the novel "*Fatih-Harbiye*" by Peyami Safa, portrays a young woman who lives with her conventional family in Fatih.¹⁶ She falls in love with a young man of a wealthy, bourgeois family who lives in Harbiye, near Pera. The tramway working between Fatih and Harbiye that gives its name to the novel was used as a metaphor for the tradition-modern conflict. Fatih, which is known to be a more traditional neighborhood with small wooden houses, narrow winding streets and unhealthy conditions, and Harbiye with its newly emerging modern apartments, vivid night life and well maintained infrastructure, were used as the diametrically opposite environments of this novel.

16- Safa, Peyami, *Fatih-Harbiye*, 1931

Similarly, Halide Edip Adivar, in her novel “Sonsuz Panayir” (Endless Feast) uses neighborhoods to reflect the social conditions of the characters.¹⁷ In this novel, three different kinds of families are pictured: The more conventional family which clings to traditional manners resides in Fatih, in the historic quarter of Istanbul, whereas the other two families live in Pera, across the Golden Horn. One of those two families is a well educated, aristocratic family and the other is a nouveau-rich family with lower moral values and a fortune exploiting the conditions of war. Again, Fatih neighborhood, despite the fact that the novel was written in 1946, represents the conventional life-style of the households of the historical peninsula, whereas Pera is once again the center of European culture, trade, money, education, entertainment and “decadence”-in short the place where all the causes and consequences of modern life unfold.

The analogies made between the family patterns or social relations and the urban or architectural patterns are interesting. As quoted in Duben and Bahar, author Refik Halid argues that the flirtation of young couples before they got married became much easier in 1870. For him, the reorganization of the streets along grid patterns (after large fires destroyed the old urban fabric of Istanbul), was symbolically parallel with the social changes that were taking place in Ottoman society.¹⁸

As already argued, the change in family life was more gradual and closer to be transitions rather than transforma-

17- Adivar, Halide Edip, *Sonsuz Panayir*, 1946

18- Halid, Refik, *Uc Nesil, Uc Hayat* (Three generations, Three lives) , Istanbul 1943

tions. It must also be stated that any broad generalization of Istanbul family patterns will disguise the complex layering of the social conditions in the city. The phrase “Istanbul households” includes different kinds of families with varying degrees of tendencies or resistance to Westernization and modernization. These two opposite poles still coexist even several decades after the Republican reforms. Hence, it would not be correct to talk about on a coherent and typical Republican family pattern for the same reasons that prevent us to formulate a coherent pre-Republican Istanbul domestic culture. Yet, we can trace the rough contours of a particular family type that constituted most of the clients of the Early Republican architects in Istanbul.

The majority of the clients of the Turkish architects belonged to the upper or upper-middle class. These would be doctors and engineers, who experienced the advantages of a political climate in which they were highly valued, due to the state’s encouragement of positivism and pragmatic sciences. Apart from practical professions like these, the other two main client types of modern buildings were merchants and bureaucrats. In the early Republican economy industrialization was lacking, and agriculture and trade played the most important roles in the economy. The introduction of Western goods and raw materials into Turkey, created a merchant class especially in harbor cities like Izmir and Istanbul. Another supporting factor for this development was the gradual withdrawal of non-Muslim minorities (Greeks and Armenians in particular) from the trade environment.

Besides the merchant class which controlled the economy of the Early Republican period, there existed a substantial class of bureaucrats. The establishment of a new state naturally required a great number of bureaucrats and civil servants, though most of them had to live in Ankara, the new capital. Another factor reinforcing the rise and expansion of this class was the newly established institutions, like girls' schools, people's houses ¹⁹, hospitals and village institutes, all of which were founded and controlled by the state. This does not mean that the bureaucratic class was created exclusively by the Republican reforms of the 1930s. In the last decades of the Ottoman empire, the upper crust of the society was also made up of bureaucrats: trade was in the hands of non-muslim minorities and there was a handful of professionals such as engineers and doctors who formed a distinct group at that time. The absence of large-scale industrialization prevented the emergence of a large working class in early Republican Turkey.

Woman: the Central Figure in Modernization

As stated earlier, women had always been considered as appropriate modernization symbols. In the Turkish case, it was men more than women who supported the idea that a new "modern" and civilized nation had to solve its "women problem." So what did the "women problem" mean in the early years of the Republic? The state was proud of the modernization reforms that targeted directly the women. For

19- People's houses were public buildings that were operated by the state officials. Social and cultural events like theater plays, meetings, skill workshops, etc. were organized in these buildings to disseminate the official Kemalist regime. In a way, they resembled the community houses of the National Socialists period of Germany

instance, the voting rights given to women, the introduction of a civil code that arranged the marriage, divorce and heritage laws, and the establishment of women's educational institutions were considered to be reforms that changed the status of women dramatically.

Contrary to the common assumptions, women in the Ottoman empire had started to experience varying degrees of liberation since the 1850s. For instance, the establishment of girls' schools in 1858 made it possible for women to become teachers, the first officially acknowledged profession for women. After 1888, journals and newspapers for women started to be published. During the war years, women took advantage of the absence of sufficient manpower and worked in numerous jobs usually designated as men's work. In 1917, a new family law (*Hukuk-i Aile Kararnamesi*) assigned state officials rather than the religious clergy, to carry out divorces and marriage events. Even the progressive nature of technology began to be associated with women. (Fig.2.7)

The years during and after World War One, witnessed the debates on egalitarianism. The new ideological current of 'nationalism' became the defender of gender equality. Ziya Gokalp, one of the most influential nationalist ideologists of the time, suggested the establishment of equal rights between husbands and wives concerning marriage, divorce and heritage issues. However, Gokalp's main concern was not the woman as an individual but the family as an institution. He saw family as the essential component of a strong and healthy nation. The reason he found for the 'decadence' of Turkish families was uneducated housewives. So he defended the education of women for the sake of the nation and

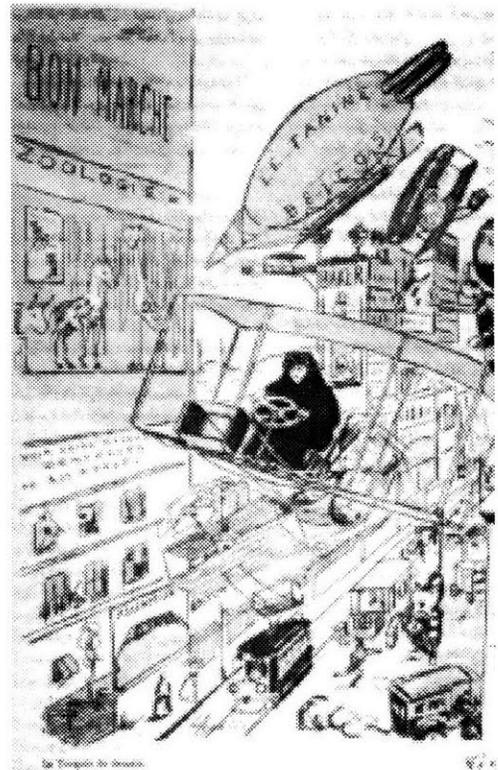


Fig.2.7 "Turkey of the Future" from *Kalem* magazine, December 1908. (Reproduced in "The Project of Modernity and Women in Turkey" by Yesim Arat, one of the articles in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed. Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba, Washington University Press, 1997)

the family as a sacred institution. In order to support his nationalistic ideas, Gokalp gave examples from the old Turkish tribes of central Asia, claiming that women were equal to men in those eras. According to him, the degradation of this equality was caused by the Arab and Muslim cultural contamination, an idea which was accepted in almost every circle at that time. The theme of ‘equality of rights’ was used extensively even in the official publications of the Republican state. For instance, a publication of the Ministry of Interior Affairs in 1937, begins by paraphrasing Ziya Gokalp’s ideas.²⁰ While praising the existence of this kind of men-women equality in the pre-Islamic period, Republican propaganda skipped the transitory phase in the Ottoman empire where women were already experiencing some kinds of emancipation at the turn of the century. (Fig.2.8)

The Kemalist Woman

In the 55 novels studied by Esen, 23 of them, included the over-Westernization and the consequences of this as central themes. Interestingly, women and girls were also the central figures who were blamed for being easily affected by Western influences and thus leading the families into decadence. However, we have to note that novels which criticized the excesses of Westernization in domestic patterns, did not directly blame the modernization reforms of the Kemalist regime. Most of the authors were ardent supporters of the Kemalist reforms themselves. A number of authors, especially women writers, tried to defend the emancipation of women and the democratization of family relationships in their novels.

20- Ministry of Interior Affairs, The Turkish Women in History, State Printing Press, Ankara, 1937



Fig. 2.8. A page from *Karagoz Salnamesi* showing the recent women’s fashion, 1910

As Nilufer Gole also argues, women were among the main beneficiaries of the Kemalist reforms. However, official ideology tried to differentiate the elite women living in Istanbul from the women who had been suppressed by the Islamic regulations. Thus, a new model of women, derived from the Anatolian rural environment, was promoted by the state propaganda. In contrast to over-Westernized, cosmopolitan Ottoman (or Istanbul) women, the Kemalist regime promoted the “noble, self-sacrificing, godly Anatolian women who plough, cultivate the land, fell firewood in the forest, barter in the marketplace and run the family; and above all it is still they who carry the ammunition to the front on their shoulders, with their ox-carts, with their children, regardless of rain, winter and hot days”.²¹ As Gole also claims, this idealized type of “Anatolian woman” would save the Republican reforms from the dangers of ‘degeneration’ and in return, the Kemalist regime would save them from the oppressive fanaticism of Islam. Along the encouragement of Western manners and dressing codes, European cuisine and eating habits, European furniture or classical music as symbols of “civilization”, women were used as official symbols of modernization. However, as Gole also states, it was primarily a project to increase “the visibility of women in the urban arena.” Women were encouraged to work outside their homes, to attend schools, to participate in social events and to take the same responsibilities in professional jobs as men. During the early Republican years, women benefited from their new role. Since they were used as modernization symbols by the state, they had many more

21-Gole, Nilufer, The Forbidden Modern, University of Michigan Press, 1996, p.64

advantages than their mothers or grandmothers had had.

At the same time, the single party Kemalist regime was also reluctant to leave the women's emancipation out of control. For instance, the activities of several women's organizations were limited, and *Türk Kadınlar Birliği* (Turkish Women's Union) which founded in 1924 as a political party, was disbanded in 1935.²²

Kemalist regime also promoted women as mothers, as Yesim Arat argues in her article "Turkish Women and the Republican Reconstruction of Tradition."²³ Despite the emancipating reforms, Kemalist ideology also defined the new Turkish women by emphasizing their traditionally acclaimed roles of reproduction and child care. This conflicting double message promotion of the "Republican women" consequently allowed women to legitimize their varying degrees of emancipation in the society. For instance, elite urban women, picking up on the implications of the Kemalist ideology on being more social, felt themselves freer to be more "visible in the urban arena" and largely disappeared from the households. Thus, elite urban women, left the household tasks to servants and probably their children to nannies, which also explains the existence of maid's room as an almost essential feature in most of the built residential examples of the 1930s.

The continuous importing of Western manners, fashion and ideas into the elite households had been criticized by some of the intellectuals in the early Republican period as well. For

22-Zurcher, J. Eric *Turkey: A Modern History*, 1993, pp.188

23- Arat, Yesim, "Turkish Women and the Republican Reconstruction of Tradition", in *Reconstruction of Gender in the Middle East*, ed.Fatma Muge Gocek and Shiva Balaghi, Columbia University Press, 1994

instance, Efzayis Suat, in her book “*Turk kadini , Muspet - Menfi*” (Turkish woman, Positive-Negative) glorified the qualities of Turkish women that the Kemalist ideology promoted but simultaneously blamed Turkish women for not understanding the regime, and for acting like coquettish, uneducated women. Although she talked about a generalized type of ‘Turkish woman’, it is apparent that she criticized the urban and mainly elite Istanbul woman, who was interested in fashion, shopping, parties and games more than anything else.²⁴

Since motherhood was essentially associated with the “Kemalist woman”, households became one of the main domains that the Kemalist regime was directly concerned with. In the 1940-41 academic year there were 16,500 women attending the state schools that were exclusive to women. By 1940, there were 35 girls’ institutes in 32 cities, and 65 evening vocational schools in 59 cities. (Fig.2.9) In the latter, Taylorism, home economics, efficiency methods and hygiene formed a considerable part of the courses.

Other courses include child rearing, cooking, sewing and developing personal skills in some kinds of crafts that would allow women to earn some money by working at home. Muhittin Dogan, in one of the articles in *Muhit*, wrote about his visit to Ismet Pasa Girls’ Institute in Ankara, one of the largest girls’ institutes of the 1930s. He observed that most of the courses like cooking, sewing, hat making, pastry or laundry had foreign experts. He also noted the abundance of

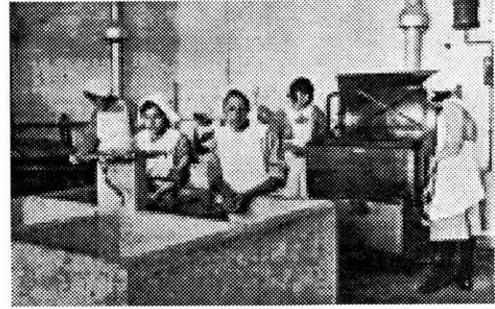


Fig.2.9 Ismet Pasa Girls’ Institute, Ankara, designed by Ernst Egli, 1930

24- Suat, Efzayis, *Turk Kadini, Muspet - Menfi*, (Turkish Woman, Positive-Negative), Milliyet Matbaasi, 1932

technological tools used in the courses. However, the ending remarks of his essay revealed the contradictory character of the Kemalist ideology on women and family.

*“This institute, managed by valuable hands, is a perfect girls’ school. Expression of ideas result in handiwork in this institute which works like a machine... I observed that, extreme attention on creating national reverence and consciousness, ideas on economy and moral specifications was paid in this school. I believed that this institute perfectly prepares daughters for family nests saving them from dying at the tables in the offices.”*²⁵ (Figs.2.10-2.11)



Figs.2.10-2.11. Laundry and Cooking lessons in Ismet Pasa Girls’ Institute

As Sibel Bozdogan also observes, the official nationalist discourse of domesticity of the early Republican period idealized women as an educated, benevolent companion wife and a mother, who can rear her children in hygienic houses.²⁶ As quoted from several women’s and family magazines, the idealized house should be beautiful, comfortable, practical and simple, making a warm refuge for the husband coming from work. He could have his dinner with his elegant wife and beautiful children on the terrace of his modern house. In many of those popular magazines for women and families, there were illustrations of “modern” interior designs, how to arrange furniture in European manners and even “modern” house projects. (Fig.2.12) It is also interesting to observe how official ideology, as well as the press, used scientific

25- Dogan, Muhittin, “Modern Mekteplerimizden Ismet pasa Kiz Enstitüsü” (One of our modern schools: Ismet Pasa Girls’ Institute), Muhit, 20 January, 1932 (my translation)

26-Bozdogan, Sibel, “Living Modern: The Cubic House in Early Republican Culture” in Housing and Settlement in Anatolia:A historical perspective, Istanbul, 1996

arguments to support their ideas on domesticity. So, even in women's magazines, efficiency, hygiene, functionality were all frequently used terms in the descriptions of "modern households."

Those popular magazines are helpful to understand the framework of the domestic culture of the Early Republican period, though we must bear in mind that their audience were elite upper and upper-middle class families and women who did not represent Turkey as a whole. (Fig.2.13) However, upper classes were receiving similar publications long before the proclamation of the Republic. The similarity between the domestic cultures of different periods, raises the questions about the modernization reforms of the Republic. What was distinctive about the modernization reforms that turned social transitions into transformations?

As discussed earlier, Westernization in the late Ottoman domestic culture had been both criticized and advocated in varying degrees by numerous circles. Novels, press, politics, social groups and the intelligentsia were either enthusiastically accepting or severely condemning the Westernization and its consequences; or they were cautiously and selectively incorporating Westernization into their daily lives. Hence, Westernization of private lives was an ongoing process before the Republican reforms.

By the initiation of these modernization reforms, the social transformations which were already occurring without any radical state interventions, were legitimized as official programs. The codification of the social changes as official programs, made the existing transitions in the society more



Fig.2.12 Apage from family magazine Muhit, February 1929. The headline reads "What can we learn from the foreigners about the furnishing of our rooms?"

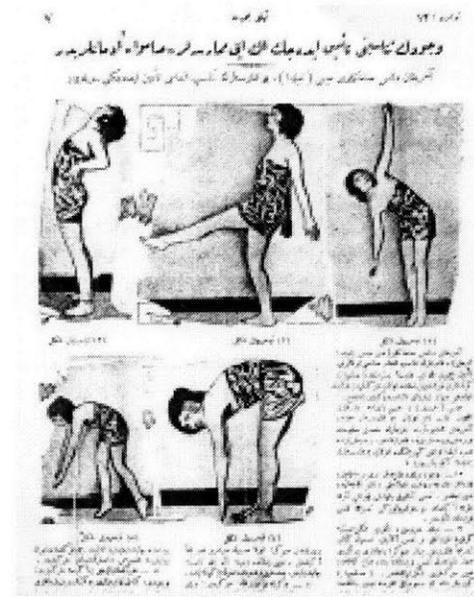


Fig.2.13 A page from the Magazine Aylik Mecmua, 1926

palpable. Since the Republican regime was the sole ideology of the 1930's Turkey that was powerful enough to suppress any kind of negative criticism, condemnations of Westernization was limited and suppressed by the official reforms. This increase in the materiality of the social changes consequently enhanced social awareness, an indispensable factor that turns social transformations into modernization projects. But Kemalist regime's ambiguous and contradictory attitude on women made households the contested social terrain, which was eventually transferred to the architectural culture of the early Republican period. Parallel to the complex social transformations, architectural culture experienced contradictory developments in the early Republican period.

CHAPTER 2

PROFESSIONAL DISCOURSE AND DEBATES ON THE MODERN HOUSE

In 1940 architect Behcet Unsal claimed,

*“Today’s architecture relies on democracy, not aristocracy. Today architecture’s main concern is the worker, the farmer and the public who used to live in unhealthy and unscientific conditions. Its main aim is to form the residential architecture (mesken mimarisi) to solve the problems of those people. We have to take the residential architecture term in its broader sense: it is the domestic house, exhibition house, work house, court house or the post office...All of them respond to the needs of modern life. This is the architecture of the people.”*¹

With the introduction of modern architecture in Turkey, the discourse of the “house” became the keystone of architectural culture. Often called ‘*mesken mimarisi*’ (architecture of the ‘house’), residential architecture was presented as the essence of modern architecture. The utopian idealism of modern architecture in the West had also viewed the residential architecture as a critical field and this vision was carried to the architectural culture of Turkey. However, the emphasis given to “residential architecture” was intensified, due to the existing revolutionary political environment of the early Republic. Modern Turkish architects were eager to contribute to the transformation of the society by means of architectural products. One of the main concerns of Turkish architects was that large scale state commissions were usually given to

1-Unsal, Behcet “Mimarlik hakkında dusunceler” (Thoughts on Architecture), *Arkitekt* 1940, p.222 (my translation)

foreign architects who were invited from Europe after the National Socialists expelled them from Germany and Austria. While this created a shortage of commissions for the recently graduated young Turkish architects, it also intensified the nationalistic debates in architectural culture. In the absence of major public commissions, residential architecture remained the primary domain of young Turkish architects.²

When we browse the issues of *Arkitekt* published between the years 1931 and 1940, we realize that the few theoretical texts produced at the time were generally limited to a number of specific themes. From those texts we can grasp what ‘modern architecture’ meant for Turkish architects, how they incorporated it into the architectural culture of Turkey, what kinds of manipulations were applied to the Western discourses and what concerns were unique to Turkish architecture. Yet, in order to analyze the discourse of the “house” in the modern architectural culture of Turkey, we have to look at the pre-Republican period’s residential architecture briefly.

Houses of Pre-Republican Istanbul

Although the Westernization tendencies started around the mid -18th century in the Ottoman empire, it was only the 19th century that new forms of residential architecture appeared on the scene. Atilla Yucel, with his essay “Typol-

²-In addition to a few public buildings commissioned after state competitions, ephemeral architecture was another small domain where Turkish architects operated. For a study on the ephemeral modern architecture in early Republican Turkey refer to **Yurekli, Zeynep, Ephemeral Architecture in Modernizing Revolutions and the case of Turkey in the 1930's**, unpublished master’s thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 1995

ogy of Urban Housing in 19th Century Istanbul” analyses the emergence of new domestic architectural forms.³

Yucel argues that the migration from all over the Ottoman empire to Istanbul, urban and social transformations which were initiated by Westernization tendencies and urban regulations for the areas which were devastated by large scale fires created the ground for new types of houses to be built. The transformation of houses did not start from the big mansions (*konak*). New types were first seen in small scale houses. One of the most accepted forms was the row house type. (Fig.3.1) Since the municipalities were proclaiming new regulations for the fire areas, plan layouts had to follow those regulations. So, adjacent row houses with two or three stories proliferated in the areas where those regulations were initiated. Those examples were usually practical, simple responses to site, legal and constructional constraints. (Fig.3.2)

As Yucel also quoted, Mustafa Resid Pasa, one of the most prominent figures of the *Tanzimat* period, was advocating and preferring the English row houses instead of multi-story French apartments. He claimed that English houses would be much more suitable for Ottoman domestic lives when privacy was taken into account. On the other hand, the Pera region was becoming the site for multi-story apartment buildings. Unlike the row houses, families in those apartments shared a single staircase and lived in different flats. By the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 1900’s, the axis reaching from Galata to Sisli began to be filled with apart-

3-Yucel, Atilla, “Typology of urban housing in 19th. century Istanbul” , in Housing and Settlement in Anatolia: A historical perspective, Istanbul, 1996



Fig.3.1. An example to row houses, Fener/Istanbul



Fig.3.2 Row Houses in Akaretler/Istanbul

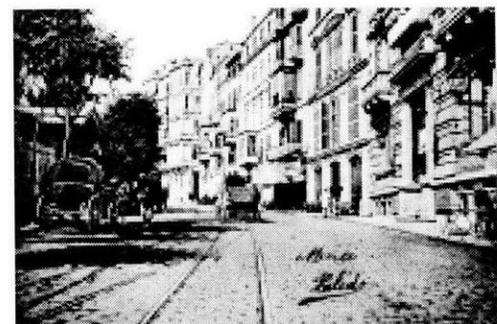


Fig.3.3. Mesrutiyet Street at the turn of the century, Tepebasi/Istanbul

ment buildings built by speculator contractors and property owners. The construction of those apartment buildings was usually masonry load bearing walls, with stylistic features and ornaments on their facades and entrances resembling their Parisian and Viennese counterparts. (fig.3.3-3.4) Most often, their ground floors were reserved for commercial functions or for offices. The accumulation of those kinds of apartments with spectacular luxury shops and cafes in their ground floors created the Istiklal Street (old Grand Rue de Pera), where the most intense European atmosphere could be experienced by Istanbul residents. Although land speculation was mainly the reason to make apartments the most viable option for domestic architecture in the dense areas of Istanbul (like Pera-Sisli axis), the ongoing tendencies towards Westernization were also catalyzing this process. As Zeynep Celik also elaborates about the urbanization of Istanbul, Westernization brought a variety of architectural styles into the architectural context.⁴ Apartments became the centerpieces among the most used types of domestic architecture although old forms of single family houses continued to be built. Among the styles that were incorporated into the apartment architecture, Art Nouveau, Art Deco, Neoclassic or Eclectic styles could be observed. (fig. 3.5) However, the plan layouts of those apartments did not differ much from each other, and most often they were small apartments in which natural lighting, ventilation and heating were not adequately considered.

Although in her book, Celik did not consider the urban developments that occurred in the area between Kadikoy and

4- Celik, Zeynep, Remaking of Istanbul. Washington University Press, 1986



Fig.3.4 Apartments built in Pera region at the turn of the century

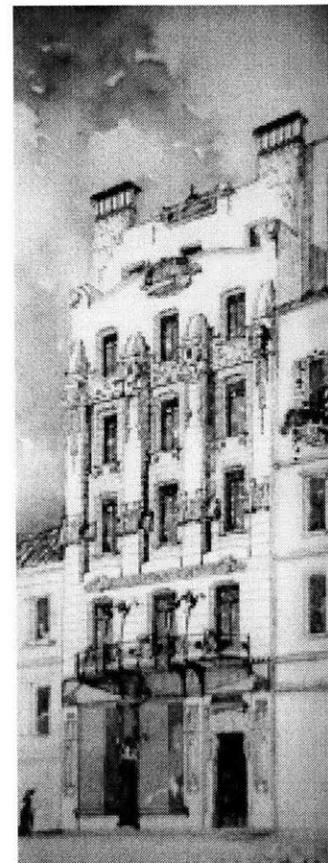


Fig.3.5. Botter Apartment by Raimondo D'Arancio, Beyoglu/Istanbul

Bostanci, similar land speculations were also beginning there, at the turn of the century. This was basically a rural and suburban area in which only a few big mansions and large summer residences were built by the second half of the 19th century. The lots in this area were much larger than the other parts of Istanbul and they belonged to a few landowners. With the increasing demand for new areas for residents those landowners became the 'developers' and divided their lots into smaller units. This process continued even in the mid 1930's.⁵ Although the density had never reached the scale of the Pera region of Istanbul, the moderate sized lots had attracted the upper-middle and upper class property owners to build their summer residences here, which also caused the transportation facilities to be improved. In summary, Istanbul domestic architecture was experiencing a large variety of new architectural styles and types. Among those, multi-family and multi-story apartments were being constructed along the single family row houses with masonry and brick construction, large mansions and small wooden houses.

House types of the early Republican period

When we reach the 1930's the variety of house styles were already reduced to two types. One was the apartment buildings and the other was the villas, or single family houses. This reduction of types depended on different reasons. Wood as a construction material was continuously discouraged by the municipalities since the great fires of the late 19th

5- In 1933, Omer Faruk Galip's project for a house was constructed in one of those lots, called Rizapasa lot. According to the text, Rizapasa lot was at that time still in the process of being divided into smaller lots for speculative reasons. *Arkitekt* 1933, p.80

century. So, in late 19th century, the construction of wooden houses decreased rapidly. The row house type also proliferated for only a short period of time when the state was interested in building houses collectively either for palace officials or for residents of whose houses were burnt by large scale fires. By the 1930s only the apartment and the villa survived, having a lot to do with the capitalist market economy. Apartments proliferated as a result of land speculations and villas replaced the big wooden mansions while their elite upper and upper middle class inhabitants remained the same.

We do not really observe a strong differentiation among Turkish architects in terms of ideological preferences on these two types. The urbanistic aspects of the *Großstadt-Kleinstadt* controversy of Germany had not been imported to Turkey with the kind of intensity it carried in Germany. In fact, one expects a similar controversy to have taken place in the Istanbul case since the urban scheme was literally separated into two distinct areas: the Pera region with its urban cosmopolitan character contained most of the apartments built before and during the 1930s, whereas the south of Anatolia side of Istanbul had a more rural character with small scale single family houses scattered in vast fields.

A few architects offered their ideas and preferences on one of the two types. For instance, Abdullah Ziya argued,

“living in an apartment is the most suitable life pattern for a contemporary 20th century family since the old way of living in large wooden mansions with

*a number of relatives had lost its viability. The construction of apartments is cheap and a small lot is enough for them. The relations with neighbors can be closer than living in a house.”*⁶

While he was advocating the apartments disregarding their almost 80 years of existence in Istanbul, another architect and one of the founders of the journal *Arkitekt*, Abidin Mortas, was advocating the single family detached houses. He claimed,

*“the land is abundant in Istanbul and there is nothing like overpopulation to force us to live in apartments. The only thing that directs us to apartments is the tradition rather than economical considerations.”*⁷

Although he does not explain what kind of “tradition” led the families to live in apartments, he designed fictional detached houses for “ideal families” of the time (fig. 3.6) similar in the sense that Abdullah Ziya tried to promote “ideal apartments.” But this issue never created large debates among architects. Architects who were criticizing or approving one type were also building houses in the other type as well.

In 1931, architect Servet, argued that *“if the pace of apartment construction goes on like this, in several years there will be a surplus of apartments in the city.”*⁸ However, the statistical data covering the period between 1928 and 1934 shows that, only 1301 apartments were built in Istanbul

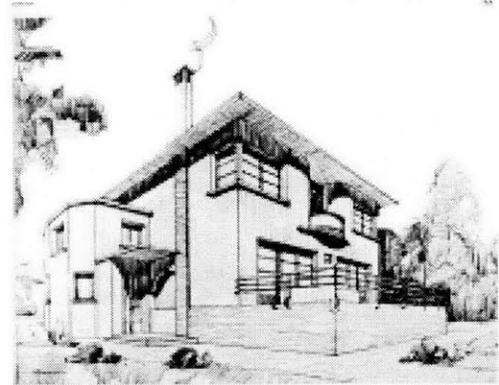


Fig.3.6 Abidin Mortas, 1931

6-Ziya, Abdullah, “Binanın icinde Mimar” (Architect inside the building), in *Arkitekt*, 1931, p.14 (my translation)

7- Mortas, Abidin, “Mustakil evler” (Single family houses) in *Arkitekt* 1931, p.42

8-Architect Servet, “Apartman Insaati” (apartman construction) in *Arkitekt*, 1931, p. 217-219

whereas the number of detached single family houses was 4704.⁹ If we take the average number of flats per apartment as four, we realize that the population living in apartments and houses were almost equal in 1934. However, the distribution of this population varied dramatically. Among the 1301 apartments that were built until 1934, 1070 of them were located in the Beyoglu (Pera) district. On the other hand among the 4704 single family houses, 1989 of them were built in the Fatih district, located in the center of the historical peninsula. When we look at the overall collections of the *Arkitekt* we see a different picture. Most of the published houses were either located on the Anatolian coast of Istanbul or in the Taksim-Sisli region. This leads us to conclude that, a great number of buildings in Istanbul were not designed by architects. The concentration of the buildings which were not designed by architects in the historical peninsula also supports our arguments about the profiles of the clients of the architects. As stated in the previous chapter, the lifestyles in the historical peninsula was known to be more conventional and usually the average income per household was lower when compared to the Pera region. So, commissioning an architect to build a house usually was not an affordable choice in this region, which also reminds us of the issue of class and social status of clients who employed architects.

This poses the question about the social awareness of the architects. We know that most of their clients belonged to the upper or upper-middle class. However, some architects tried to produce designs for small low-income families, or workers' housing. For instance, Sedad Hakki Eldem had made

9- "Istanbul'da yapilar 1928-1934 (Belediye Istatiginden)" (Buildings in Istanbul 1928-1934 (From the municipal statistics)) *Arkitekt* 1935, p.153

designs for small row houses.(Fig.3.7) Similarly Seyfi Arkan had made two designs of single story houses for low-income families who lived in Ankara. (Fig.3.8) Arkan also designed the workers houses in Zonguldak coal mines. (Fig.3.9) The inspirational sources for that kind of social housings were definitely coming from Germany. For this reason, Bekir Ihsan's projects were interesting: although they were not designed for housing purposes and the clients were not low-income families, the purist forms were inspired by Germany's *Existenzminimum* housing projects. (Fig.3.10) It is also necessary to state that, two of the mentioned architects, Seyfi Arkan and Sedad Hakki Eldem, had been in Germany for architectural studies. However, housing projects for low income families could not be realized because there were no developers to construct those schemes. Although the state made attempts to build social housings, it later took the form of rental subsidiary for state officials rather than providing houses.

But neither the above mentioned low-income houses, nor the conflict between apartment and individual villa types were main issues for Turkish architects. The main concerns of the architects in the 1930s revolved basically around two themes: one was to constitute a consciousness in the society for the architectural profession itself. The other was to create an admiration for modern architecture in the society. Both of these two themes were subsumed under several larger ideological issues like rationalism, nationalism and, to some extent, regionalism.

Since residential architecture was the primary domain of the 1930's architects, houses and apartments became important

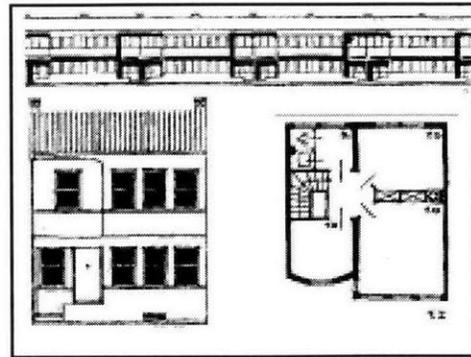


Fig.3.7 Sedad Hakki Eldem, Small House projects,1931.

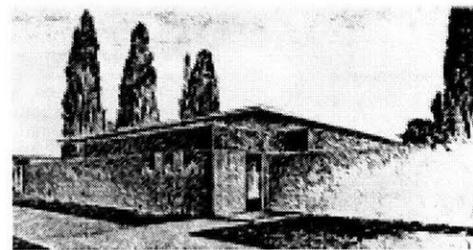


Fig.3.8 Seyfi Arkan, Low-income family houses for Ankara, 1933.

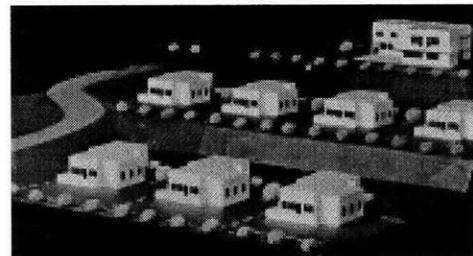


Fig.3.9 Seyfi Arkan, Zonguldak mine workers' houses, 1936.

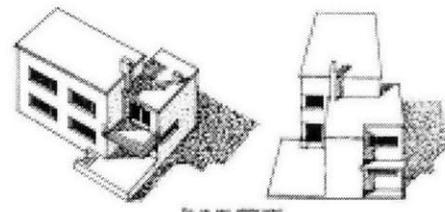


Fig.3.10 Bekir Ihsan, Fethi Bey House, 1933.

showpieces where the above mentioned themes were expressed in varying degrees. While nationalism was closely linked to architects' intentions to create a social awareness of the architectural profession, rationalism and regionalism were related to the demand to create a social admiration of modern architecture. I will analyze the use of rationalism, nationalism and regionalism in Turkish architectural culture respectively and refer to architects' particular ways of employing these themes in the architectural culture of the early Republican period.

Rationalism and the Modern House

The Kemalist ideology ardently supported positivism and pragmatism while distancing the cultural production of Turkey from its Ottoman and Islamic past. In the course of secularization, even history was treated as a form of scientific knowledge within the framework of this ideological construction. In 1930, Kemal Ataturk was leading a committee of historians who were assigned to rewrite the national history of Turkey. Its main goal was to incorporate Turkish culture as an important contributor to the world civilization, against the dominant Western ideologies of history which represented Ottoman culture, together with all the Oriental world, as barbarian, backwards and uncivilized.¹⁰ So the project of 'rewriting the national history' tried to shift world history from a Western constructed Roman-Athens axis to Central Asia-Africa axis.¹¹ In this construction, European centered world history was replaced by Turkish centered

10-Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, Penguin Books, 1995

11-Turk Tarihinin Ana Hatlari (The outline of Turkish History), Istanbul Devler Matbaasi, 1930. with a foreword by Dogu Perincek.

history and Europe was hardly mentioned in this construction. The goal was to locate the historical origins of the “Turkish nation” in the Shamanic Central Asian culture while gradually eroding its links with Islamic Ottoman culture. Naturally, secularization was the undertone of this project. Within this project, pragmatism and positivism played important roles, charging every field of cultural production with rationalism and secularization. Since secularization was one of the biggest aims of the project, the phenomena of the creation of the world and the origins of human beings became subjects that were extensively emphasized. In order to show that religion was actually a construction of power relationship among societies and individuals, official Turkish history praised the Darwinian evolution theory to its extreme. The consequences of this perspective were even reflected in women’s and family’s journals. For instance, in *Muhit*, a family journal that started its publication in 1926, we see articles related to the creation of man, which traced his origin back to various animals ranging from apes to fishes.

Yet, it must be stated that this was not an overnight transformation and most of the foundations were laid by the Young Turks in the first decade of 1900. However, rationalism became the touchstone in every aspect of the Kemalist policy and reform. That was one of the biggest reasons for the enthusiastic acceptance of modern architecture by the state at the time. With the importance given to rationalization, standardization and scientific methodologies, Western modern architecture was a very suitable model for Turkey, after Ottoman revivalism started to be denigrated severely and uncritically. Although the link between residential

architecture and the state-supported modern architecture was not based on one-to-one correspondences, Turkish architects were eager to utilize the new ‘rational’ architecture within the ‘nation building’ project.

In every short text accompanying the buildings presented in *Arkitekt*, there were two main concerns: first, architects emphasized the functional qualities of their plan layouts and second, they argued on the economic aspects of their designs. While architects emphasized how economic their designs were, they also wanted to show how architects were able to create comfort, beauty and convenience by scientific approaches. In most of the explanatory texts of the designs, the organization of the spaces according to the orientation, function, daylight, view and the spatial interrelationships were emphasized. However, it is interesting to observe that kitchens were never used as spaces to show architects’ scientific and rational design abilities as in Germany. Taylorism which was an outcome of standardized production, was one of the main factors behind the paradigmatic “Frankfurt Kitchen” of Margarete Schutte-Lihotsky. But Taylorism actually never became a relevant design parameter for Turkish architects in the absence of industrialization and standardization.¹² However, household efficiency was being thought as a course in the girls’ institutes, as stated in the first chapter. Ironically, most of the kitchens of the 1930s were mostly dark, insufficiently ventilated and narrow



Fig.3.11 M. Schutte-Lihotsky, Frankfurt Kitchen

12- Surprisingly M. Schutte-Lihotsky came to Istanbul with her husband, and they both assisted Bruno Taut in Istanbul Fine Arts Institute between 1936 and 1938. Schutte-Lihotsky also designed a few schools in Turkey. For her works in and outside Turkey refer to Margarete Schutte-Lihotsky: soziale Architektur: Zeitzeugin eines Jahrhunderts. 2., verb. Aufl. Wien: Bohlau Verlag, 1996

spaces. The only functional aspect that architects tried to comply was to form direct spatial links between the kitchen, service entrance and dining room. Also, we have to remember the existence of a household keeper in the upper and upper-middle class houses that we are looking at. This was actually a design parameter for architects. Since the elite housewife was not supposed to use the kitchen frequently, this might have led them to underestimate the importance of kitchen design.

In architects' writings, the profession itself was compared with other pragmatic professions. For instance, Behcet Unsal and architect Bedrettin wrote:

“An architect first of all has to be a doctor, an engineer, a scientist, even more he has to be the life itself, and thereafter he has to be an artist. He is the individual symbol of civilization in the society. His creations are the reflections of the civilization. Thus it is hard to picture him. We call these people architects. ” ¹³

This godlike technocratic attitude was already prevalent among European modernist architects. For instance, Le Corbusier's emphasis on technology and Bruno Taut's use of the rhetoric of scientific efficiency were both legitimization processes of architecture through more valued professions and scientific methodologies.¹⁴ Although it would be a

13 - Architects Behcet [Unsal] and Bedrettin “To whom we call architects”, *Arkitekt* 1933, p.200 (My translation)

14-Bruno Taut's book about his own house in Dahlewitz was an attempt in this sense. He used Frederick Christine's books on home economics and efficiency studies to explain his design. Moreover, his old preconceptions about color was disguised under this technocratic attitude.

Taut, Bruno, *Ein Wohnhaus*. Stuttgart: Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung W. Keller, 1927

speculation to assert that Turkish architects were directly influenced by those European architects, the same pragmatic sciences were also more valued in Turkey's case, supported by official positivist ideology. Thus, architects felt obliged to align themselves with doctors, scientist and engineers.

Another important issue in the architectural culture of the period was the term "Cubic architecture". Alluding to the orthogonal volumes, interacting masses, blank rough surfaces, band or corner windows, cylindrical volumes attached to larger masses, terrace roofs, cantilevered balconies and projections, modern architecture in Turkey was quickly labeled as "cubic". While there were not so much theoretical discussions on this term among Turkish architects, Behcet Unsal severely rejected the term 'Cubic house'. In most of his essays he tried to free "modern architecture" from stylistic labeling and focused on the rationalist and regionalist aspects of modern architecture. He argued that "modern architecture" was the architecture of hygiene, rationalization and functionalism which was the ultimate solution for contemporary life. According to him, "cubic" only refers to the formal appearance of modern architecture, and will eventually disappear like a mode of fashion. He also claimed that, most of the houses and apartments built in Istanbul without any contribution from an architect were usually called cubic. For him, those apartments and houses designed by contractors were misleadingly causing a denigration of the initial qualities of modern architecture. In his radio program series, he tried to separate the modern architecture from 'cubic' architecture by emphasizing the qualities of a modern house and by condemning the unresolved problems of 'cubic' apartments. In another essay, he claimed that "the

purpose of the new architecture is not cubism but it is rationalism".¹⁵ Although Unsal was the only one to attack on the term 'cubic', other architects also avoided to use it in their texts. Despite Unsal's and his colleagues' efforts, 'cubic' remained to be a term that labeled a period's architectural culture among public.

Although the word 'cubic' defines formal attributes, most of the architects were aware of the improbability of using a stylistic terminology with the discourse of modern architecture. For that reason, again Behcet Unsal, comments on the recurrent features that his colleagues widely used in their designs. He claims that

"Twentieth century does not have such a style (Cubic style). A lot of new elements are deceiving the architects... Today's architecture have some fashionable elements that are widely used: For instance corner windows without any posts, long vertical windows on the stairwell walls, clock towers, metal window frames and flat roofs... are all obsessions... Today's architect is the one who can avoid the pressure of fashion and who can produce original forms. We won't surrender to fashion. Our will is to make and see everything in simple".¹⁶

While Unsal was arguing on the rationalistic and regionalist aspects of modern architecture some of the architects claimed that their form production was limited because of the insuffi-

16- Unsal Behcet, "Mimarlikta basitlik ve moda" (Simplicity and Fashion in architecture), *Arkitekt* 1934, p.213-215 (my translation)

15- Unsal, Behcet, "Mimarlikta gerceklik" (Reality in architecture), *Arkitekt* 1935, p.118

ciency of constructional materials at the time. Architect Burhan Arif stated that, Turkish modern architecture was inevitably destined to be more local, because of the lack of for instance flat roof or iron band window materials.¹⁷

Architects of the period were aware of the architectural features that they used frequently and which framed their designs under some stylistic labels like ‘Cubic Style’. So the use of those characteristic recurrent features were always questioned by architects, despite the fact that they were abundantly employed in order to create the “modern architecture” they were inspired from.

Another quotation from Unsal is interesting to show how the terms nationalism, rationalism and regionalism had been blended into each other in Turkish architects’ minds:

*“ It is the regionalist works that will give birth to national architecture. A regionalist art is both rational and national...In rational architecture, tradition and old forms do not have a place.”*¹⁸

Nationalism and the formation of the profession

In theory, nationalism was the only accepted ideology in every cultural field of the period. Frequently, there were articles published in *Arkitekt* on the nature of nationalist architecture.¹⁹

17-Arif, Burhan, “Turk Mimarisi ve Beynelmilel mimarlik vasiflari” (Turkish architecture and International architecture features), *Arkitekt* 1931, p.365

18-Unsal. Behcet, “Mimarlik ve Turkluk” (*Architecture and Turkishness*) *Arkitekt* 1934, p.17 (my translation)

19- A few of these articles are **Ziya, Abdullah** “Sanatta Nasyonalizm” (Nationalism in Art) *Arkitekt* 1934, pp.51-54, **Cemal, B.O** “Buyuk Inkilap Onunde Milli Mimari Meselesi” (The Problem of National Architecture in front of the Great Reformation), *Arkitekt* 1933, pp. 163-164, **Mortas, Abidin**, “Memlekette Turk Mimarinin Yarinki Vaziyeti” (The future position of Turkish architect) *Arkitekt* 1933, p.129-130.

However, from the texts accompanying the buildings we can not understand why those buildings were labeled as examples of national architecture. It is remarkable to observe that, the nationalistic discourse in the architectural culture did not take account of the buildings in particular, but it was concerned only with the profession of architecture itself.

Architectural education was mainly controlled by a single institution called the *Guzel Sanatlar Akademisi (Fine Arts Academy)* in Istanbul. It was established in 1883 with studios for architecture, sculpture and painting. Until 1926, 145 architects, 88 painters and 6 sculptors were graduated from this institution. In 1929, eleven architects, in 1930 four, and in 1931, six architects were graduated from this institution.²⁰ So the average number of practicing architects in the 1930s was around 150 in the overall country. Before 1928, there were mainly two studios in the institution under the supervision of two eminent architects of the period: Vedat Tek and Gulio Mongeri. The education was almost parallel to that of the Paris Ecole de Beaux Arts school, with classical languages blended with Turkish styles. After 1928, foreign architects had been invited to the institution to teach Modern Architecture and to change the overall course from the Ecole de Beaux Arts tradition to the modern German and Viennese education system. One of the most renowned instructors was Ernst Egli, who opened a studio called ‘modern architecture’ in the institution, while the other two studios of classical architecture continued their education.



Fig.3.12 Architecture studio in Fine Arts Institute in Istanbul, 1932

20- “Akademinin Ellinci Senesi” (50th anniversary of the Fine Arts Academy) *Arkitekt* 1932, p.55

After the proclamation of the Republic and the initiation of modernization reforms foreign architects were invited by the state to undertake large scale state commissions or to have important positions in leading institutions. But these developments created a discomfort among Turkish architects. After getting an education in modern architecture, young graduates were eager to practice their talents in those government commissions. Most of the texts they produced revolved around this demand. According to them, national architecture could only be created by the architects of the nation. They severely criticized some of the foreign architects like Clemens Holzmeister, who got most of the commissions for ministry buildings and also for the national assembly. Others were also criticized for using traditional Turkish elements in a pastiche manner.²¹ While such criticisms of Turkish architects were justified in most cases, their real resentment had to do with not having access to state commissions. So nationalism remained an issue which was only confined to the profession itself rather than the actual products. Within this environment, only Sedad Hakki Eldem came out with concrete solutions to create a national architecture. As it is well known, his paradigmatic “Turkish house” was slowly and meticulously formulated to be the sole model for national architecture. It was not only confined to the residential architecture of the period but later its elemental features were applied to varying building types and functions on almost every scale.²²

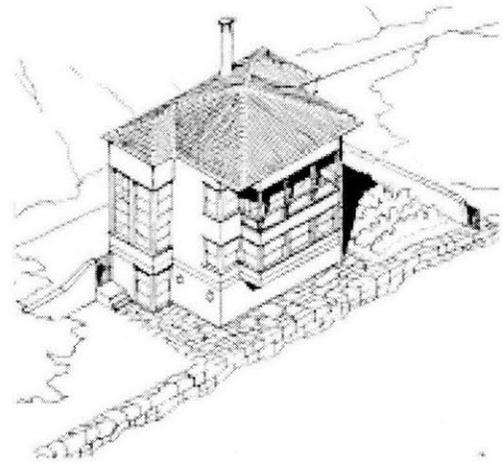


Fig.3.13 Sedad Hakki Eldem, house on the Bosphorus coast for a fictional client, 1931.

21- Zeki Sayar wrote “Surely, Turkish character will not be supplied for our architecture by foreign architects who intend to copy the crescent and the star motifs on desert spoons or the castle wall shapes, or who try to attach traditional brick and stone craftsmanship and wooden eaves to concrete buildings.” *Arkitekt* 1938, p.65

22-Bozdogan, Sibel ed. *Sedad Hakki Eldem: Architect in Turkey*. Singapore: Concept Media, 1987.

Another interesting observation drawn out of the writings of architects in the 1930s, is the audience that Turkish architects were addressing. Although *Arkitekt* remained the only professional architectural journal of the time, the tone of some of the texts sounded as if most of the readers were not architects. In several essays, we realize that, there was a conscious aim to define and explain the architectural profession, to describe the responsibilities and the abilities of an architect, to determine what he can do and what he needs to practice in his profession. In a journal which was supposed to address professional architects, this kind of attitude is a significant point. In several essays, it was urged for architects to educate their clients and the society. For instance, Abdullah Ziya saw architects as the cultural leaders. Architects of the period usually agreed on the fact that there were not enough clients to support and most importantly admire their architectural production. The underlying tone was that, architects were a step higher than the society and either they had to wait for the birth of a demand for modern architecture or they had to educate the society to admire it.

While Turkish architects were trying to create a consciousness for a national architecture by means of the nation's architects, they were also struggling to create a market in the society for residential architecture. In an environment where most of the buildings were designed and constructed by contractors and speculative landowners, architects had to create the awareness in the society for the need of the architectural profession. In most of the essays, architects wrote similar themes as if they were addressing their future clients. They even went further to stroll inside their fictional modern houses or apartments with their fictional clients,

commenting how modern architecture was suitable for their contemporary life. In those descriptions the hygienic and functionalist aspects of their designs were emphasized. For instance, in a radio program, Behcet Unsal gave a long description of a modern house by emphasizing its comfort, hygienic and rational plan layout, its modernist features like dance terraces, laboratory-like kitchen and perfectly working infrastructure.²³ Similarly, Abdullah Ziya, explained his fictional design for an ideal apartment flat with similar emphasis on its hygienic and rational design features.²⁴ Another interestingly similar attempt came from Vedat Tek, a professor in the Fine Arts Academy, known to be closer to the Beaux Art tradition. He severely criticized the booming construction of apartment buildings for being built just to look “European.” He claimed that old Turkish houses had much more comfort, hygiene and economy in their design. He designed three fictional apartment flats in order to show how a hygienic and rational apartment could be.²⁵ The size of the lots in the dense parts of Istanbul was the most important constraint in apartment designs, thus apartment plans remained uniform, almost an archetypal plan of Istanbul apartments was created. (Fig.3.14) Since this was the most rationalized solution for an adjacent plot, architects were confined to make the variations on the facades and the central service core. However, this difficult situation also tested the talents of the architects. For instance, Sedad Hakki Eldem, was more successful in designing the Ceylan apartment in a triangular lot than his professor Vedat Tek had done in his fictional design. Eldem, by locating the staircase

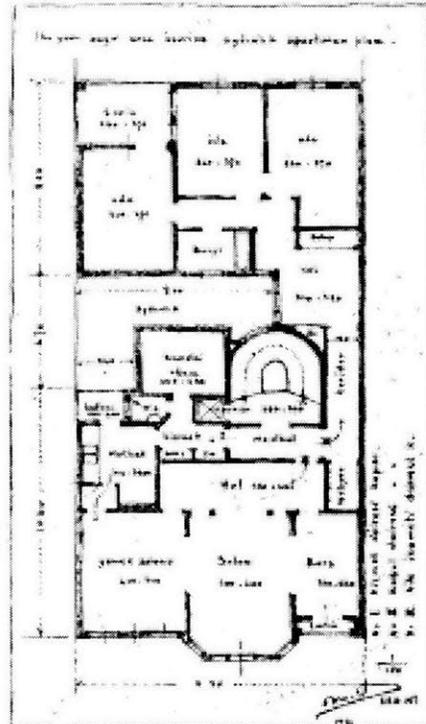


Fig.3.14 Vedat Tek, one of his three fictional designs, 1931

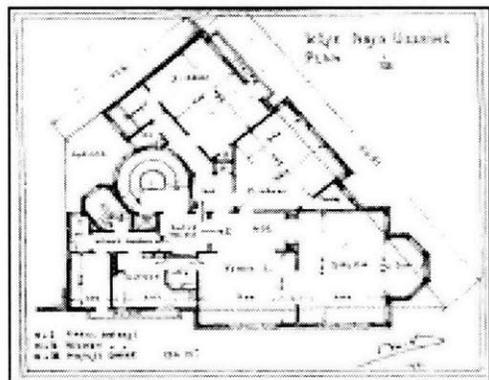


Fig.3.15 Vedat Tek, 1931

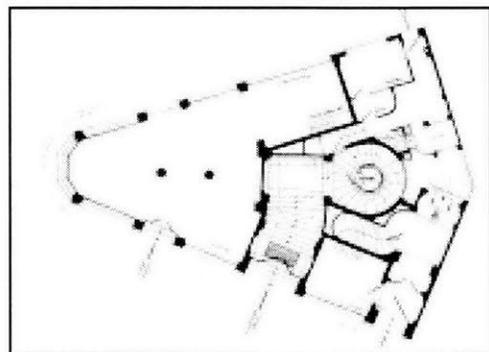


Fig.3.16 Sedad Hakki Eldem, Ceylan Apartment, Taksim/Istanbul, 1933

23-Unsal, Behcet “Kubik Yapi ve Konfor” (Cubic building and comfort) *Arkitekt*, 1939,p.60-62

24- Ziya, Abdulah “Binanın icinde Mimar” (Architect inside the building) *Arkitekt*, 1931, p.14

25-Tek, Vedat “Istanbul Ikametgahlari” (Istanbul residences) *Arkitekt* 1931, pp322-325

at the center of the long axis, avoided the triangular spaces that Tek had to deal with. (Fig. 3.15 and 3.16)

Although the Beaux Art tradition was abandoned shortly after Egli's taking over the Academy, it is interesting to observe that architects of the period continued to interpret and explain their designs with classical Beaux Art terminology. In the texts accompanying the buildings presented in *Arkitekt*, architects usually avoided any kind of ideological and political interpretations but they explained their buildings with terms like "beauty", "order", "simplicity" or "symmetry - asymmetry." Most of these explanations were reserved for the functional features and they usually end with a sentence like "the exterior of the building has an original, pleasant effect." On the other hand, when we examine the architectural products of the period, we usually see a conscious escape from the traditional Beaux Art language like symmetry and order.²⁶ However, it was not only the Beaux Art that constituted the formal terminology of the architectural rhetoric of the 1930's. Other modernist architectural terms like space, surface, color, volume or mass were also being introduced and used by Turkish architects. European architects who emphasized the formal language of modern architecture rather than its ideological premises were more popular in the professional circles.

It is interesting to note that Turkish architects were aware of some European architects, who were usually overshadowed

26- Architect Salih Saim severely rejected the Beaux Arts tradition by following words "In order to understand today's architecture, one has to try to be affected by its grandiose appearance before looking for style, order and proportion in it." **Saim, Salih** "Mosyo Jak'in Asri Villasi" (Monsieur Jak's contemporary villa) in *Muhit*, 1928,p.866

The escape from symmetry and similar Beaux Art themes are discussed with architectural examples in the third chapter of this study.

by more important figures like Le Corbusier or Walter Gropius. For instance André Lurçat or Rob Mallet-Stevens, just to name two of the neglected architects in the modern architectural historiography, were widely acclaimed by Turkish architects in the 1930s. Some excerpts regarding the formal aspects of modern architecture were translated from André Lurçat's book *Architecture in Arkitekt* by Samih Saim.²⁷ Lurçat's book was also translated into Turkish by Celal Esat Arseven in the same year.²⁸ Although Le Corbusier was also known and his projects and texts were closely followed, Turkish architects found André Lurçat more convenient for translation and for the architectural culture of early Republican Turkey. Similar to Le Corbusier's 'Five points of architecture', Lurçat formulated another set of five significant aspects of modern architecture that are slightly different from Le Corbusier's. Although Lurçat included the terraces, construction on pilotis and the band window, he replaced Le Corbusier's open plan and free facade with color and electricity themes. So, his five points depended more on the visual aspects of architecture, giving the emphasis to the image of the architectural products rather than the capabilities of the new construction technology. In 1930s Turkey, architects needed this kind of emphasis given to the visual aspects of architecture, since constructional possibilities were limited, and there was an urgent need to create a rapid social appreciation of modern architecture. So, not only was all French modernism appealing to Turkish architects but also careful selections were made within the French modern architecture. Turkish architects emphasized the aesthetic

27- Saim, Samih "Yeni Unsurlar" (New Features) in *Arkitekt* 1931, p.133-140

28- Arseven, Celal Esat., *Yeni Mimari* (New Architecture) Agah Sabri Kutuphanesi, 1931

discourse of modern architecture before its functionalist and rationalist discourses. This climate also affected the architectural education and foreign architects. For instance, Bruno Taut's last book, *Mimari Bilgisi* (Architecture Knowledge), which he wrote in Turkey in his last years, focused on proportion and other similar visual aspects of architecture.

In such a politically vigorous environment, when modern architecture was almost designated as the “agent of civilization”, why did Turkish architects avoid any kind of ideological and political connotations of modern architecture and focus more on the aesthetic discourse? In a much later interview Zeki Sayar, the founder of *Arkitekt*, linked the absence of architectural criticism in the 1930's architectural culture in Turkey to a self-constructed respectful environment. He claimed that, in the cultural turmoil of the early Republican period, architectural criticism would probably have done more harm than good.²⁹ Actually, in any of the explanatory texts we do not find any kind of architectural criticism and it seems that every architect in the 1930's tried to show mutual respect to his colleagues' works, no matter how distant they were from each other in terms of aesthetic and ideological grounds. Defending the Turkish architects against any kind of criticism went even further by excluding the foreign architects' residential examples built in the 1930's. Even though Bruno Taut or Ernst Egli were highly acclaimed architects by the Turkish architects, neither Bruno Taut's own house in Ortakoy (Fig.3.17), nor Ernst Egli's Devres House in Bebek (Fig.3.18) was published in *Arkitekt*. In order to defend Turkish architect's struggle in the civil

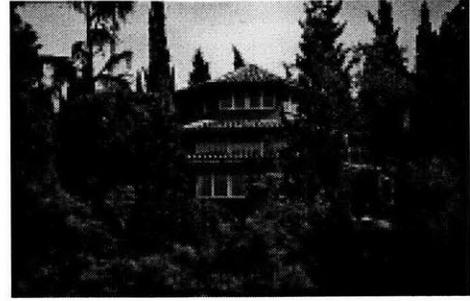


Fig. 3.17 **Bruno Taut**, his own house built just after he came from Japan, in Ortakoy/ Istanbul



Fig.3.18 **Ernst Egli**, Ragip Devres Villa, 1932, Bebek/Istanbul.



Fig.3.19 **Seyfi Arkan**, President's summer residence, Florya.

29-Sayar, Zeki “25.Yili Bitirirken” (Closing the 25th year), *Arkitekt* 1955, p.282

architectural domain, *Arkitekt* was also reluctant to publish state commissioned projects. So, even though it was a residential architecture and the architect's other projects were frequently published, Seyfi Arkan's Presidential summer residence was never published in *Arkitekt*.(Fig.3.19)

The word 'cubist' was widely used to designate not only the architectural products of the 1930's, but the decorative arts and interior designs as well, almost used as a stylistic term. However, in the examples presented in *Arkitekt*, it is impossible to observe a formal coherence or a preference given to the abstract modernist examples like Seyfi Arkan's buildings, which might have the image closest to the term 'cubic'. So, Seyfi Arkan, Sedad Hakki Eldem or even B.O, Cemal, who wrote the most conventional and nationalist articles at the time, could be presented in the same journal with their projects although they do not have the slightest formal and ideological similarities. (Figs.3.20-3.21 and 3.22)

The reason to avoid using architecture as a critical tool, might be explained by the powerful and dominant ideology of the state, to which nearly every architect was unquestionably committed. The need for a political and ideological ground for their architectural products was already satisfied by the state ideology. Since between the years 1931 and 1950 Turkey was governed by a single party regime, and the first two decades of the Republic was the period where all kinds of political friction was either disguised or eliminated, architects of the period were reluctant to incorporate politics into their designs. It was believed that almost every architectural product represented in *Arkitekt* was 'modern' and thus suitable for the foundation of a new nation, despite their formal incongruities.

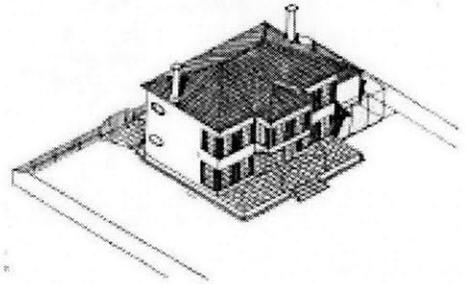
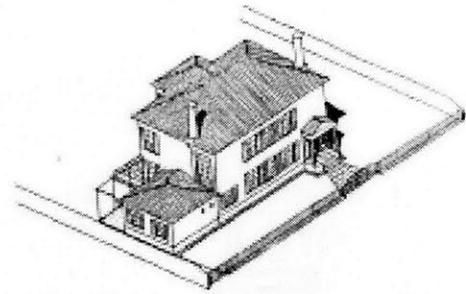


Fig.3.20 Sedad Hakki Eldem, Sisli/Istanbul, 1932

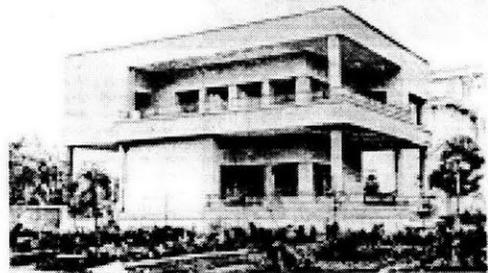


Fig.3.21 Seyfi Arkan, Istanbul, 1934



Fig.3.22 B.O Cemal, Sami Bey House, Samsun, 1931

The eagerness to participate in the construction of the new Republic tied all architects together although their ideological premises did not exactly match. For instance, Seyfi Arkan, who had a post-graduate education in Berlin with Hans Poelzig, adhered to pure, abstract language of modernist forms, whereas his colleague Sedad Hakki Eldem, who went to Stuttgart around the same time, was influenced by the Stuttgart School of Theodor Fischer and Paul Bonatz. This influence was carried to Turkey by those two architects which caused the formal and to some extent the ideological divergence of the Berlin and Stuttgart schools to be reflected in Turkey's architectural culture. As known, Sedad Hakki Eldem advocated a modernism derived from the traditional civil architecture of Turkey, whereas Seyfi Arkan continued to produce forms which denied any kind of links to traditional influence.

Similarly, Abdullah Ziya, who visited the Fascist Italian modernism exhibition in Rome in 1932, was influenced by the Italian modernism. Shortly after he founded *Arkitekt* with Zeki Sayar, he went to Adana, the fourth largest city of Turkey located on the Mediterranean Coast. There, he built several houses for state officials, the forms of which had obvious influences from Italian modernism. (Fig.3.23) On the other hand, Zeki Sayar was more active in the institutionalizing of the architectural profession. However, he was also one of the most prolific architects of the period. In almost every issue of the *Arkitekt* a project designed by Zeki Sayar was published. Unlike Arkan or Eldem, he did not have an educational period in Europe. But, since he was the editor of the *Arkitekt*, he was closely following the Western modern architecture through numerous journals. This distance

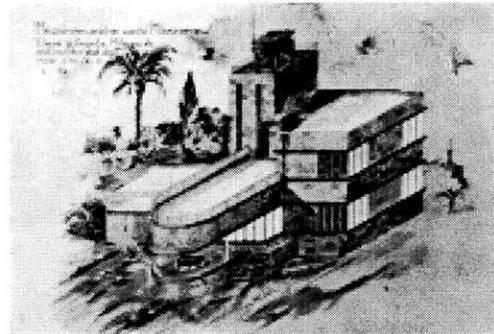


Fig.3.23 Abdullah Ziya, Mayor's house, Mersin, 1932

allowed him to observe modern architecture without giving particular preferences to any European country's architecture.

We can observe Sayar's standpoint by looking at the 'international architectural news' sections of *Arkitekt*. Here, Scandinavian, Italian, American, German and French architects' works were presented without being dominated by important figures like Le Corbusier or Gropius. Apart from the works of foreign architects, news from different architectural organizations was published. By examining the operations of different architectural associations of different countries, Zeki Sayar and his colleagues worked on constructing the authority of the architectural profession in Turkey and they tried to prove that they were well organized and capable to take large scale state commissions. These key personalities of the 1930s' architectural culture of Turkey still need to be studied in detail which will help us to understand their individual characteristics within a specific and seemingly coherent architectural period.

Until the early 1940s, residential architecture remained the major domain of Turkish architects to experience and practice modern architecture. As a result of architects' constant demand to get state commissions, by the 1940s we see a proliferation of projects like schools, hospitals, public houses and administrative buildings designed for the state. Since residential architecture was the largest domain in which Turkish architects operated in the 1930's, most of the ideological and theoretical discussions were also related to domestic architecture. Within these discussions nationalism was appropriated by the Kemalist advocacy of positivism and

the modernist rhetoric of rationalism and regionalism. The architects' larger aim was to create a social consciousness for architecture as an emerging and vital profession in the "nation building" process. Another aim was to create an social admiration of "modern architecture" as the most suitable architectural model for Republican culture. In the 1930's, architects used residential architecture as an experimental ground to achieve these goals. Although apartments and villa type houses were being built before the proclamation of the Republic, as we saw, Republican aesthetics created their distinct ways to incorporate modern architecture into the domestic culture of the period.

CHAPTER 3

ISTANBUL HOUSES IN THE 1930s

As stated in the introduction of this study, the aim of this thesis is neither to give an exhaustive survey of residential examples of 1930s Istanbul nor to offer a comprehensive formal analysis of these houses. Although one of the examples will be analyzed closely in terms of its formal aspects, this chapter primarily intends to present the unique features of 1930s residential architecture in Istanbul. What made Turkey's modern architecture different from other non-Western architectural context? What were the differences, similarities, variations and manipulations of Turkish modern architecture with respect to its Western sources? These questions can be answered by examining the recurrent features of the 1930s residential architecture. In other words, if the architecture of this period is to be taken as an important episode in the narration of a culture, this chapter will portray the leitmotifs employed in this narration.

The idea to analyze recurrent formal features might encourage the possibility of a conventional typological analysis. What I mean by conventional typological analysis is the comparative analysis of plan types, facade compositions, proportional divisions and spatial organizations. However, the method which will be used here for the formal analysis of the selected examples, will not be a such a strict and conventional kind of typological analysis. Rather than representing their plan layouts or facade organizations in a comparative framework, common architectural gestures or recurring features will be analyzed with regard to their *cultural significance*.

All of the buildings presented in this chapter have either been published in *Arkitekt* or are first-hand documentation of surviving, but unpublished examples. Although we know the architect of every building that was published at the time, it is almost impossible to find the architects of the unpublished buildings. Since most of the buildings presented here are located in the most commercially valuable parts of Istanbul, in most cases they were converted to office buildings afterwards. It is even impossible to trace the original clients and the architects of the buildings that are still being used as residential units, since almost six decades have passed and there has been a constant flux of tenants in Istanbul. In some cases, those buildings were not even designed by professional architects, but were constructed by a skilled contractor who was commissioned by the property owner. (Fig.4.1)

Until 1936's, municipalities did not require small buildings to be designed by a licensed architect.¹ There were no clearly set laws for deciding when the services of a licensed architect was mandatory. It was possible for virtually anyone to design and build a two or three storey building. Even some of the early examples presented in *Arkitekt* were designed by engineers. In Istanbul, large number of buildings were built by contractors, who imitated some formal aspects of the modern architecture of the period, but these buildings are not architecturally significant enough to be included in a study like this. However, the extensive proliferation of such poorer quality examples prepared the ground for later attacks on modern architecture and architects. It was claimed by a large number of intellectuals and writers that modern archi-



Fig 4.1 One of the buildings in Talimahane/ Taksim area, probably designed by a contractor. Talimhane/Istanbul

1.Mortas, Abidin "Evlerimiz" in *Arkitekt*, 1936, pp.27

ecture had stripped people of their accustomed lifestyles and left them with the bare austerity of bleak, cold, sterile, concrete 'modern' environments. Although, architects of the period were too attacking those poor imitations of modern architecture, their primary motive was create a consciousness in society, which would enable people to distinguish between the qualitative and aesthetic aspects of modern buildings designed by architect, and imitative examples designed by contractors which multiplied rapidly in Turkey.

Expressions of Modernism

Alan Colquhoun, in his essay "*Typology and Design Method*", criticizes the attempts that try to reduce the creative architectural production to a typological process.² His definition of the Modern Movement is a helpful gateway for my exploration of recurrent features of Turkish Modern architecture. He defines the Modern Movement as an attempt to relocate the naturalistic idealism of the pre-industrial environment into a scientific premise. As is well known, technology and the anthropological, psychological and hygienic requirements of people were closely linked by the thread of 'rationalism' in modern architectural discourse. Although rationalism was used as a legitimizing force in varying degrees in different countries, (for instance in Germany, rationalism was much more praised by its inherent scientific qualifications whereas in French modernism, aesthetics was hold above the scientific and technological layer), it always had the deterministic power in the modern architectural culture.

2. Colquhoun, Alan. "Typology and Design Method" in Essays in Architectural Criticism, MIT Press, 1985

Colquhoun suggests that, this biotechnological determinism of the Modern Movement (i.e. form as a thoroughly rational consequence of technique, function, and anthropometric and hygienic factors) was almost a teleological project, evading the architects' conscious interventions. According to the Modern Movement architects, forms should be created totally by scientific calculations where any kind of personal preferences should be eliminated. After a certain time, architectural forms were no longer answers to questions of beauty, order or meaning, at least in the minds of the Modern Movement architects, but rather a satisfaction of the obsession with the form-function relationship, rationality or hygiene. On the other hand, the realization of those theories was an open-ended, indeterminate process. The final outcome of this scientifically legitimized process inevitably depended on the architect's voluntary decisions.³ As a result, Modern Movement was torn between on two contradictory poles of tension: one was the biotechnological determinism and the other was the free expression of forms. In order to link those two opposing poles, Modern Architecture referred to the iconic significance of the technological artifacts, such as ocean liners, automobiles and airplanes. According to Colquhoun, these artifacts became Gestalt entities in the minds of the designers, with their powerful iconic qualities. Colquhoun claims that:

“The fact that these objects have been imbued with aesthetic unity and have become carriers of so much meaning indicates that a process of

3. For instance, Hannes Meyer extensively incorporated scientific references to explain and legitimize his formal decisions, though with the same scientific parameters, it was possible to produce different forms.

selection and isolation has taken place which is quite redundant from the point of view of their particular functions. We must therefore look upon the aesthetic and iconic qualities of artifacts as being due, not so much to an inherent property, but to a sort of availability or redundancy in them in relation to human feeling”

However, the relative degrees of importance given to the significance of artifacts varied within Western modernism. As is well known, 1930s’ dispute among modern architects was anticipated by the first CIAM meetings. As Giorgio Ciucci presented in his article, “The Invention of the Modern Movement”, French modernism and German Modernism were diverging into different directions by the late 1920s.⁴ Le Corbusier, singularly the most domineering figure of French Modern architecture, emphasized that architecture should respond to the mechanization of life, inheriting its aesthetics from industry and construction technology, whereas the representative architects of German Modernism claimed that its main aesthetics should develop from scientific rationalism and that form is a secondary issue subordinate to the social concerns of modern architecture. Although, Turkish architects had never attended any of the CIAM meetings, they were aware of this dispute. They also knew that French modernism paid more attention to the iconic significance of the artifacts and that aesthetics was more important for French modern architecture than it was for German modernism. By contrast, rationalism, functionalism, scientific rhetoric and most importantly socialist concerns were more important issued for German modern architecture, making formal production a result of those issues, at least in theory.

4. Ciucci, Giorgio “The Invention of Modern Movement” in *Oppositions*, n.24, Spring 1981, p.69-91

Departing from this point on the significance of the iconic qualities of the technological artifacts, we can focus back on modern residential architecture in Turkey. As it was explained in the second chapter, rationalism was closely related to the official positivist ideology of the state. Modern residential architecture in Turkey aspired to answer biotechnological needs of humans by satisfying the functional and hygienic criteria as their colleagues were following in the West. Most of the explanations accompanying the published examples, emphasized the rational solutions of the buildings, their scientific qualifications, and their functional aspects. Needless to say, the forms had an independence or autonomy resulting from the aesthetic preferences of the architects, and they were irreducible to environmental, hygienic, functional and rational constraints. Above all, the aesthetics of modern architecture became a more important issue than the initial rationalistic and scientific aspirations.⁵

In many apartment designs, because of the site constraints of most Istanbul lots, bedrooms had to face the backyard while living and dining rooms were facing the street. This created a strong difference between the aesthetic considerations of the front and the rear facades. (Figs.4.2-4.3) Between the two functional zones of living and sleeping, the service spaces like kitchens, baths, maid's rooms, elevator and the stairs were located. In most cases, the lot was surrounded by two adjacent buildings. Therefore, in order to give daylight to the spaces in the middle of the plan, a light well had to be reserved which forces the kitchen and bathrooms to be



Figs.4.2 -4.3 Arif Hikmet Holtay, Taksim/Istanbul, 1939 Front and rear facades.

5. For an argument on the importance of the visual aspects of the Kemalist reforms and the early Republican architecture refer to **Bozdogan, Sibel**. "Living Modern: The Cubic House in Early Republican Culture" in *History of Housing and Settlements in Anatolia*. Istanbul: UN Habitat II Conference, 1996

smaller than desired. With this almost archetypal plan, architects found themselves constrained by predetermined plan layouts and forms. (Figs.4.4-4.5) So, it was usually the functional relationships between the spaces that they emphasized. For instance, the existence of a second door as a service entrance and the direct relationship between dining room and the kitchen were usually favored features. In houses, the functional relationships between the spaces could be handled with more freedom than in the apartments. In most of the house designs, the organization of the spaces according to orientation, daylight and view and their interrelationships were emphasized more clearly and strongly in the texts accompanying the designs. However, as was also mentioned earlier in chapter two, kitchens were never used as spaces to show architects' scientific and rational design abilities as it was used in Germany.

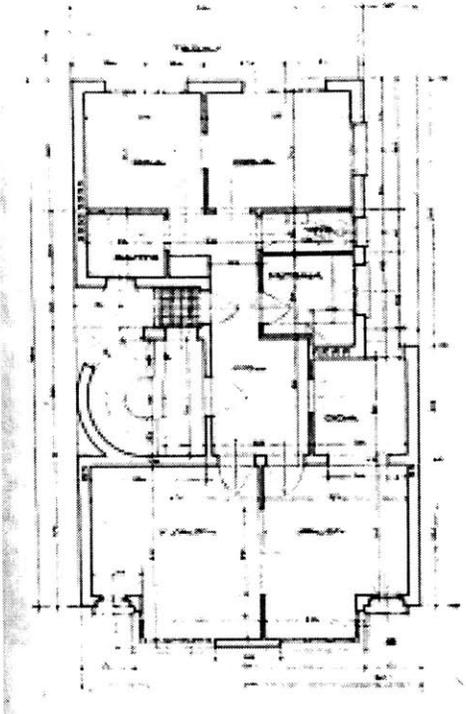


Fig.4.4. Architect Nazif, Fatih/Istanbul, 1934

Turkish modernism faced a set of parameters which were different than the parameters of Western modern architecture, the main source of influence for Turkish architects. The vacuum created by the absence of industrialization was filled by replacing the significance of biotechnological determinism of modern architecture by another objective. Since there were no consequences of industrialization, no alienating metropolitan life, no socialist aspirations for housing and no technology against craftsmanship, some other criteria had to replace all those issues that formed “Western civilization”, which Kemalism so idolized at that time. As a result, the rhetoric of biotechnological determinism was employed in the discourse of Turkish architects but it actually became a pretext for the ambition to create a collective social appreciation of modernity in the context of the early Republican

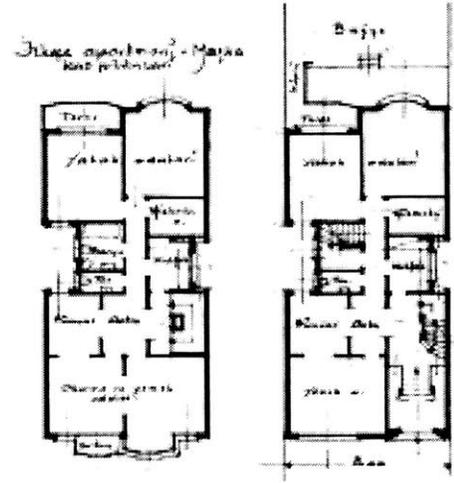


Fig.4.5. AbidinMortas, Iskece Apartment in Macka, 1936

period. This ambition became a sense of responsibility among the architects of the 1930's and was accepted almost unanimously. In the absence of satisfactory technological conditions and an advanced construction industry to create a new "modern" architecture, Turkish architects had to convince the society that they were responding to a changing society and to unprecedented conditions with which architects had not dealt before. Within these new parameters technology, rationality, functionalism and hygiene appear to have priority in the architects' minds. At the same time, architects also emphasized the demand for creating a collective admiration of modernity, nationalism, progression and civilization through architecture.

Several methods to accomplish such representations of modernity through architecture were employed by Turkish architects, like the extensive use of circular or corner windows, rounded corners, or the emphasis given to some constructional elements and asymmetry as design preferences.

Circular windows

When we look at the images of the residential examples designed in the 1930's, we realize the abundant usage of circular windows. Given the fact that circular forms are associated with iconic and industrial images, I suggest that circular windows in the modern residential examples in the early Republican period had similar allusions in the Turkish architects' minds.

Since the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, industrial-



Fig.4.6 Gunes Apartment, Taksim/Istanbul



Fig 4.7 Ardan apartment, Taksim/Istanbul

ization was one of the main goals of Turkey. Although the same ambition was carried from the mid 19th century in the Ottoman Empire, legalizing it with an official and established program, increased its effects on the social structure. Long before the proclamation of the Republic, Western industrial world was the model first for Ottoman Empire, later for Turkey. On the other hand, with a population consisting mostly of peasants, Soviet Russia offered another model for Turkey. Since Turkey's economical structure depended on agriculture, her aspiration to be industrialized was quite analogous to Russian modernism. With its emphasis on both rationality and nationalism at the same time, Italian modernism was also an appealing model for Turkey. With those models of modernization in mind, Turkey strove to reconstruct its economy by giving emphasis to the development of both industry and agriculture. However, among those two fields, a powerful merchant class developed in 1930's Turkey, which later became the backbone of the Istanbul economy, and eventually the clients of modern residential examples.

With meager sources in the construction field, industrialization was more likely a dream in the architectural domain. Biotechnological determinism was used almost as a figure of speech in Turkish modern residential architecture. Technology had never become an active parameter in modern Turkish architecture. The iconic significance of technological artifacts used in Western modern architecture, such as airplanes, automobiles, ocean liners were not relevant in Turkey's case. Yet, the forms that were inspired by those artifacts were recharged as the representation of 'modernism' and circular window became one of those widely acclaimed icons of

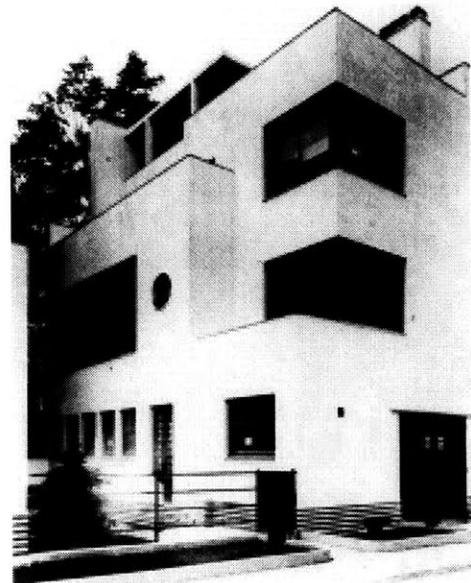


Fig.4.8 Rob Mallet-Stevens, House for M.Daniel Dreyfus, 7 rue Mallet-Stevens, Paris , 1927

modernity. With its powerful visual presence, it created an enhanced awareness in the residents, consciously reminding them that they were the inhabitants of a 'modern' building. This argument is supported if we analyze more closely where circular windows were used in the buildings. If circular window had been related to a technological rationale, then we would expect it to be used in the service spaces like stairwells, bathrooms or garages. Though, not used as extensively as it was in Turkey, circular window appears in Western examples as well. For example, Rob Mallet Stevens was one of the inspirational sources of Turkish modern architecture. (Fig. 4.8) A garden he designed and built in collaboration with Gabriel Guevrekian, was copied by Zeki Sayar in one of the villas he built in Istanbul. (Figs. 4.9-4.10) The resemblance of the triangular shape of the garden in Mallet Steven's design and the wedge shaped lot in Zeki Sayar's also enhances the suggestion that, Mallet-Stevens could have been an inspirational figure for Turkish architects. Another use of the circular window is seen in one of Ernst May's designs. The housing block he designed in Frankfurt's Romerstadt, had nautical references such as porthole windows, an upper deck and a form resembling the body of a ship. (Fig.4.11) In two of these examples, circular windows were either used in bathrooms or in stairwells. Similarly, the majority of European architects had attached a technological affiliation to the circular window and used it as a way to represent technological and functional rationalism.

By contrast, in most of the cases in Istanbul, circular windows were located on the most eye catching corner of the facade, in the living rooms, at the end of a long axis or in the entrance halls of the apartments. In the Tuten apartment in

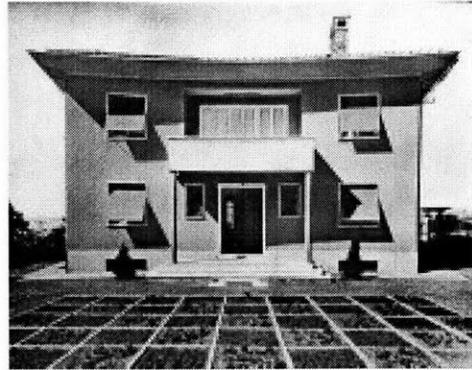


Fig.4.9. Zeki Sayar, Villa in Kalamis, Istanbul, 1937



Fig.4.10 Rob Mallet-Stevens, House in Hyères for the vicomte de Noailles, 1924



Fig. 4.11 Ernst May, Housing block, Romerstadt, Frankfurt

Taksim, it was located almost like a shrine in the entrance hall, accompanied by a marble pool and lighting fixtures inspired by the Bauhaus designs. (Fig.4.12) This kind of usage of the circular window makes it hard to relate it directly to any kind of narrow functionalist ideology. There are several other examples where circular windows were located near the entrance halls of apartment or villas. For instance, in Zeki Sayar's Cili apartment in Taksim (Fig.4.13), Sirri Arif's apartment in Kadikoy (Fig.4.14) Abidin Mortas's apartment (4.15), or his villa (4.16) were examples where circular windows were located in the entrance spaces of the buildings.



Fig. 4.12 Adil Denktas, Tuten Apartment, entrance hall, Taksim, 1936

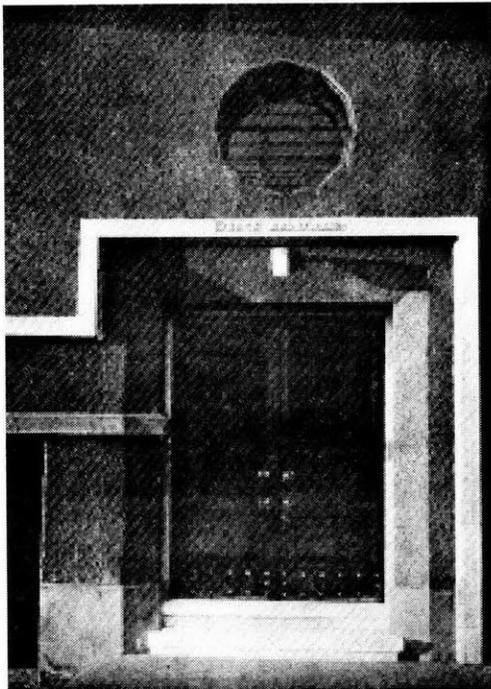


Fig.4.15 Abidin Mortas, Main entrance of Iskece apartment, Macka/Istanbul, 1934



Fig.4.13 Zeki Sayar, Cili Apartment, Main entrance Gumussuyu/Istanbul, 1936

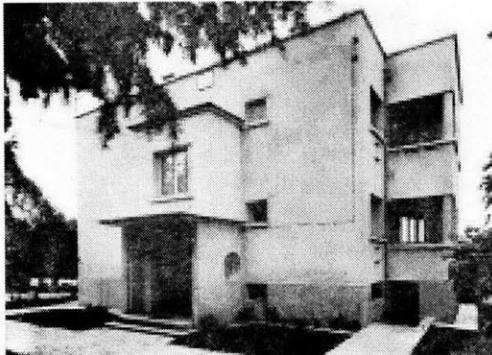


Fig.4.16 Abidin Mortas, House in Erenkoy/Istanbul, 1936

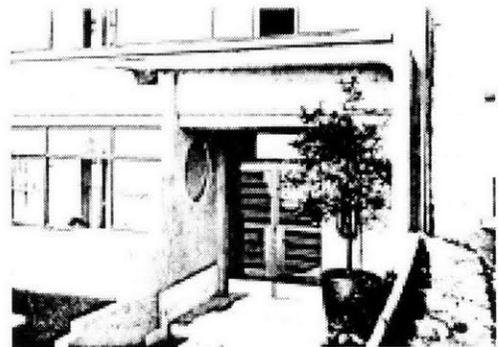


Fig. 4.14 Sirri Arif, Main entrance, Kadikoy/Istanbul, 1936

In most cases circular windows occupied the best corners in the living rooms as we see in Tuten apartment of Adil Denktas (Fig.4.16), in Ucler Apartment of Seyfi Arkan (Fig.4.17), or in Gunes apartment in Taksim. (Fig.4.18) Sometimes, it was placed at the end of a visual axis like in the villa in Omer Pasa street. (Fig.4.19)

Although the majority of the architects used the circular window as an aesthetic feature rather than a reference to technology or ocean liners, some architects did try to locate circular windows in spaces like basements, garages, service shafts, stairwells or in bathrooms. Those architects are known to be more close to rationalism rather than to canonical aesthetic codes of modern architecture.



Fig.4.16 Adil Denktas, Tuten Apt, Taksim, Istanbul, 1936

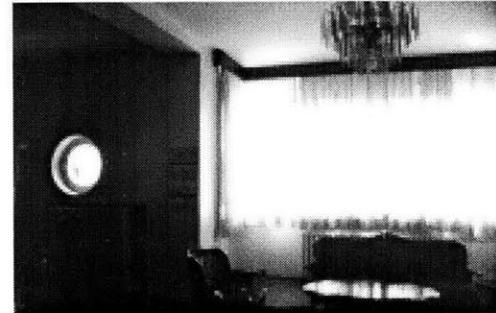


Fig.4.17 Seyfi Arkan, Ucler Apt, Taksim, Istanbul, 1935

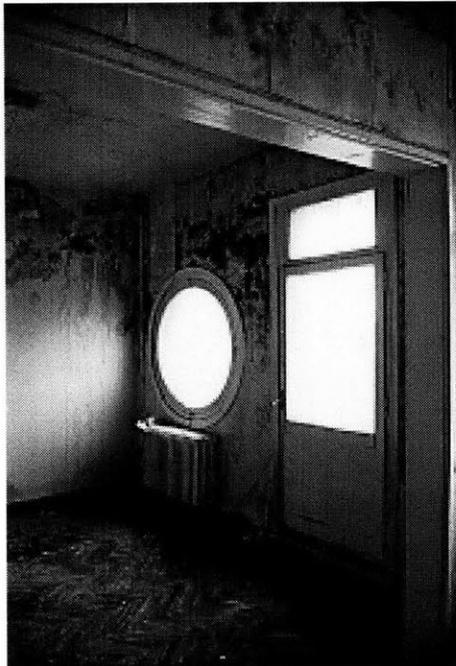


Fig.4.18 Gunes Apt, Taksim, Istanbul

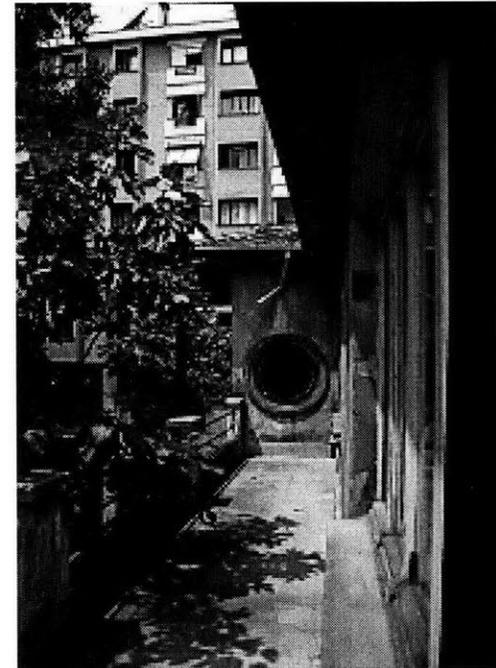


Fig.4.19 Villa on Omerpasa st. #21 Goztepe/Istanbul

Even then however, there was no consistency regarding the use of circular window. For instance, Zeki Sayar used circular windows in the bathroom and in the basement in two of his examples, but interestingly enough, the same architect also used a circular window at the entrance of his apartment as mentioned above (Fig. 4.20-4.210) Another figure was Seyfi Arkan, who was famous by his pure intricate avant-garde looking forms and his reluctance to link modern architecture to any kind of national or traditional idioms. He preferred to use circular window in the bathroom of a villa he designed in Ankara whereas in another villa he placed it in the entrance hall. (Figs.4.22-4.23)

As distinct from the use of circle without any pre-charged meaning, there was also a conscious reference to machinery forms. As stated earlier, the aspiration for mechanization was continuing throughout that period. Along with the use of curved lines, circular window also helped to create an image of machinery in the residential architecture of the period. In some examples, we can even see a mechanical approach in the detailing. For instance, the small circular windows on the entrance doors of the Gunes Apartment in Taksim, were obviously crafted with an aspiration to machine aesthetics, with metal frames and bars. (Fig.4.24) A similar detailing was found in a single story house in Moda. (Fig.4.25)

In some cases, an even more direct reference was given to the ocean liner aesthetics, as seen in Seyfi Arkan's design for the presidential summer residence in Florya, Istanbul. (4.26) Apart from being literally over the sea, the plan layout with long corridors along a line of rooms, open walkways resembling the ship decks, prefabricated wooden construction and

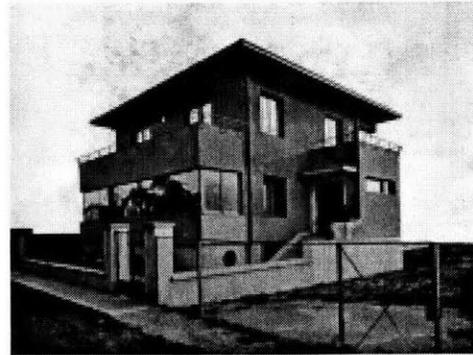


Fig.4.20 **Zeki Sayar**, Villa in Moda, Istanbul, 1936

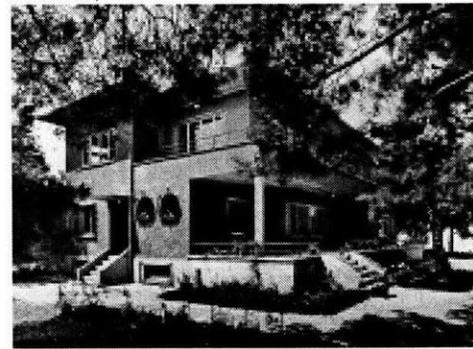


Fig. 4.21 **Zeki Sayar**, Villa in Kalamis, Istanbul, 1936

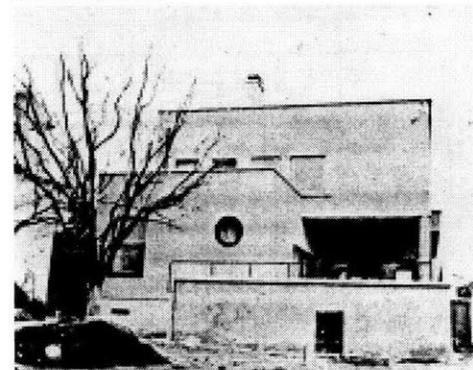


Fig. 4. 22 **Seyfi Arkan**, Dr. Ihsan Sami House in Suadiye, Istanbul, 1934

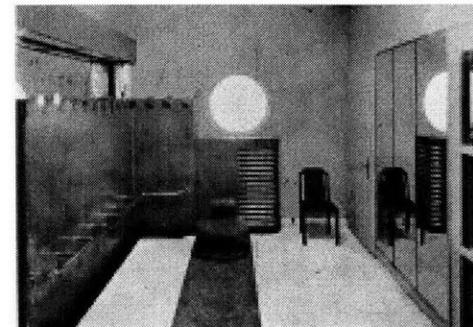


Fig. 4.23 **Seyfi Arkan**, Atadan House, Ankara, 1936

white painted walls remind us the features of naval design. Here, circular windows were obviously employed to enhance this direct reference to naval architecture, one of those technological icons of modernism.

Hence, we can conclude that, circular window had special meanings in modern residential architecture in 1930's Turkey. On the one hand it was an indirect reference to technological artifacts that Western modern architecture constantly promoted, on the other hand it was used as an icon of modernization. As stated earlier, Turkish architects had to respond a second set of criteria apart from the rational, functional and hygienic prerequisites of modern architecture: That was the intention to create a collective admiration of modernization in the society, to authorize architectural profession as an indispensable field in process of 'nation building' and 'civilization'.

Round corners

Apart from this obsession with circular windows, Turkish modern architecture widely used rounded corners as a second recurrent feature. Although this might again be linked to the machine imagery, there are other inherent implications of curved forms.

As stated earlier, Turkish Modern architecture did not instantly appear with the modernization reforms. There was a long processing time for the formal language of the 1930's modern architecture to develop. Secondly, architects had to struggle with the inadequate construction industry and weak national economy. Hence, forms of 1930's modern residential architecture were far from being radically new, contrary to what the architects claimed. It is true that on the first glance they attracted the attention of the viewers, but



Fig. 4.24 Gunes Apartment, Taksim, Istanbul



Fig. 4.25 House in Moda, Istanbul



Fig.4.26 Seyfi Arkan, President's summer residence, Florya, Istanbul

possibly residents or users found the similar plan layouts or functions that have been used for years before 1930's. In this smooth transitional phase, architects needed a more strong visual feature to enhance their argument about "being radical and revolutionary." Thus, rounded corners were enthusiastically accepted.

Though modern residential architecture was labeled as 'cubic architecture' due to the appearance of integrated orthogonal volumes, in reality, buildings were simple objects with the additions or subtractions of minor volumes and openings. Only Seyfi Arkan's highly articulated designs might be excluded from this generalization. With strictly defined site constraints, architects were often left to experiment only on the surfaces of their designs, especially in apartments. Since architects were also aware of this situation, they employed the rounded corner as an important feature to break the monotony of blocks. In most cases we can see half or a quadrant of a cylindrical volumes attached to the basic orthogonal mass of the buildings. Usually living rooms were located in these rounded volumes with the most possible functional approach.

One of the possible inspirational sources for the extensive use of rounded corners might be Eric Mendelsohn. It is well known that he had directly influenced the modern architecture in Tel Aviv, where he actually lived for several years. But we can not give all the credits to him in Turkey's case, despite the fact that most of the architectural historians explained the extensive use of round corners in Turkey with

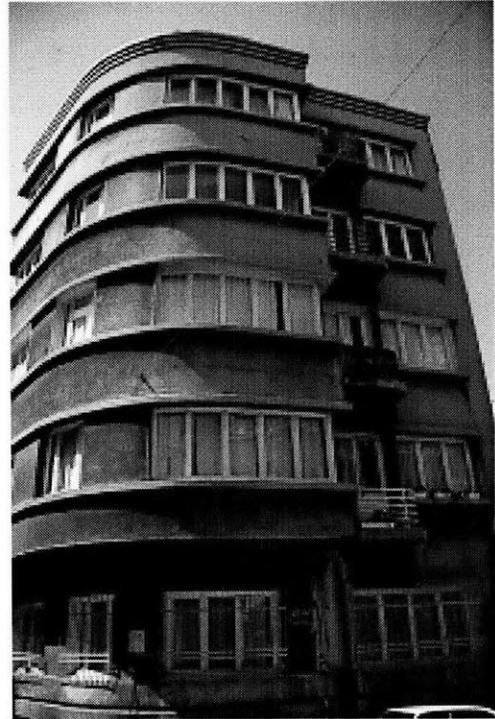


Fig.4.27 Architect Hasan, Apartment in Cihangir, Istanbul, 1932



Fig.4.28 Apartment in Gumussuyu, Istanbul

an influence created by Mendelsohn.⁶ Although his projects and sketches were published for a few of times in *Arkitekt*, he did not receive an exceptional admiration from Turkish architects.

A possible explanation might be the effects that rounded corners created on the viewers as well as the users. In Istanbul, the large number of buildings, whether modern 'cubic' apartments or other examples built before 1930's, had orthogonal forms. In that orthogonal context, only curved surfaces would be a new radical form. It was almost disturbingly unfamiliar to the citizens. This visual alienation was employed to its extents to provoke the consciousness of modernization, similar to the use of circular window. As Anthony Vidler, argued in his book, *'The Architectural Uncanny'*, modernization was closely linked to the uncanny forms in Western culture, where estrangement became the catchword for modern man. Vidler, by relating the effects created by uncanny forms to psychological explanations of modernity, creates a new category for the analysis of forms. He claims that, in the bourgeois class a deliberate creation of an insecurity by means of alienation was almost quintessential.

*"At the heart of the anxiety provoked by such alien presences was fundamental insecurity: that of the newly established class, not quiet at home in its own home. The uncanny, in this sense, might be characterized as the quintessential bourgeois kind of fear: one carefully bounded by the limits of real material security and the pleasure principle afforded by a terror that was, artistically at least, kept well under control"*⁷

6- Aslanoglu, Inci. *Erken Cumhuriyet Donemi Mimarligi 1923-1938*. Ankara: Orta Dogu Teknik Universitesi, 1980.

7. Vidler, Anthony, *Architectural Uncanny*, MITPress, 1992

Strikingly similar to those interpretations, Halide Edip Adivar, a prominent writer of the period complained about the new architecture of the period with the following words,.

“...it 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 set-backs, 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”⁸

In this interpretation, which is in fact an excerpt from a novel, she did not specifically mention the weird appearances of round corners. However, given the fact that a large number of buildings had round corners or semi-cylinders, the disturbing effect of uncanny forms could also be linked to the rounded corners.

Commonly rounded spaces were used as living rooms and they were naturally placed in the most precious corner on the overall plan layout. Since strip band window was also an important feature that Turkish architects were ambitious to employ, most of these rounded spaces had windows alongside their exterior facades. However, those windows were not actually band windows in the sense that Le Corbusier had promoted, but they were vertical windows placed side by side to give the effect of band window. This was a compro-

8. **Adivar, Halide Edip**, *Tatarcik* as cited by Bozdogan, Sibel in “Living Modern: The Cubic House in Early Republican Turkey”, Housing and Settlement in Anatolia, 1996

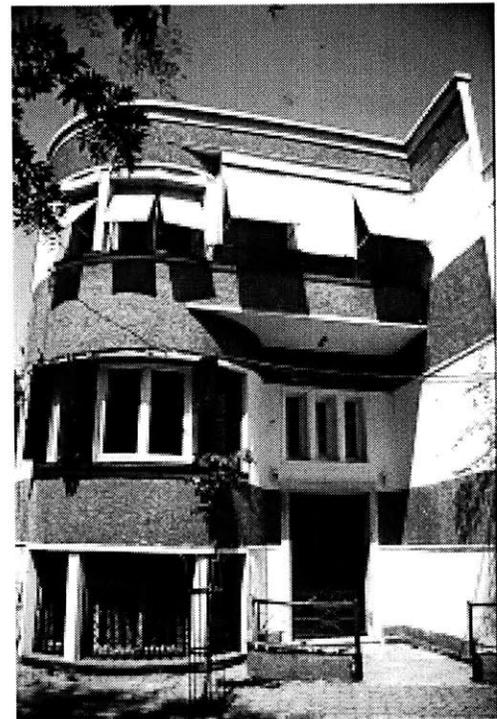


Fig.4.29 Apartment in Buyukada, Istanbul

mise that Turkish architects had to make given the inadequacy of a constructional industry that was not able to produce band windows, and large glass surfaces.

Commonly those rounded living rooms also had balconies in the front, which gave the apartments a stronger sense of machine aesthetics, as a result of the rhythmic repetition of slabs. For instance the Sirri Arif's Levant apartment in Nisantasi (Fig.4.30), Adil Denktas's Tuten apartment in Taksim (Fig.4.31) or Seyfi Arkan's apartment again in Taksim (Fig.4.32) have that kind of a streamlined machine imagery.

On the other hand, in some single family houses, semi-cylindrical volumes were widely used, again to accommodate the functionally most important spaces, like living or dining



Fig. 4.30 Sirri Arif, Levant apartment Nisantasi, Istanbul, 1932



Fig.4.31 Adil Denktas, Tuten Apartment Taksim/Istanbul, 1936

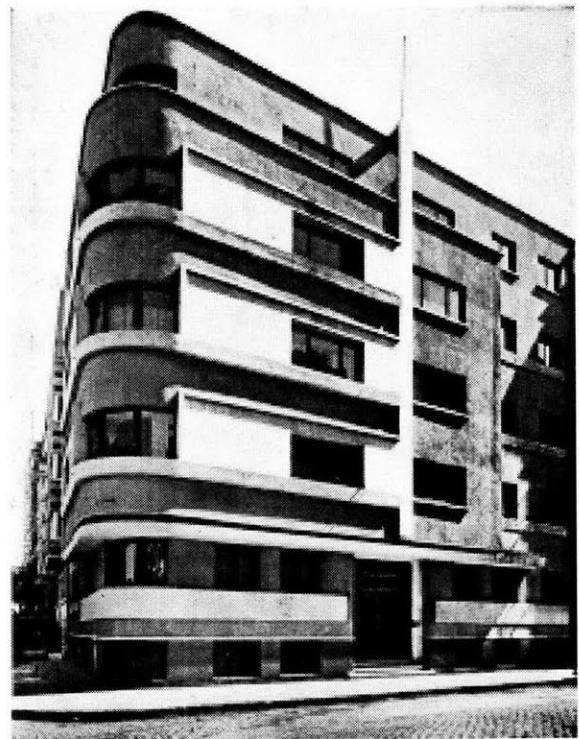


Fig.4.32 Seyfi Arkan, Taksim, Istanbul 1939

rooms. For instance in Abidin Mortas's design in Feneryolu (Fig.4.33), in Edip Erbilin's villa in Bebek (Fig.4.34) or in Munci Tangor's designs (Figs.4.35-4.36), rounded spaces all accommodate the living rooms or they are the terraces of the living rooms. It is interesting to observe that, even Sedad Hakki Eldem, who ardently advocated traditional "Turkish House" as an inspirational source for modern Turkish architecture, had designed a villa with features that were derived from traditional architecture. However the most important feature of the house was a round corner despite the fact that round corners did not have such precedents in traditional Turkish architecture. (Fig.4.37) In one of another villa, Eldem used a rounded projection instead of a round corner. This house was built on the foundation walls of an old traditional mansion and the initial plan had a large rectangular projection. Although it might be a reference to



Fig.4.33 Abidin Mortas, Villa in Erenkoy, Istanbul 1937

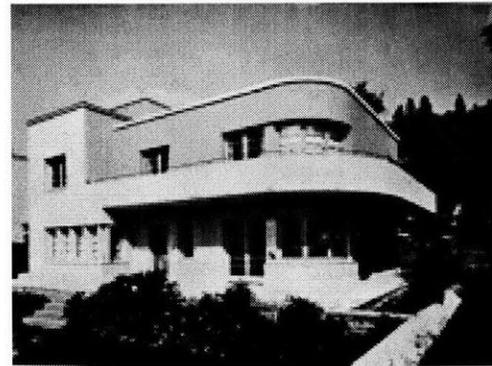


Fig.4.34 Edip Erbilin, Villa in Bebek, Istanbul, 1936

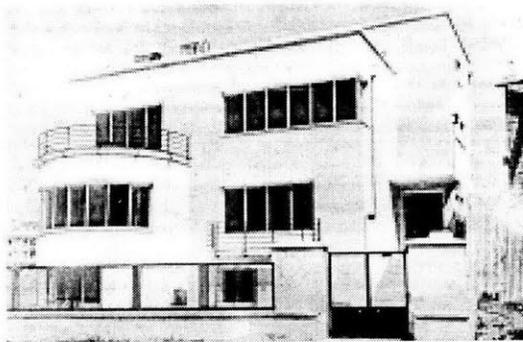


Fig.4.37 Zeki Salah, Villa in Kadikoy, Istanbul 1932

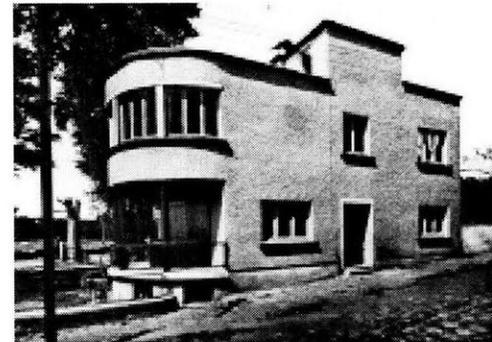


Fig.4.35. Munci Tangor, Villa in Kadikoy, Istanbul, 1939

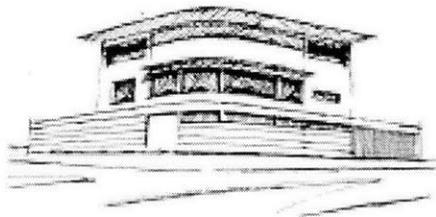


Fig.4.38 Sedad Hakki Eldem, Villa in Macka, 1933

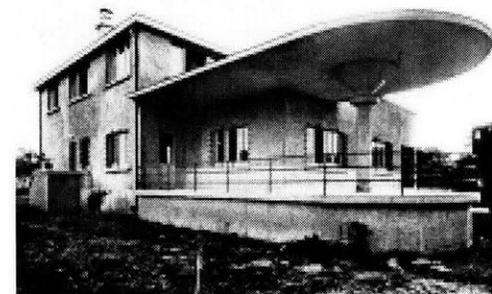


Fig.4.36 Munci Tangor, House for Mr. Macit, Baglarbasi, Istanbul, 1939

oval sofas that could be occasionally seen in the traditional Turkish architecture, Eldem courageously converted the old rectangular projection into an oval one and used it as the major living space instead of a transitory space (Fig.4.39).

Another explanation for the use of round corners was attached to the issue of orientation. One of the facts that modern architecture in Istanbul had to face was the strong topographical character of the city. Even the areas which this study covers, like Taksim and Kadikoy, topography was strong enough to make the issue of view a consideration of the architects. Although view was something that became one of the design criteria in some of the Western modern architectural examples, especially in Le Corbusier's projects, none of the major European cities had such a strong topographical character like Istanbul which forced them to take the view as a necessary consideration in every design they made.

In all the projects that had round space, view was an important factor that architects had to respond. Within these round spaces, residents must have felt themselves like being in a lighthouse where their gazes scanned the view through the windows of a circular spaces. (Figs.4.40-4.41-4.42) Even in the projects which did not have circular spaces, this effect was tried to be achieved by means of continuous use of vertical windows. Yet, rounded corners were valuable tools for Istanbul architects to augment this effect. The topography and view issues might also be the explanation of the rarity of round corners in residential architecture of Ankara, which had a flat topography that hardly produced exciting views.

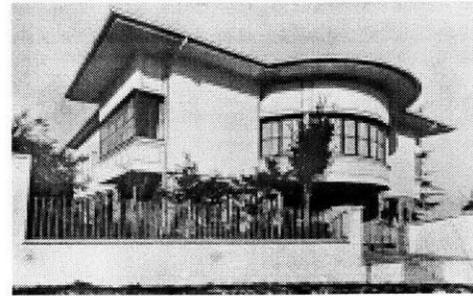


Fig.4.39 Sedad Hakki Eldem, Villa in Tesvikiye, Istanbul 1938

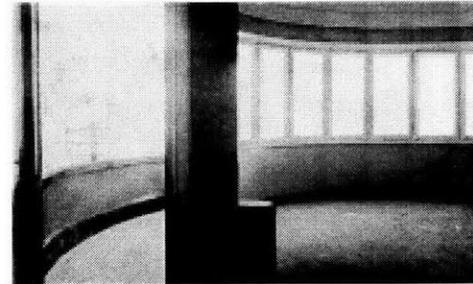


Fig.4.40 Sirri Arif, Levent Apartment in Nisantasi, Istanbul, 1932



Fig.4.41 Adil Denktas, Tuten Apartment Taksim, Istanbul, 1936

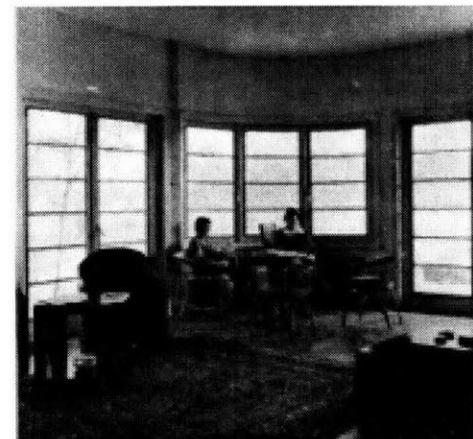


Fig.4.42 Edip Erbilin, villa in Bebek, Istanbul, 1937

In addition to the rounded corners that were being used as spaces to be inhabited, we see the use of roundness as an important element in varying smaller scales. Using curved corners in the entrance areas of apartments or houses was a common method among architect to emphasize the importance of the threshold spaces. For instance, in Samih Rustem's own house, (Fig.4.43) he emphasized the entrance with curved streamline features, similar to the entrance of Sedad Hakki Eldem's apartment in Macka (Fig.4.44) or Zeki Sayar's apartment in Taksim (Fig.4.45).

As a result, roundness was also an important recurrent feature in modern residential architecture of 1930's Turkey. It was used as a device to respond the view problems that Istanbul topography had created, and to emphasize the thresholds spaces and moreover rounded corners created an alienation in the urban environment, which also triggered the social consciousness on modernization.

Discrepancies between the interior and exterior

The above mentioned, Halide Edip Adivar's interpretation of 'cubic architecture' was an example for the numerous critiques of modern architecture of the period, which started to become widespread among the intelligentsia in mid 1930's. Other writers condemned modern residential architecture as being cold, sterile and inhabitable, clinic-like buildings.

"...Couches like dentist-chairs, seats like operation tables, sofas resembling the interiors of automo-

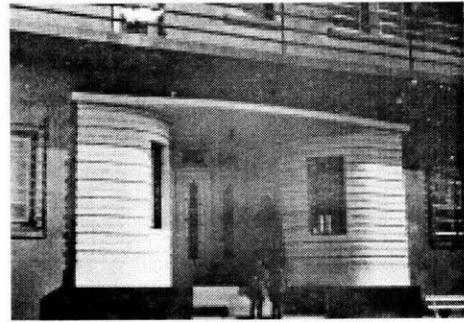


Fig.4.43 Samih Rustem, villa, Adana, 1932



Fig.4.44 Sedad Hakki Eldem, apartment, Macka, Istanbul, 1934

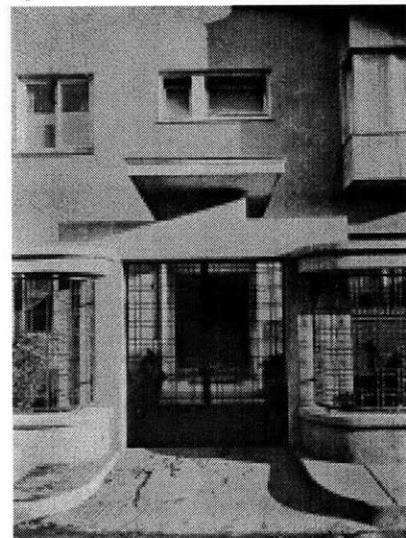


Fig.4.45 Zeki Sayar, Cili Apartment, Taksim, Istanbul, 1936

biles, octagonal tables, closets like grain storages, display windows and finally, scattered all over these, some weird, grotesque knickknacks; naked walls and naked floors...and a clinical gloss on everything.”⁹

However in the case of modern architecture in Turkey, alienation caused by unfamiliar forms did not operate actually on the users or residents of the ‘modern’ buildings but it affected the citizens on the streets. This becomes more clear if the interiors of the apartments and houses are investigated more closely. While most of the modern buildings of the period had that uncanny aesthetics, due to the use of rounded corners, flat surfaces and abstract volumes, inside we see a totally homely atmosphere, usually far from being a clinical or an avant-garde interior, despite the author’s interpretations. The interiors of those ‘modern’ houses were almost traditional with wooden chairs, heavily ornamented tables, hardwood floors, embroidered curtains and Turkish rugs. Even in the most avant-garde looking examples, like Ernst Egli’s Devres house in Bebek, (Figs. 4.47-4.48) we



Fig.4.46 Zeki Sayar, Villa in Moda, Istanbul, 1936



Fig.4.47-4.48 Ernst Egli, Devres House, Bebek, Istanbul, 1932, interior / exterior,



Fig. 4.49 Zeki Sayar, Villa in Suadiye, Istanbul, 1937 interior

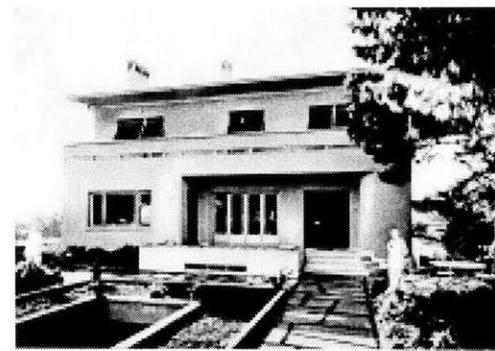


Fig. 4.50 Zeki Sayar, Villa in Suadiye, Istanbul, 1937 interior

9-Karaosmanoglu, Yakup Kadri, Ankara as cited by Bozdogan, Sibel in “Living Modern: The Cubic House in Early Republican Turkey”, Housing and Settlement in Anatolia, 1996

found a cozy, dim atmosphere inside the house, achieved by using dark wooden wall panels and hardwood floors. This conflicting situation quickly reminds us the architecture of Adolf Loos, especially his *sachlich* interiors.

In his essay “*Architecture in a cultural field*”, Stanford Anderson describes Loos’ position as critico-conventionalist.¹⁰ Anderson claims that, by clarifying the demarcation of the alienated metropolitan life and homely interiors of houses, Loos had grasped a totally different attitude than of Modern Movement architects. For Anderson, Loos had successfully incorporated two diametrically opposite ideologies, that of invention and tradition, in a polemical domain such as the domestic architecture. In the hectic environment of the metropolis, Loos believed that home had to be a refuge space for the modern man, who had already been split psychologically. He had to behave different in the modern metropolitan life outside then he behaved inside. So, Loos aligned the aesthetics of the outer appearances of his houses with the modern metropolitan condition. Yet, he strictly defended that inside, a modernist conventionalism would operate more successfully than an avant-garde interior.

Although Adolf Loos must had been known by Turkish architects, we do not see direct references to Loos by the architects of the period. Yet, the contrast between the cozy atmosphere of the interiors and the alienated forms of the apartments or villas, might be an unconscious attempt to link conventionalism to modernism, in Turkey’s case. In the absence of a modern metropolitan environment in Istanbul, it

10- Anderson, Stanford. “Architecture in a cultural field” in Wars of Classification, Princeton Architectural Press, 1988

is interesting to see that Turkish architects were actually demonstrating Loos's theories. However, the intention was not to create a refuge space inside the houses, but to demonstrate a modern appearance to the city. Even though architects claim that the interiors were radically new and modern, the facts show that traditional elements were not expelled totally for the sake of modernism. Contrarily, they were used extensively to create a comfortable interior. Most of the residents of 'modern' houses belonged to a newly emerging wealthy class of merchants, elite bureaucrats or professionals. Tradition was not something they were ready to dismiss quickly. The attempts to continue the habitual life style in an avant-garde outfit, was a cultural response to the multilayered society like Turkey, which was at the time in pains to create new layers and erase some older ones. Since modernism was also supported by an official program, building exteriors had the greatest importance to accelerate the modernization of the society, while interior life was more slow to transform itself. Another speculative explanation on the discrepancies between the exteriors and interiors of the buildings can be made by interpreting this attitude as a strategical resistance of the inhabitants to Modern Architecture.¹¹ Since we could not reach the clients of those buildings, this interpretation have to remain as a speculation until the social anthropological studies give us a clear picture of the inhabitants of those modern residential examples.

11- I used the "strategical resistance" in the sense of Michel de Certeau's The Practice of Everyday Life. In order to challenge Michel Foucault's ideas on power constructions, de Certeau suggests that strategic or tactical resistances had always existed in power relationships. Since the 1930s was a period in which every cultural and social field was dominated by state power, this argument could be a gateway to explain the interior/exterior discrepancies of the early Republican residences.

Double Entrance Doors

Another recurrent feature of the modern residential architecture of 1930's Istanbul was the existence of double entrance doors, usually seen on the multistory apartment buildings. Architects of the period were proud of their products to be totally functional and hygienic, yet this was not always the reality. One of the things they absolutely wanted to provide was the service entrance which had to be linked directly to the kitchen. In villa type houses where the surrounding space was not a limiting factor, this service entrance was easily placed at one of the side facades, close to the kitchen, office and to the maid's room. However, when they wanted to comply with the same functional and hygienic architectural standards in the spatially restricted apartments, peculiar situations began to appear. In a couple of projects we see two entrance doors located side by side, one is for the exclusive use of the inhabitants of the apartment, the other is for the maid's or servant's usage. As seen for instance in Goksun apartment or in Gunes apartment, (Figs.4.51-4.52-4.53) one enters almost the same space through those different doors. In the case of Gunes apartment, the service door is designated more clearly with a lower height and a narrower width than the main door.(Fig.4.53) When there was enough space a separate stair and entrance for the maid was preferred. For instance, in Tuten apartment we see a separate section for the service, with a small staircase, a maid's room and an entrance at the rear of the apartment. (Fig.4.55) In most cases, there existed a very small maid's room confined to the space between the master bedrooms and the kitchen. Usually it received its daylight from the light well that was also used to provide daylight to the bathrooms and the kitchen.

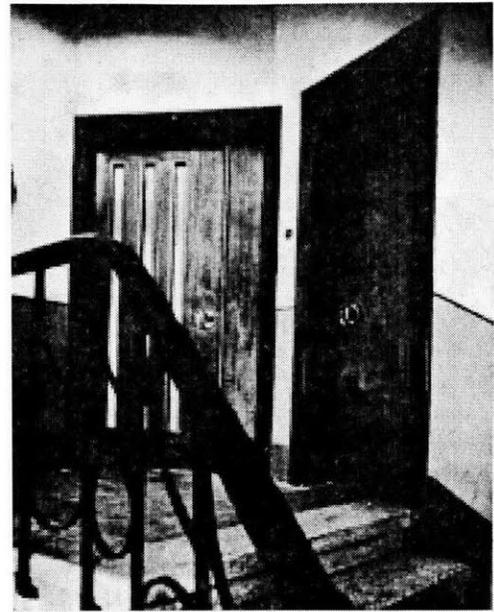


Fig.4.51 Asim Mutlu, Goksun Apartment, Macka, Istanbul, 1940

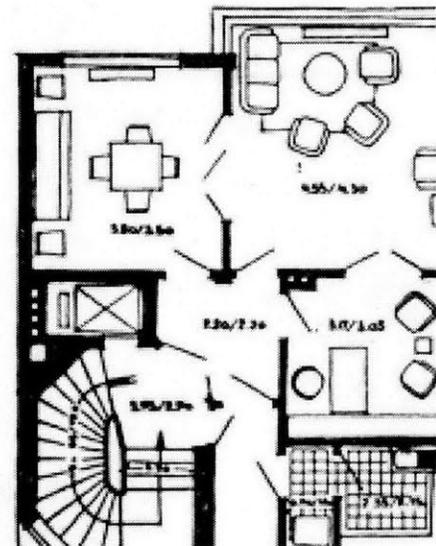


Fig.4.52 Asim Mutlu, Goksun Apartment, Macka, Istanbul, 1940



Fig.4.53 Gunes Apartment, Taksim, Istanbul

While the use of double entrances in apartments was explained by hygienic and functional requirements, it is also obvious that, it pointed to a kind of class structure in the early Republican period. As stated earlier, most of the residents of those 'modern' houses were middle or upper class merchants, professionals or bureaucrats. It was plausible to accept that the clients belonged to an economic class whose members could afford a resident servant. However, as we saw in the first chapter, majority of the Istanbul families even before the Republic did not have live-in servants, despite the fact that economy was more stable and strong before the WWI. So, we can suggest that, although there were maid rooms in almost every apartment and villas of the 1930s, not all of them accommodated resident maids, and maybe sometimes used for other purposes.

It is also remarkable that in such small apartments, residents were not uncomfortable to live with someone who is not from the family. However, the maid's or servant's position in Turkey is different than it is in Europe. Coming from an Ottoman life pattern, having a maid, a servant or another person in the service of the household, was not uncommon. Those people were usually treated more than a servant (sometimes called *evlatlik*, which has a close meaning to 'adopted child'). Their education, accommodation and daily expenses were covered in exchange of household service, like cleaning, cooking or shopping. They were usually treated as a member of a family, though a slight privacy line was always preserved.



Fig.4.54 Adalet Apartment, Taksim, Istanbul

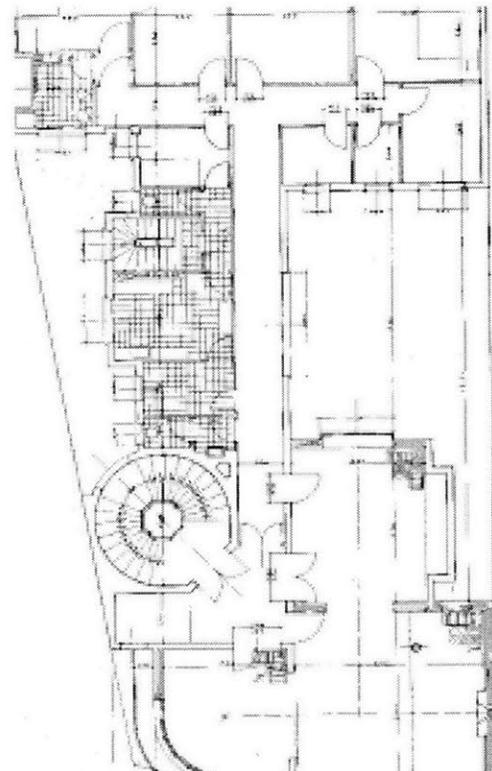


Fig.4.55 Adil Denktas, Tuten Apartment, Taksim, Istanbul, 1937

Thus, the existence of double entrance doors does not necessarily show a class conflict but also does not deny the fact that there existed a unique social class structure in 1930s Turkey. However this class structure worked different in the early years of Turkey than it did in the Western societies. An article in a family magazine in 1931, is interesting to understand the nature of this structure in Turkey in the 1930's. Here author Ahmet Cevat admired the Kemalist ideology and claimed that it was striving to construct a coherence between the social classes.¹² It is interesting to see that, instead of class elimination or establishing an equality between classes, a coherence between different classes was advocated. Turkish Modern architecture also avoided to import any sociological or leftist ideology from the West or the Soviet Union, though the intelligentsia was not so reluctant while being inspired by the formal characteristics of the modern Western culture. None of the theoretical texts that had been written by Turkish architects had really dealt with ideological or political backgrounds of modern architecture, except the emphasis given to nationalism. Since housing was not a problem in Turkey as it had been in Germany and in other Western countries, social aspirations of Turkish architects were limited to create an admiration of modernism, rather than using architecture as a critical tool. Even in a few housing projects that Turkish architects had designed, class distinction was apparent. For instance in the housing project for coal miners in Zonguldak, architect Seyfi Arkan used simple basic geometries in the houses of the workers. The repetition of those white blocks were similar to the *Siedlungen* of Germany. However, a directors house larger than any other

12- Cevat Ahmet, "Siniflar Arasinda Ahenk" (Coherence between classes) in *Muhit*, June 1931, n.32, p.1-3

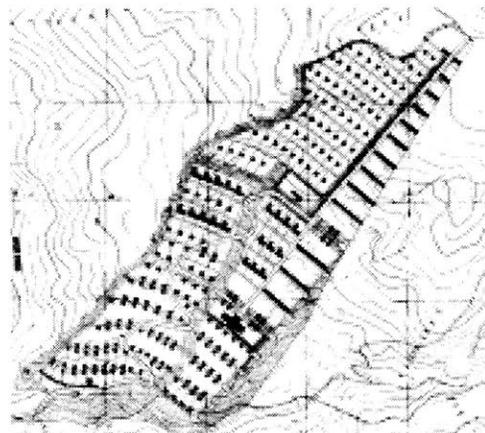
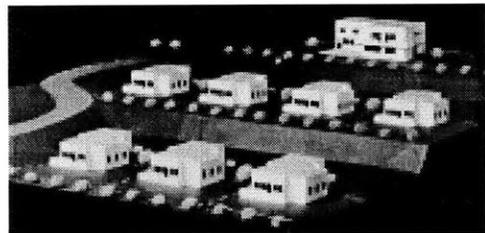


Fig.4.56-4.57 Seyfi Arkan, Coal Miners housing project, Zonguldak, 1937

worker's house, was placed on the highest location of the site, overlooking all the site from a domineering position. (Figs.4.56-4.57) Architects did not feel themselves obliged to eliminate class distinctions by means of architecture, but rather they saw class structure as a design parameter and incorporated it into the functionalist rhetoric of modern architecture.

The Constraints of the Construction Industry

Turkish modern architecture had always been in a dialogue with technology despite the absence of industry in reality. Circular window was in a way a manifestation of using the imagery of machine aesthetics in the conditions where it was lacking, like the constructivism in Russia. Certain other features appear constantly in modern Turkish residential architecture. Although they were not seen as often as circular windows, some of them are remarkable to explain the link between technological imagery and modern architecture of the period. An important factor that affected the production of the modern residential examples was reinforced concrete. The scarcity of cement plants in 1930's and the expensive importing costs of materials limited the use of reinforced concrete to slabs and cantilevers mainly. Commonly slabs were carried by load bearing brick walls and sometimes by a couple of reinforced concrete columns. The cost of reinforced concrete made some architectural elements more precious than the others. For instance columns became important elements, which were too expensive to hide within the walls. When architects could afford to use reinforced concrete, columns were usually displayed proudly outside the buildings, supporting a balcony or some parts of the roof.



Fig.4.58 Seyfi Arkan, Villa in Arnavutkoy.



Fig.4.59 H.Adil, Villa in Feneryolu, 1936



Fig.4.60 Munci Tangorl, Villa in baglarbasi, 1939

Sometimes they were placed in the most visible locations inside the living rooms of the apartments, as in the case of Ucler apartment by Seyfi Arkan (Fig. 4.61) or in Tuten Apartment by Adil Denktas. (Fig.4.62) In several houses the entrance was emphasized by the setting the entrance door back by using a single column in this entrance area. (Figs.4.58-4.59-4.60)

Corner windows had a similar duty to reflect the new technological capabilities of modern architecture. Windows without any structural support on corners were widely used in order to show that cantilevered slabs above them were made of reinforced concrete. This intention legitimized the use of projections like bay windows, which enabled them both to produce corner windows and cantilevered slabs at the same time, though their size were usually very limited. (Fig.4.63)

Due to the preciousness of reinforced concrete, architects did not have enough freedom to experiment the interaction of volumes and masses, as their colleagues in the Western world had been experiencing. Most of the apartments were formed by the repetition of a single flat plan and most of the detached houses were formed by simple geometrical volumes. So, except in a few examples, it is rare to find out intricate three dimensional articulations in the interiors of Turkish modern residential architecture. Since, usually only the slabs were made of concrete, most of the examples had to sacrifice the ever aspired band window of Modern Architecture to more smaller and narrower windows. Due to the same technological and economical insufficiencies, glass could never become an important feature in Turkish modern architecture, although it was a highly debated polemical issue

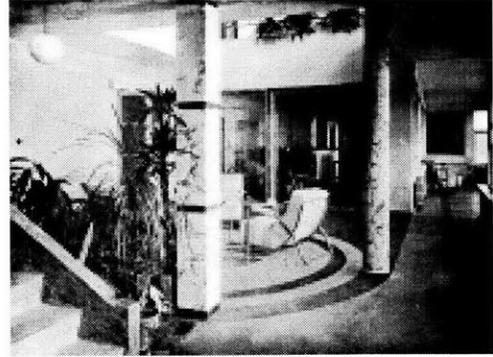


Fig.4.61 Seyfi Arkan, Ucler apt. Taksim, Istanbul, 1935

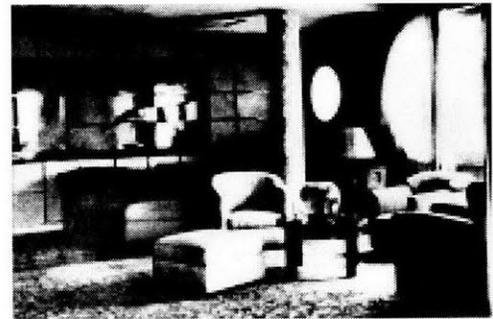


Fig.4.62 Adil Denktas, Tuten apt. Taksim, Istanbul, 1936



Fig.4.63 Tahsin Sermet, Sariyer, Istanbul, 1934

in Western modern architecture. However, some architects tried to create at least the appearance of mechanized modern architecture of the West. Similar to circular window, some types of windows were also believed to be 'modern' in the minds of architects. One of the most accepted forms was the large window surfaces divided horizontally by rectangular panes. (Figs.4.64-4.65) That kind of window was widely used in living rooms or other important spaces of the buildings. (Fig.4.42) A window detail from one of Arif Hikmet's villas is interesting to introduce at this point since it is one of the two detail drawings published in *Arkitekt* between the studied years.¹⁴ Although that kind of horizontal division was suitable for thin metal frames, Hikmet had forced the traditional wooden window frame craftsmanship to create the appearance of 'modern' windows, though obviously not for functional purposes. Due to the nature of wooden construction, an extremely thick window frame had to be used for the sake of a 'modern' image. (Fig. 4.66-4.67) The use of metal for the window frames instead of wood, was preferred when it could be afforded. For instance, in the explanatory text of Sinasi Lugal's apartment, (*Arkitekt*, 1937, p.179) the iron window frames were emphasized. Similarly, Behcet

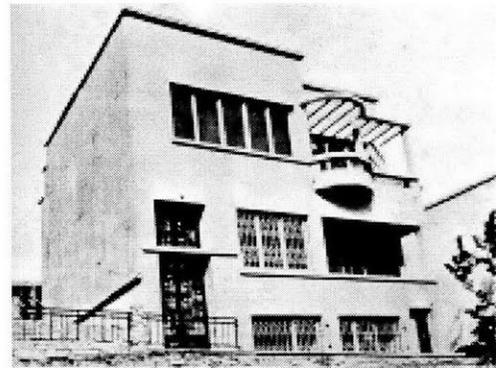
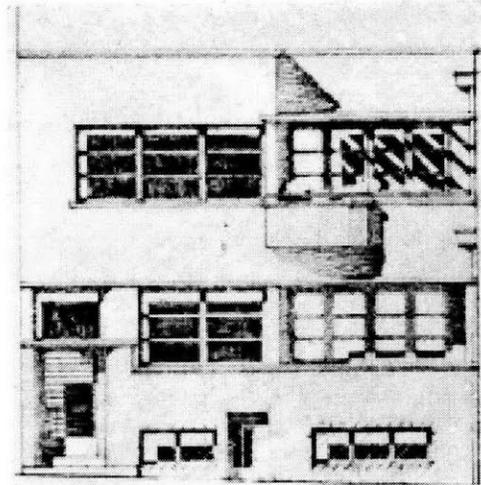


Fig.4.64-4.65 *Abidin Mortas, Nisantasi, 1934*

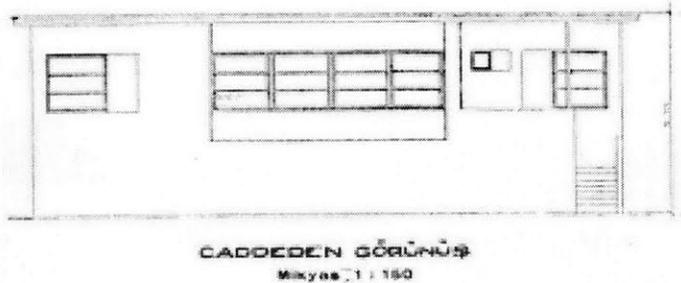
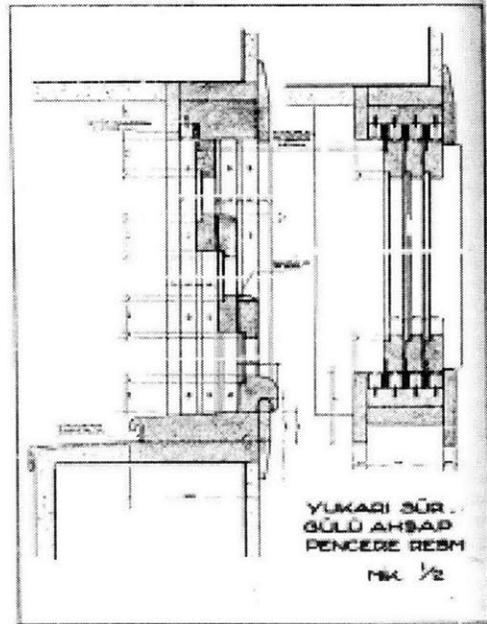


Fig.4.66-4.67 *Arif Hikmet, 1934*



13. The other detail which is almost the same as the one presented here, is made by Abidin Mortas for a house in Kasimpasi. *Arkitekt*, 1932, p.256

Bedrettin, in his essay, summarized the characteristic features of ‘new’ architecture with following words:

“...we can use windows without any posts on the corners. Terrace roofs had started to replace sloped roofs with tiles. Wooden window frames left their places to iron frames. Staircase windows now can be a single window from top to bottom...”¹⁴

Although technological capabilities of modern architecture were limited by the economic and industrial conditions of 1930’s Turkey, architects tried to use the variations of formal possibilities that new construction methods and materials produced in the west, though they had to make some compromises, like using wood as a substitute to metal.

Distancing the Modern House from the Beaux Arts Tradition

With the 1926 reforms, the entire agenda of the Academy of Fine Arts (where all the architects of 1930’s had been educated) was radically changed by Ernst Egli who was invited from Austria. The shift from Beaux Arts tradition to a modernist agenda was extremely radical, rapid and strong. After those architects who received a modernist architectural education started to practice, they tried to distance themselves from the Beaux Arts tradition in every respect. When we examine the architectural products of the period we see a conscious escape from the Beaux Art language. So Beaux Arts terms like ornament, symmetry and classical orders

¹⁴- **Unsal, Behcet** “Mimarlıkta Basitlik ve Moda” (Simplicity and Fashion in Architecture), *Arkitekt* 1934, p.213 (my translation)

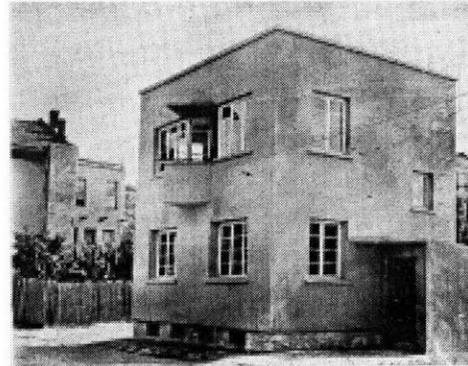


Fig. 4.68 **Abidin Mortas**, H.Ziya House, Samatya, 1931

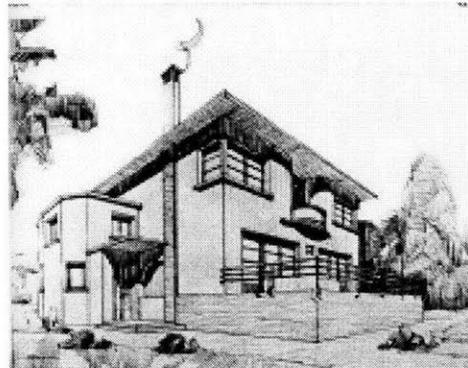


Fig.4.69 **Abidin Mortas**, house for a fictional client, 1931

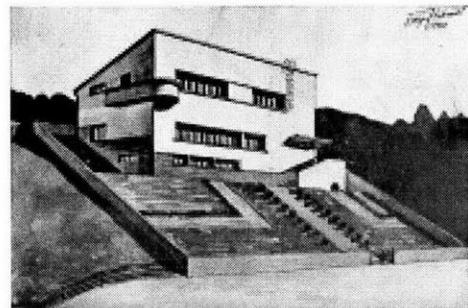


Fig.4.70 **Edip Hikmet**, graduation project, 1931

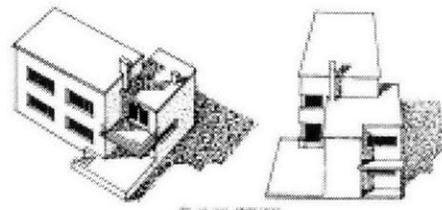


Fig.4.71 **Bekir Ihsan**, Fethi Bey House, 1933

were denigrated extremely. The reflections of this distancing was reflected in the examples of the period.

For instance it is interesting to observe that the entrances on most of villas were forced to be located on the either side of the main facade. (Figs.4.68-4.69-4.70-4.71) Though not always successfully articulated, as we see in the houses of Abidin Mortas, architects did not want to locate entrances in the middle of the facades. Usually the entrance stairs and the doors were located in such a way that, one needs to rotate his direction in 90 degrees turns to enter the house. (Fig.4.70-4.71)

While it was hard to maintain this feature in the apartments with small lots confined with adjacent buildings, sometimes architects tried to make this shifts and rotations in the entrance halls of the apartments. For instance in the case of Ucler Apartment the entrance door was deliberately shifted from the axis of the staircase to force the user to make 90 degrees turns to go to the upper floors. (Fig.4.71). Similarly Sedad Hakki Eldem's Ceylan apartment in Taksim, has such features. He not only made this shifts of movement but also used a large mirror in the entrance hall to enhance the intricate paths of movements inside the space. (Fig.4.73-4.74)

It is obvious that, except for a few examples, architects usually avoided to place the entrance in the middle of the main facade. They also avoided a symmetrical facade or volume organization. The asymmetrical forms were born as a reaction to the Beaux Art tradition in the Western architectural culture as it was also carried to Turkey. However, the

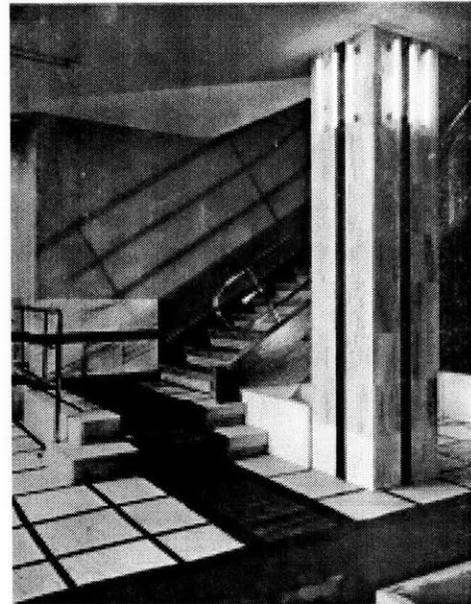


Fig.4.72 Seyfi Arkan, Ucler Apt.Taksim, Istanbul, 1935

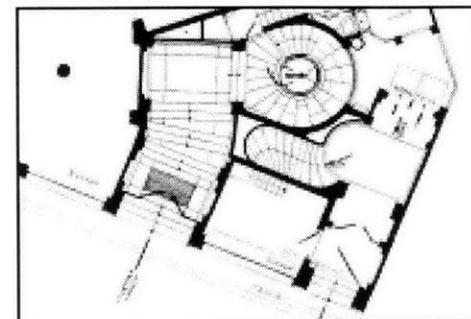


Fig.4.73-4.74 Sedad Hakki Eldem, Ceylan Apt, Taksim, Istanbul, 1933

shift from classical Beaux Art language to the modern architectural language started by the last decades of 19th century in the West and it was more gradual contrary to the rapid and abrupt change in Turkey's case. Turkish architects in 1930's did not only avoid the Beaux Arts tradition of classical language of ornament and order but they also dismissed its spatial characteristics and adhered to the modernist language which emphasized asymmetry, surface, volume mass or simplicity instead of order, rhythm, symmetry and ornament.

As a result, we see that Turkish architects, although European modern architecture was their main source, had to invent new strategies and distinct parameters to operate within the unique environment of 1930's Turkey: As in the use of circular window as an icon to create the admiration of modernization in the society or the use of rounded corners to give the uncanny effect to evoke and maintain a social cognizance of modernization; like the use of double entrance doors to incorporate an existing class structure into functionalist idioms, the expressions of constructional capabilities of the new era or the conscious and continuous distancing from the Beaux Arts tradition, Turkish modern residential architecture became the field of these new strategies for architects of the early Republican Period of Turkey.

Tuten Apartment as a case

One of the most important buildings in modern residential architecture of the early Republican period is the Tuten apartment, designed by Adil Denktas in 1936 probably for a Tobacco merchant or manufacturer. The initial name of the apartment was Tabak, but later it was changed to Tuten. Like most of the apartments designed in the 1930s, this building was also named after its owner. This apartment is also Adil Denktas's only work which was published in *Arkitekt* between the year 1931 and 1940. Although Denktas was not as prolific as some of his colleagues like Zeki Sayar, Abidin Mortas or Sedad Hakki Eldem, this particular example was one of the most important apartments of the 1930s. However, an interesting comparison might be a speculative explanation for Denktas's success: According to a table which compares the construction costs of some buildings built between the years 1923 and 1938, Tuten apartment's construction cost was recorded as 120,000 Turkish Lira (TL). This cost is nearly 400% more than the average cost of the seven other residential examples that were listed in the table. Interestingly, the 120,000 TL cost of Tuten apartment is nearly equal to one third of the construction cost of Ankara Exhibition Hall, the pride of Turkish architects which was built two years before the Tuten apartment. Even more surprisingly, The Bursa People's house was built two years after Tuten Apartment for a 20.000 TL, less than our example's construction cost. These figures reflect the high economic status of Denktas's client and also explain how Denktas was free to produce the architecture in his mind without any financial constraints. The explanatory text of the building in *Arkitekt*, stated that the client did not have any interference with the



Fig.4.75 Adil Denktas, Tuten Apartment, Taksim, 1936

architect and left him free in his design process. These were extremely valuable factors in the early Republican period, when most of his colleagues were complaining about limited construction materials, interfering clients and economic constraints.

The site is on Inonu Street, which connects the Dolmabahce Palace Street up to Taksim Square. Although the site is a distorted narrow rectangle sitting on a very steep slope that overlooks the Bosphorus, the proximity of the lot to lively Taksim Square and the Istiklal Street (old Grand Rue Pera) increases its value. It is also confined with two adjacent buildings and the street side of the lot is slanted by a 3.5 meters. (The dotted line depicts the building limits of the lot). Since the building is in a valuable region of Istanbul, all the flats and the garage are currently being used as office spaces. However, in one of the flats which is now being used by a private workers' organization, the layout of the plan was preserved with original doors, chandeliers and wooden wall panels.

Above the street level, there are six floors, of which the top floor was reserved for house keepers and maids. This last floor was set back from the street facade, so only the five normal floors and the entrance floor can be seen from the street. Since the site is on a steep slope, three more floors were located below the street level. The lowest level contains storage spaces and a laundry. The floor above that includes two apartments. A garage designed for three cars is located just below the ground floor. Each floor consists a single flat with approximately 350m² area. So, we see the common archetypal plan layout with service spaces between the living and sleeping zones.

But in this particular example, Denktas turned the unfavorable conditions of designing in a narrow and deep lot into design criteria. As seen in most of the apartments built in similar lots adjacent to other buildings, Denktas located the service spaces in the middle of the plan, and set them back from the adjacent buildings to open two light wells. This created a corridor of 15 meters long which connects the living and sleeping zones.

Corridors were always used hesitantly by Turkish architects in apartment and house designs. For instance, Vedat Tek designed fictional apartments for difficult sites to show that air and ventilation can be provided without compromising the space and without extra cost. Although he did design apartments, he was reluctant to incorporate corridors into his designs. He claimed that corridors and those kinds of apartments were outcomes of Western culture and they were unsuitable for Istanbul's extremely narrow sites. He also asserted that corridors were unfavorable elements which eliminate privacy in the apartments.¹⁵ In order to sustain privacy, in three of his plans, he designed three entrance doors, one for the guests opening to the living area, one for the maid or housekeeper opening directly to the kitchen and service spaces, and one opening to a corridor leading to bedrooms.(Fig.4.77)

In the case of the Tuten Apartment, Denktas forced the spatial qualities of the corridor by stretching it for a 15 meters distance. In order to emphasize this long space,

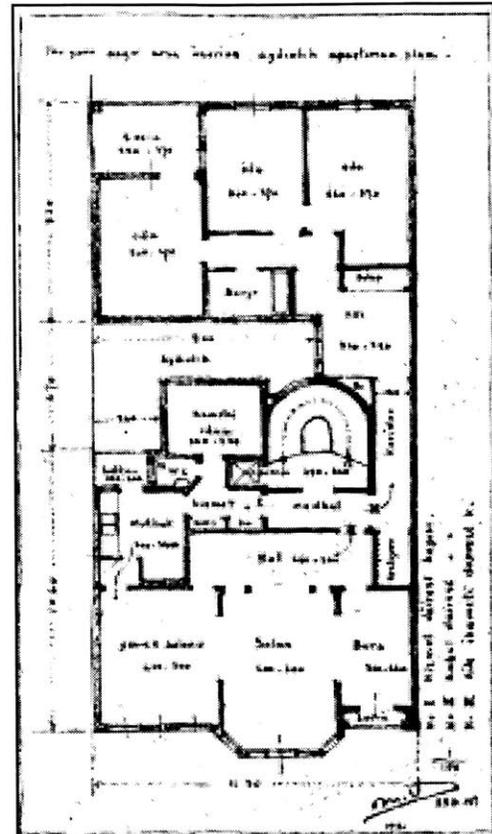


Fig.4.77 Tek, Vedat, 1931

15- Tek, Vedat "İstanbul ikametgahlari" (Istanbul residences), *Arkitekt* 1931, p.322-325

Denktas avoided placing doors on this corridor. Only a single door connects the service spaces like the kitchen, maid's room and the service stair to the interior of the apartment. To emphasize the special quality of this space further, he punctured the opposite wall with a large single window, although he had the option to turn all the wall surface into a window. The bedroom door which is seen at the end of this corridor has a circular window which also enhances the axial condition of this space. (Fig.4.78) This corridor became almost the spine of the overall design. When we look at the plan closely, we realize that the line forming the right side of the corridor was also used to split the overall design into two parts. This dividing line passes through the living spaces and also is reflected on the facade. (Fig.4.76)

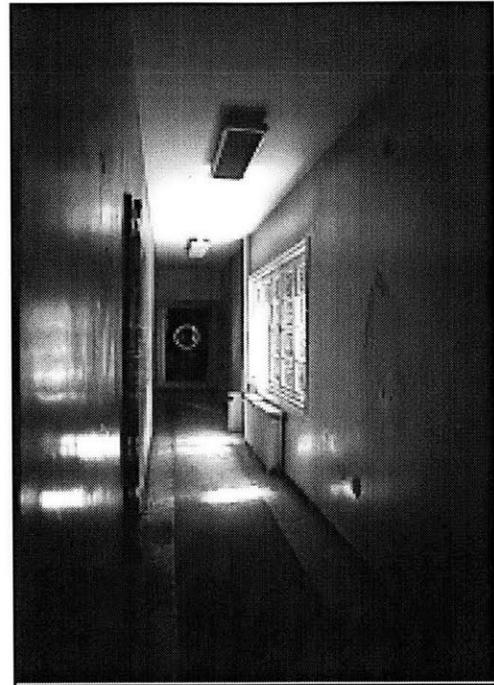


Fig.4.78 Corridor in Tuten Apartment

The facade is one of the most successfully resolved facades built in the 1930's. The split on the facade which is aligned with one of the corridor walls, actually divided the whole image of the apartment into two characteristically opposite halves. The right part of the facade has fewer openings and more flat surfaces, whereas the left side of the facade has balconies and curved corners, which give this side a more three-dimensional movement. In order to enhance this contradictory character, Denktas decided to eliminate the initially planned circular windows on the left, which would otherwise give a symmetrical appearance to the building. (4.79-4.80) The split was further enhanced by locating two similar sized doors on the facade, one for the main entrance and the other for the garage. By using two similar sized doors, Denktas created a facade with the image of two different adjacent buildings. This division of the facade was also ingeniously employed to connect the apartment to two

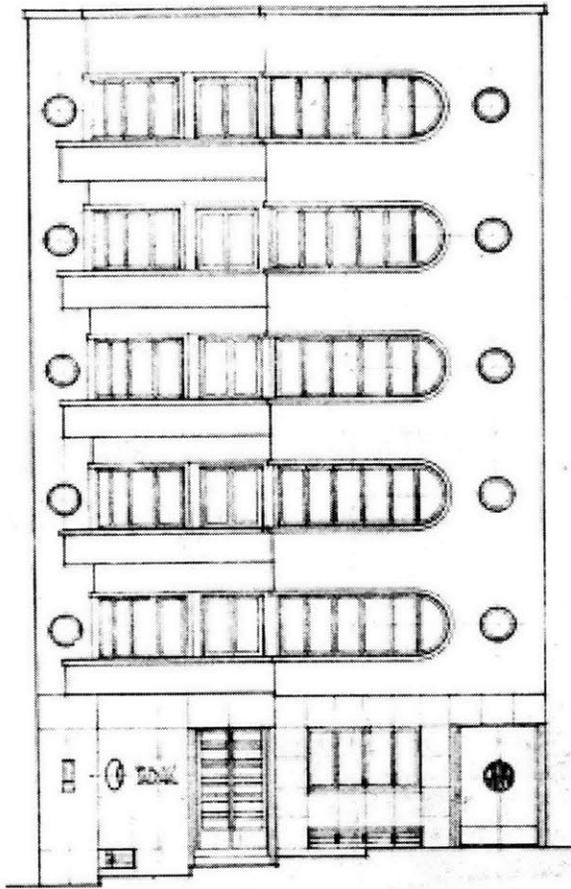


Fig.4.79 Elevation



Fig.4.80 Front Facade

other neighboring buildings and to comply with the slanted plan of the lot. When looked at from an angle, the rounded balconies give the impression of a building located on a corner with two free sides. (Fig.4.81)

With its curved balconies, circular windows and dark colored surfaces the Tuten apartment has references to machine imagery. Similarly, Seyfi Arkan's apartment in Taksim has the same aspirations, though unlike the Tuten Apartment, its facade has no direct links to its plan layout. Seyfi Arkan, who used to design in less constrained sites, did not use the oblique lines as design criteria, whereas Denktas successfully converted the site constraints into advantages. (Fig.4.82) Unlike his Ucler apartment, where he was more free to play with the interacting volumes, Arkan focused on the facade in this example. The building has an image of a solid volume wrapped by several layers of surfaces. (Figs.4.83-4.84) In order to enhance the layered character of this surface, he used dark window frames which were installed on the inner side of the exterior walls. As we saw, most of the architects who designed on a corner site

like this, usually focused on the corners and reserved them for the most important spaces, with balconies and large windows, as in the Tuten Apartment. However Arkan did not reserve a special space for the corner of his building. Instead he folded his layered surface around the corner and covered the other side. This movement of folding enhanced the characteristics of this curved corner.

The recurrent features of the modern residential architecture of the 1930s which were discussed in this chapter were all present in the Tuten apartment. However, the cautious utilization of them made this building a distinct example of the early Republican architectural culture. For



Fig.4.81

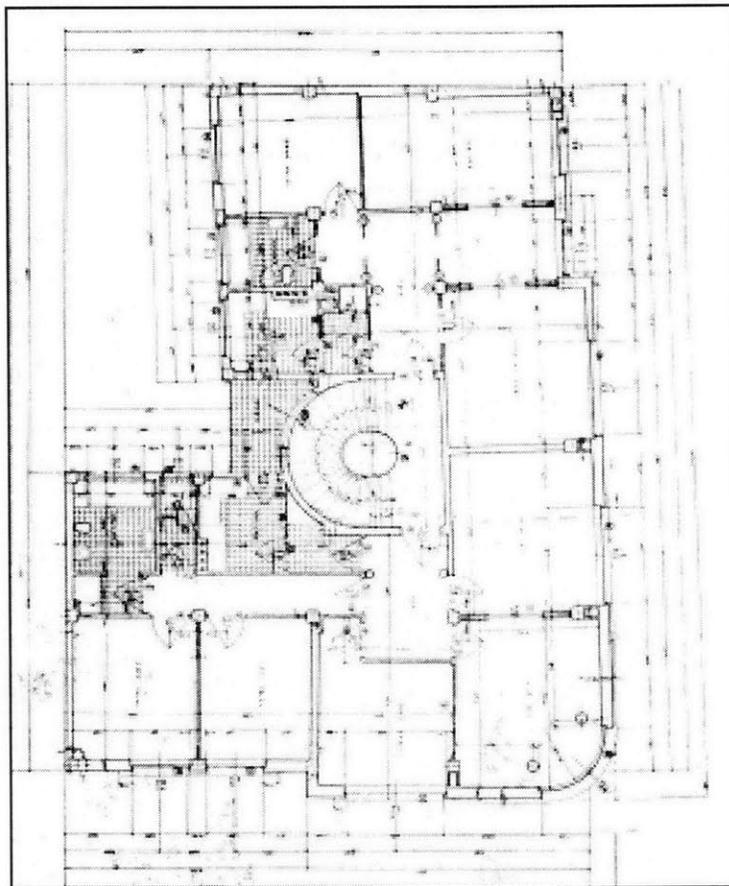
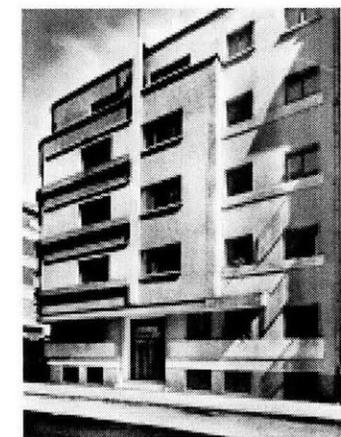
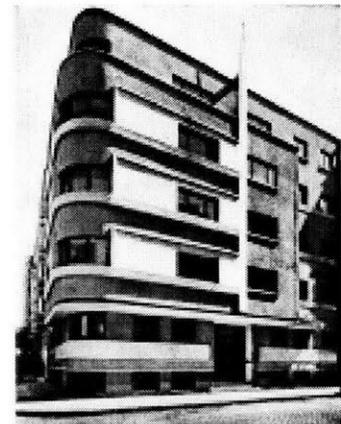


Fig.4.82 Seyfi Arkan, Taksim/Istanbul, 1939



Figs4.83-4.84 Seyfi Arkan, Taksim/Istanbul, 1939

instance, circular windows were located in the living room and they enhanced the spatial qualities of a special part of the room. The left side of the living room, with its fireplace and circular windows on two sides, had been specially treated to create a recessed space. This place was visually separated from the rest of the living room by two circular columns and a lower ceiling. As stated earlier, concrete columns were valuable elements to show the constructional capabilities of “new architecture.” But here, they were also used to define a space. In the ceiling a hidden long and narrow light fixture was installed, which also enhanced the axial qualities of this space together with circular windows. At the construction stage, the circular window at the back of this space was replaced by a circular mirror and the fireplace was removed. Instead of the fireplace, Denktas introduced a display niche. By the removal of fireplace, the spatial characteristics of the space was totally reversed. Instead of a recessed space separated from the rest of the room and where the interest was directed towards the fireplace, now the furniture had to face the living room which totally destroyed the initial purposes of this particular space. The axis of the fireplace also defined the center point of the rounded corner, thus visually linked the two parts of the living area. While these two parts were loosely separated by a curtain, a two winged large door separated the living room from the dining room. This room had two other doors, one connected directly to the entrance hall reserved for the guests, and the other linked to the corridor and eventually to the service spaces. In this design, we see a concession in one of the most desired design features. In almost every

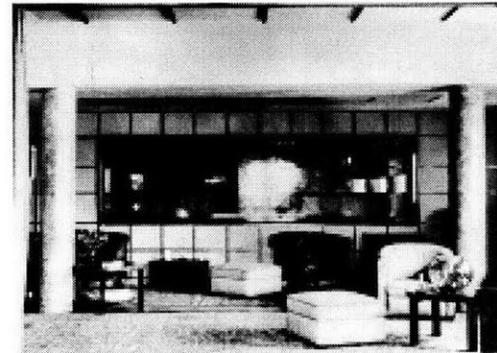


Fig.4.85-4.86-4.87-4.88

example, architects tried to locate the kitchen and the service space directly to the dining room. Sometimes special windows in the walls separated the kitchen and dining room , to ease the dish traffic. However, here Denktas inserted the corridor between the service space and the dining room. He could have made a mirror movement for the service spaces and the sleeping area to connect the kitchen directly to the dining area, but this would cost him losing the daylight in the dining room.

Apart from the skillful utilizations of recurrent features like circular windows or rounded corners, the plan layout does not show radically new characteristics, except the emphasis given to the corridor. But unlike most of the apartments where the facade was treated as a two dimensional surface by using plasters as decorations, the Tuten apartment reflects a well established architectural articulation where the plan also played a major role in the composition of the facade.

Most of the buildings of the 1930s demand similar close readings. Although they all belong to a particular historical period, in order to derive the individual characteristics of buildings and the varying concerns of architects and, more importantly, to understand the complex layering of early Republican architecture culture, further studies must analyze the buildings with their architectonic characteristics together with their social and historical frameworks.

CONCLUSION

As suggested by this study, modern architecture in the early Republican period had multiple layers that have to be handled simultaneously with the social, political and cultural backgrounds of 1930s' Turkey. The transformation of the social structure of the households and the changing architectural discourse mutually affected each other. Yet, these mutually interacting fields have contradictory characters. Modernism, by its very own nature, implies conscious, deliberate actions taken to transform the existing conditions, whereas dwelling implies embeddedness into tradition, convention and a resistance to sudden changes.

In addition to the interaction between the social and the cultural fields of dwelling and the production sphere of modern architecture, politics had important effects on both of these fields in the early Republican period. While modern architecture was advocated as one of the most appropriate devices to construct a new national identity, the existing social transformations were appropriated by the official Kemalist agenda. The modernization reforms initiated by the Kemalist regime and the authoritative nationalist discourse were so powerful in the appropriation of the ongoing social transformations and in dictating the architecture of the period that, modern architecture in Turkey was not used as a critical tool as it was used in the West. Although the formal aspect of Western modernism was quickly introduced into Turkey's context, its ideological and political implications were left behind. The occupation of the Turkish architects was rather to construct a national architecture by means of the formal aspects of the modern architecture.

Yet, architectural discourse was not so coherent in itself despite the uniform picture implied by its ideological framework. Within the architectural discourse, Kemalist regime was ardently supported and architects of the period were affirmatively dedicated to the modernization reforms. Nonetheless, the larger nationalistic ideology was not enough to produce a coherent architectural image. Thus the architectural products displayed formal diversities among themselves although all were legitimized by the official nationalist idiom.

In addition to the architectural discourse, the social field also showed an exclusive heterogeneity. Although the Kemalist regime strove to construct a coherent image of society, the ambiguous ideology of the early Republican period was working the other way. As discussed in the first chapter, Kemalist ideology designated the role of the women with contradictory characters simultaneously. The idea of a “national family” was not clearly set either. Thus, the households showed greater diversities than the architectural discourse.

Modern architectural history in Turkey is used to be written with an evolutionary approach, where chronological periods defined the architectural products. In order to comply with a predetermined set of images, some architectural products could even be neglected by this approach. Although historical periods are essential in studies like this, they also prevent us from looking at the specific qualities of the artifacts. Once a product is designated by a period’s framework, it loses its potential to be analyzed individually. As in the current Turkish architectural history, periods like the First National

style (the period in which architectural production was influenced by the formal affiliations made to classical Ottoman architecture), modern architecture and consequently the Second National Style (the period in which the civil architecture of the Ottoman empire was used as a formal model) help us to locate a building in a particular framework by its social and historical background and by its formal affiliations to other contemporary examples. But, after designating a building to a particular period, all interest tends to shift to the collection of works of that architectural period. This is a similar case that has been experienced in the studies of modern architecture in Turkey until recently.

Hence, architectural examples which were closer to the image of “cubic style” (if we accept the early Republican period’s formulation), still dictate the architectural history of the early Republican period. Nonetheless, as it was discussed earlier in this study, neither the social and cultural backgrounds nor the architectural products displayed such a coherence. Although my study covers a decade of the early Republican period, this does not necessarily impose a predetermined architectural image. Instead of approaching the architectural examples as uniform images, I chose to focus on the recurrent features of the examples, and thus eliminated the dangers of working with a predetermined architectural image.

From the analysis of those recurrent features, certain assumptions regarding modern architecture of the early Republican period can be derived. As discussed earlier, the first two features, the circular window and the round corners, had symbolic importance for Turkish architects. Even though the

round corners were used by the most possible rational functions, their symbolic significance is apparent. Similarly, the constraints of the construction industry made some constructional elements such as the concrete columns or the horizontally divided window frames, exceptionally important to be displayed proudly. Those were all used in order to rapidly construct a visual context for the early Republican culture. As discussed earlier, the cultural and social fields always involved a certain degree of oppositions to modernization reforms despite Kemalist regime's powerful ideologies. The discrepancy between the traditionally furnished interiors and the avant-garde looking exteriors of the buildings might be the results of these kinds of resistance. In this cultural turmoil, architects had referred to the symbolic aspects of the formal language of modern architecture, in order to comply with the pace of the "nation building" process of the Kemalist regime. Turkish architects relied heavily on the necessity to fabricate a new visual context for the "new" nation. In this rapid process, recurrent features such as the circular window and the round corners had tremendous importance, whether they were used in Sedat Hakki Eldem's paradigmatic constructions of the "Turkish House" or in Seyfi Arkan's avant-garde pure geometries. This is a parallel attitude replicating the priorities of the Kemalist modernization reforms. As we have seen in the initiation of the dressing code or in the augmentation of the "visibility of women in the urban arena", in the replacement of the Arabic script with the Latin alphabet, or even in the dictation of Western music upon the society, Kemalist regime gave importance to the reforms that address visual or aural senses. Although the introduction of modern architecture into Turkey was almost instantaneous, Turkish architects needed

time to develop and manipulate this “new architecture” while incorporating it into Turkey’s unique context. On the other hand modernization reforms were being initiated by the state one after the another. Thus, Turkish architects quickly put the recurrent features of the early Republican period into circulation. While they were developing a unique modern architecture for the Republican Turkey, those features operated at the background to create the image of modernism. The employment of those recurrent features also helped Turkish architects to save time while they were trying to formulate a new architectural culture and align it with the ongoing modernization reforms.

While those symbolically charged features were widely used by almost every architect of the period, they were not enough to construct the integrity of the architectural images of particular ideological preferences. Although nourished extensively by the nationalist rhetoric, in reality none of the architectural products and the recurrent features discussed in this study could be successfully and concretely linked to this nationalist ideology. One expects the circulation of such symbols or visual codes to last longer after they had been generated by a decade long architectural culture. This relatively short life span of the particular images of the early Republican architecture might be linked to the absence of strong theoretical grounds. Since only nationalism was operating as a theoretical discourse, and rationalism and functionalism was lagging behind this powerful state ideology, architects did not feel necessary to formulate other theoretical discourses. Moreover they tried to eliminate any kind of architectural criticism to avoid ideological friction. Within this self-generated tranquil climate, recurrent archi-

tectural features started to lose their symbolic connotations by the 1940s.

As an outcome of this process, Sedad Hakki Eldem's well constructed Turkish house paradigm (with the help of the long lasting seminar studies on the national Turkish architecture which Eldem established in the Academy) became the winner. It led the way to allusions made to traditional architecture and it was influential enough to affect even today's contemporary Turkish architectural production. Eldem's well formulated ideological construction not only influenced the architectural production formally, but also intensified the interests on vernacular and traditional civil architecture in the architectural studies in Turkey's academic environment. This influence and its consequences can still be observed in today's architectural culture: Today's conservation and preservation programs heavily focus on the traditional Turkish and Ottoman architecture while ignoring the early Republican period, the environment in which Eldem instigated the very interest on traditional civil architecture.

Despite some recent critical studies, current architectural historiography in Turkey is still under the influence of the formal categorizations of the architectural products while political, cultural and ideological backgrounds are either ignored or reluctantly incorporated. This elimination of politics and ideology from the analysis of the buildings have consequences in the current architectural production as well. Thus, "postmodern architecture", as a formal discourse, was enthusiastically accepted by the recent Turkish architectural culture and it still survives in varying degrees. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to find any kind of buildings with

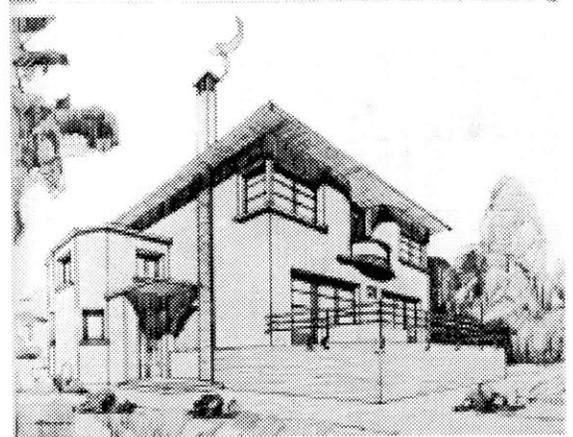
direct ideological responses to existing social and political conditions. What is more appealing to practicing Turkish architects is a visually enhanced but ideologically deprived architectural production. Within a politically vigorous environment such as Turkey, one expects to find an architectural culture which directly interacts with various existing political and ideological grounds. The main reason for early Republican architects' reliance on some recurrent architectural features was the necessity to fabricate a coherent visual culture as quick as possible in order to reach the pace of modernization reforms. Although the current architectural culture does not have such a responsibility, the emphasis given to formal aspects of the production and moreover the conscious distancing from existing political environment still needs to be analyzed.

I believe, an increase on the studies of the early Republican culture might invigorate an interest in the critical premises of modern architecture, thus gradually opening new directions in the architectural historiography and in the current academic environment of Turkey. Hopefully this might lead the current architectural production into more theoretically challenging grounds.

APPENDIX

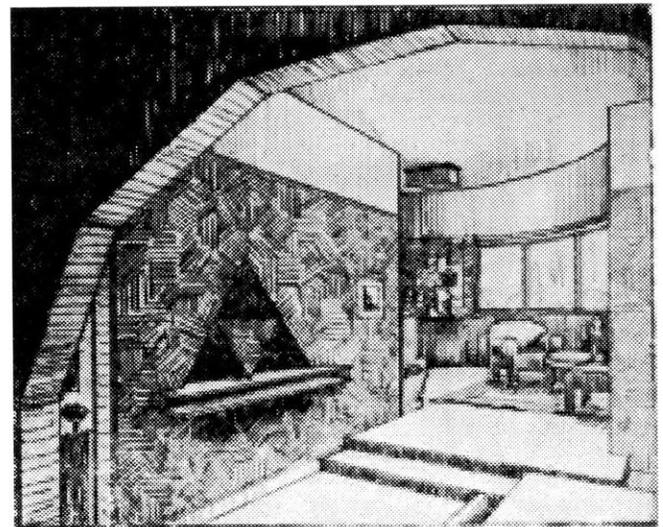
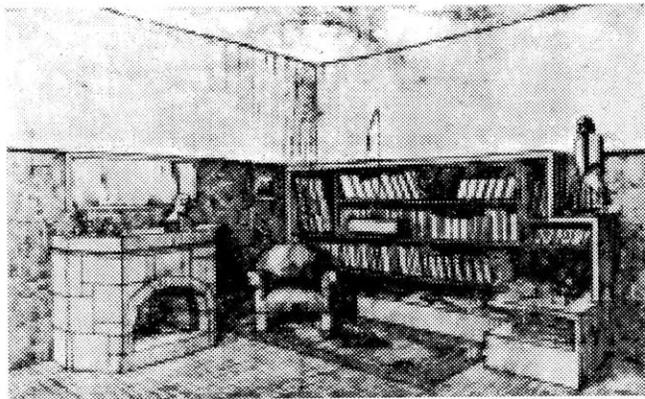
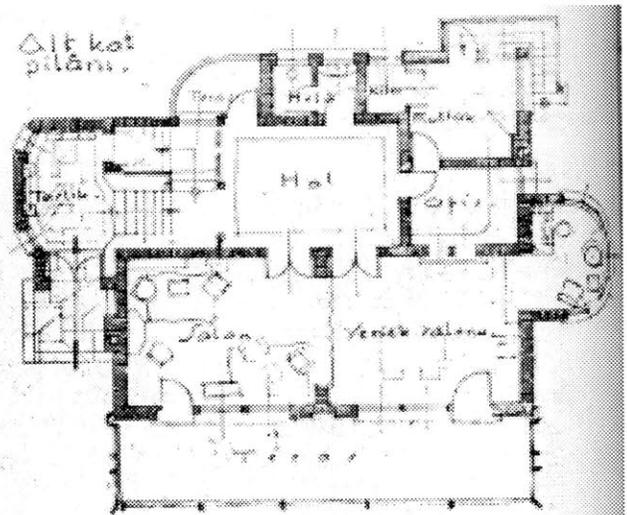
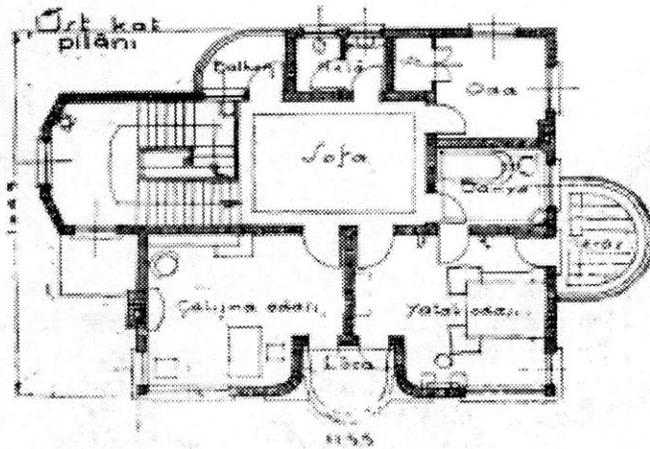
The first part of this appendix consists the examples that were published in *Arkitekt* between the years 1931 and 1940. Although a few examples built in Ankara and Zonguldak included in this section, the focus of this appendix is on the examples that were built in Istanbul. They are organized first according to their publication year (which roughly follows the construction dates) and later according to the architects names. The second section of the appendix includes the first hand documentation of several buildings that were not published in *Arkitekt*.

Building Name: Mustakil Ev
 Construction Date: Not Constructed
 Design Date: 1931
 Architect(s): Abidin Mortas
 Client:
 Address:



Published in: Arkitekt 1931, p.43

Notes: Idealized single family house designed for a fictional client

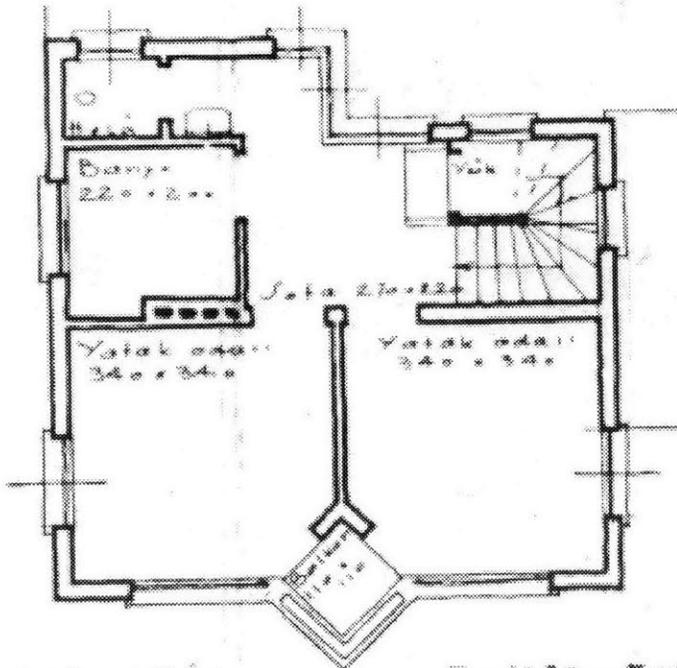
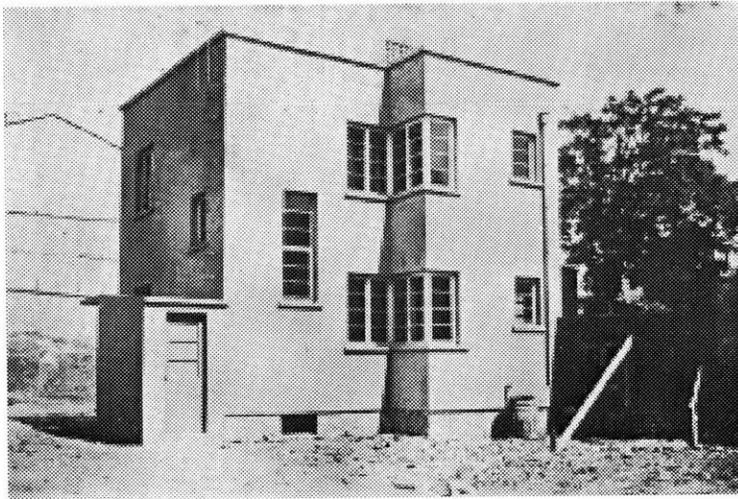
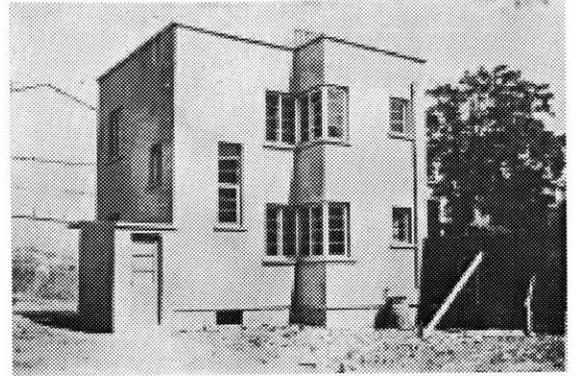


Additional Notes:

Building Name: H.Ziya Bey Evi
 Construction Date: 1930-31
 Design Date: 1930-31
 Architect(s): Abidin Mortas
 Client: H.Ziya
 Address: Samatya

Published in: Arkitekt 1931, p.235

Notes: The floors are wooden construction
 Walls are plastered brick



1931. 11. 25. 1931.

1931. 11. 25. 1931.

Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: Not constructed

Design Date: 1930

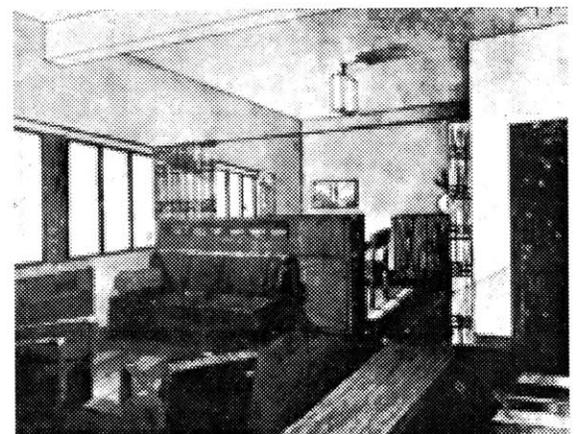
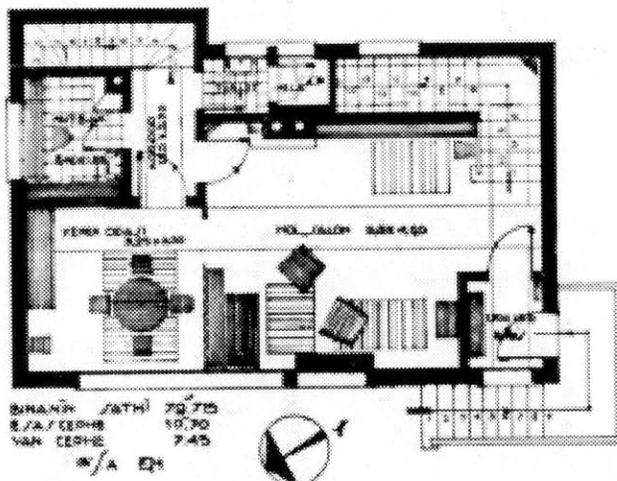
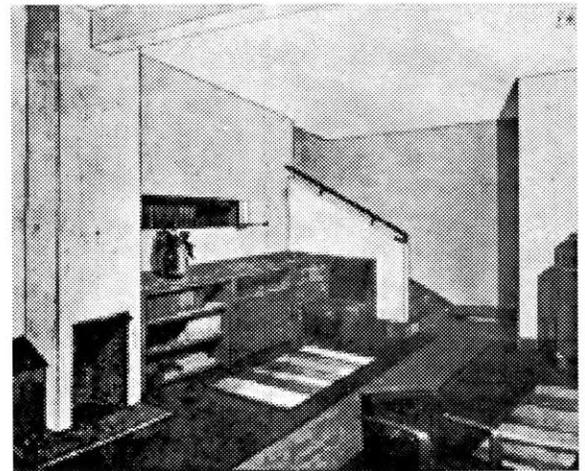
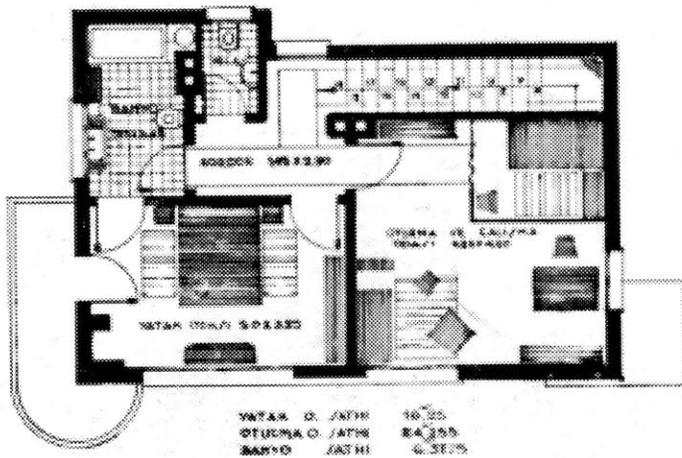
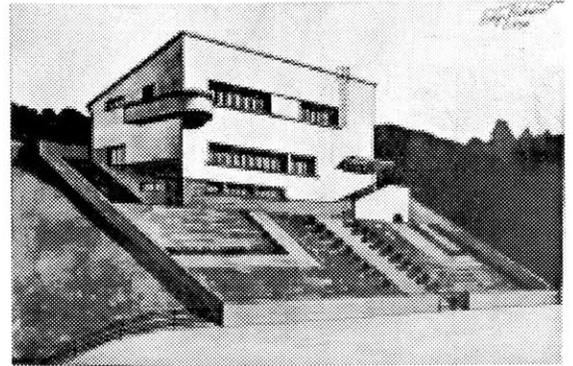
Architect(s): Edip Hikmet

Client:

Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1931, p.25

Notes: Graduation project



Additional Notes:

The text accompanying the project includes the line "The staircase can be seen from the living room. This a method that Europeans use frequently"

Building Name: Mosyo Peppo Saki House

Construction Date:

Design Date: 1930

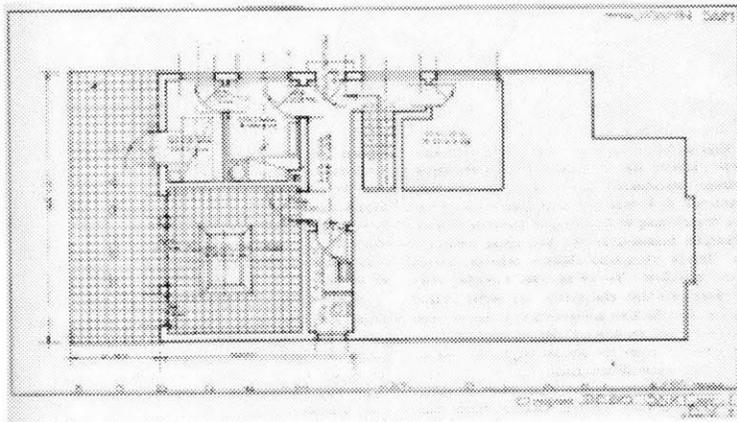
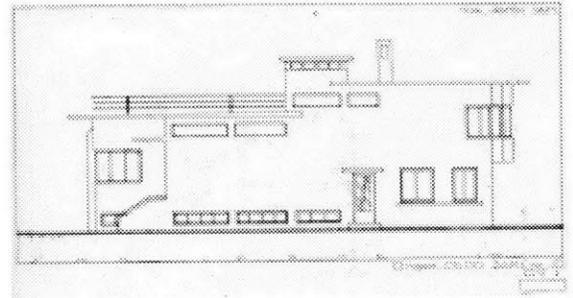
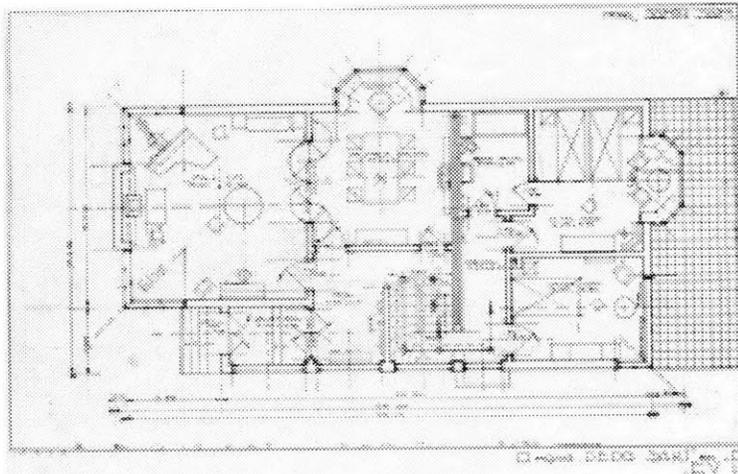
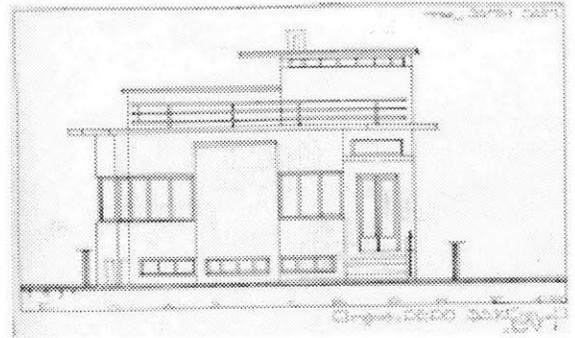
Architect(s): Samih Saim

Client: Monsieur Peppo Saki

Address: Macka

Published in: Arkitekt 1931, p.193

Notes: Since the client's wife was a piano teacher gave lessons at home, a double layered wall separates the living and sleeping areas.



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: Not constructed

Design Date: 1930-31

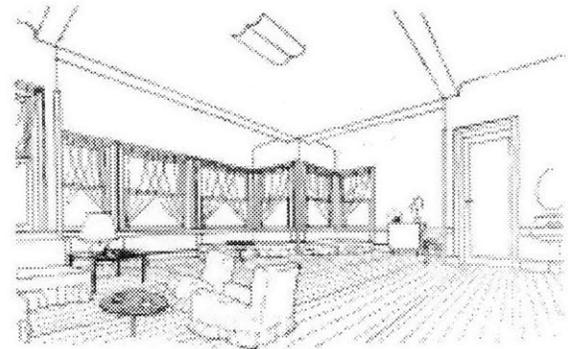
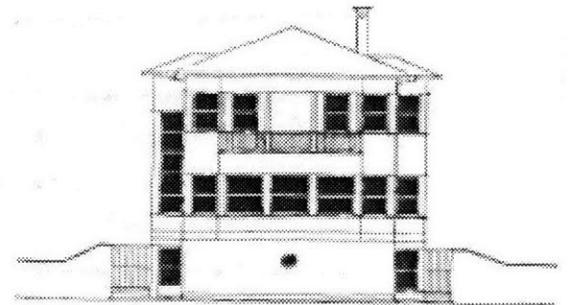
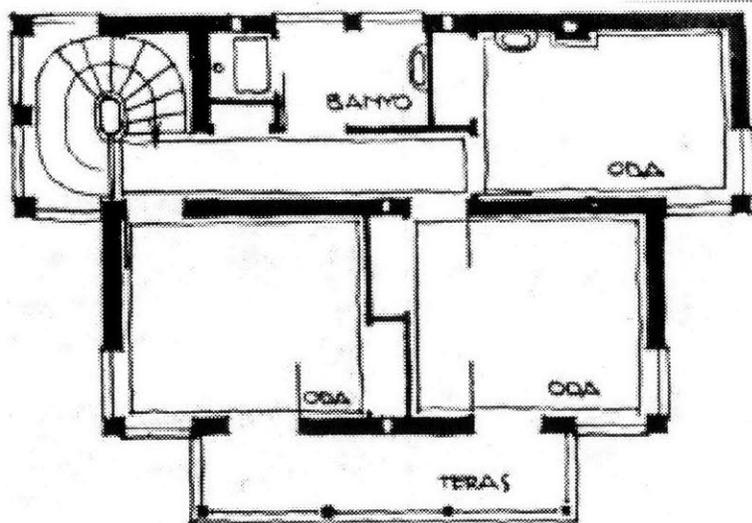
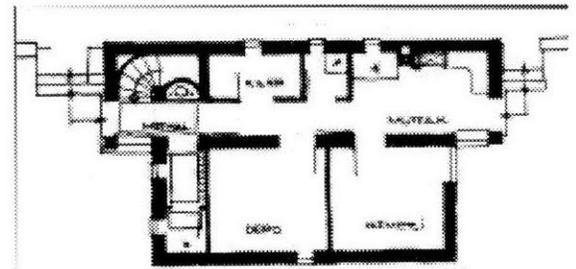
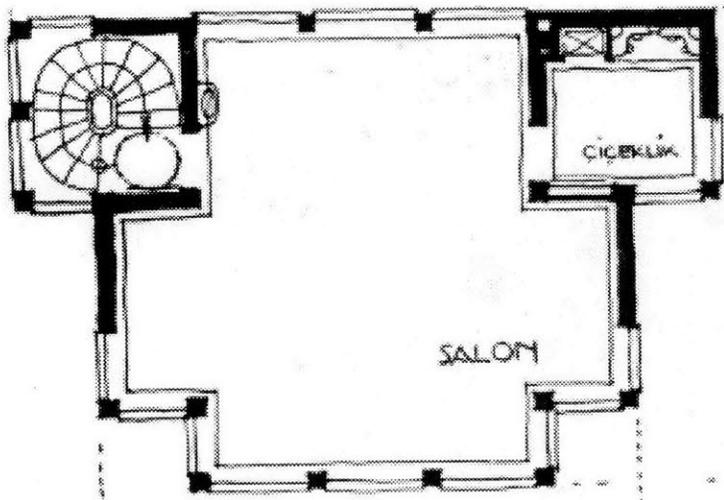
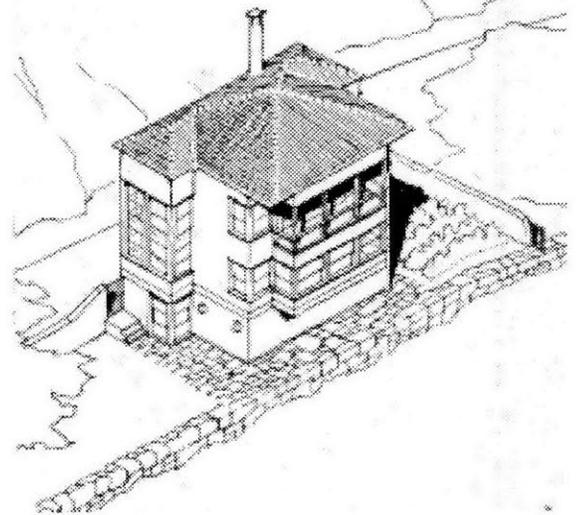
Architect(s): Sedad Hakki Eldem

Client:

Address: Somewhere on the Bosphorus coast

Published in: Arkitekt 1931, p.246

Notes: Designed for a fictional client

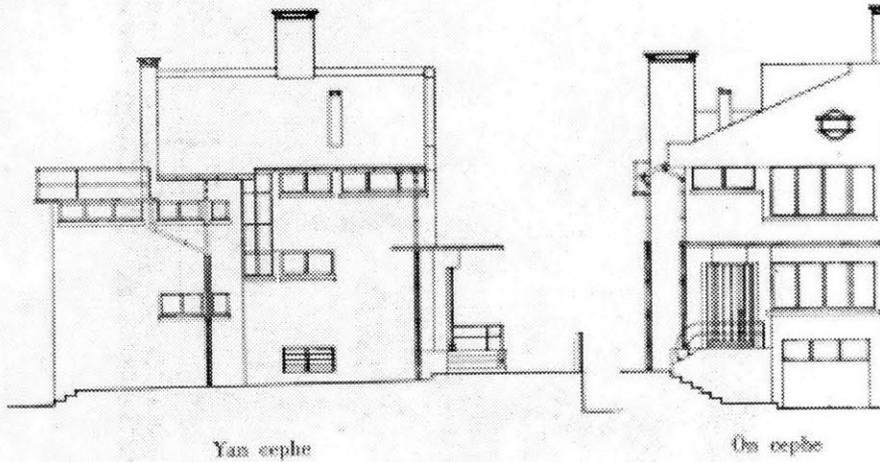
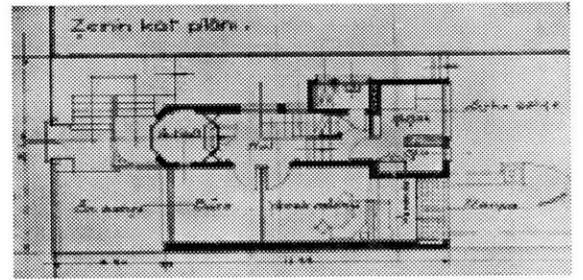
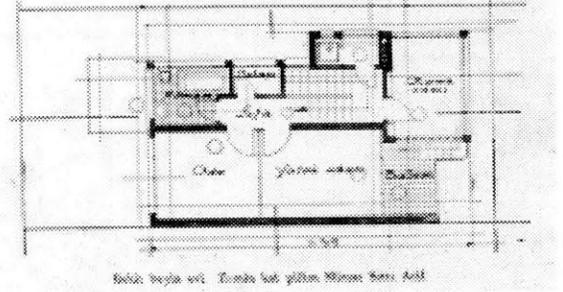
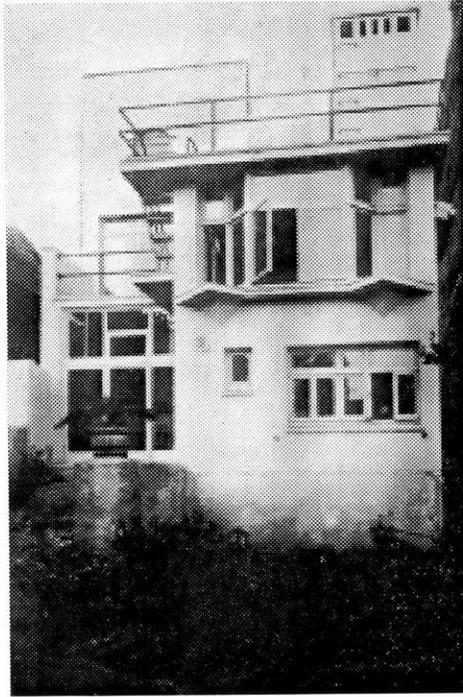


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Bekir Bey House
 Construction Date: 1931
 Design Date: 1930-31
 Architect(s): Sirri Arif
 Client: Bekir Bey
 Address: Location was not specified

Published in: Arkitekt 193, p.5

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932	House Code:	32-1a
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Building Name: Ali Namik Bey House

Construction Date:

Design Date: 1931-32

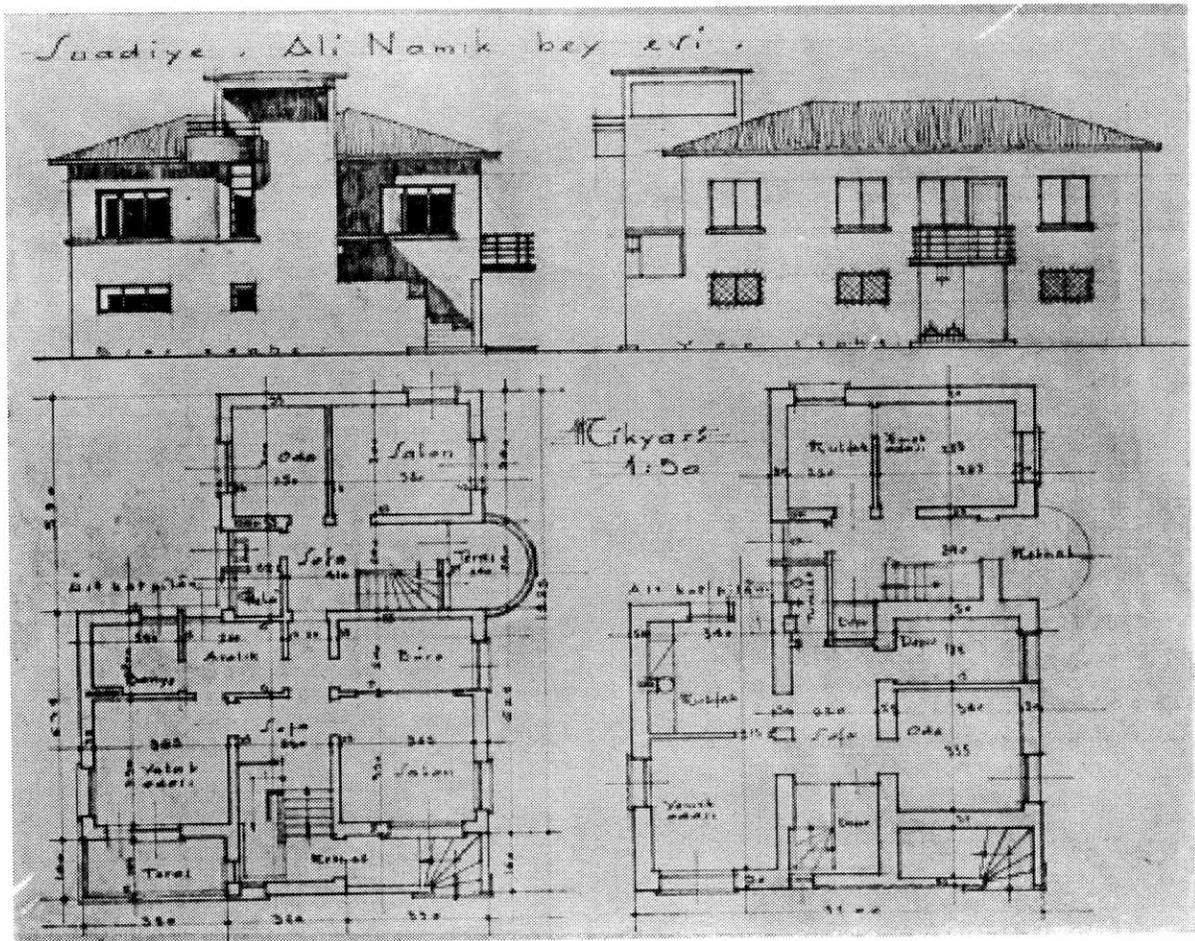
Architect(s): Abidin Mortas

Client: Ali Namik Bey

Address: Suadiye

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.81

Notes:



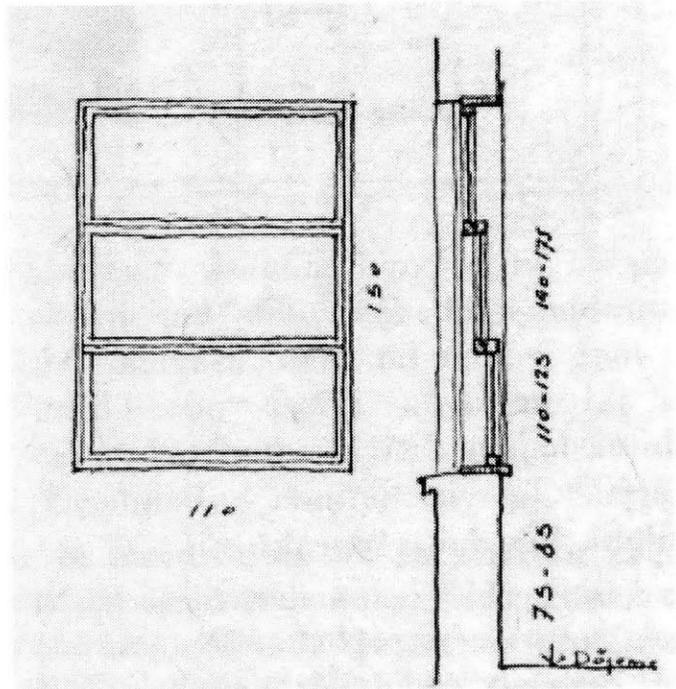
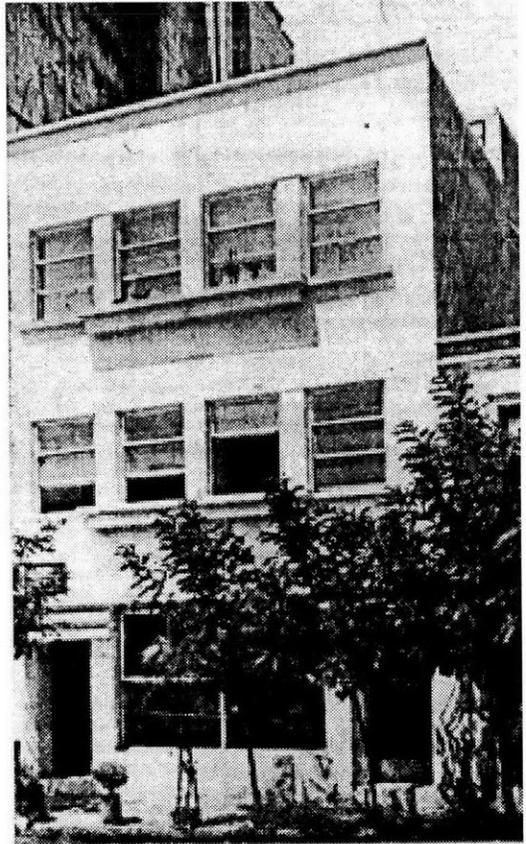
Additional Notes:	
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Arkitekt 1932	House Code:	32-2a
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Building Name: M.H. House
 Construction Date: 1931-32
 Design Date: 1931-32
 Architect(s): Abidin Mortas
 Client:
 Address: Kasimpasa

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.255

Notes: One of the few published examples that include detail drawings.



Additional Notes:	
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Arkitekt 1932

House Code:

32-3a

Building Name: Melek Apartment

Construction Date: 1931-32

Design Date: 1931-32

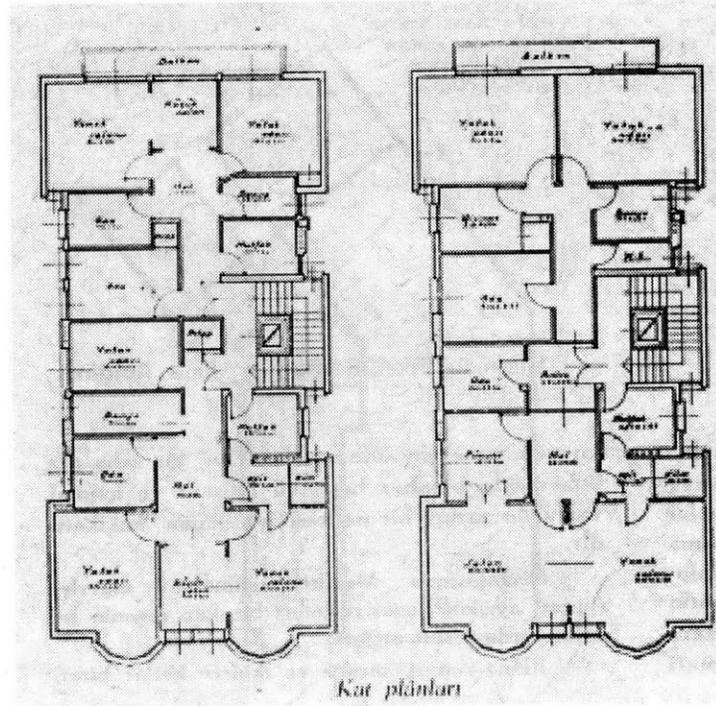
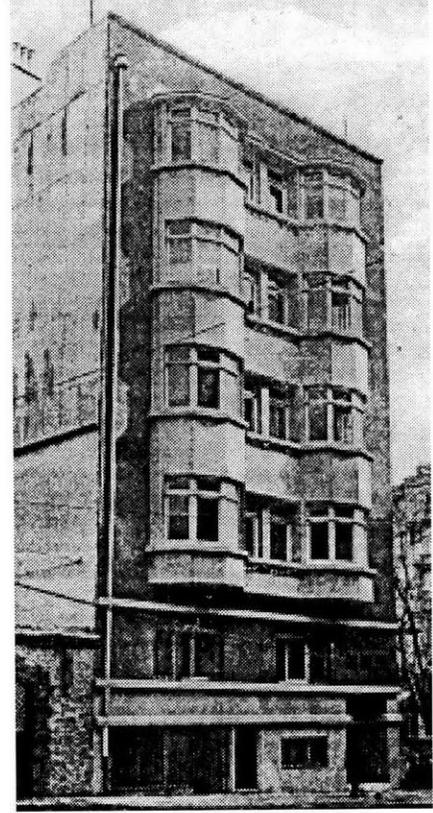
Architect(s): Abidin Mortas

Client:

Address: Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.315

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932

House Code:

32-4a

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1932

Design Date: 1931-32

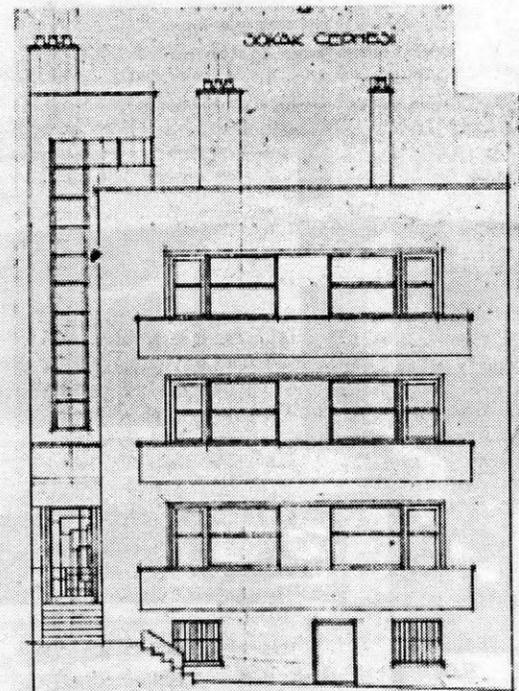
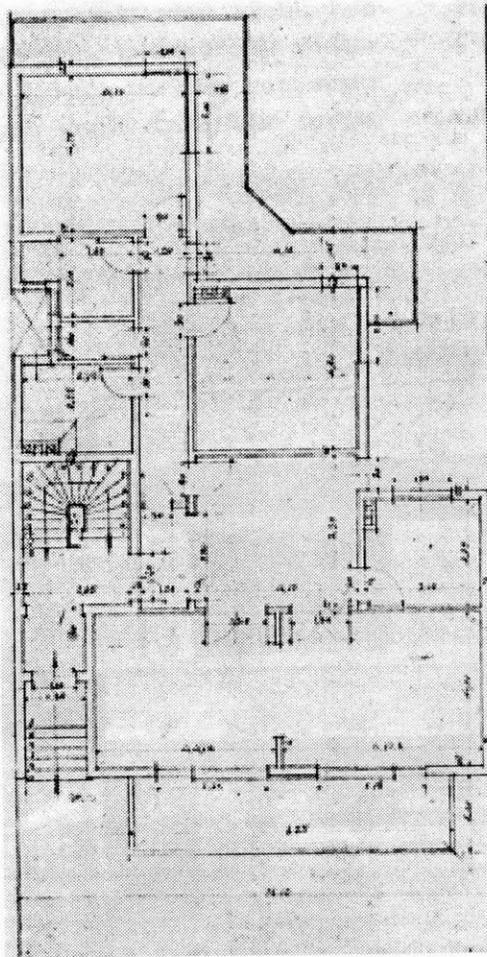
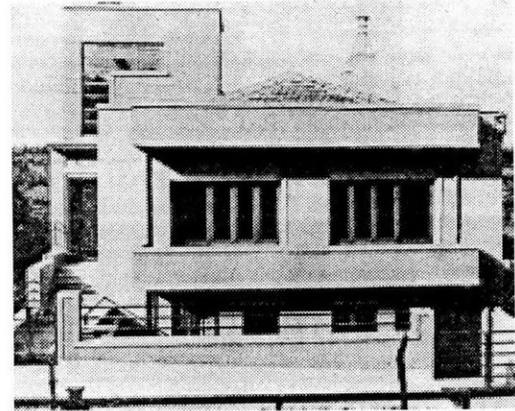
Architect(s): H.Husnu

Client:

Address: Guzel Bahce Street, Nisantasi

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.225

Notes: Initial plan had three stories but only the first two of them could be built.



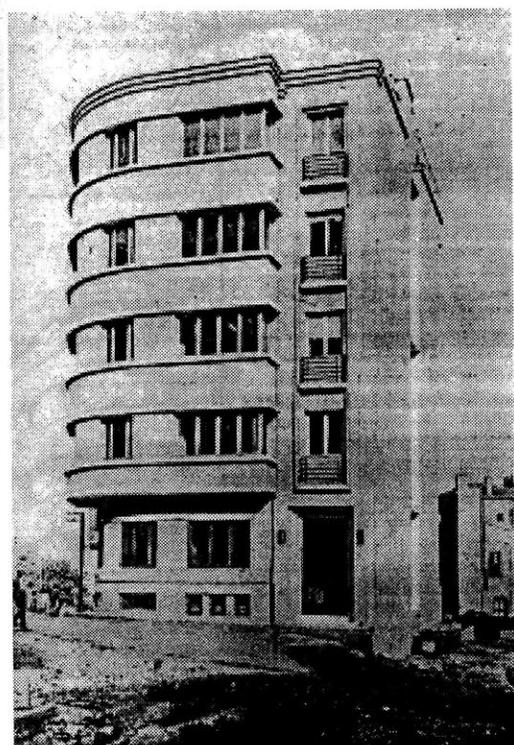
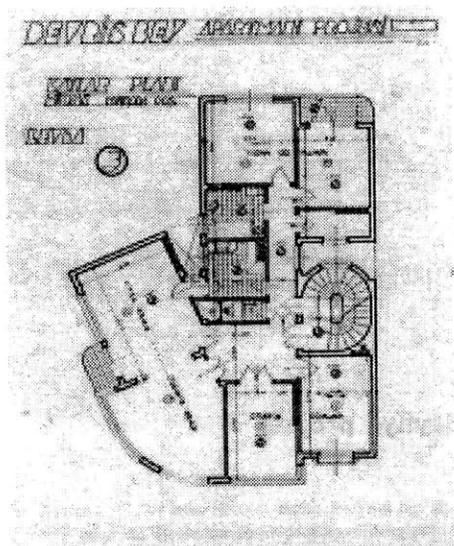
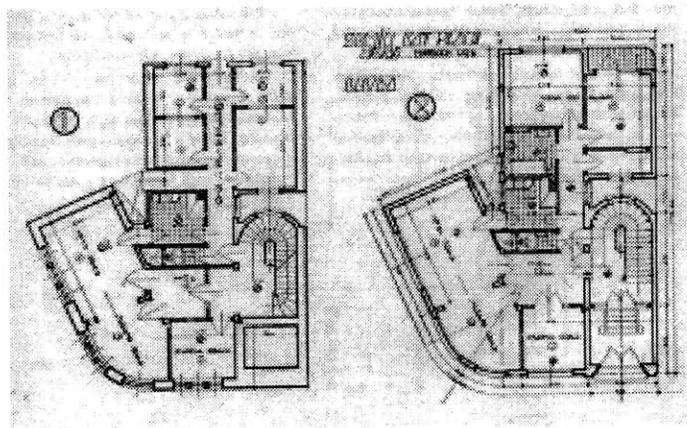
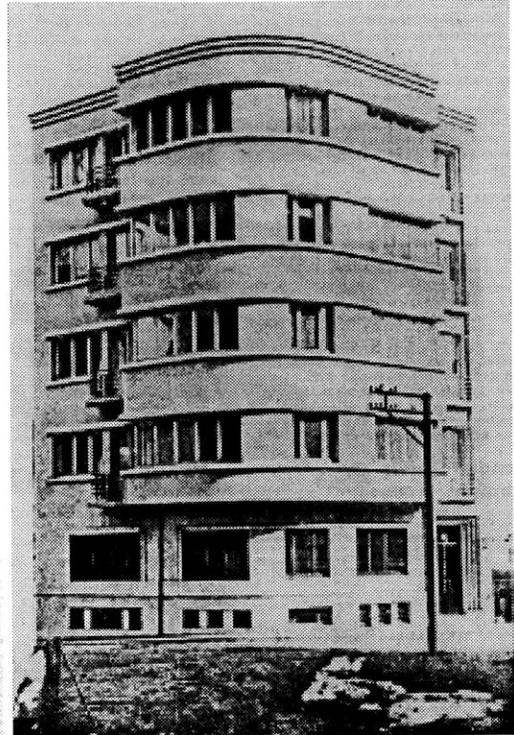
Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932	House Code:	32-5a
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Building Name: Muhendis Dervis Bey Apt.
 Construction Date: 1931-32
 Design Date: 1931-32
 Architect(s): Architect Hasan
 Client: Engineer Dervis Bey
 Address: Cihangir

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.244

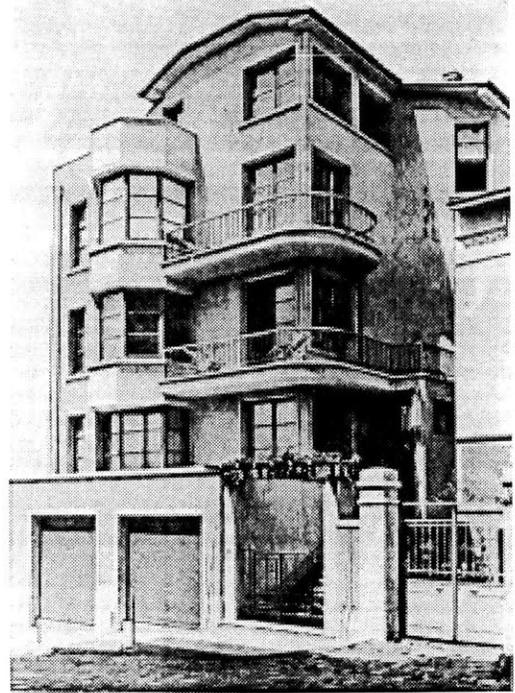
Notes:



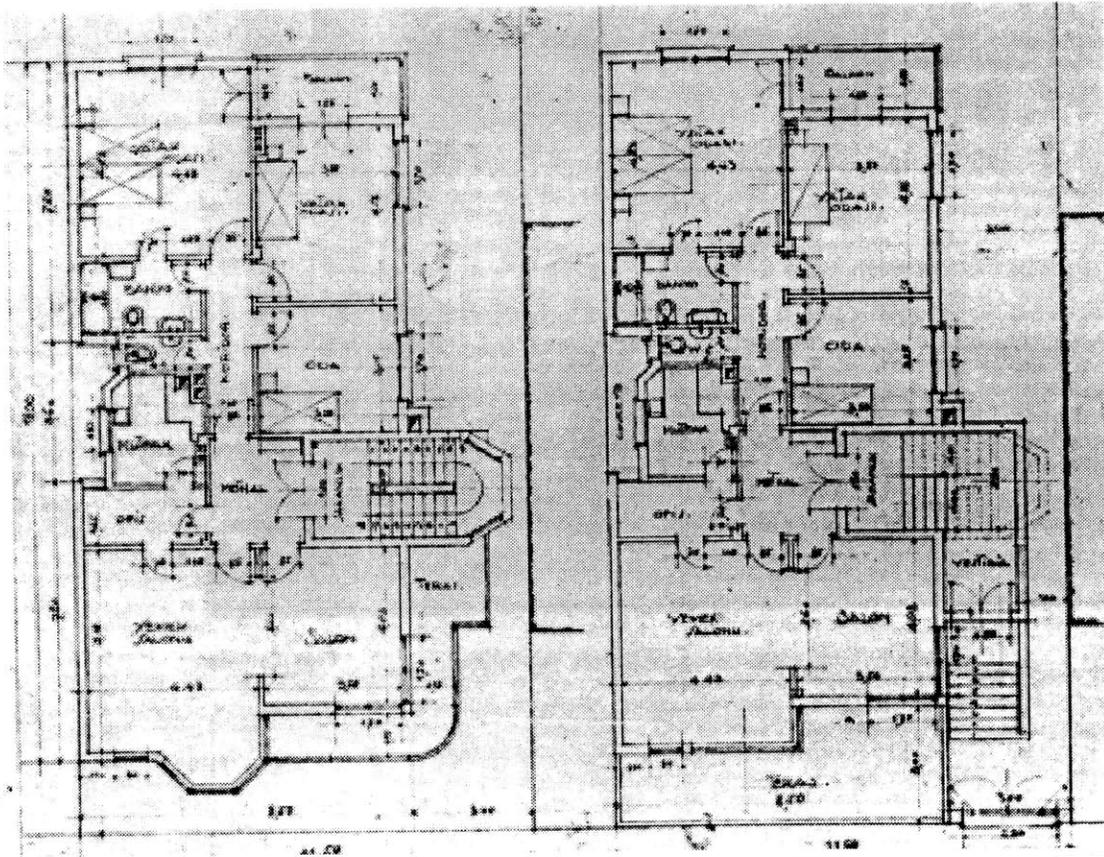
Additional Notes:	
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Arkitekt 1932	House Code:	32-6a
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Building Name: Husnu Bey Apt.
 Construction Date: 1931-32
 Design Date: 1931-32
 Architect(s): M.Husnu and T.Cubukciyan
 Client:
 Address: Guzel Bahce St. Nisantasi



Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.165
 Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932

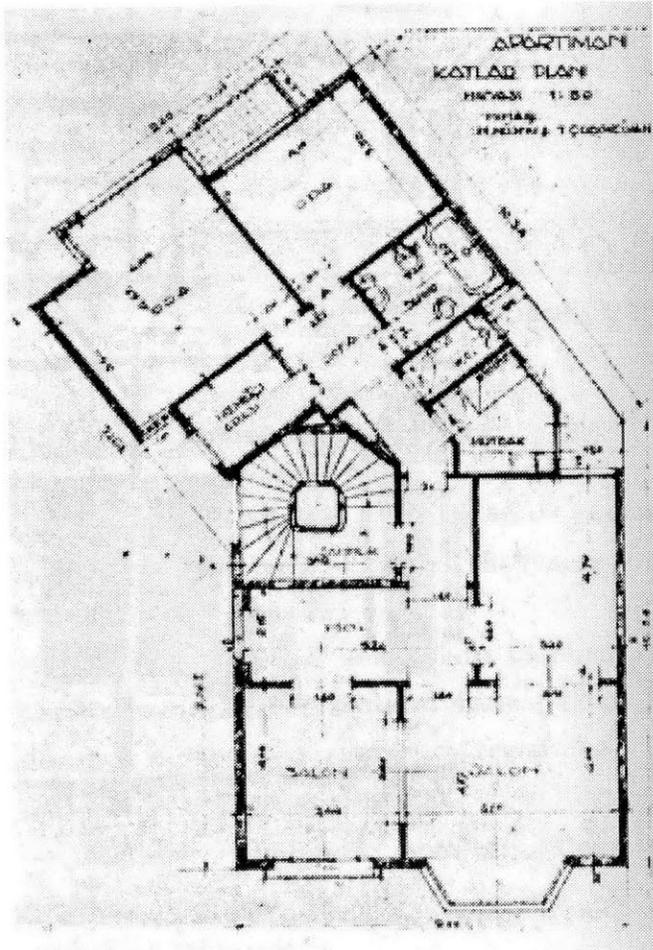
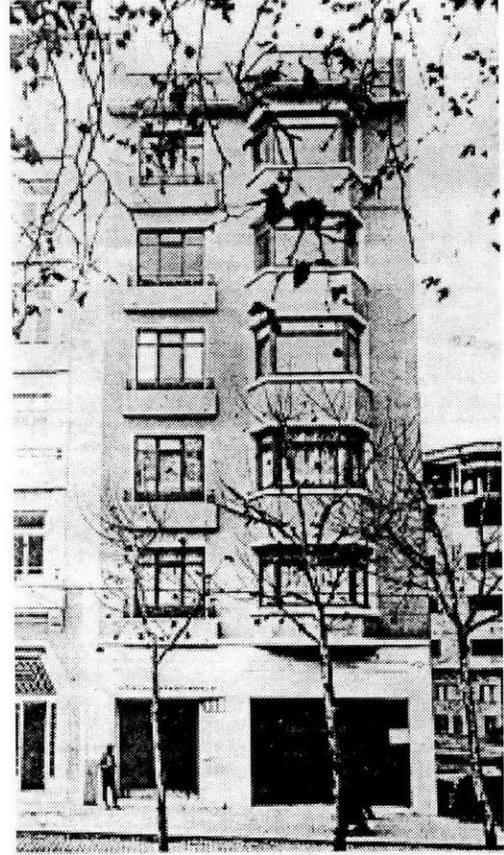
House Code:

32-7a

Building Name: Istiklal Apt.
Construction Date: 1931-32
Design Date: 1931-32
Architect(s): M.Husnu and T.Cubukciyan
Client:
Address: Inonu st. Taksim-Gumussuyu

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.309

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932

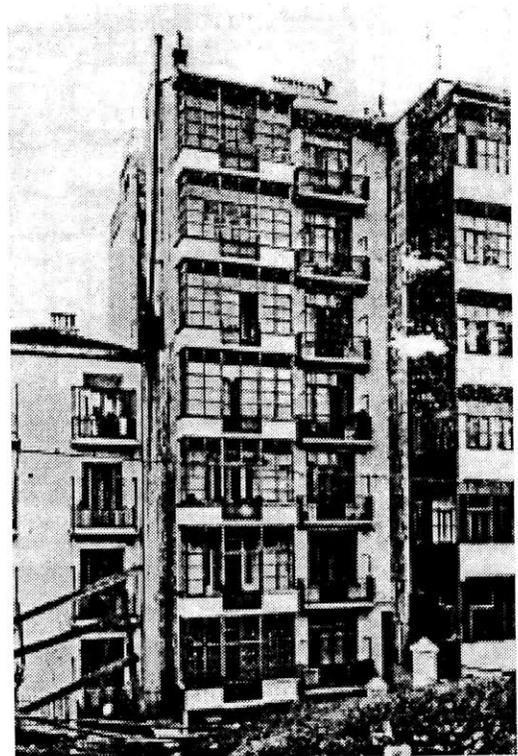
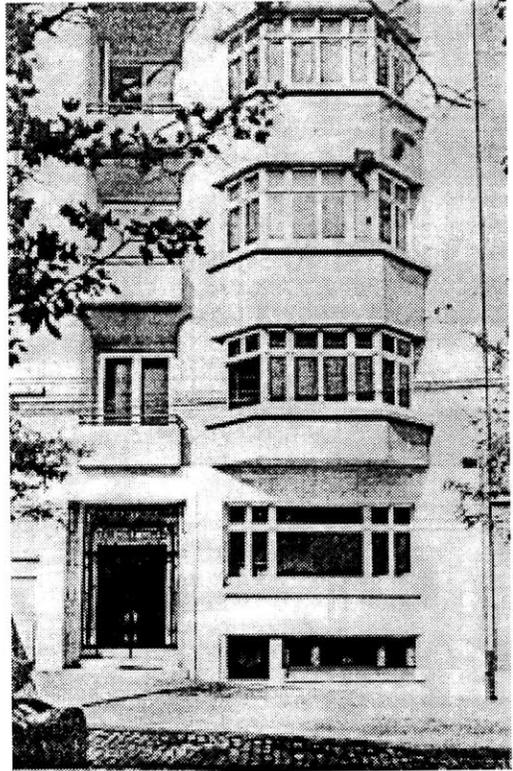
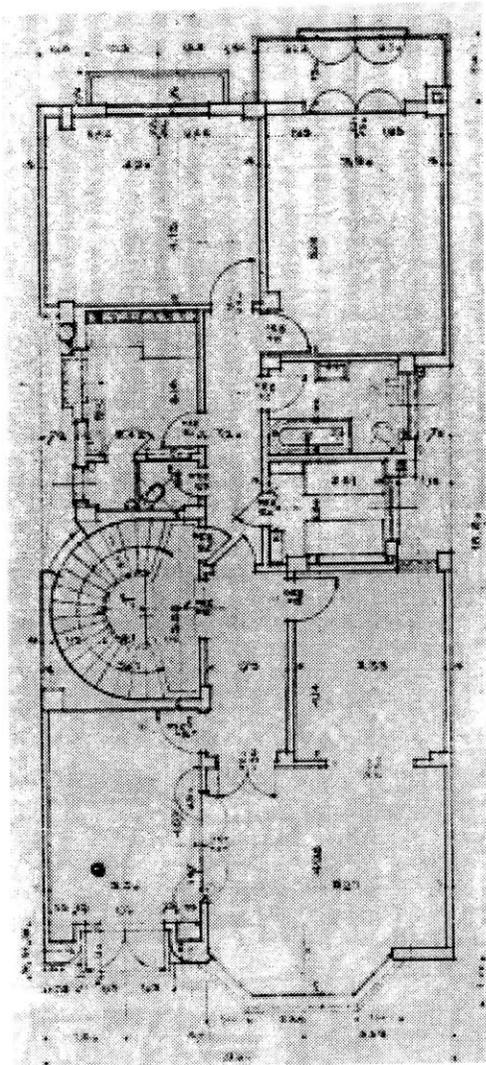
House Code:

32-8a

Building Name: Bosfor Apt.
Construction Date: 1931-32
Design Date: 1931-32
Architect(s): Macaroglu Sami
Client:
Address: Inonu St. Taksim-Gumussuyu

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.279

Notes:

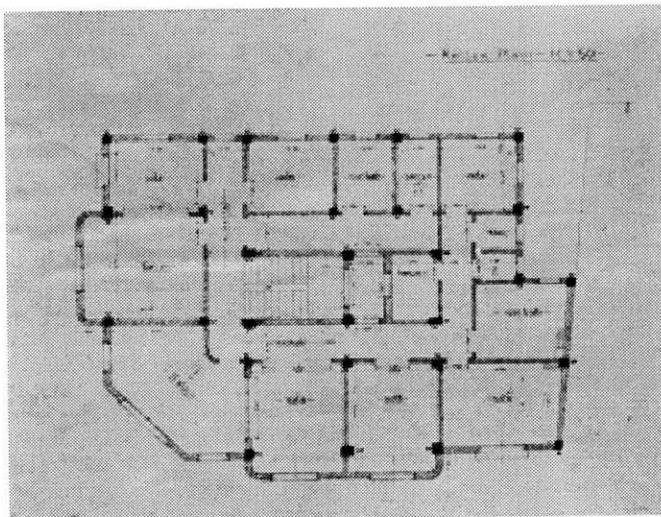
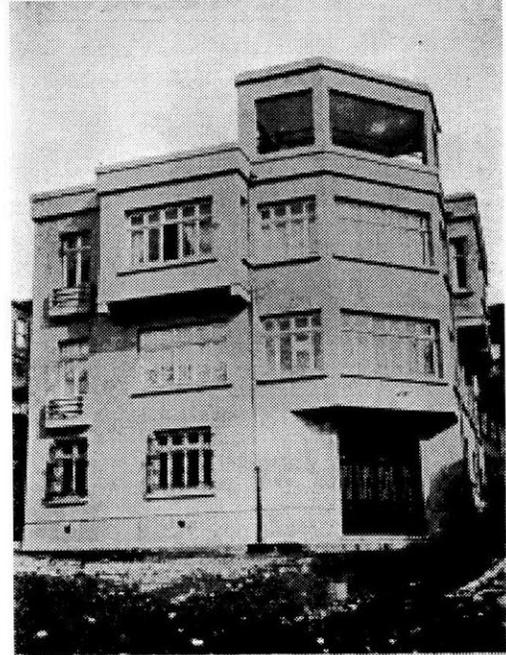


Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932	House Code:	32-9a
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Building Name:
 Construction Date: 1931-32
 Design Date: 1931-32
 Architect(s): Architect Zuhtu
 Client:
 Address: Laleli-Koska Tramway St., Laleli

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.37
 Notes:



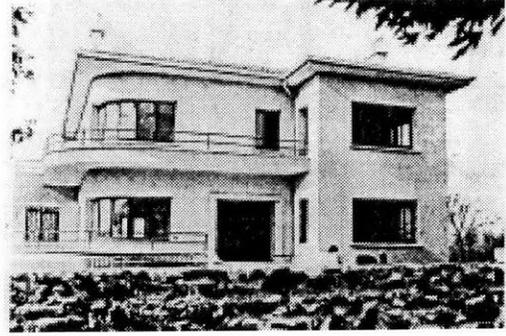
Additional Notes:	
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Arkitekt 1932

House Code:

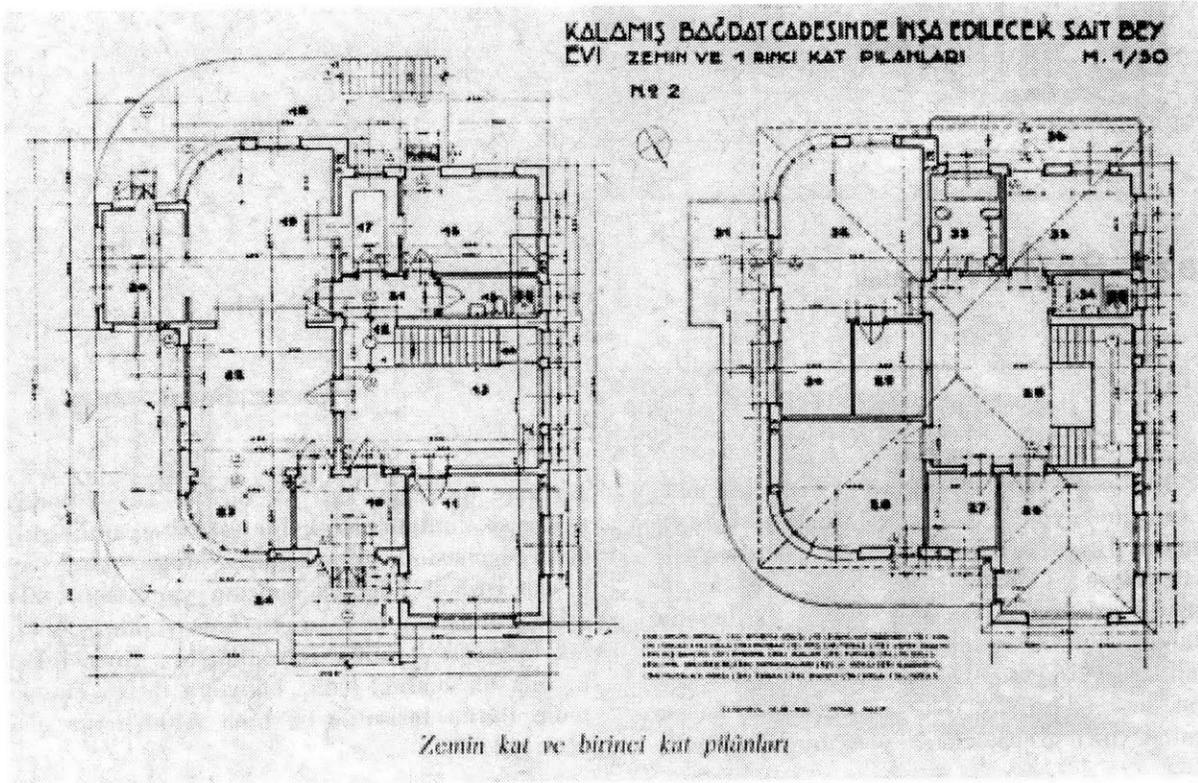
32-10a

Building Name: Sait Bey House
Construction Date: 1931-32
Design Date: 4/17/1932
Architect(s): Nazif
Client: Sait Bey
Address: Bagdat St. Kalamis- Kadikoy



Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.282

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932

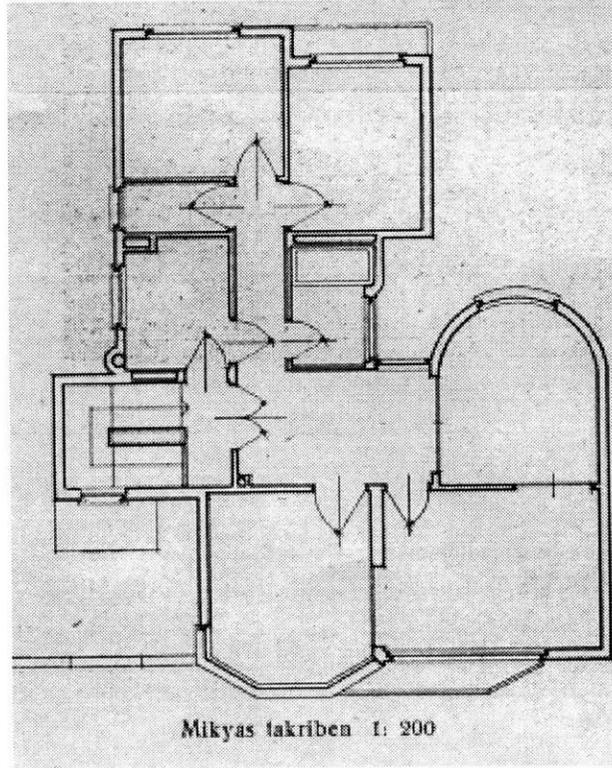
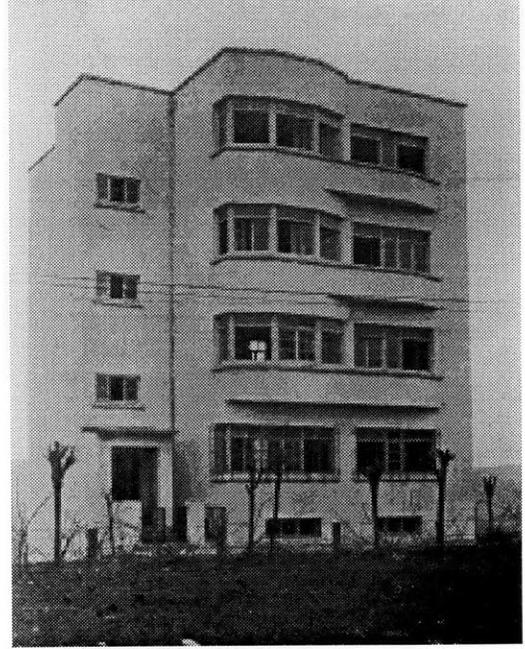
House Code:

32-11a

Building Name: Nan Apt.
Construction Date: 1931-32
Design Date: 1931-32
Architect(s): Omer Faruk Galip
Client:
Address: Guzel Bahce St. Nisantasi

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.69

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932

House Code:

32-12a

Building Name: Izzet Bey House

Construction Date: 1931-32

Design Date: 1931-32

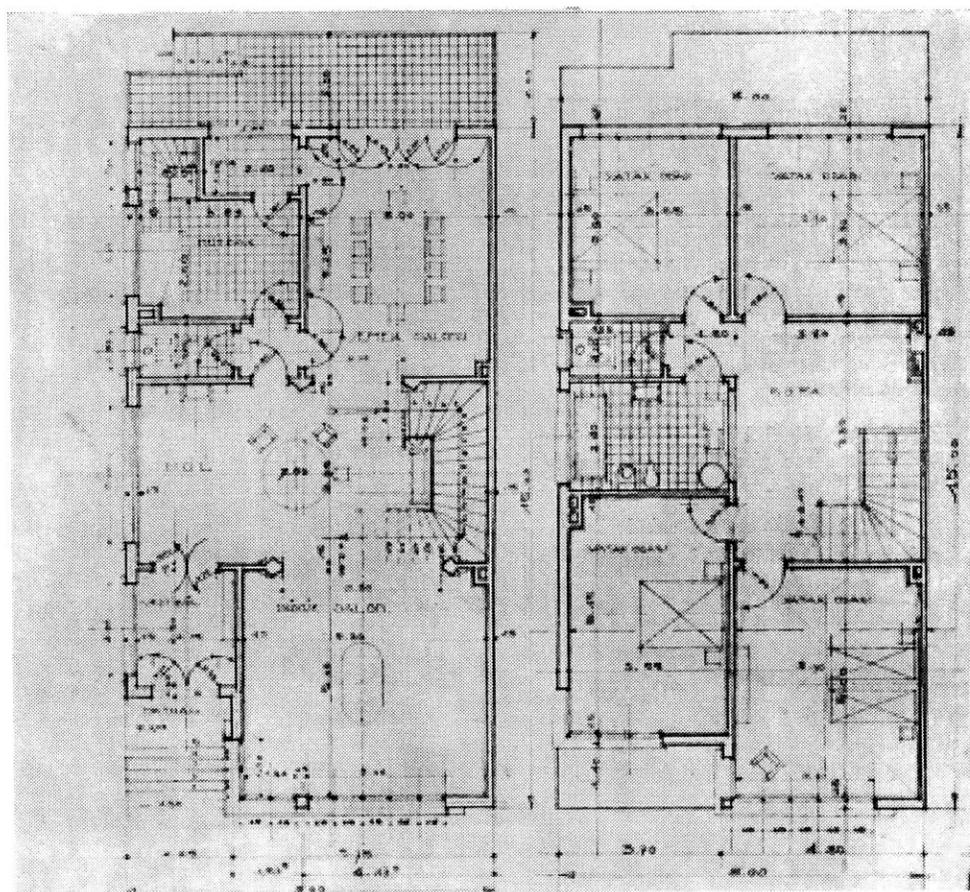
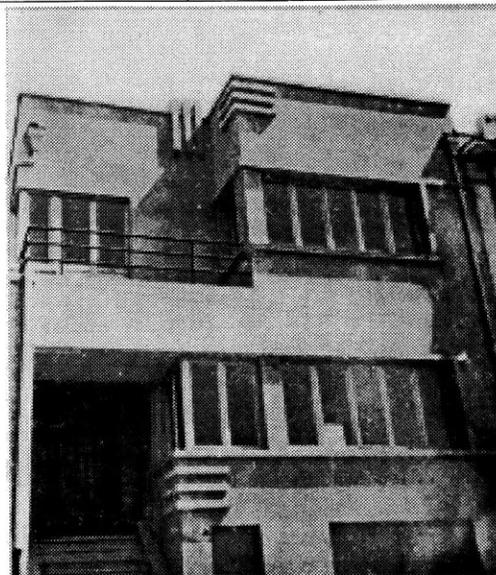
Architect(s): Architect Saim

Client:

Address: Macka

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.100

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932

House Code:

32-13a

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1931-32

Design Date: 1931-32

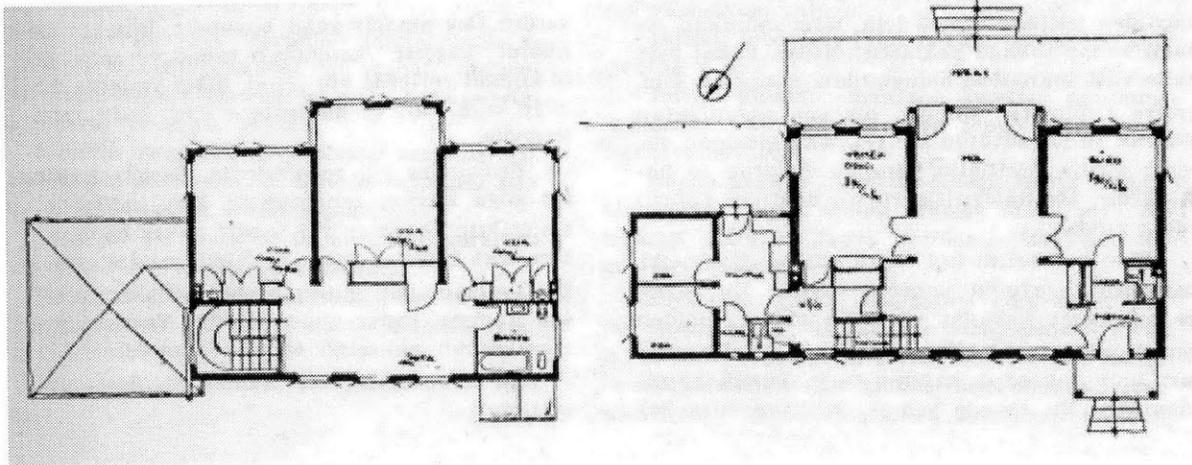
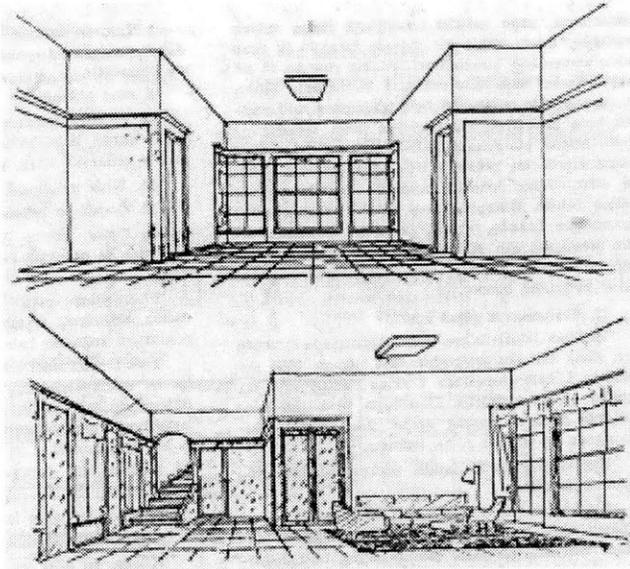
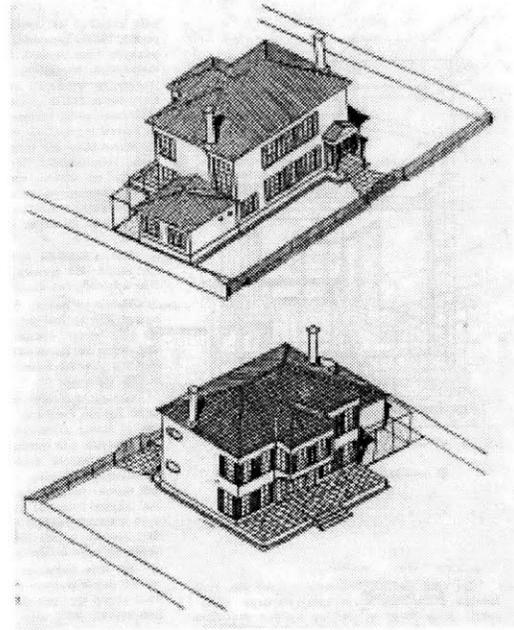
Architect(s): Sedad Hakki Eldem

Client:

Address: Sisli (near Tramway depot)

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.17

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932

House Code:

32-14a

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1931-32

Design Date: 1931-32

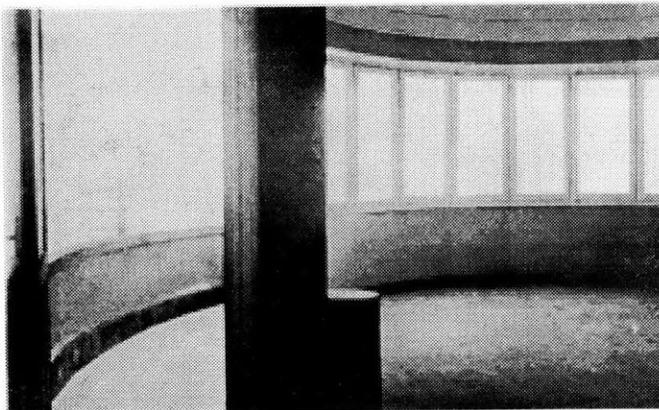
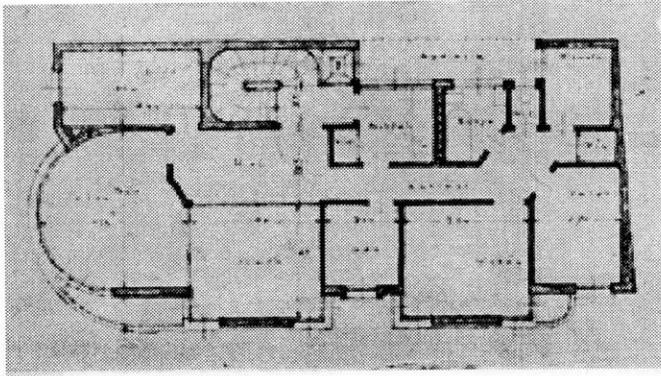
Architect(s): Sirri Arif

Client:

Address: Nisantasi

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.35

Notes: Plans are provided by the client. Only the facades are designed by the architect.



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1932

House Code:

32-15a

Building Name: Ms. Nazire House

Construction Date: 1931-32

Design Date: 1928

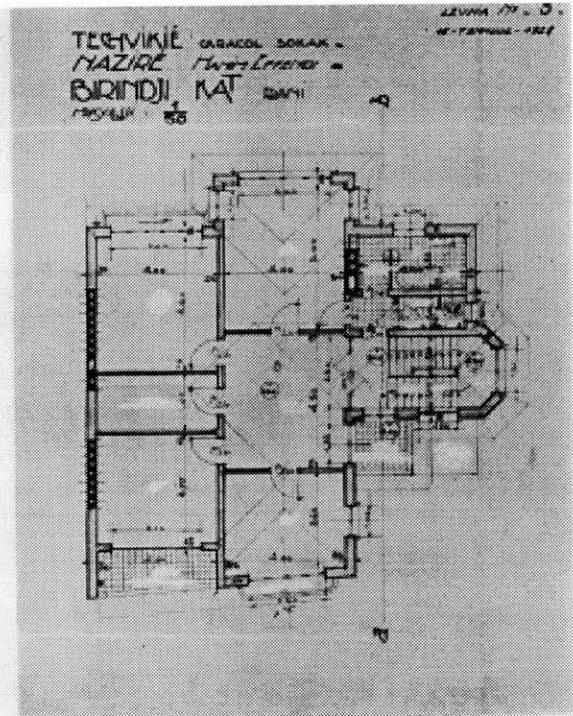
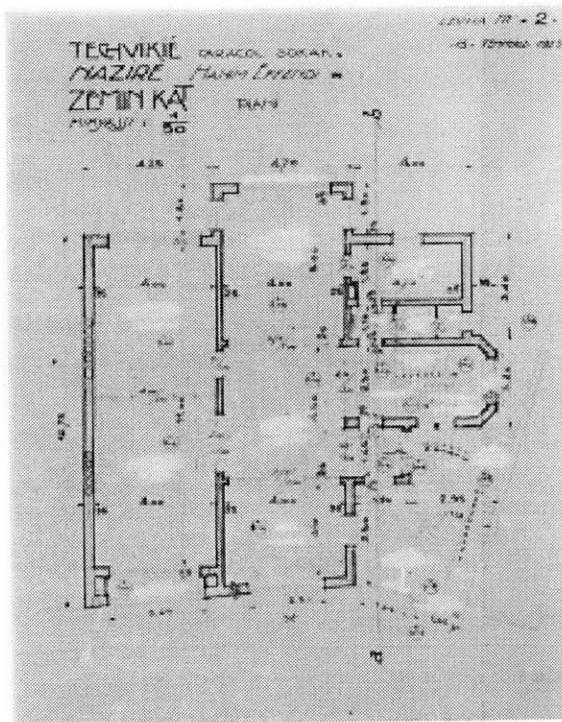
Architect(s): Sirri Arif

Client:

Address: Macka

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.72

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: Not constructed

Design Date: 1931-32

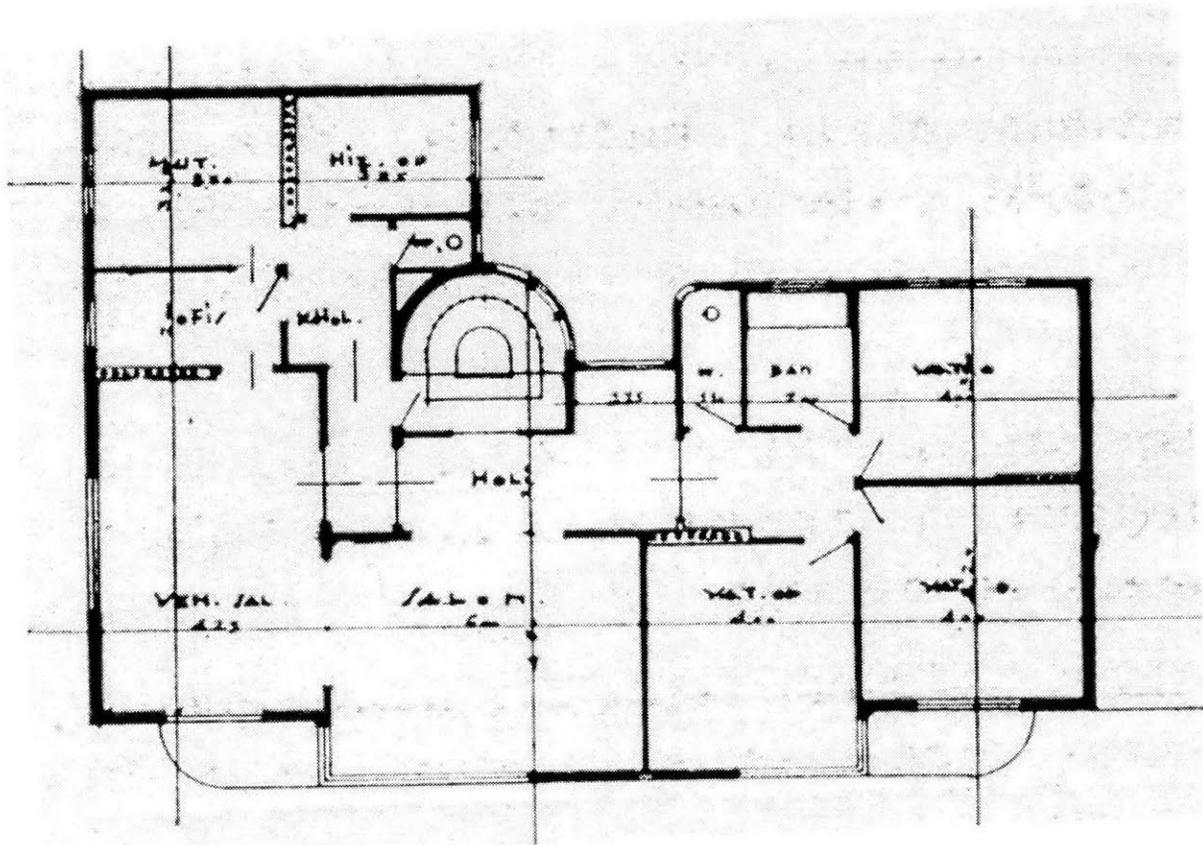
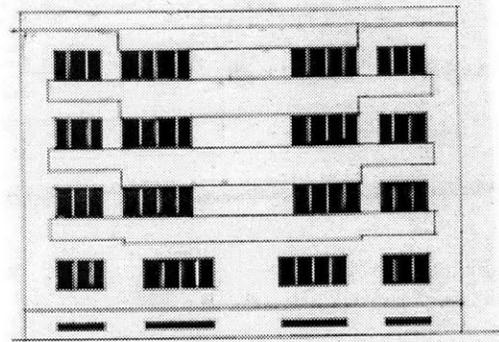
Architect(s): Zeki Salah

Client:

Address: Designed for a corner lot

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.77

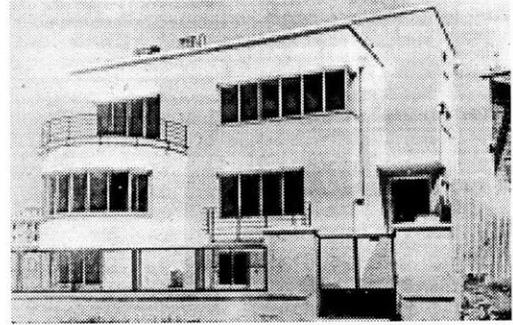
Notes: Designed for a fictional client



Additional Notes:

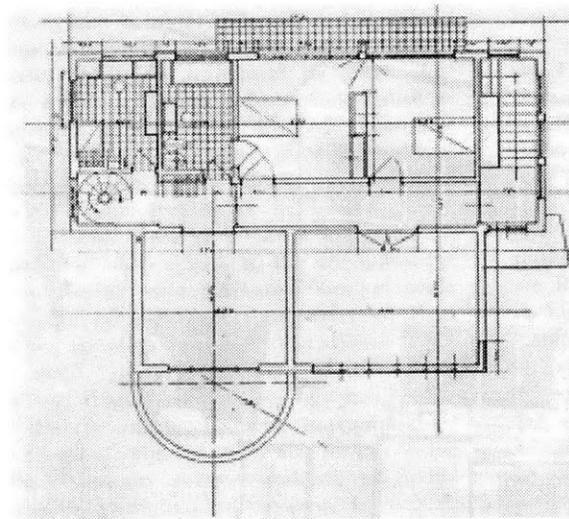
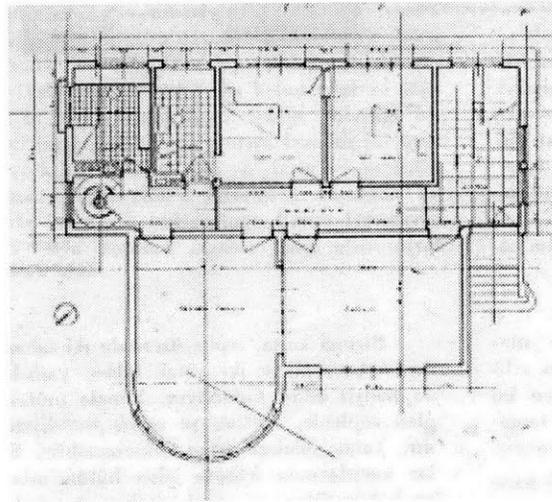
Arkitekt 1932	House Code:	32-17a
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Building Name: Sani Yaner Villa
Construction Date: 1931-32
Design Date: 1931-32
Architect(s): Zeki Salah
Client: Dr. Sani Yaner
Address: Kadikoy



Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.132

Notes:



Additional Notes:	
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Building Name: House for an architect

Construction Date:

Design Date: 02/15/1932

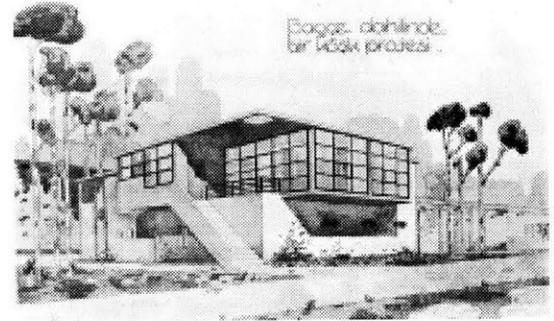
Architect(s): Arif Hikmet

Client: Fictional

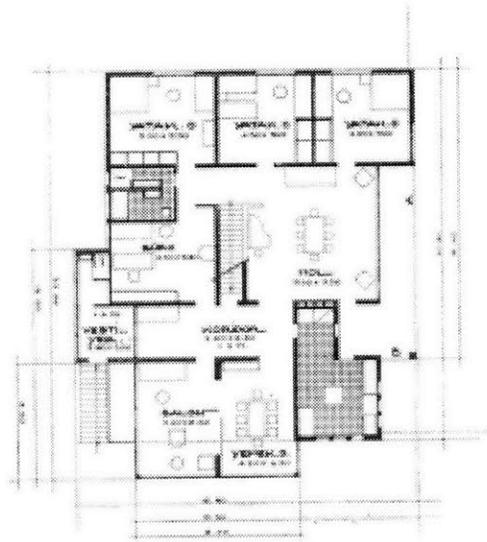
Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1933, p.109

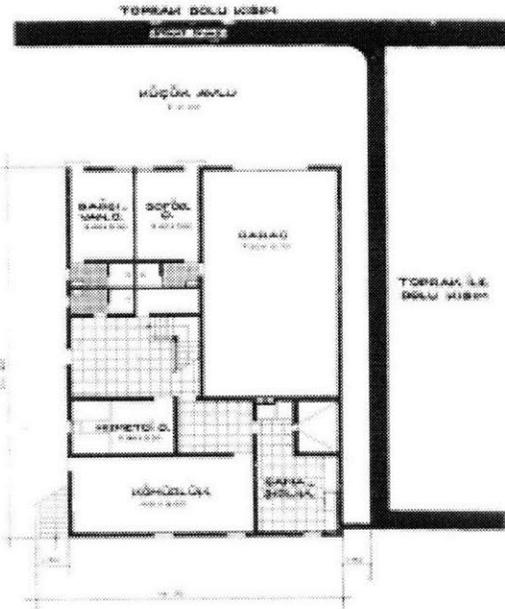
Notes:



BAĞCI DAHLİNDE YAZLIK
BİR KÖŞK PROJESİ.

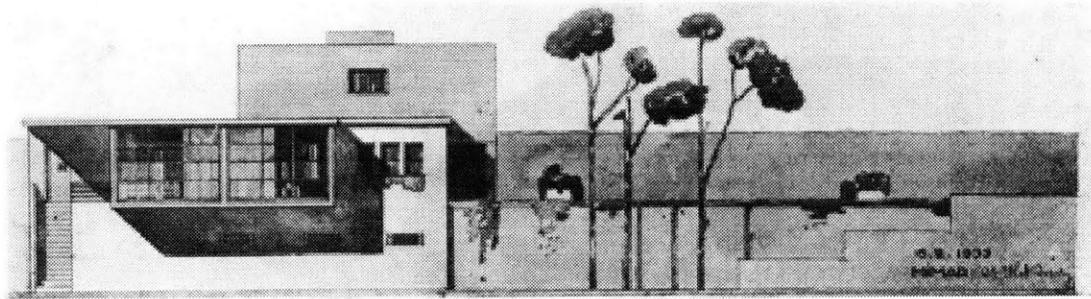


KAT PLANI
MİKYAS . 1/100



BOZUM KATI
PLANI MİK. 1/100

© 1933 HİKMET ARKİT

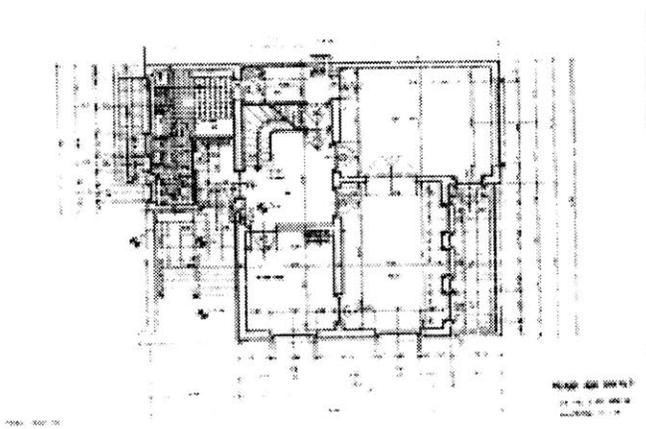
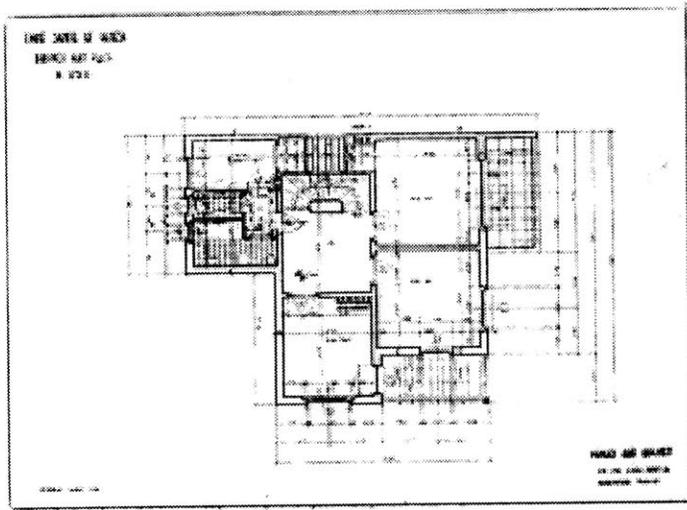
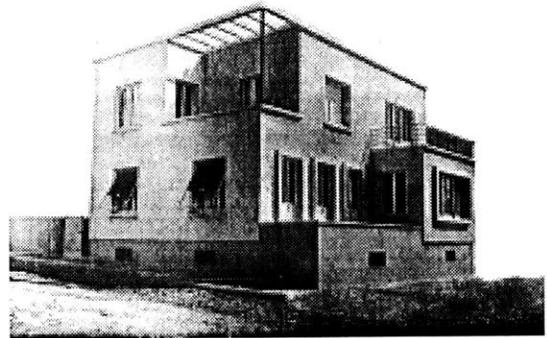


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Ms. Emine Saniye House
Construction Date: 1933
Design Date: 1932-33
Architect(s): Arif Hikmet
Client: Ms. Emine Saniye
Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1933, p.267

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1933

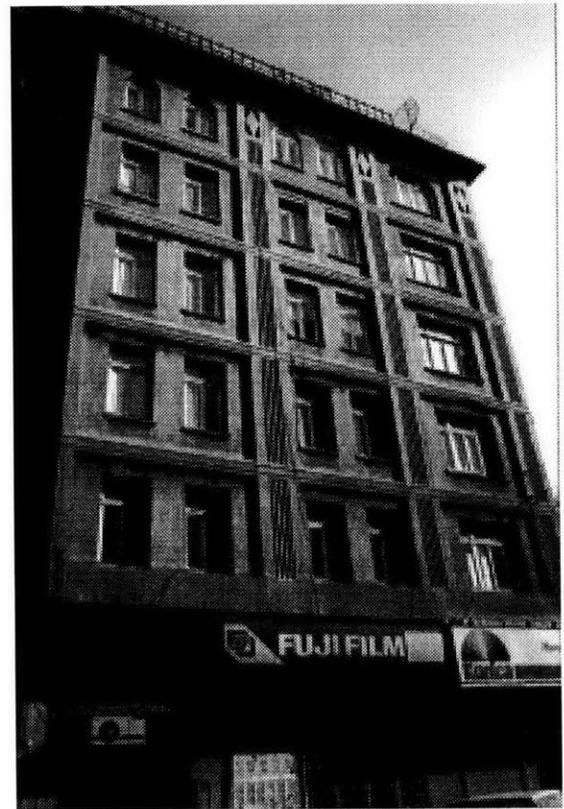
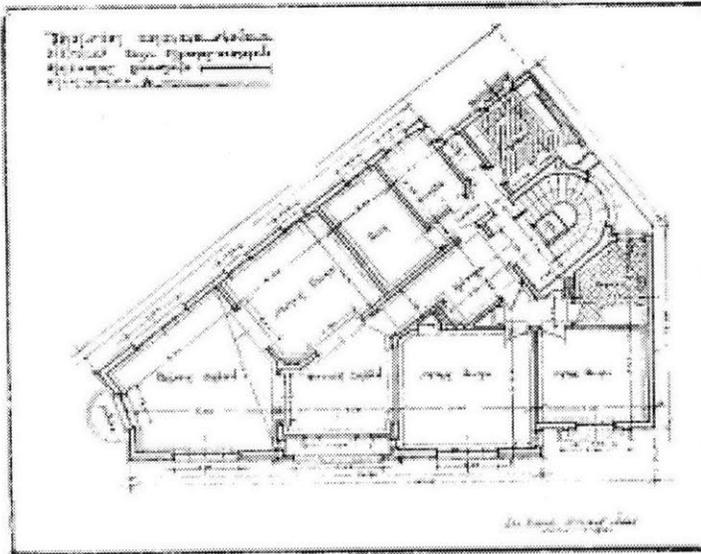
House Code:

33-3a

Building Name: Pertev Apartment
Construction Date: 1932-33
Design Date: 1932-33
Architect(s): Engineer Nihat Vedat
Client:
Address: Taksim, Cumhuriyet St. #13

Published in: Arkitekt 1932, p.44

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1933

Design Date: 1932-33

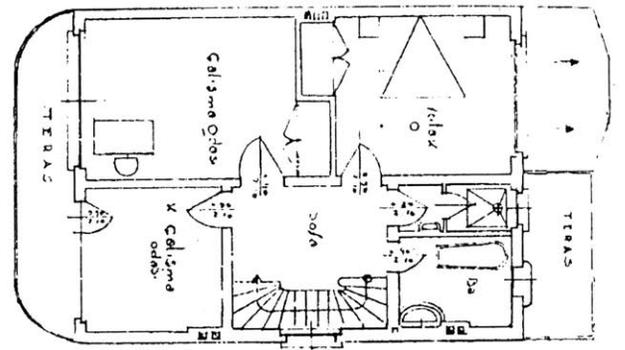
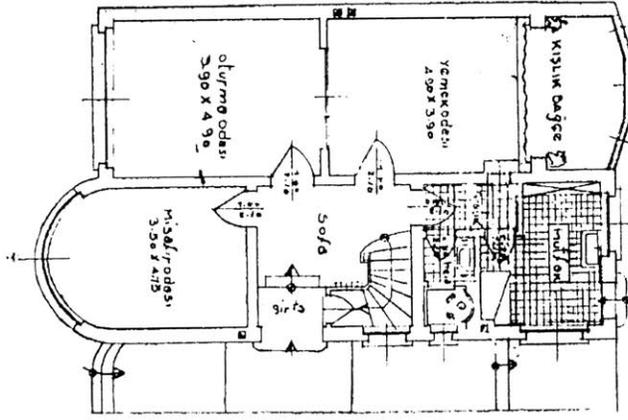
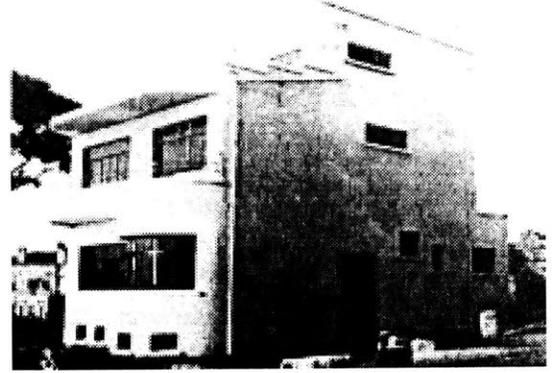
Architect(s): Omer Faruk Galip

Client:

Address: Muhurdar St. Kadikoy

Published in: Arkitekt 1933, p.173

Notes: Built in the Rizapasa lot, one of the areas which was divided into smaller units for speculative reasons.



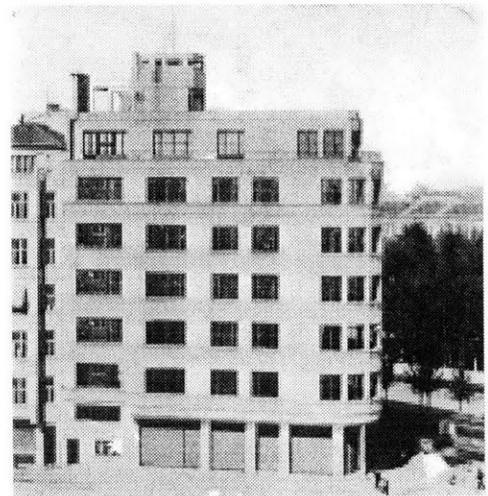
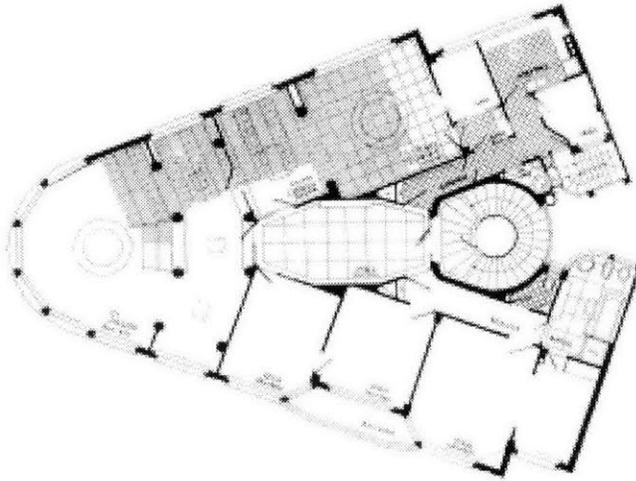
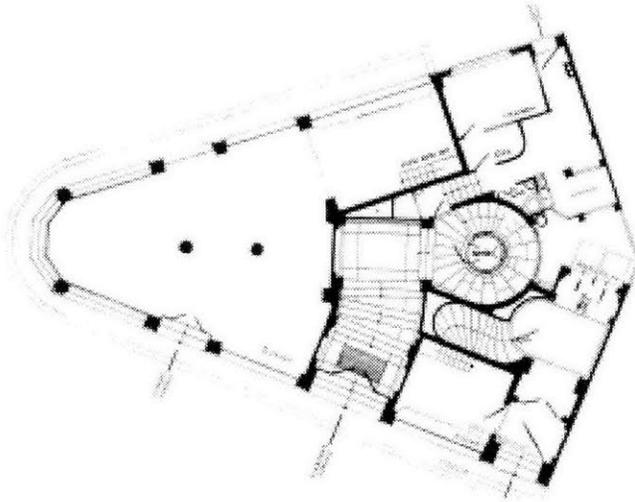
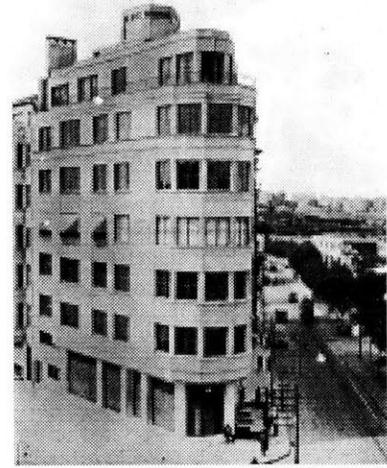
Ön ve arka görünüşler. Alt ve üst katlar
pilâni. M. 1 : 200

Additional Notes:

Building Name: Ceylan Apartment
Construction Date: 1932-33
Design Date: 1932-33
Architect(s): Sedad Hakki Eldem
Client:
Address: Cumhuriyet St. Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1933, p.331

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1933

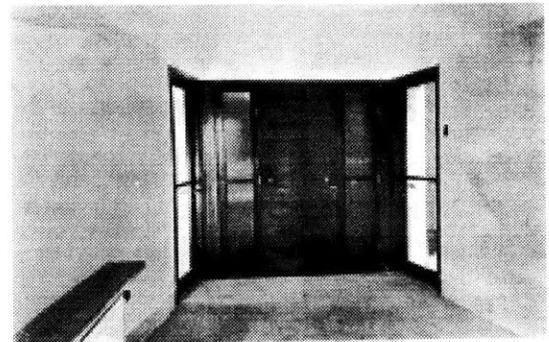
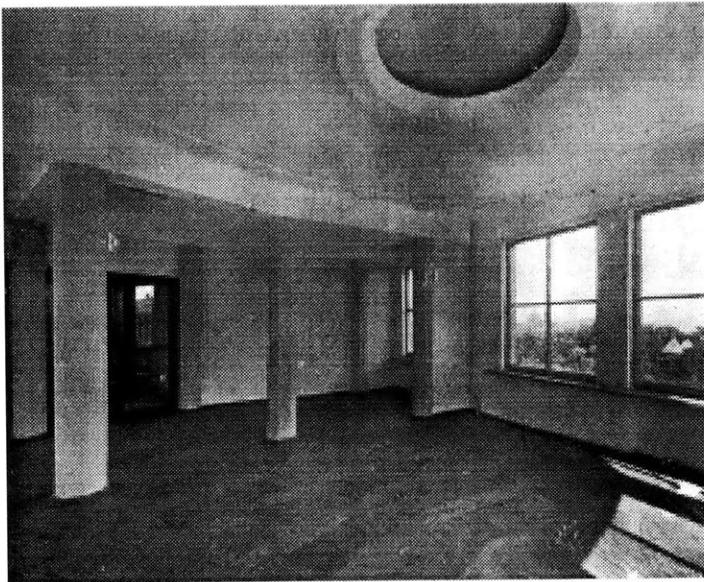
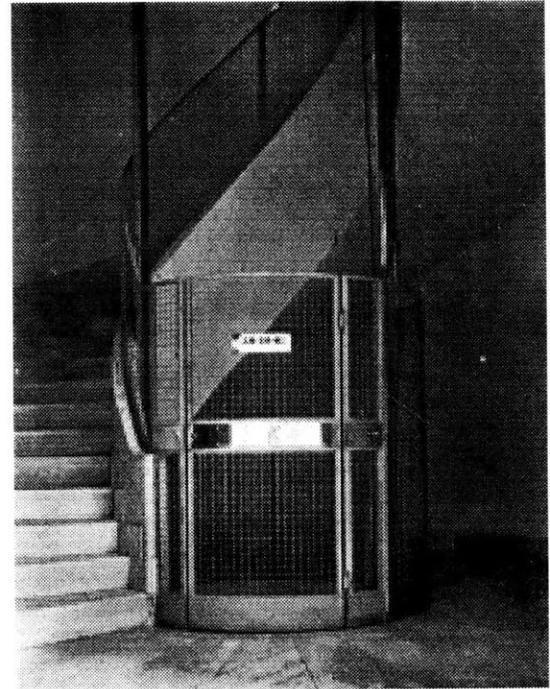
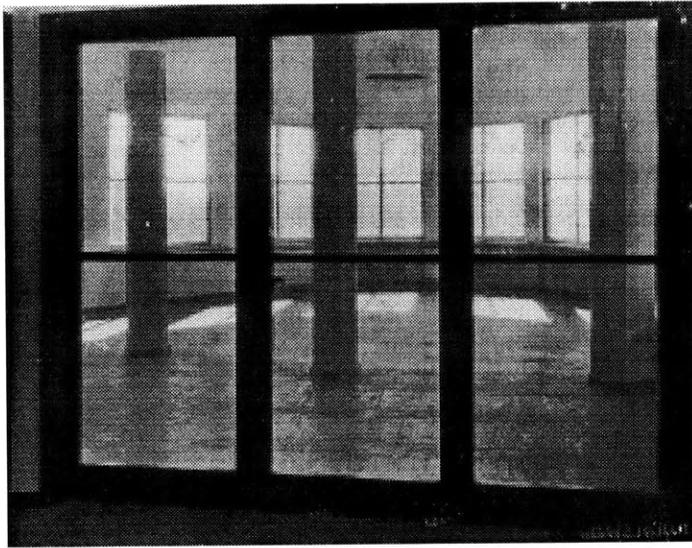
House Code:

33-5b

Building Name: Ceylan Apartment
Construction Date: 1932-33
Design Date: 1932-33
Architect(s): Sedad Hakki Eldem
Client:
Address: Cumhuriyet St. Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1933, p.331

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date:

Design Date: 1932-33

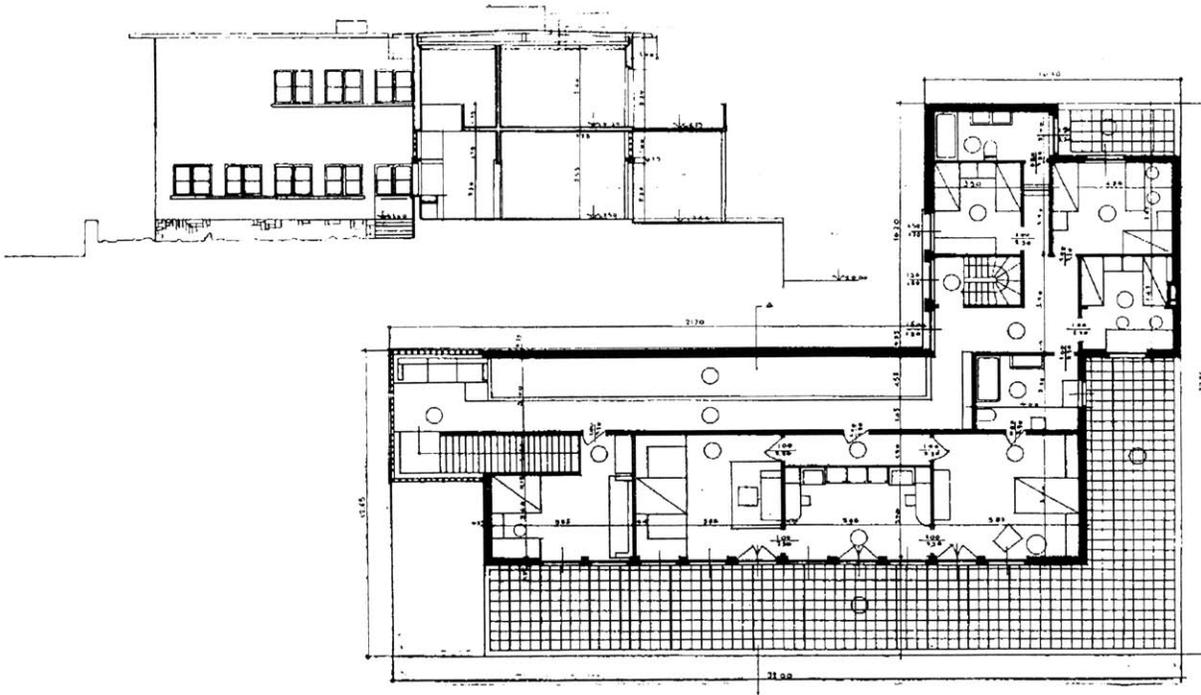
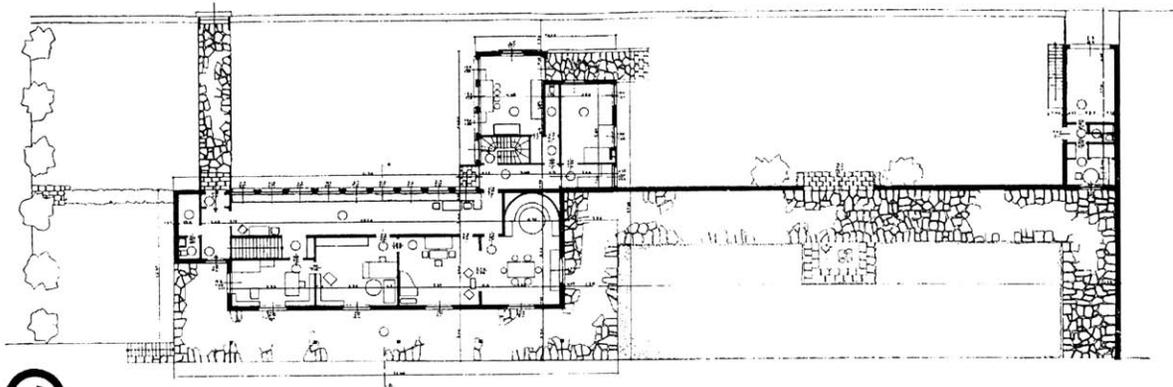
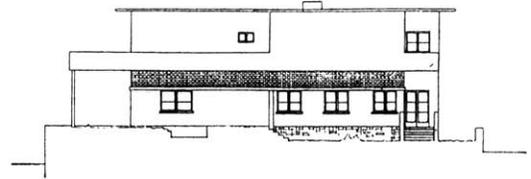
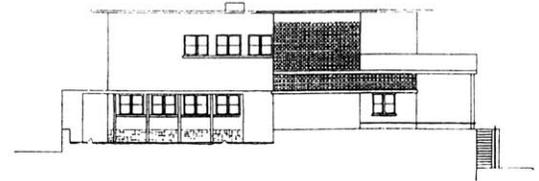
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan

Client:

Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1933, p.112

Notes: A villa designed for a fictional "respected and wealthy" client. The site was considered to be on the coast.

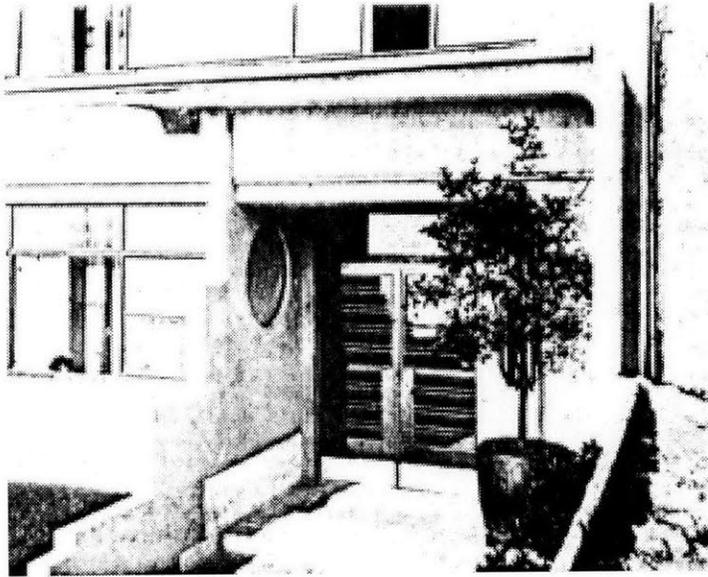


Additional Notes:

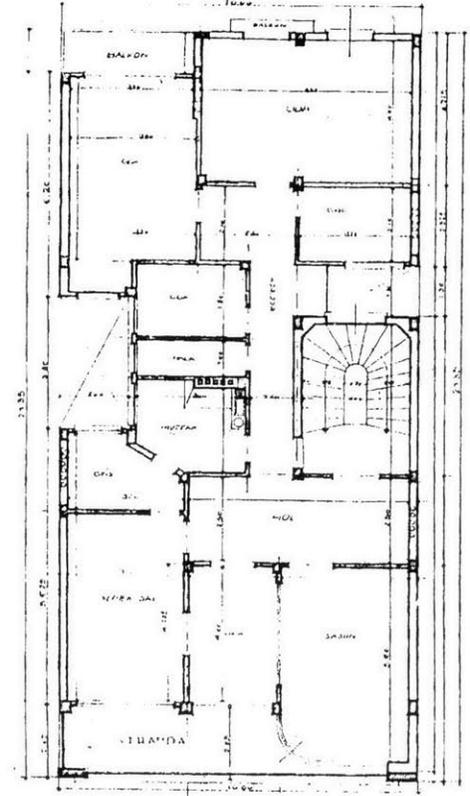
Building Name: Feza Apartment
Construction Date: 1932-33
Design Date: 1932-33
Architect(s): Sirri Arif
Client:
Address: Muhurdar St. Kadikoy

Published in: Arkitekt 1933, p.166

Notes:



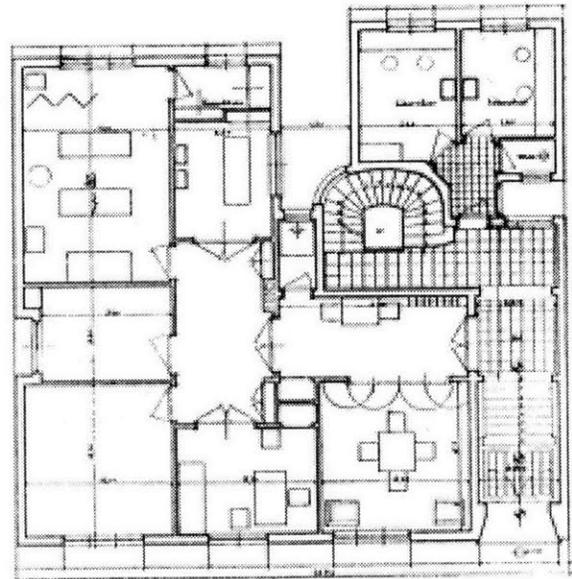
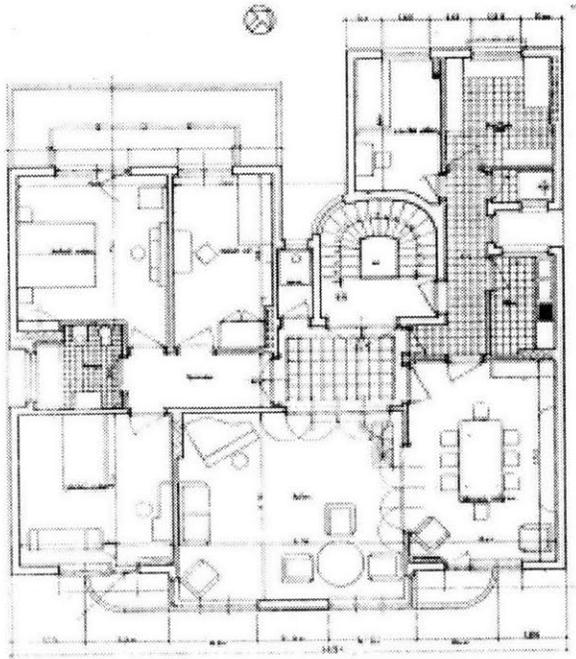
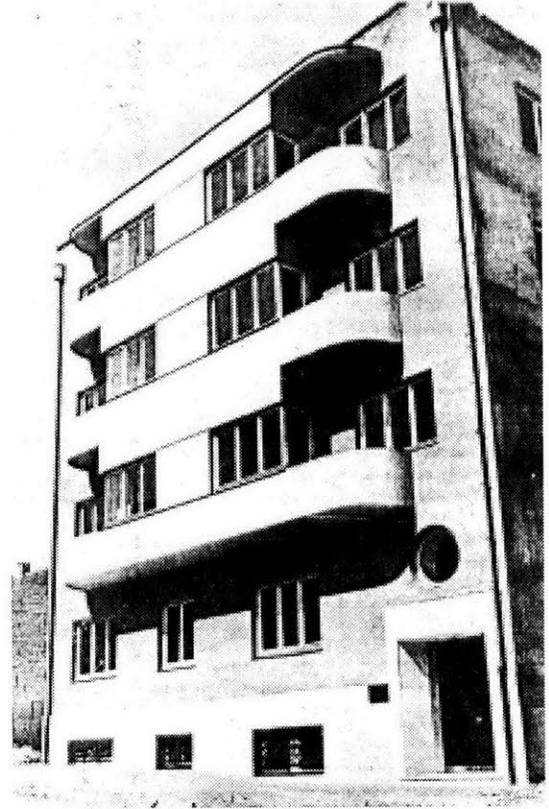
BEZA APARTIMANI
KATLAR PLANI M.1:80



Additional Notes:

Building Name: Rontgen Apartment
 Construction Date: 1932-33
 Design Date: 1932-33
 Architect(s): Zeki Salah
 Client: Designed for a doctor
 Address: Bahariye St. Kadikoy (accros the Sureyya movie building)

 Published in: Arkitekt 1933, p.234
 Notes: The first floor is designed as a rontgen lab.

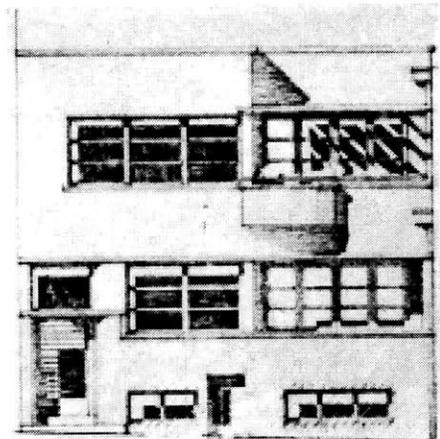
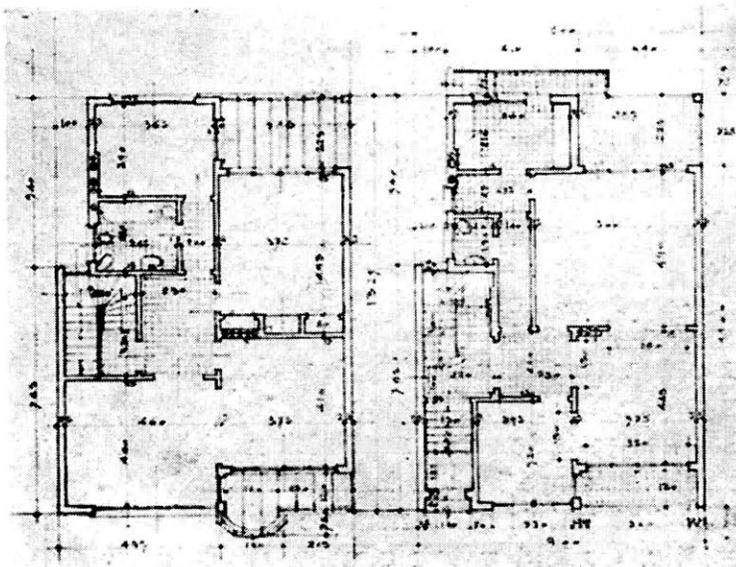
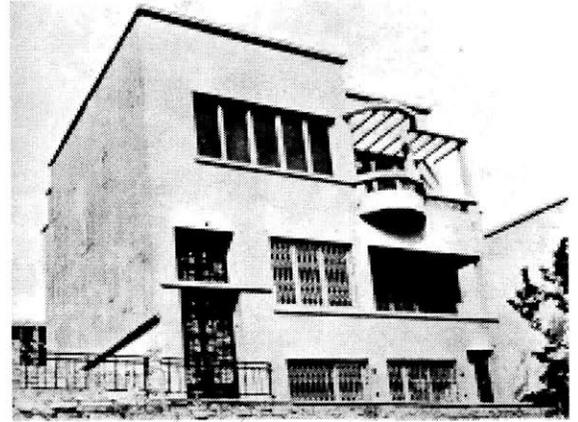


Additional Notes:

Building Name: House for an architect
Construction Date: 1933-1934
Design Date: 1933-1934
Architect(s): Abidin Mortas
Client:
Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1934.

Notes:

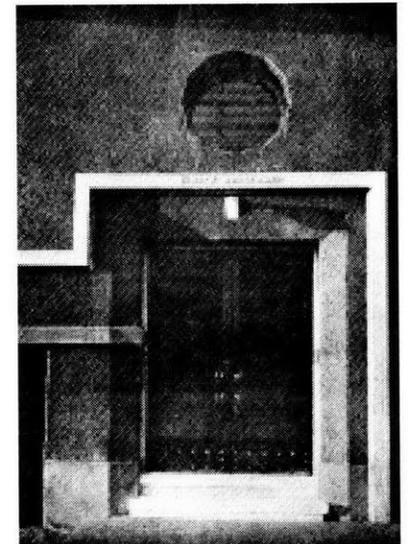
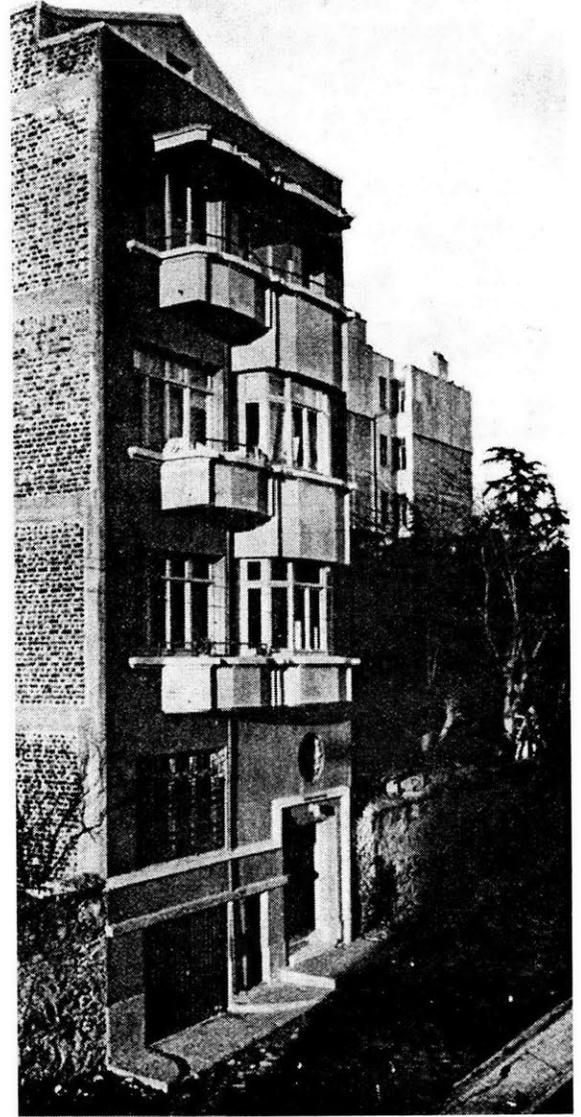
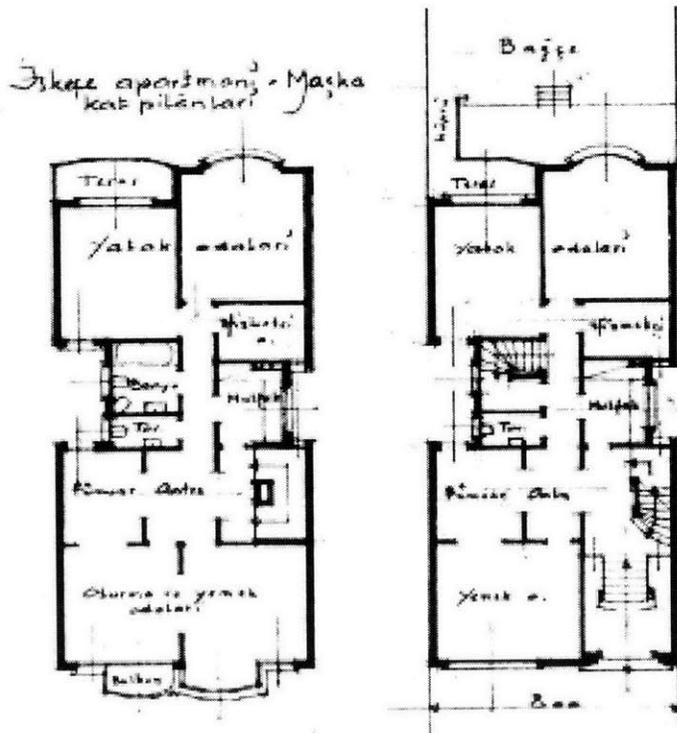


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Iskece Apartment
 Construction Date: 1933-1934
 Design Date: 1933-34
 Architect(s): Abidin Mortas
 Client:
 Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1934

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date:

Design Date: 1933-34

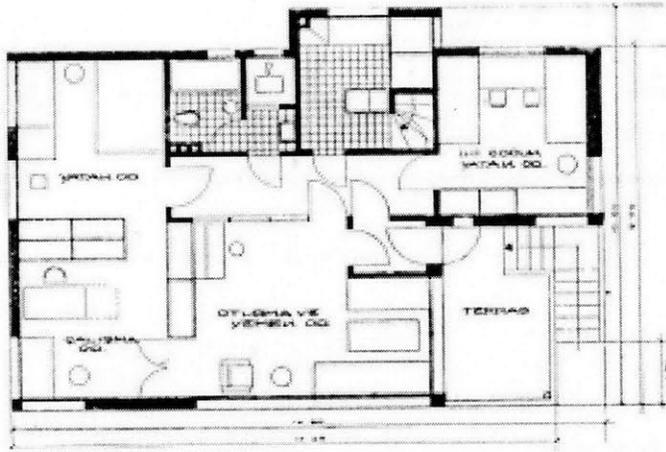
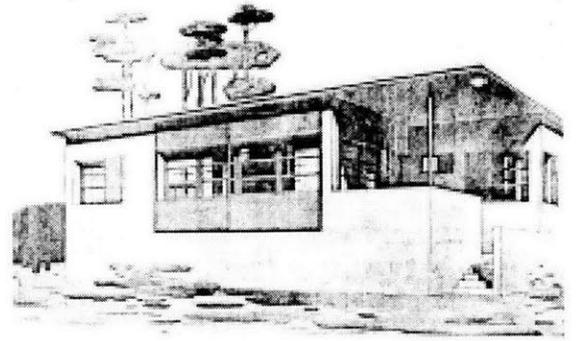
Architect(s): Arif Hikmet

Client:

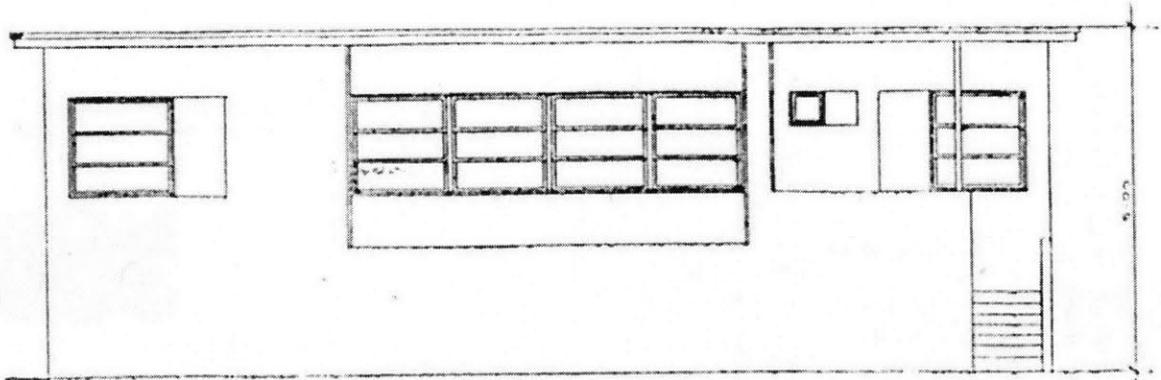
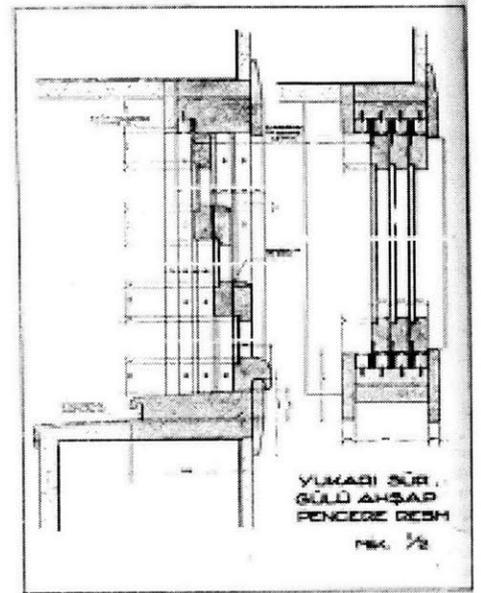
Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1934

Notes:



OTURULACAK KAT PLANI



CADEDEN GÖRÜNÜŞ

Mikyas 1 : 150

Additional Notes:

Building Name: Ms. Firdevs Apartment

Construction Date: 1933-34

Design Date: 1933-34

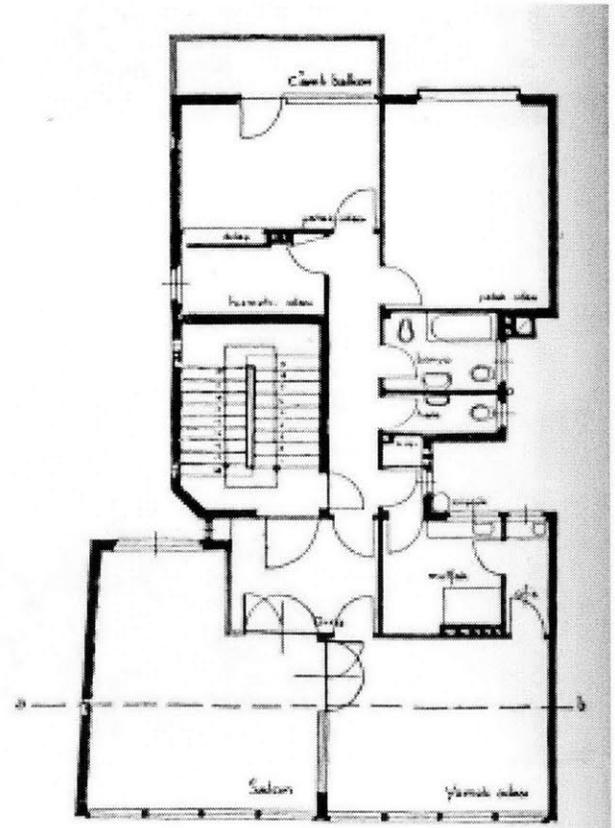
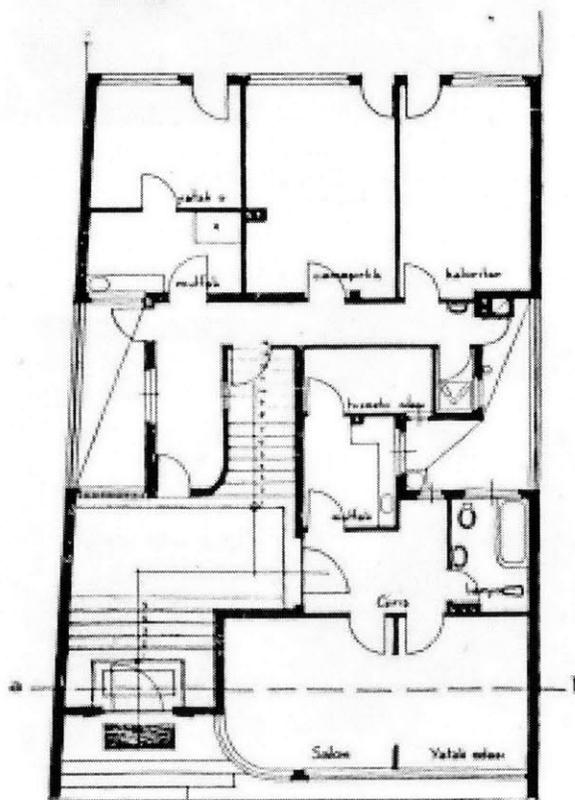
Architect(s): Sedad Hakki Eldem

Client:

Address: Macka

Published in: Arkitekt 1934

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date:

Design Date: 08/05/1931

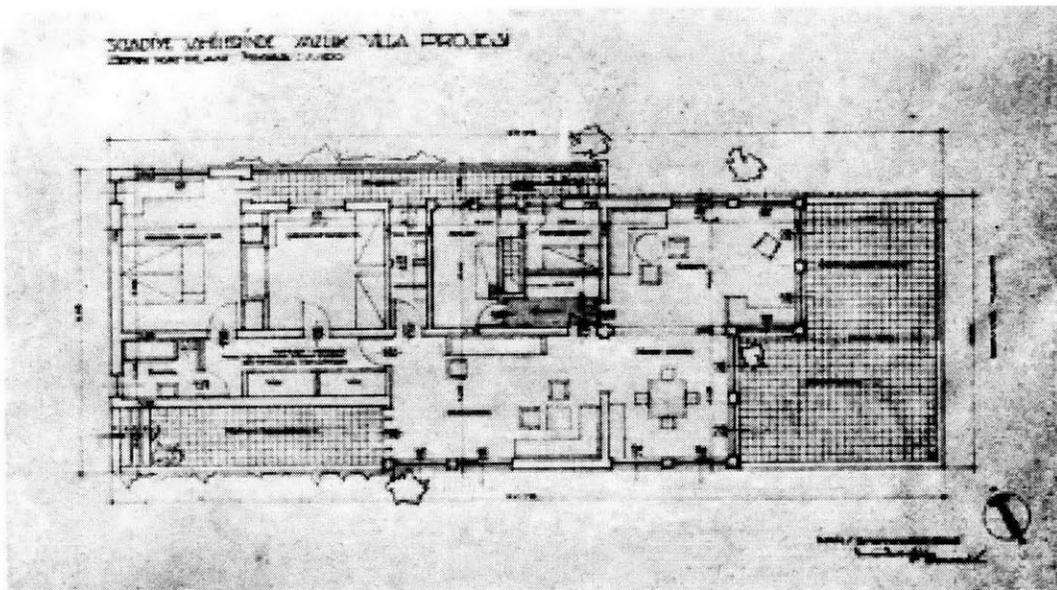
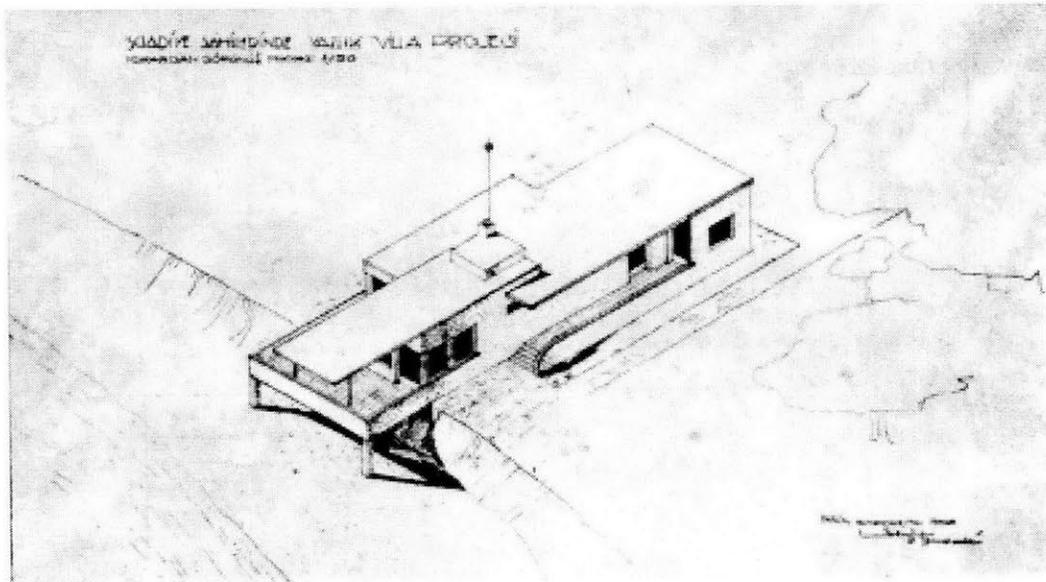
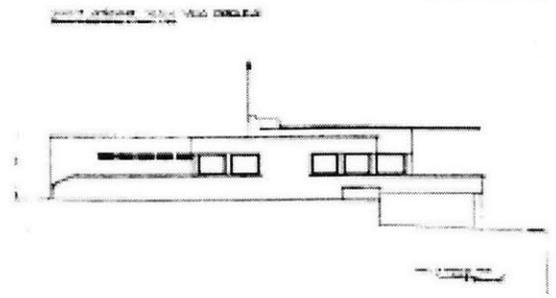
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan

Client:

Address: Designed for a fictional lot on the coast in Suadiye

Published in: Arkitekt 1934

Notes: Designed when Arkan was in Berlin.



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1933-34

Design Date: 1933-34

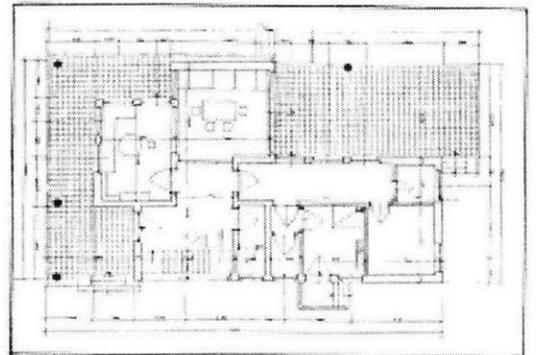
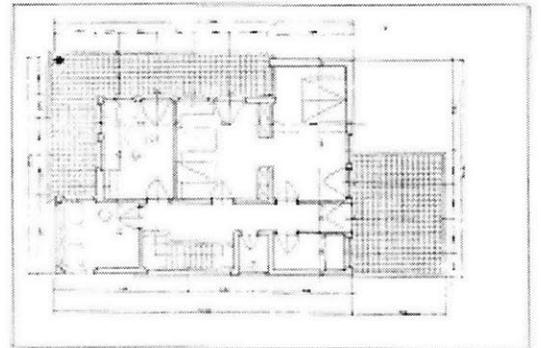
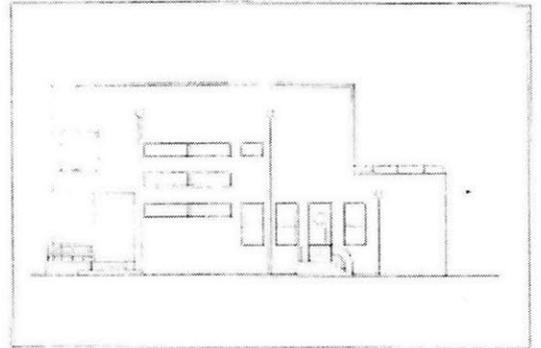
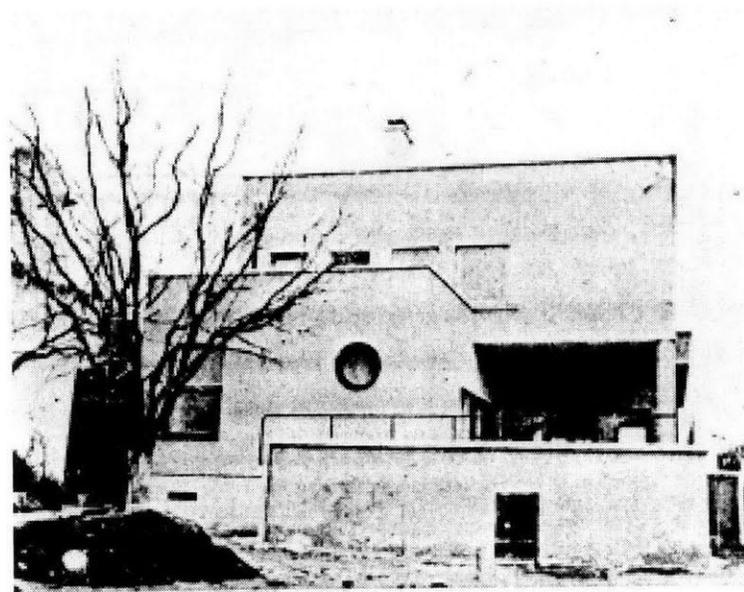
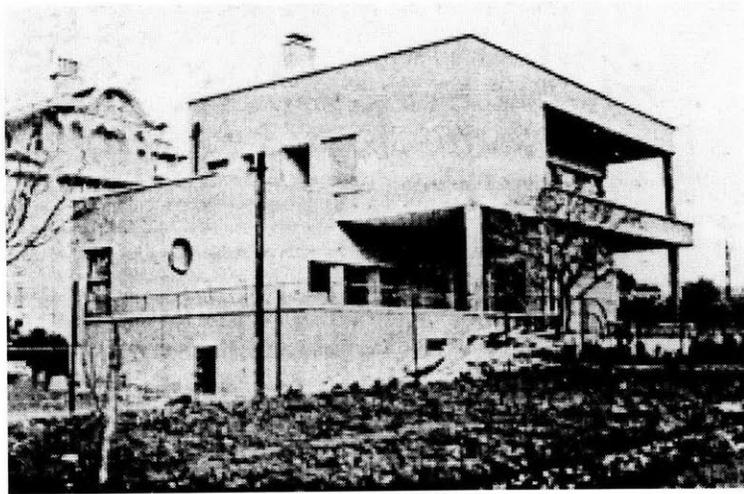
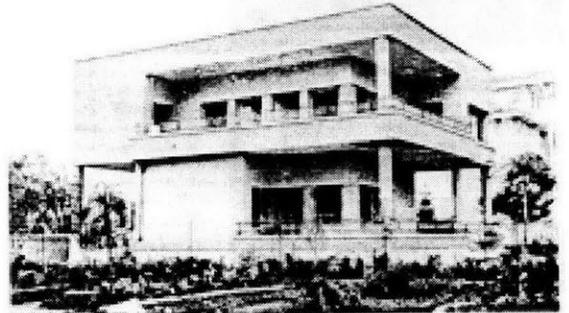
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan

Client:

Address: Suadiye

Published in: Arkitekt 1934

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

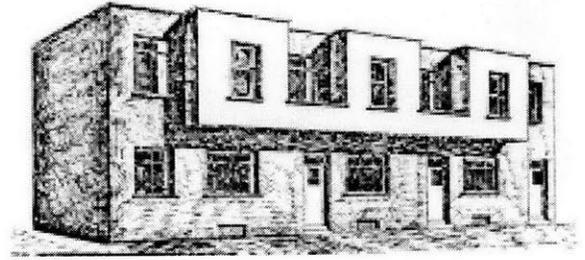
Construction Date:

Design Date: 1933-34

Architect(s): Tahir Turan

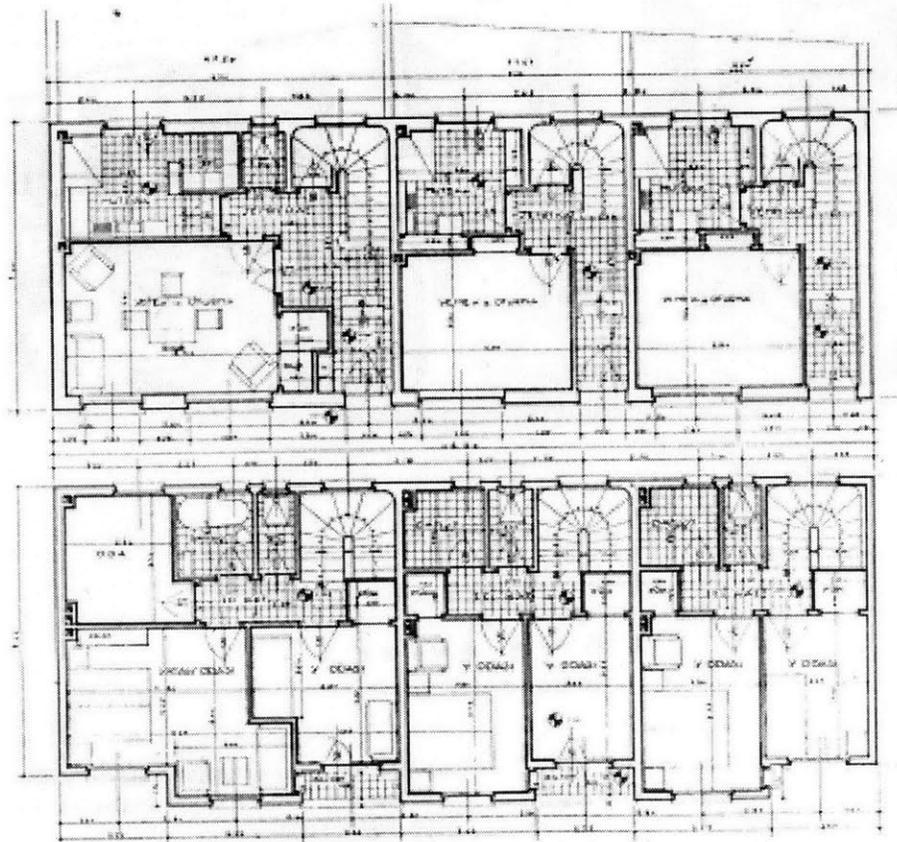
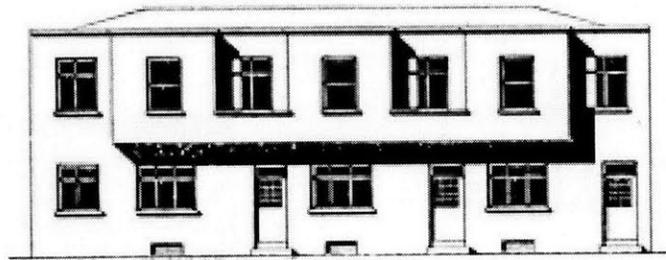
Client:

Address:



Published in: Arkitekt 1934

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1933-34

Design Date: 1933-34

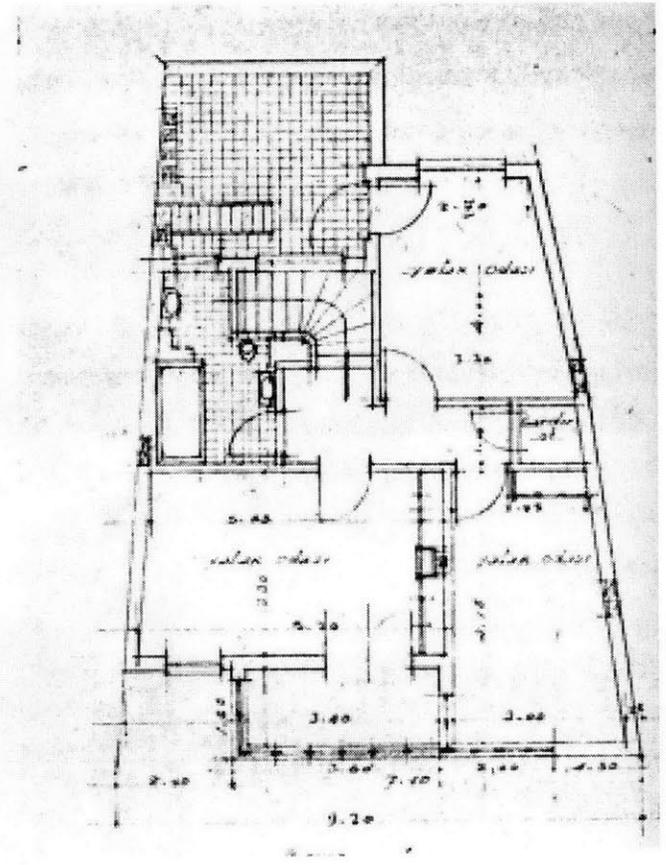
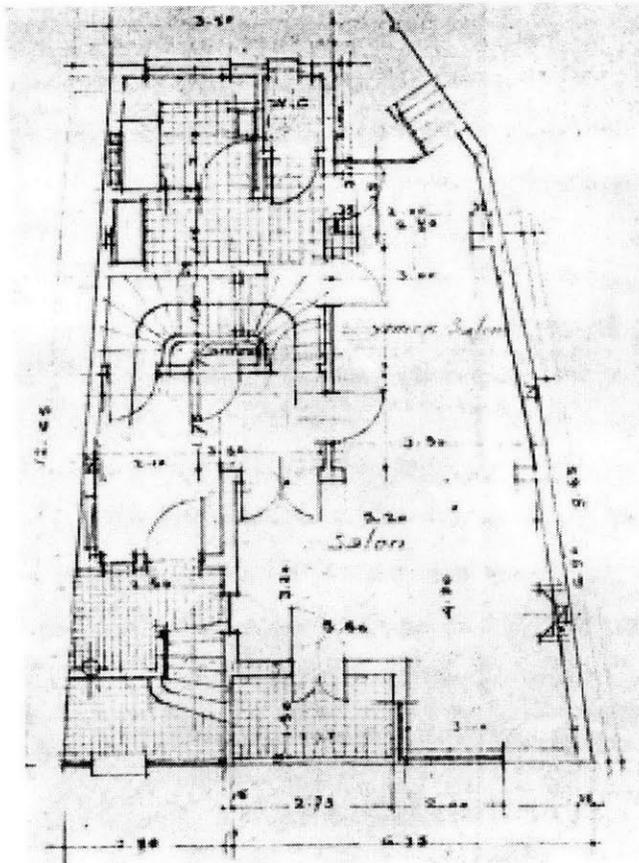
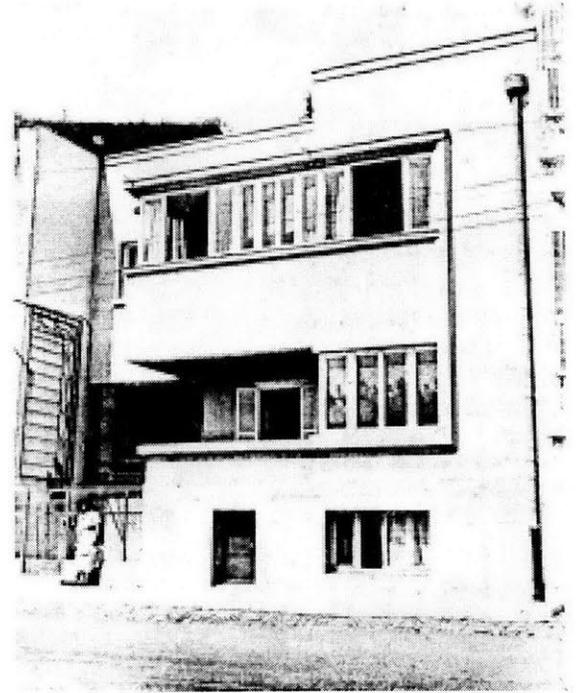
Architect(s): Tahsin Sermet

Client:

Address: Sariyer

Published in: Arkitekt 1934

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1933-34

Design Date: 1933-34

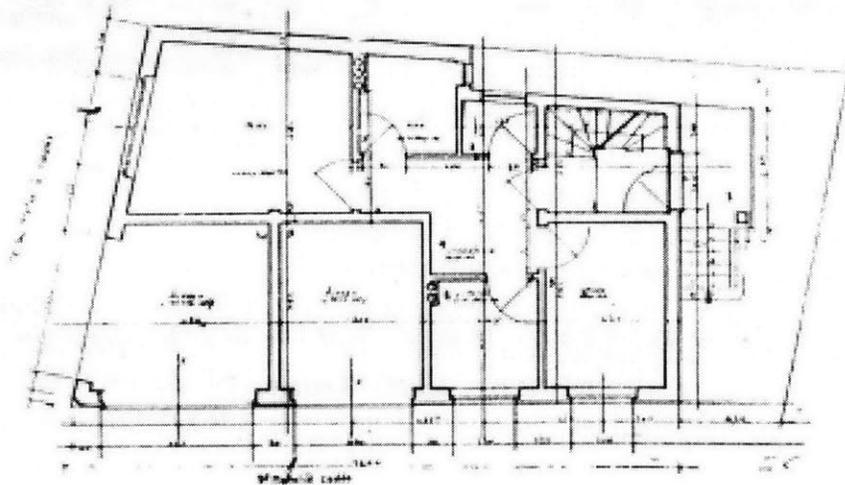
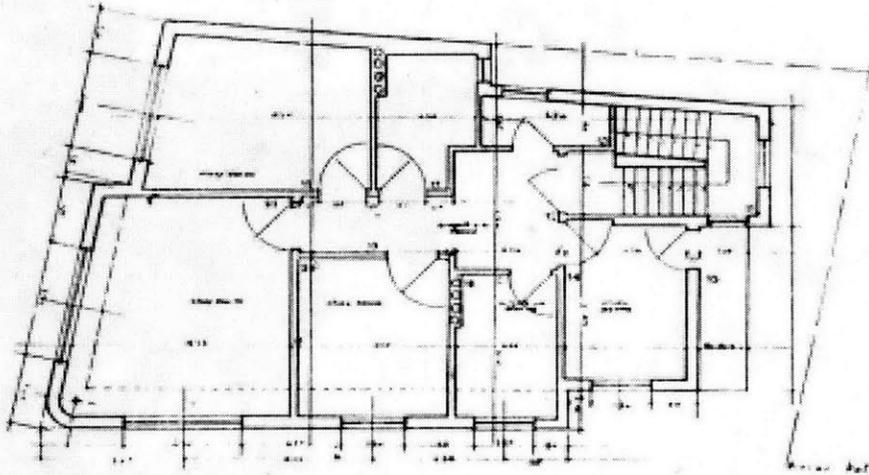
Architect(s): Zeki Salah

Client:

Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1934

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1934-1935

Design Date: 1934-1935

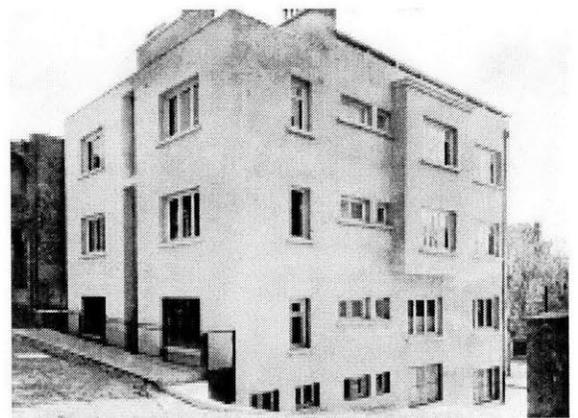
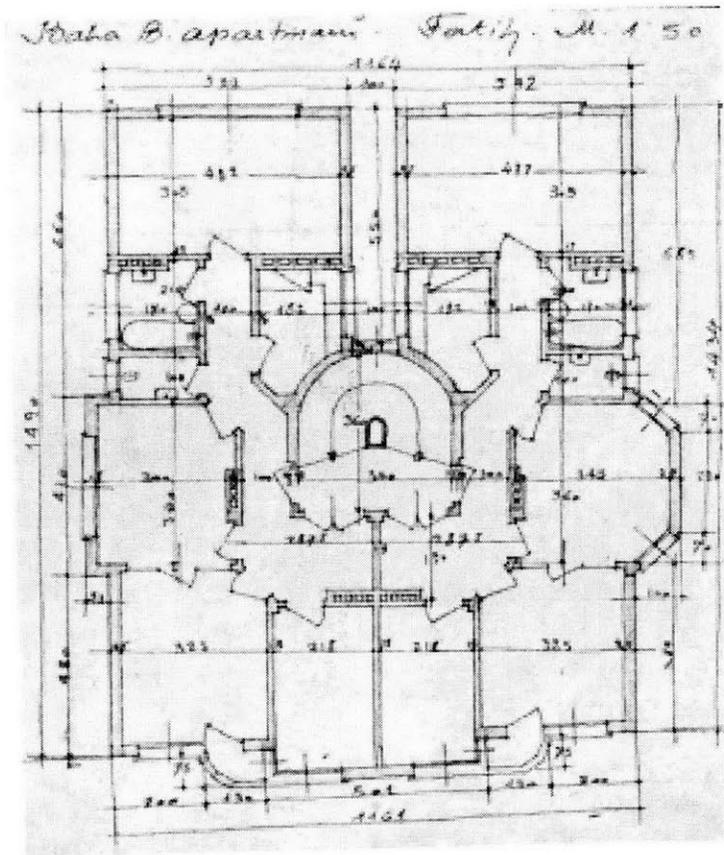
Architect(s): Abidin Mortas

Client:

Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1935, p.141

Notes: The building was commissioned to Abidin Mortas after the plans were designed by another architect.

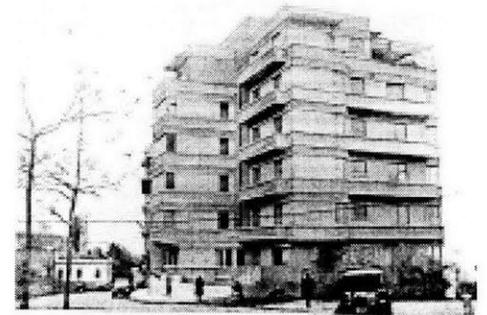


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Ucler Apartment
Construction Date: 1934-1935
Design Date: 1934-1935
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan
Client: Engineer Galip Bey
Address: Inonu St. Taksim

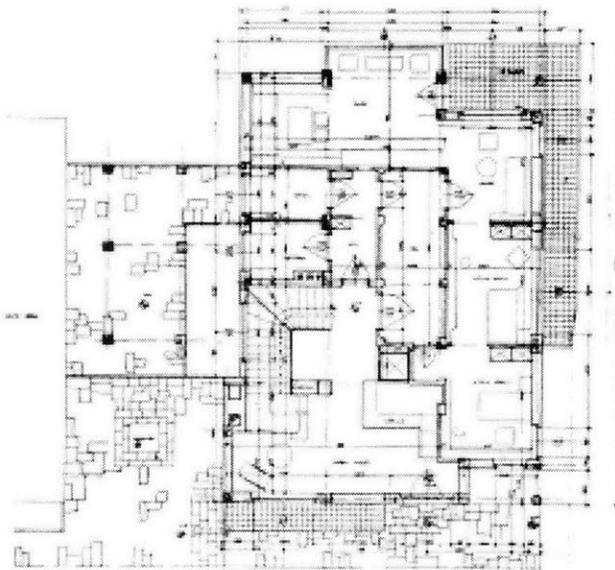
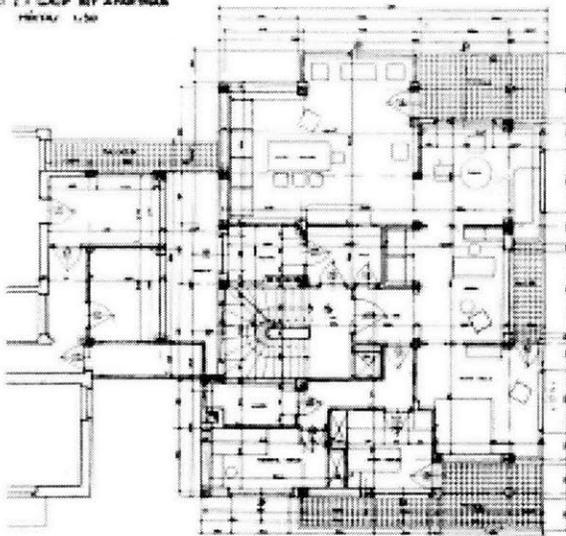
Published in: Arkitekt 1935, p.129

Notes: An addition to an existing apartment built in 1931 by architect Husnu. (Arkitekt 1931, pp.355)



Existing building

1931 2 / GALIP BEY APARTMAN
1/500

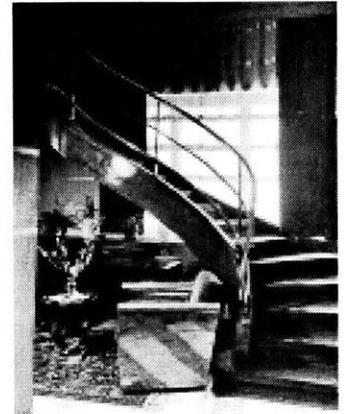
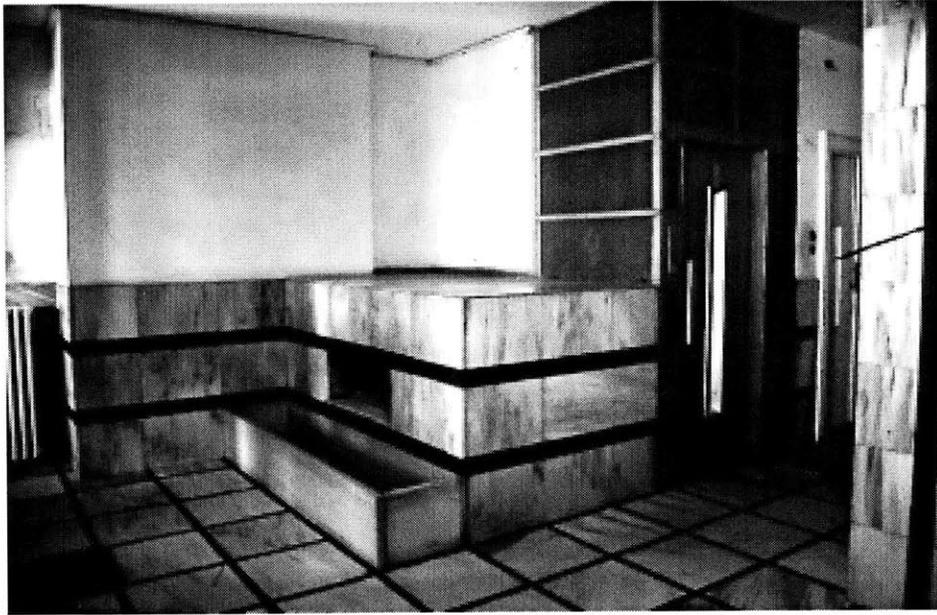
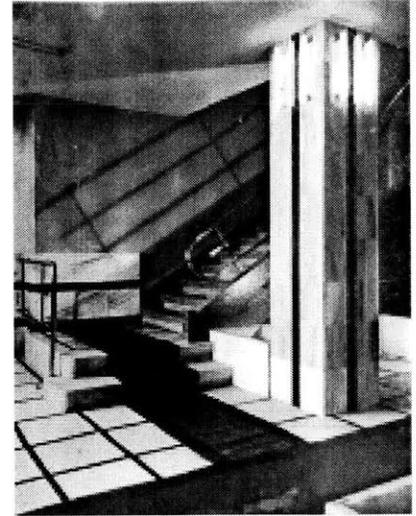


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Ucler Apartment
Construction Date: 1934-1935
Design Date: 1934-1935
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan
Client: Engineer Galip Bey
Address: Inonu St. Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1935, p.129

Notes:

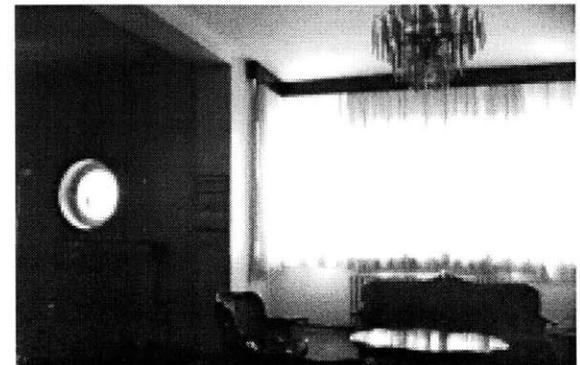
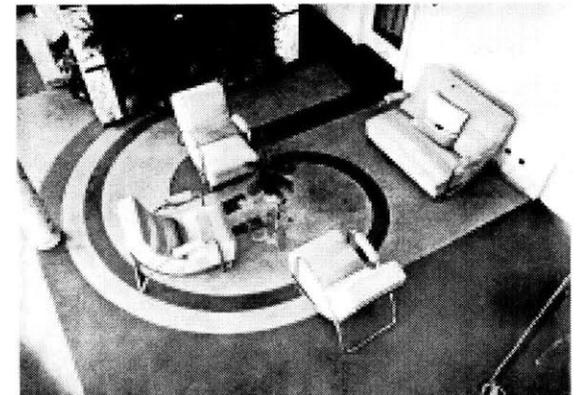
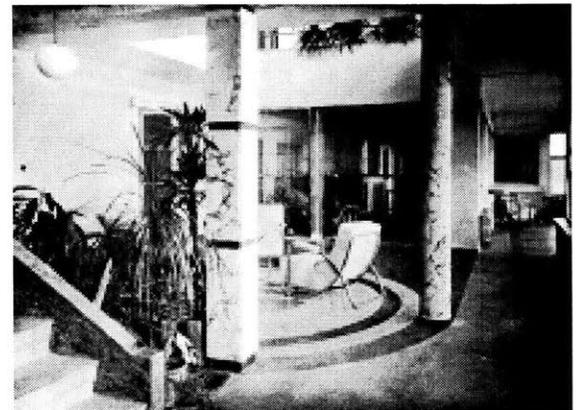
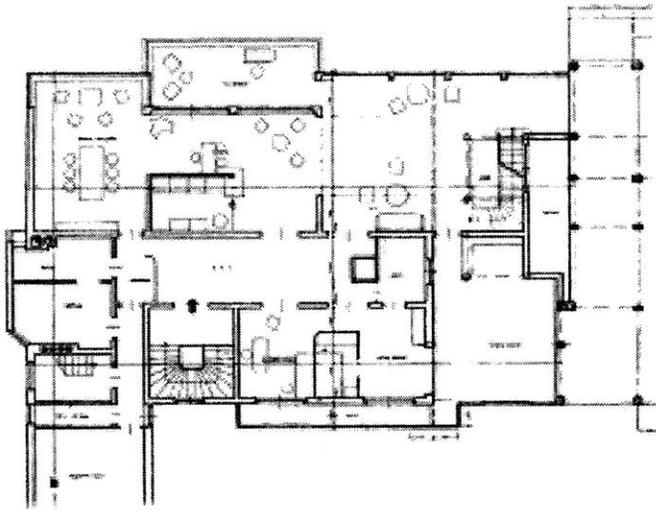
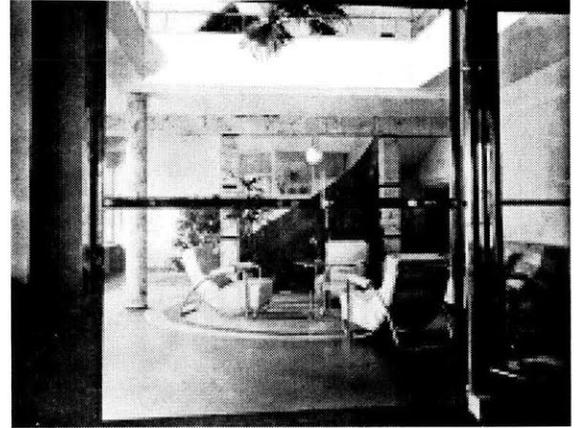


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Ucler Apartment
Construction Date: 1934-1935
Design Date: 1934-1935
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan
Client: Engineer Galip Bey
Address: Inonu St. Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1935, p.129

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name: Coal Mine Worker's housing

Construction Date:

Design Date: 1935

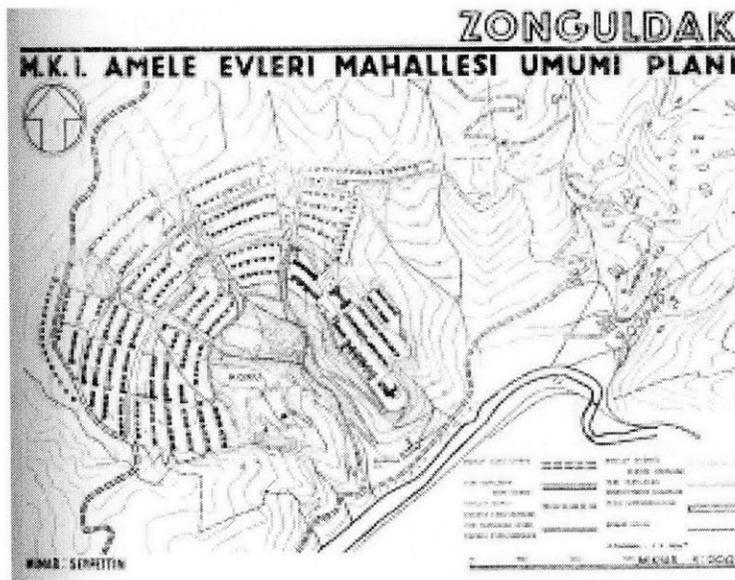
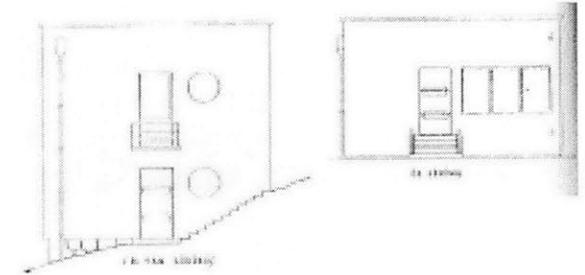
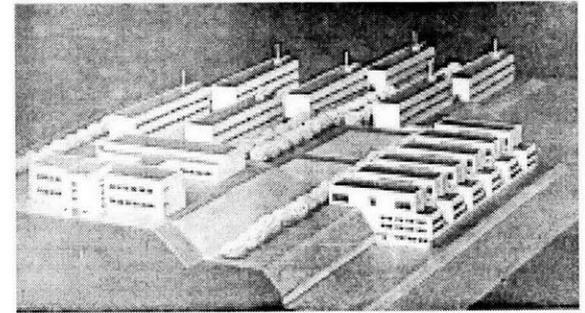
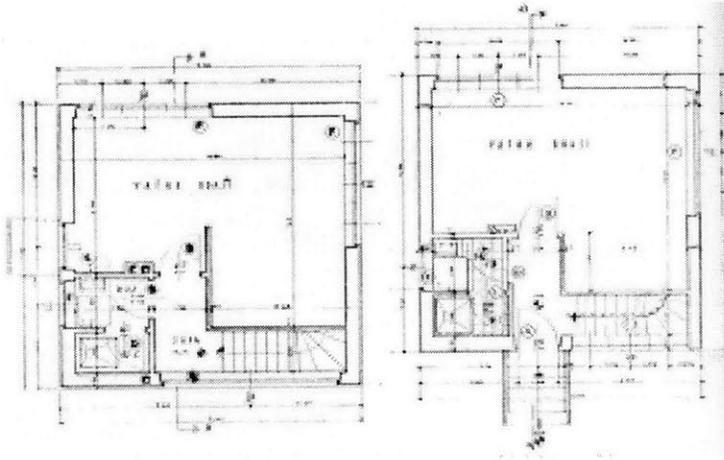
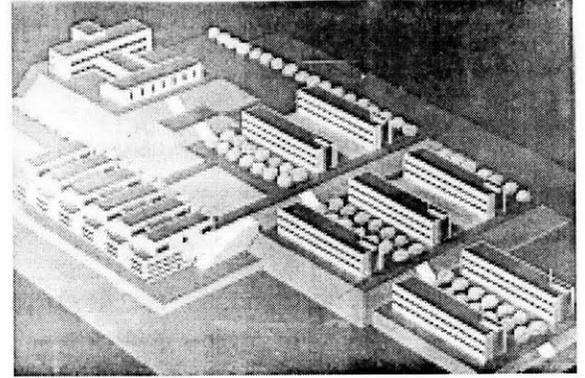
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan

Client: Zonguldak Coal Mining Corporation

Address: Zonguldak

Published in: Arkitekt 1935, p.253

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

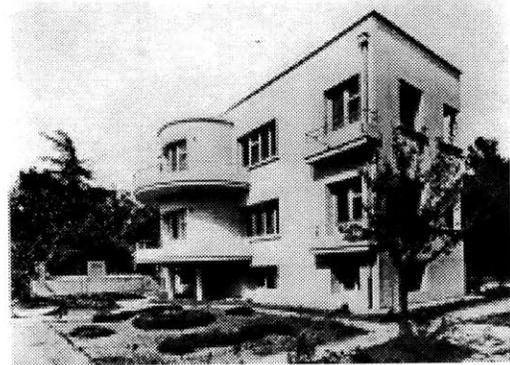
Construction Date: 1935-1936

Design Date: 1935-1936

Architect(s): Abidin Mortas

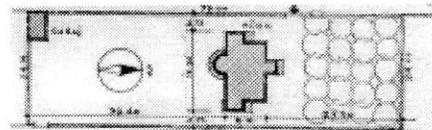
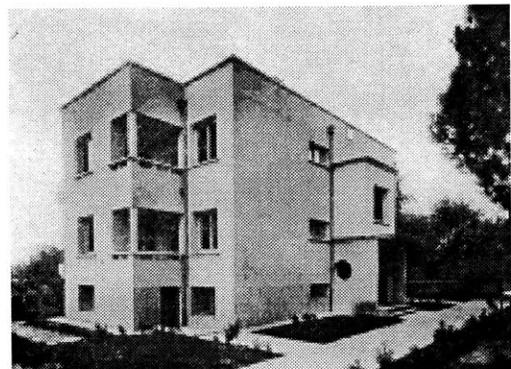
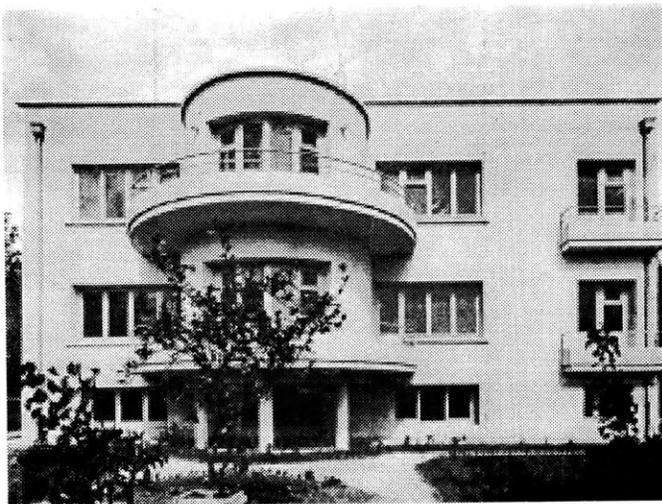
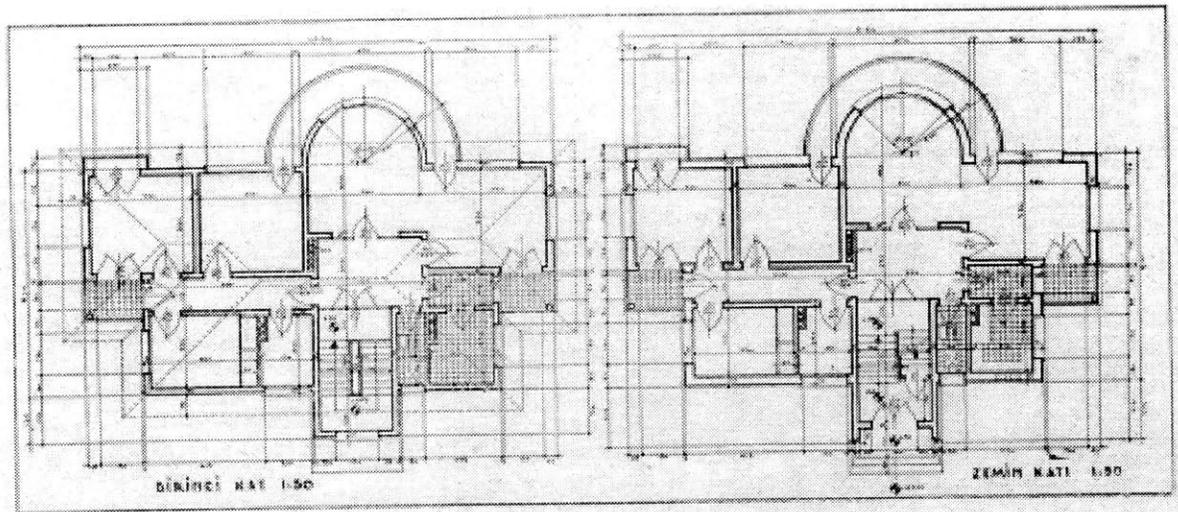
Client:

Address: Erenkoy



Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.249

Notes: Despite its villa appearance the building had two separate apartments.



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936

House Code:

36-2a

Building Name: Tuten Apartment
Construction Date: 1935-1936
Design Date: 1935-1936
Architect(s): Adil Denktas
Client: Sabri Tuten (a tobacco merchant)
Address: Inonu St. #21 Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.133-139

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1935-1936

Design Date: 1935-1936

Architect(s): H.Adil

Client:

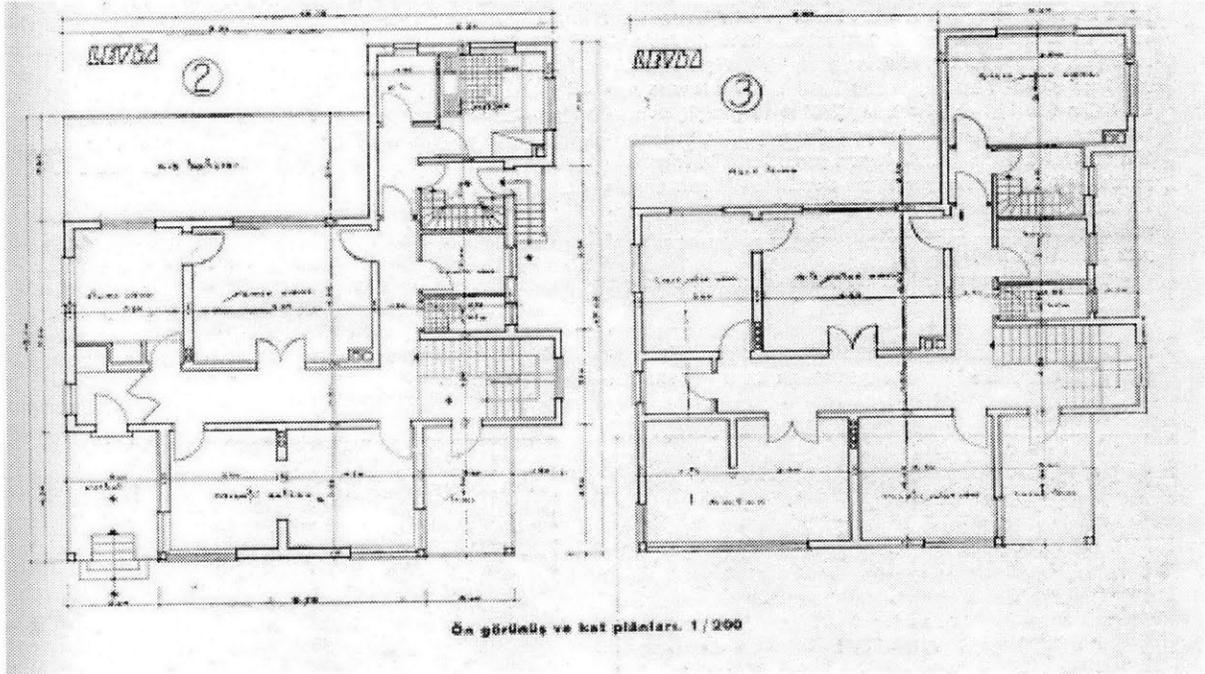
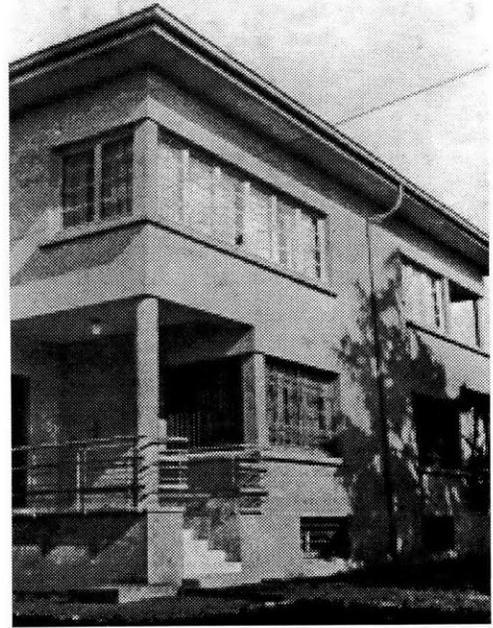
Address: Tramway St. Feneryolu

Published in:

Arkitekt 1936, p.33-35

Notes:

The upper floor was intended to be rented later, so two separate entrances were designed.



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936

House Code:

36-4a

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1935-1936

Design Date: 1935-1936

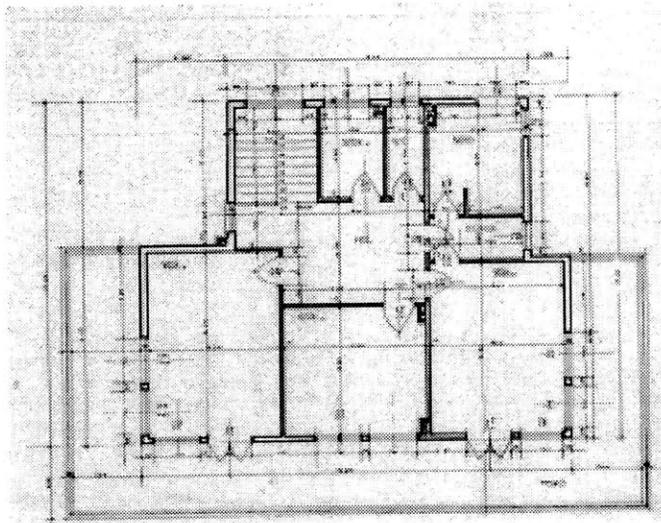
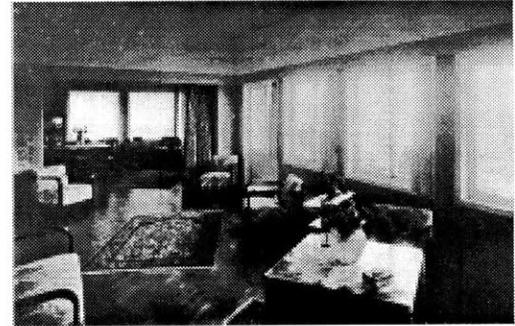
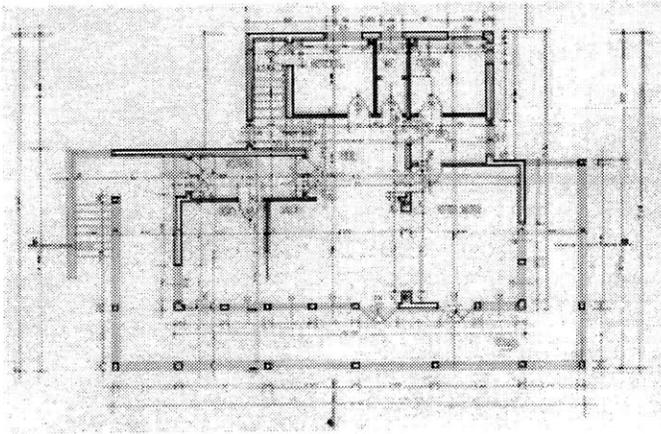
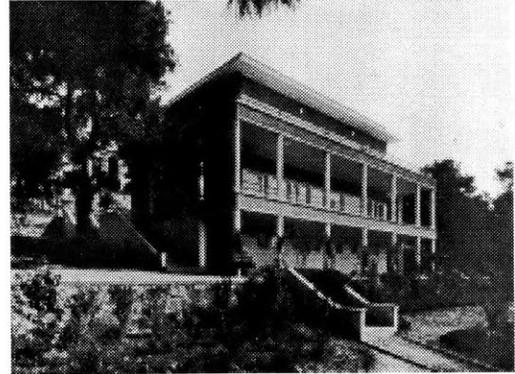
Architect(s): Samih Akkaynak

Client:

Address: Buyukada Dadilar Camligi

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.219

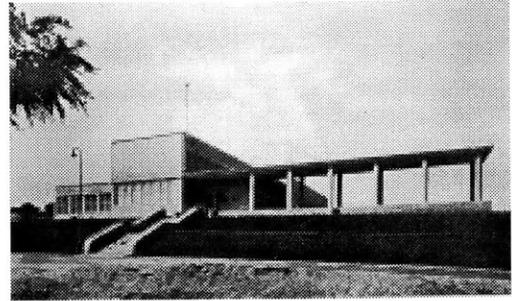
Notes:



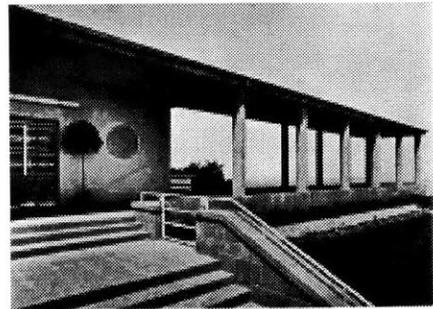
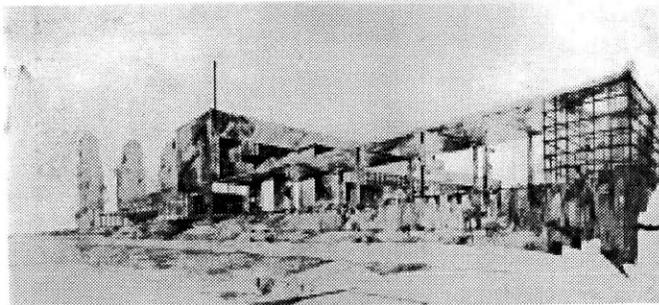
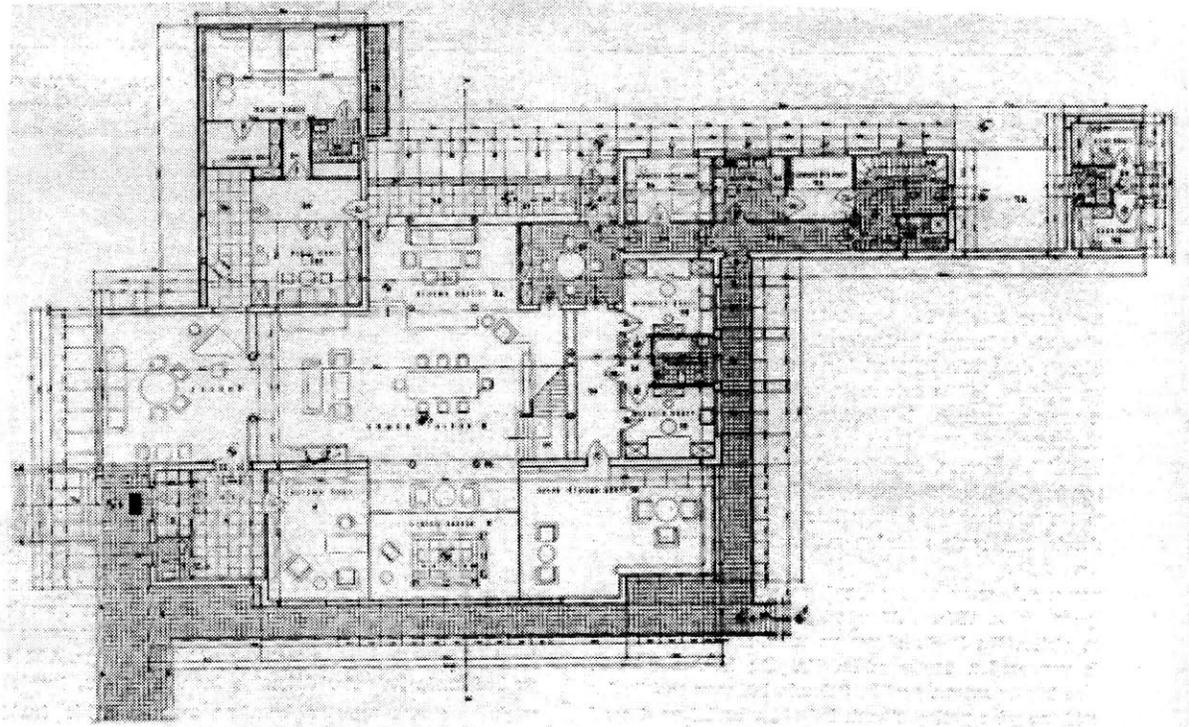
Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936	House Code:	36-5a
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Building Name: Atadan House
 Construction Date: 1935-1936
 Design Date: 1935-1936
 Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan
 Client: Makbule Atadan (Ataturk's sister)
 Address: Ankara



Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.179
 Notes: All the furniture and interior decorations were also designed by the architect.



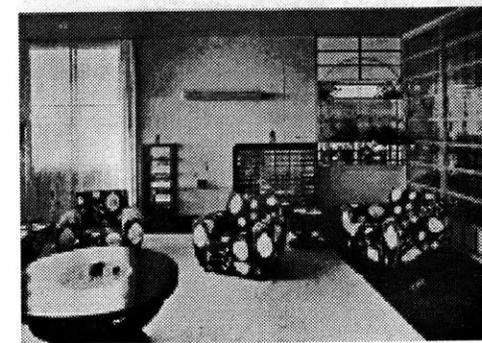
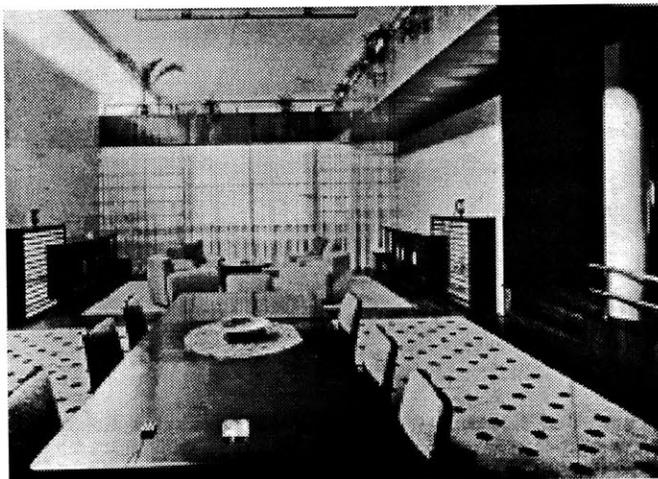
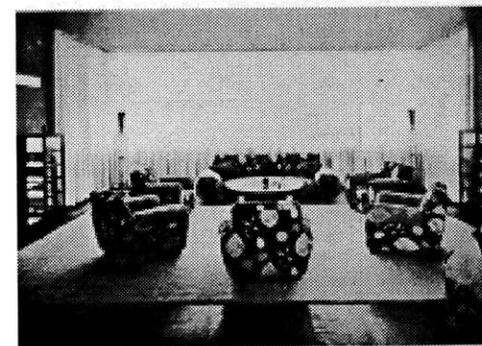
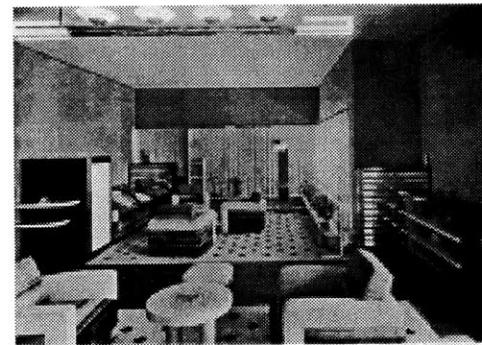
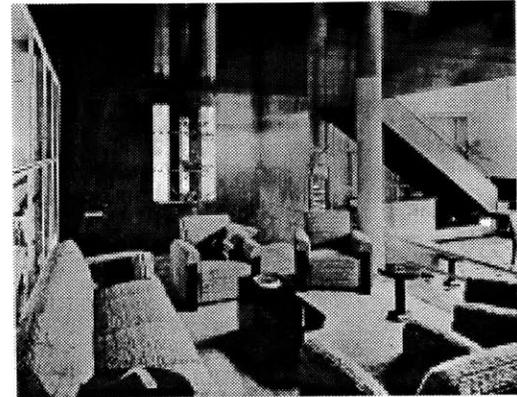
Additional Notes:	
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Arkitekt 1936	House Code:	36-5b
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Building Name: Atadan House
 Construction Date: 1935-1936
 Design Date: 1935-1936
 Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan
 Client: Makbule Atadan (Ataturk's sister)
 Address: Ankara

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.179

Notes:



Additional Notes:	
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Arkitekt 1936

House Code:

36-6a

Building Name: Tasci Salih House

Construction Date: 1935-1935

Design Date: 1935-1936

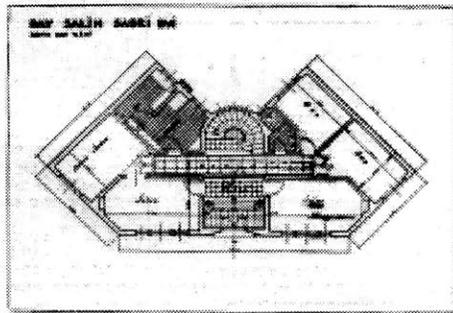
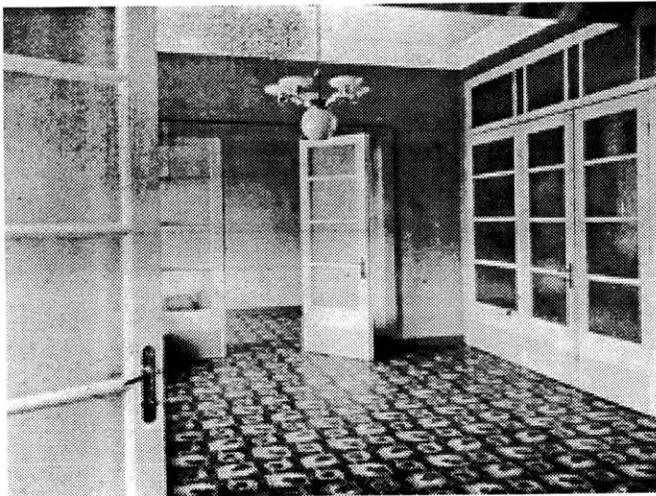
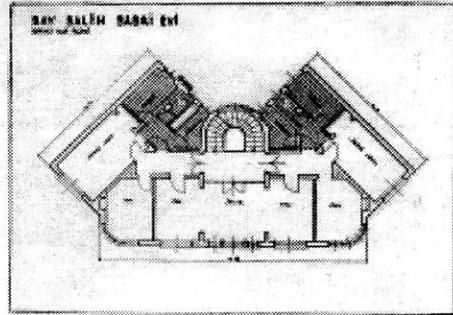
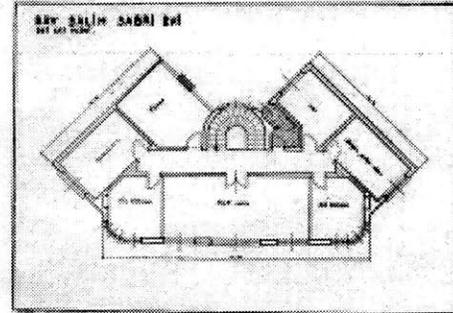
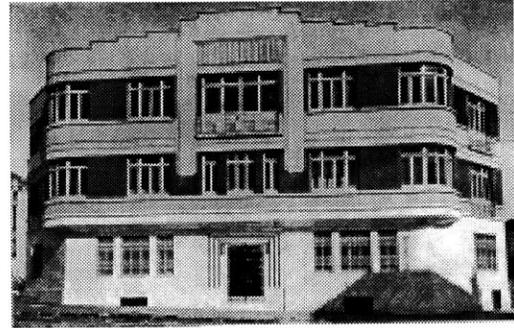
Architect(s): Sirri Bilen

Client: Marble merchant Salih Bey

Address: Kiztasi, Fatih

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.38

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936

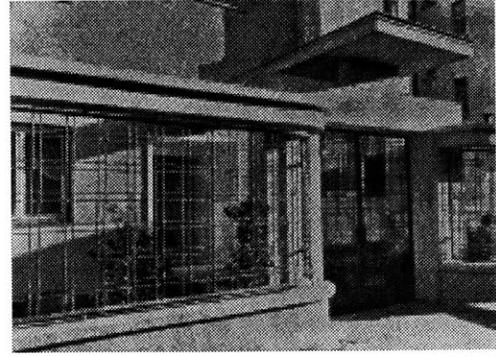
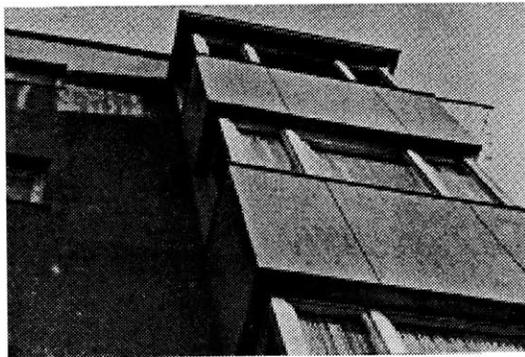
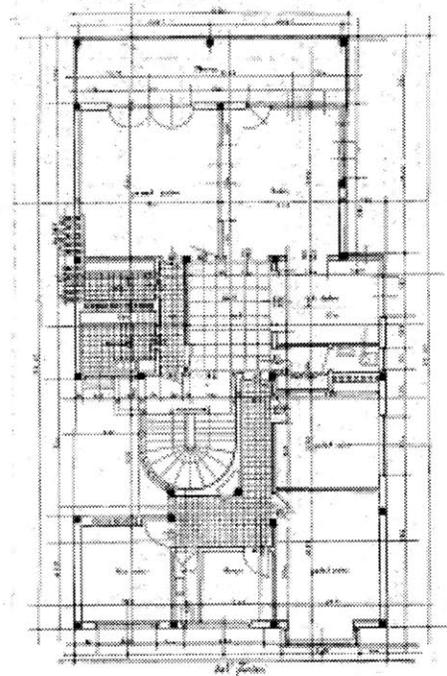
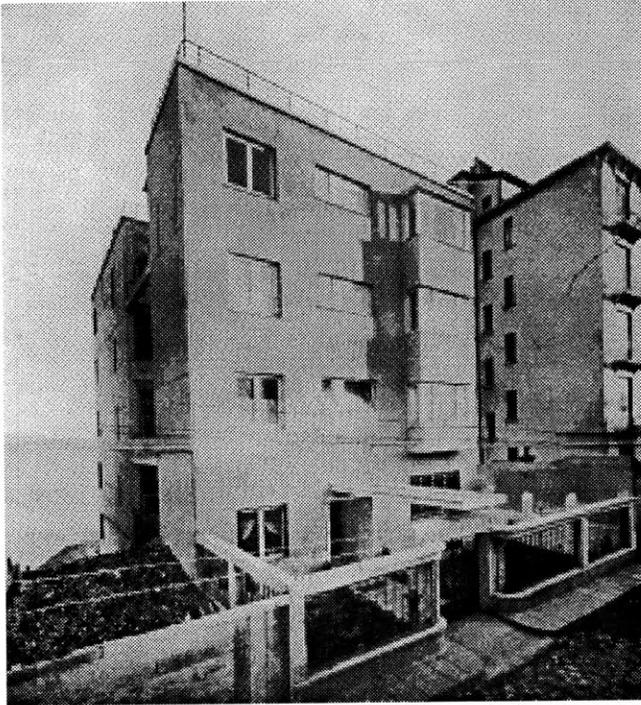
House Code:

36-7a

Building Name: Cili Apartment
Construction Date: 1935-1936
Design Date: 1935
Architect(s): Zeki Sayar
Client:
Address: Gumussuyu, Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.1

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936

House Code:

36-7b

Building Name: Cili Apartment

Construction Date: 1935-1936

Design Date: 1935

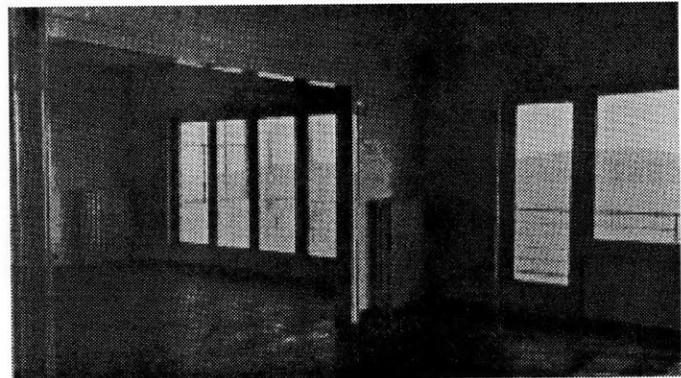
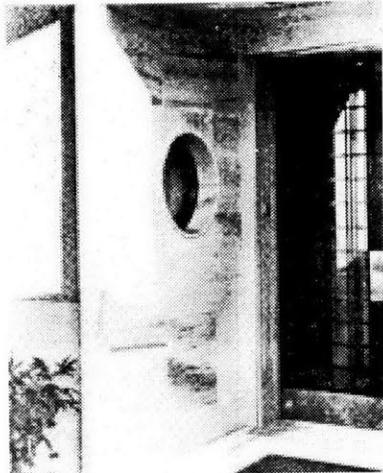
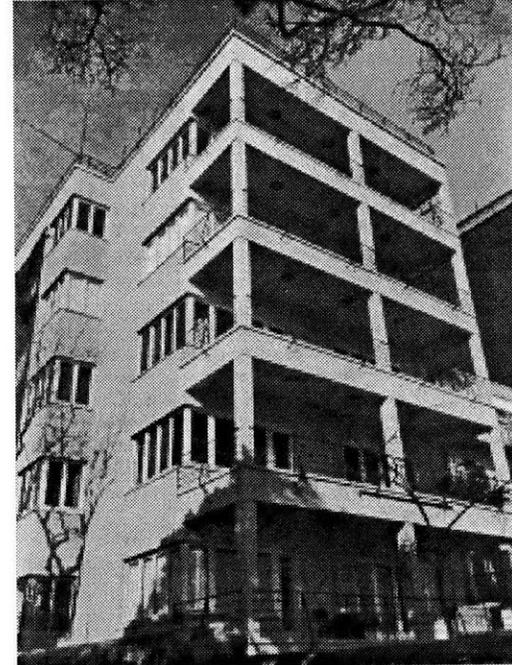
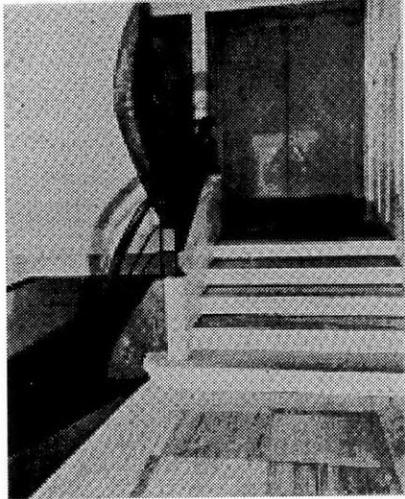
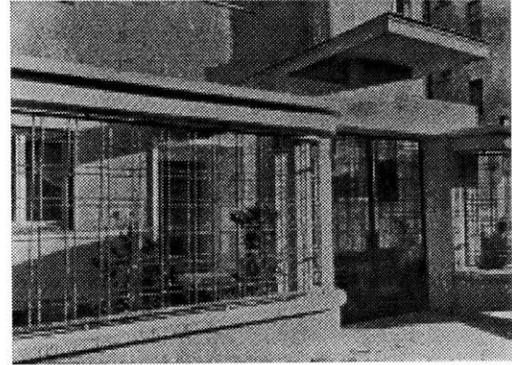
Architect(s): Zeki Sayar

Client:

Address: Gumussuyu, Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.1

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936

House Code:

36-8a

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1935-1936

Design Date: 1935-1936

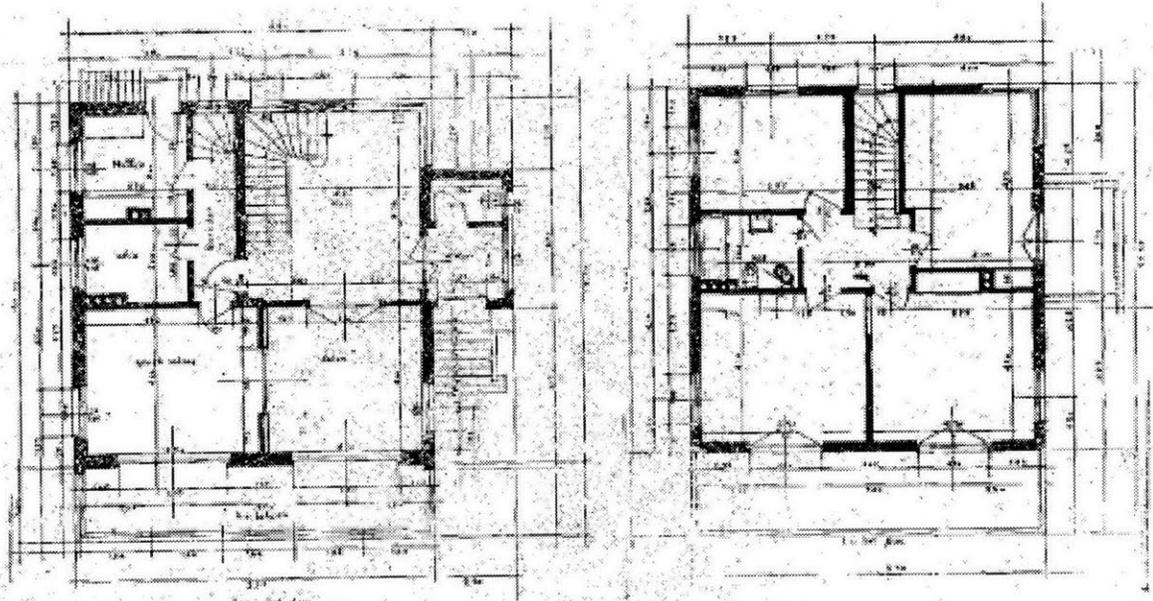
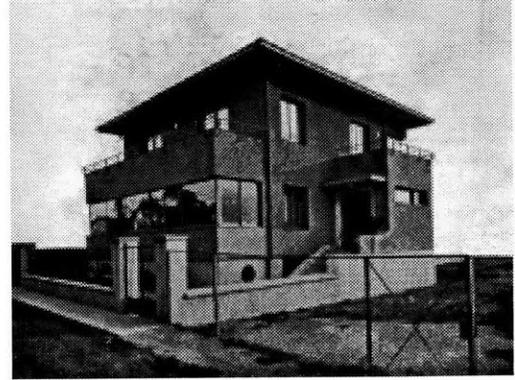
Architect(s): Zeki Sayar

Client:

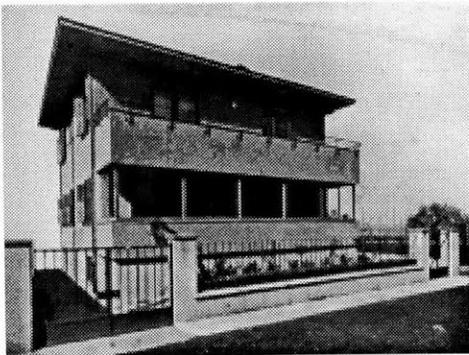
Address: Moda

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.65-69

Notes: Window frames were made of iron profiles.



Kat planları 1:200 ve 5m_görünüşü.



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936

House Code:

36-8b

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1935-1936

Design Date: 1935-1936

Architect(s): Zeki Sayar

Client:

Address: Moda

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.65

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936

House Code:

36-9a

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1935-1936

Design Date: 1935-1936

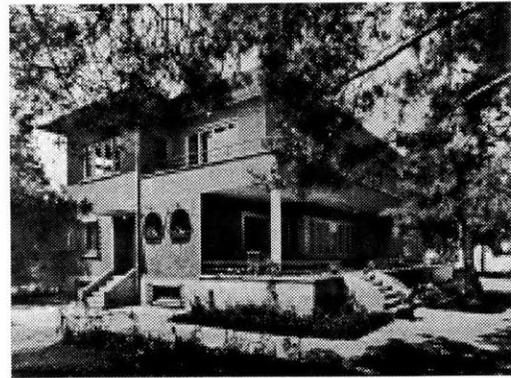
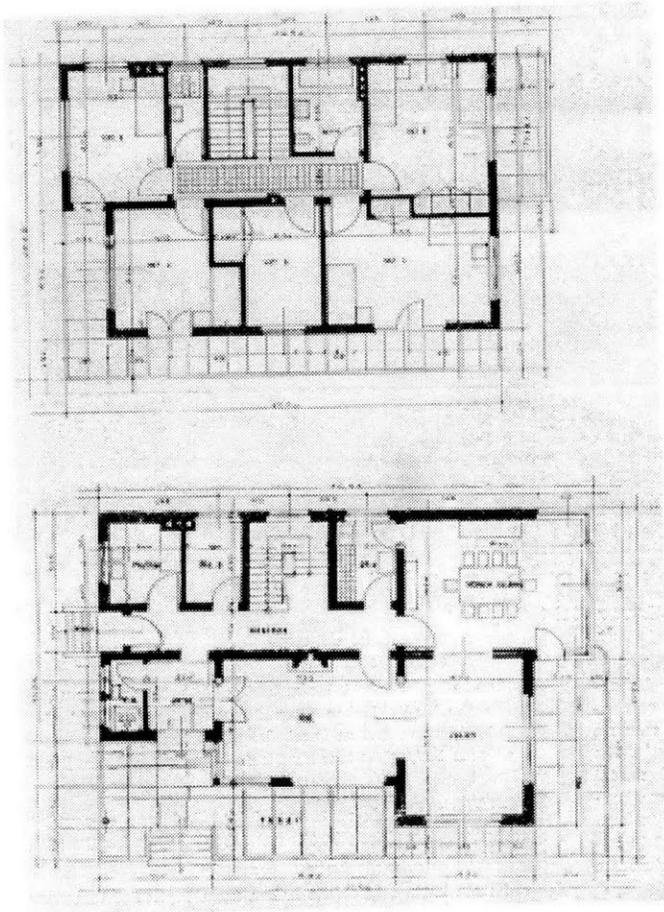
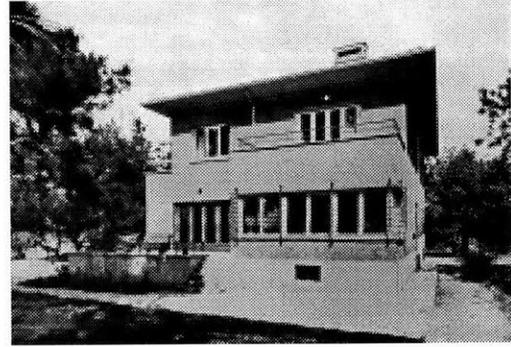
Architect(s): Zeki Sayar

Client:

Address: Kalamis

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.129

Notes: Designed for a six people family.



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936

House Code:

36-10a

Building Name: Ikbal apartment

Construction Date: 1935-1936

Design Date: 1935-1936

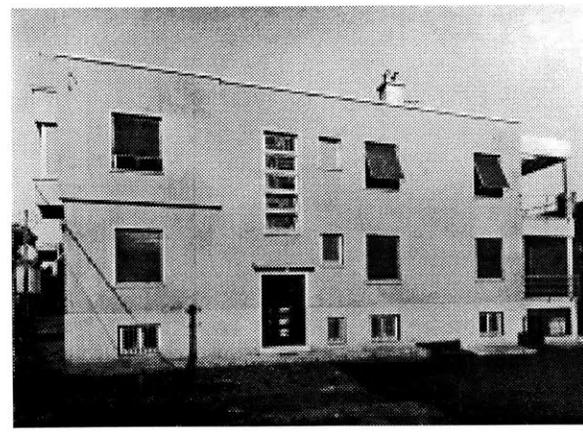
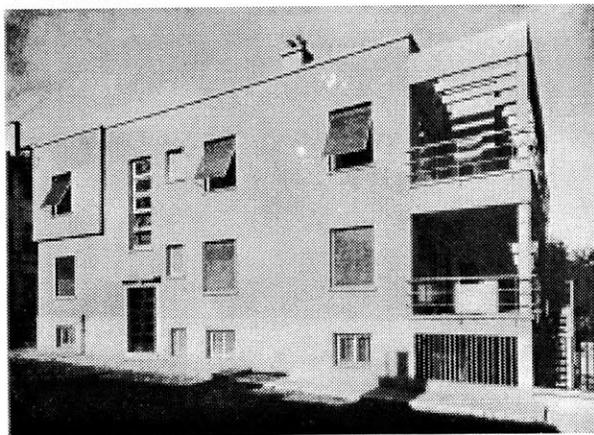
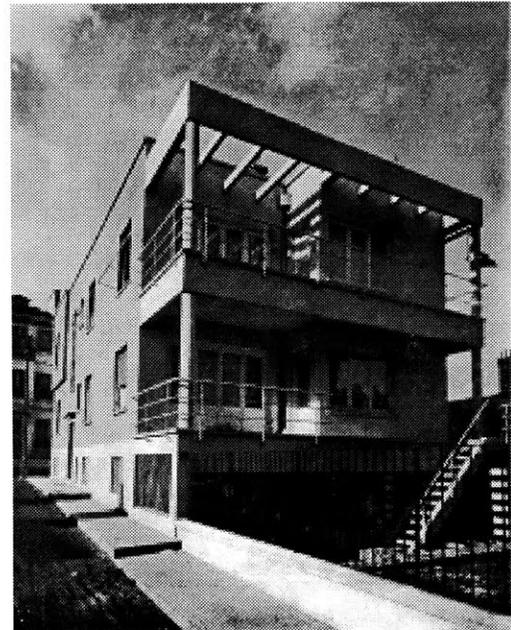
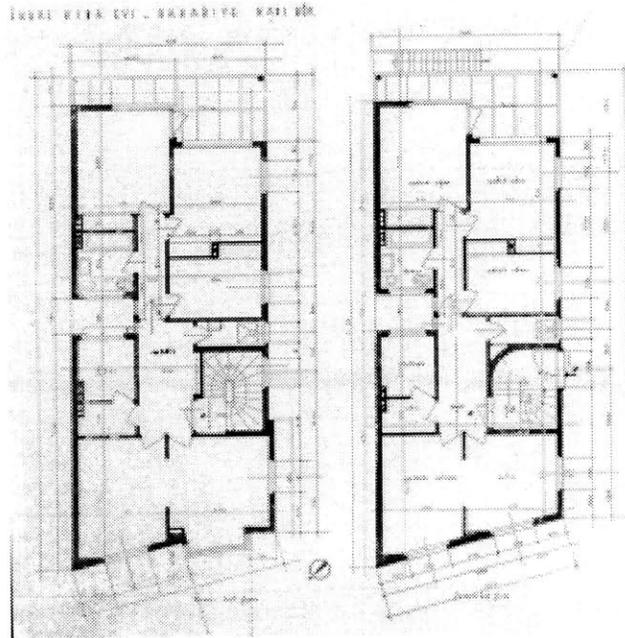
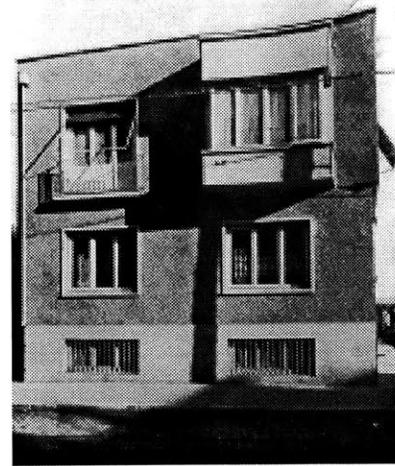
Architect(s): Zeki Sayar

Client:

Address: Bahariye, Kadikoy

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.297

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Arkitekt 1936

House Code:

36-11a

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1935-1936

Design Date: 1935-1936

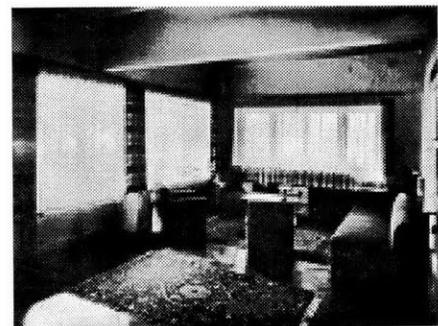
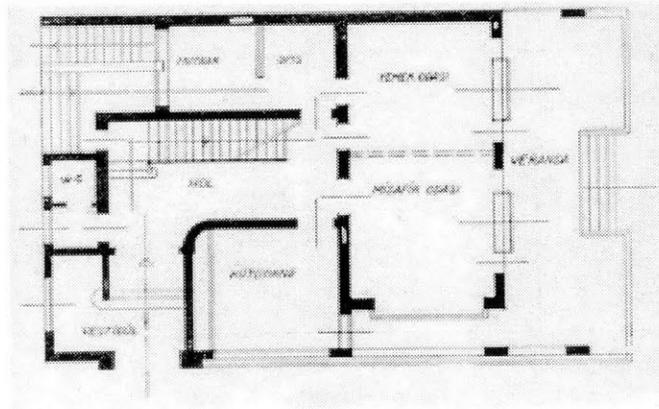
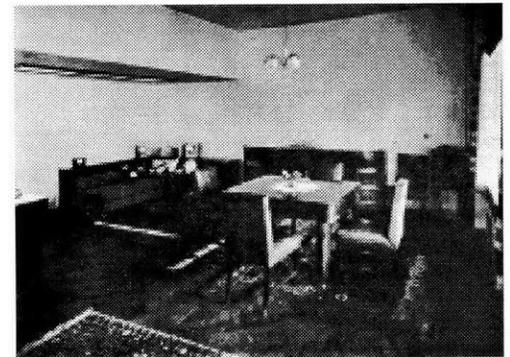
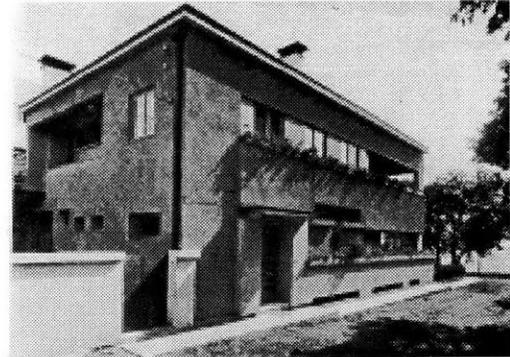
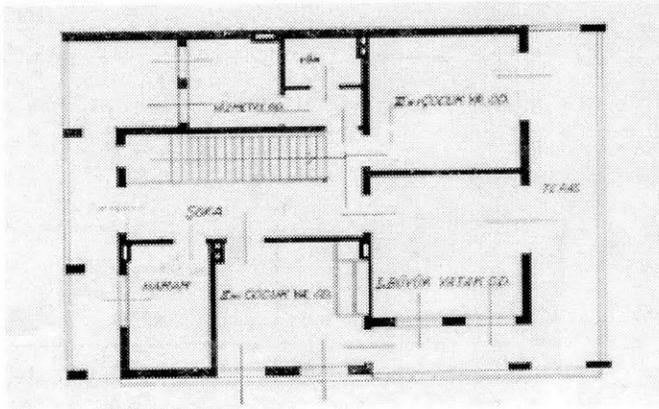
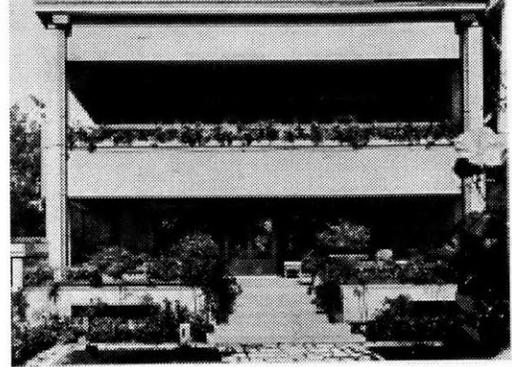
Architect(s): Ziya Kozanoglu

Client:

Address: Fenerbahce, Moda

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.245

Notes: Designed for a five people family.



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1936-1937

Design Date: 1936-1937

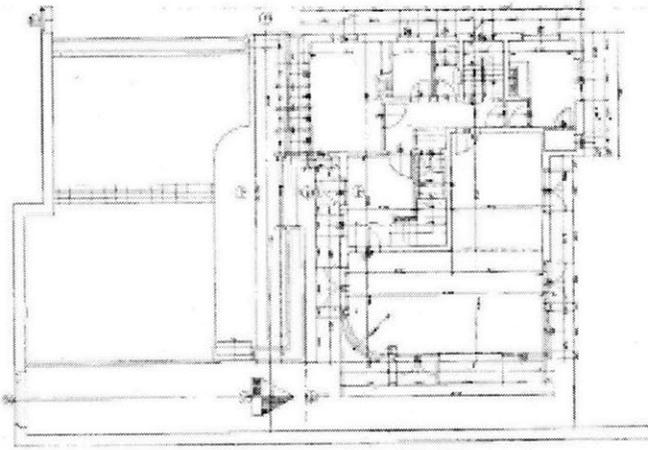
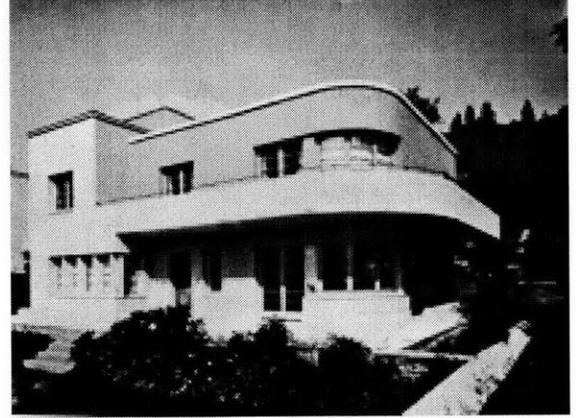
Architect(s): Edip Erbilin

Client:

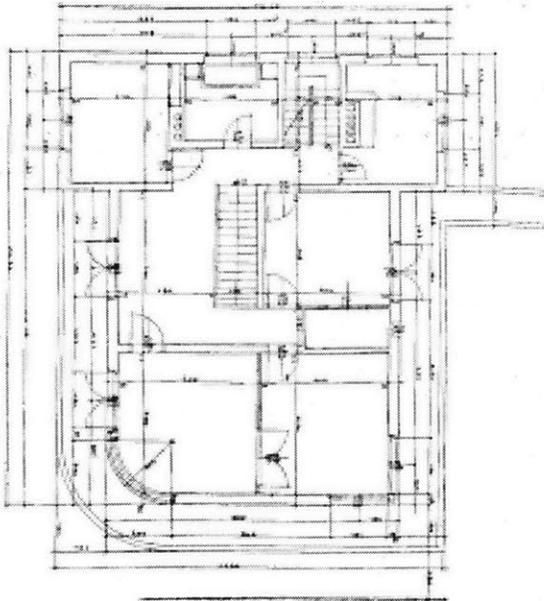
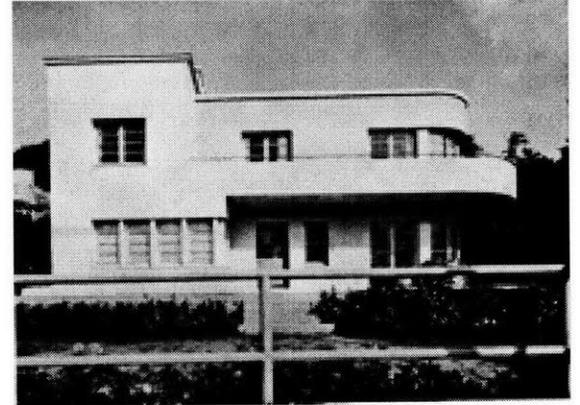
Address: Bebek

Published in: Arkitekt 1937, p.207

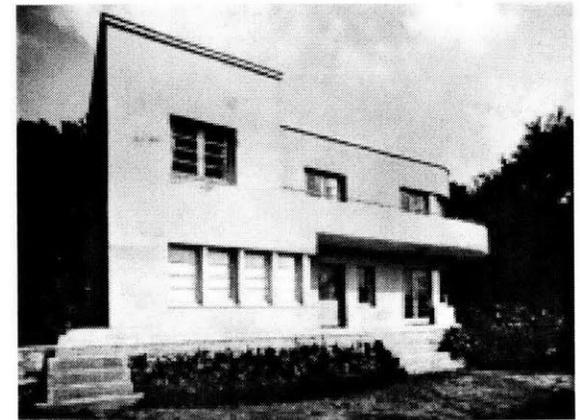
Notes:



Ön görünüşü ve zemin kat planı.



Köşe görünüşü ve üst kat planı.



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1936-1937

Design Date: 1936-1937

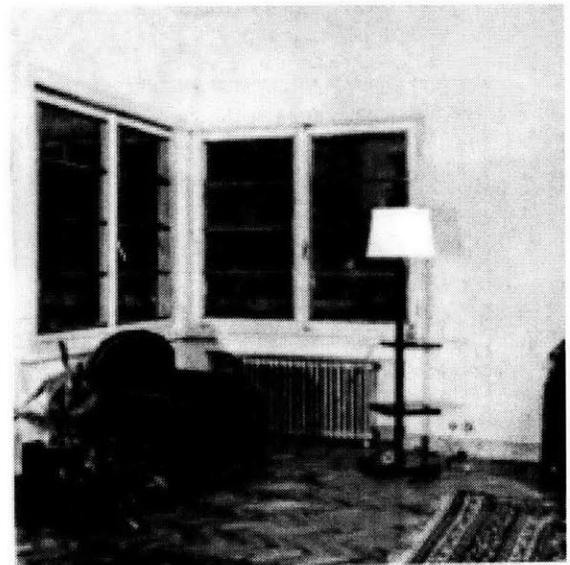
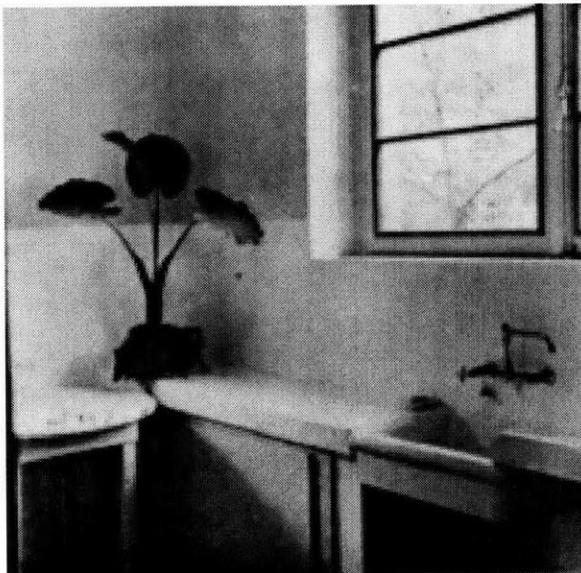
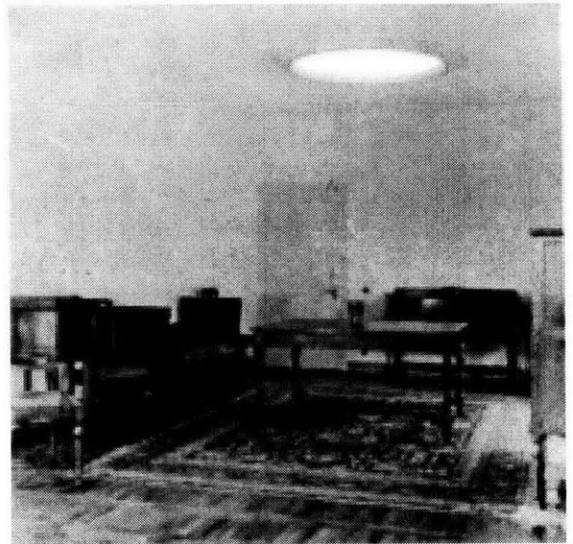
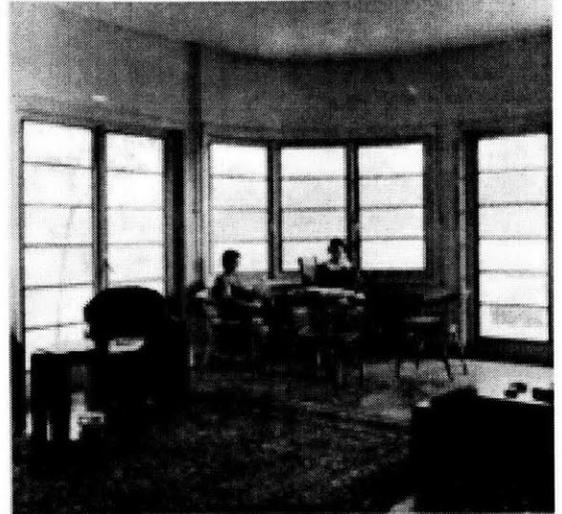
Architect(s): Edip Erbilin

Client:

Address: Bebek

Published in: Arkitekt 1936, p.207

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name: Fırat Apartment

Construction Date: 1936-1937

Design Date: 1936-1937

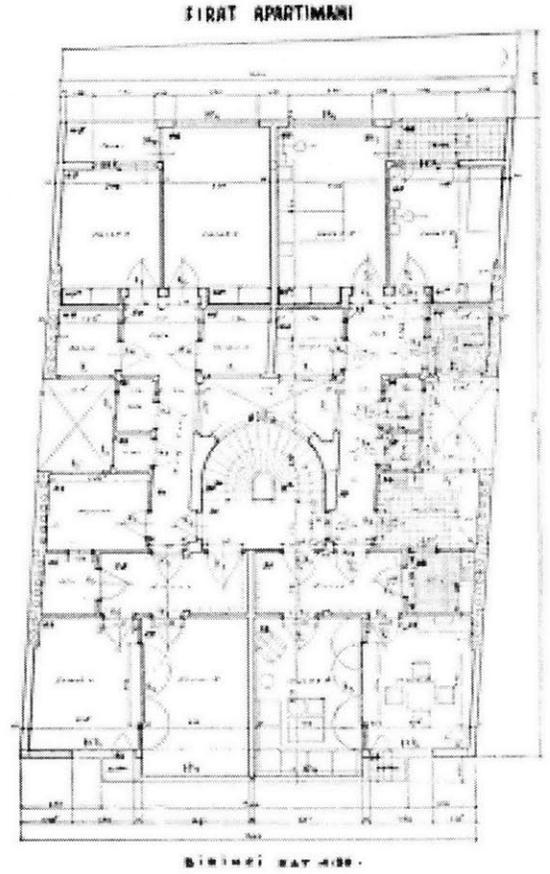
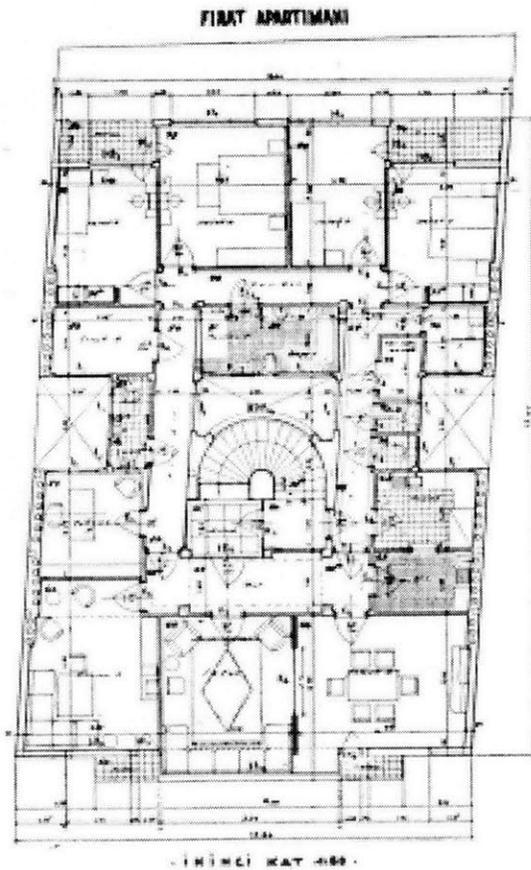
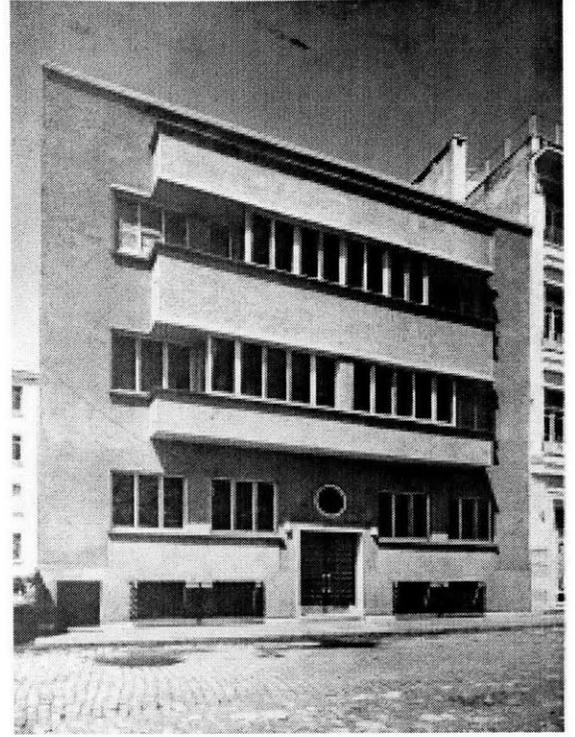
Architect(s): Sinasi Lugal

Client:

Address: Nuri Conker St.
Binbirdirek, Fatih

Published in: Arkitekt 1937, p.179

Notes: Window frames' metal construction was emphasized in the text.



İç ante ve kat plânları.

Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1936-1937

Design Date: 1936-1937

Architect(s): Zeki Sayar

Client:

Address: Kalamis, Fenerbahce

Published in: Arkitekt 1937, p.33

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1936-1937

Design Date: 1936-1937

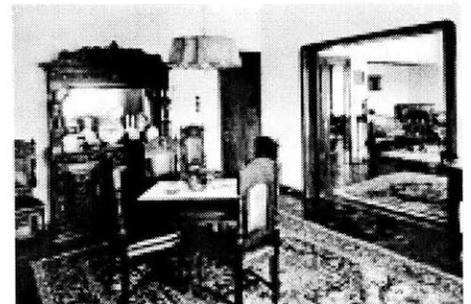
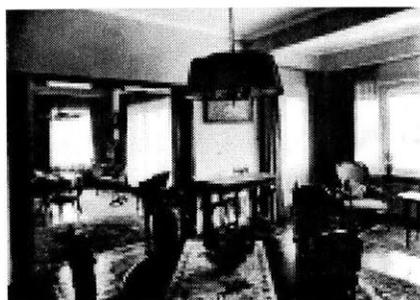
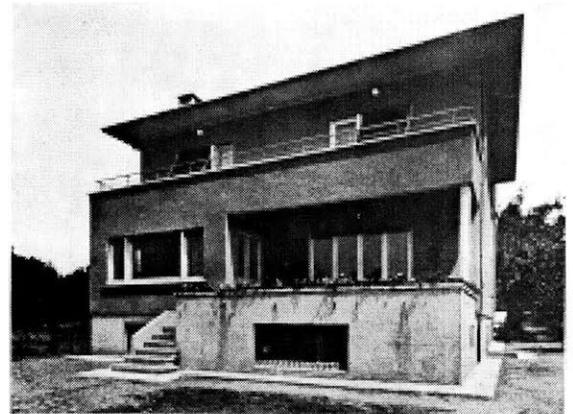
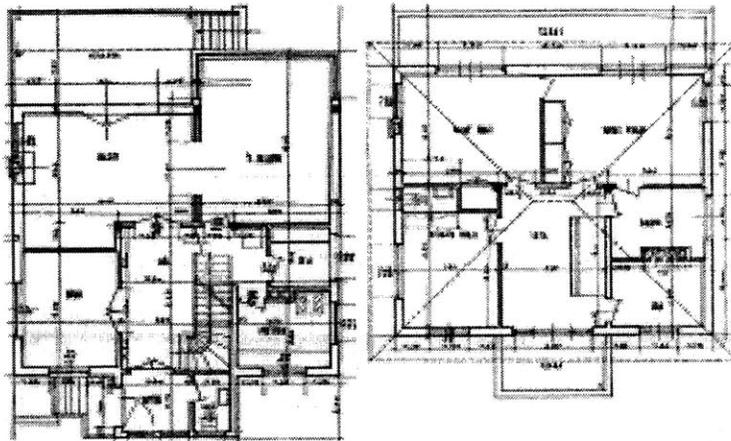
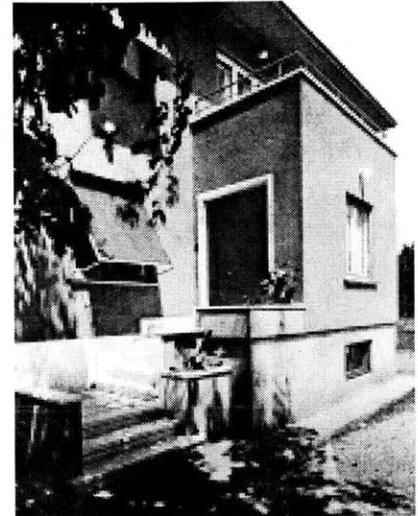
Architect(s): Zeki Sayar

Client:

Address: Kalamis, Fenerbahce

Published in: Arkitekt 1937, p.129

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1936-1937

Design Date: 1936-1937

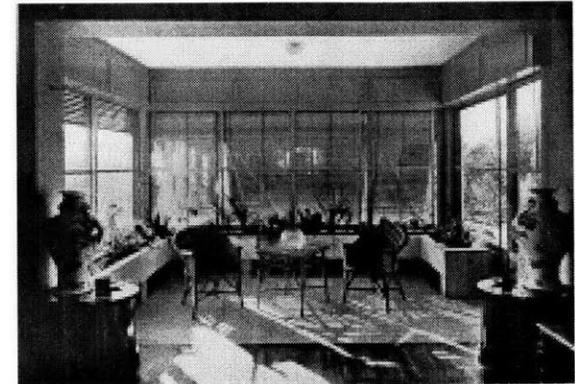
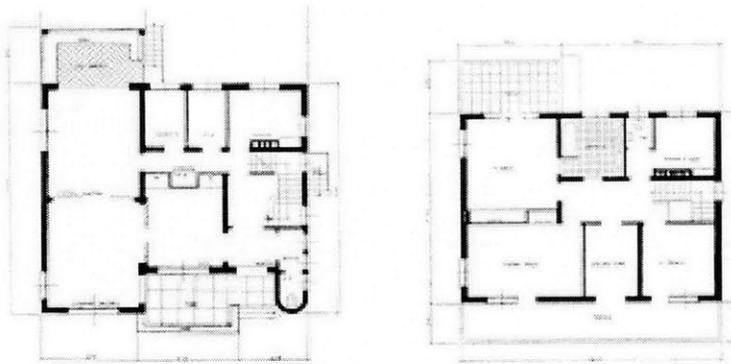
Architect(s): Zeki Sayar

Client:

Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1937, p.269-274

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1937-1938

Design Date: 1937-1938

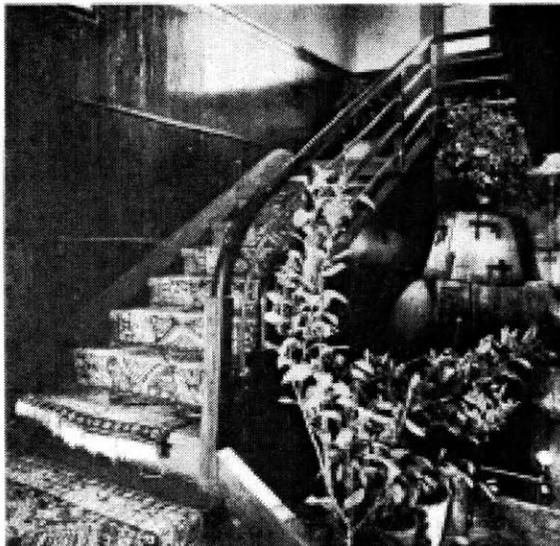
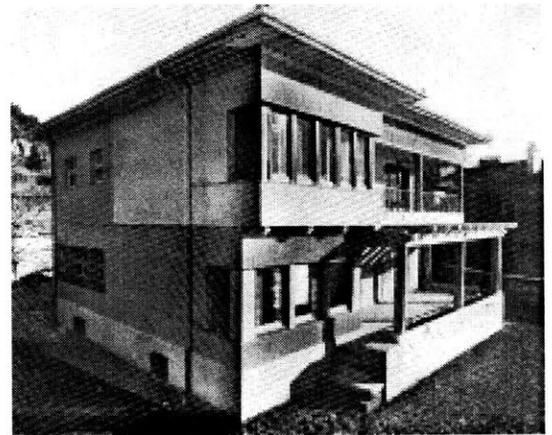
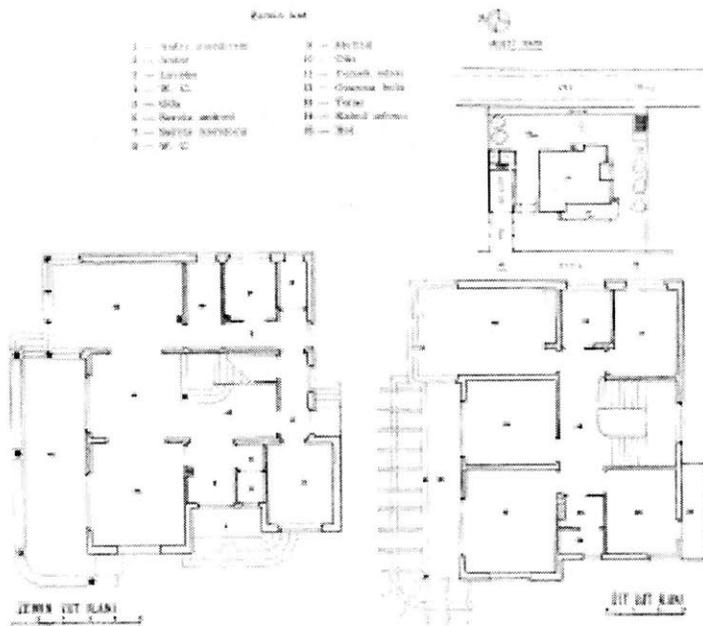
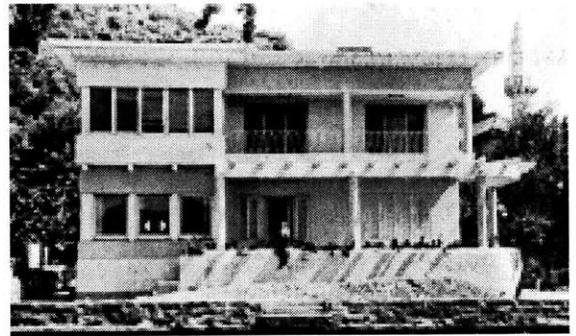
Architect(s): Rebi Gorbon

Client:

Address: Anadolu Hisari

Published in: Arkitekt 1938, p.287

Notes:

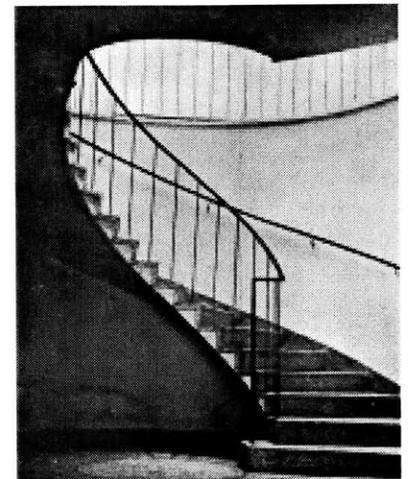
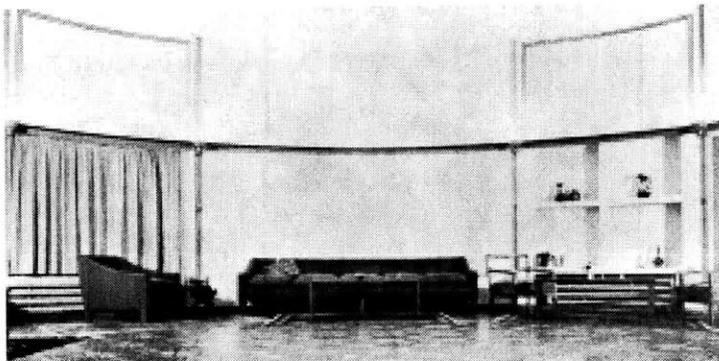
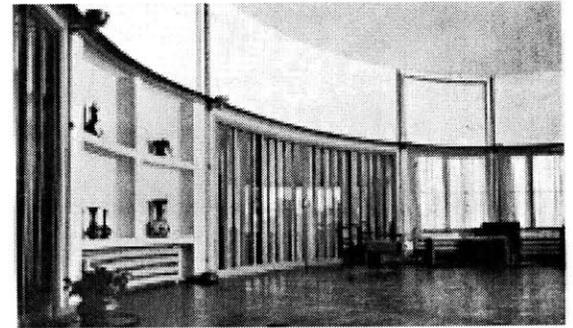
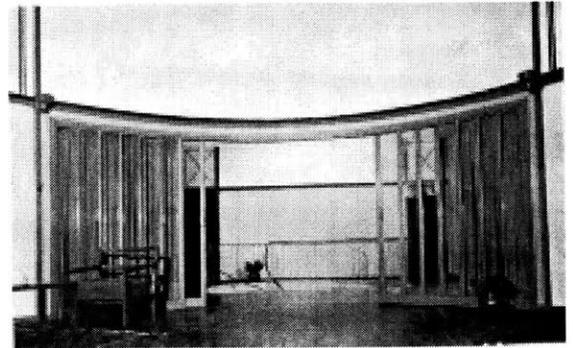
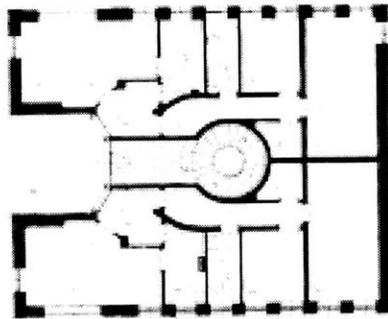
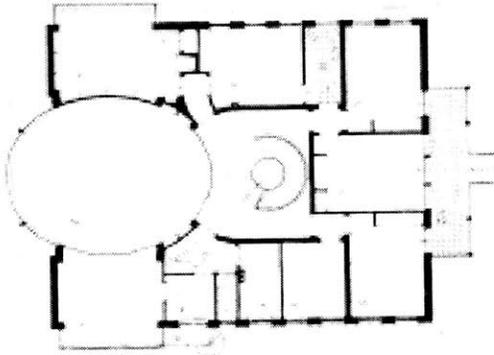
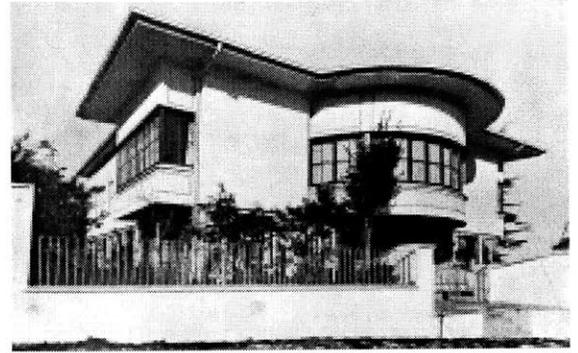


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Agaoglu House
 Construction Date: 1937-1938
 Design Date: 1937-1938
 Architect(s): Sedad Hakki Eldem
 Client: Professor A. Agaoglu
 Address: Tesvikiye, Macka

Published in: Arkitekt 1938, p.277

Notes: Built on the foundations of an old mansion.



Additional Notes:

Building Name: Floating House

Construction Date: 1939

Design Date: 1939

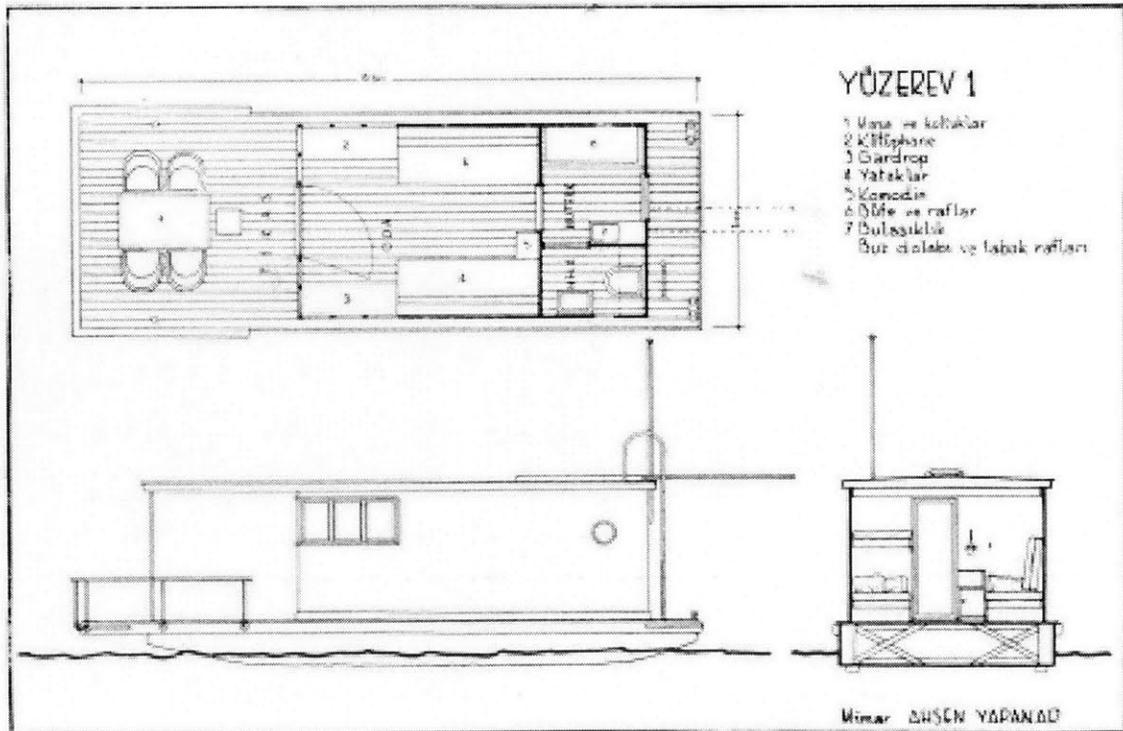
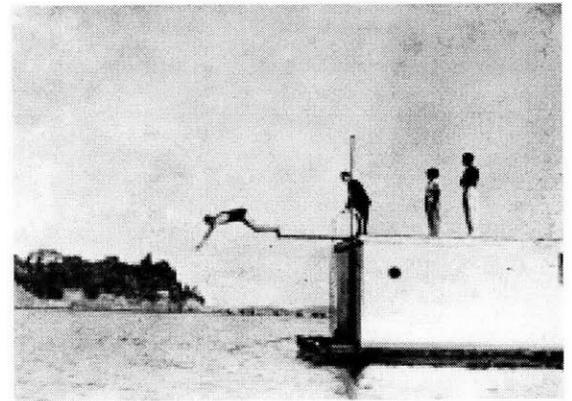
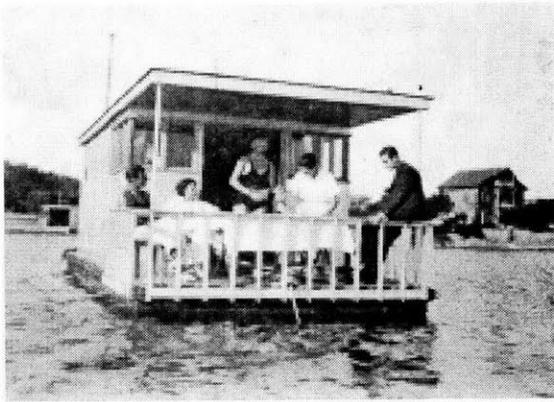
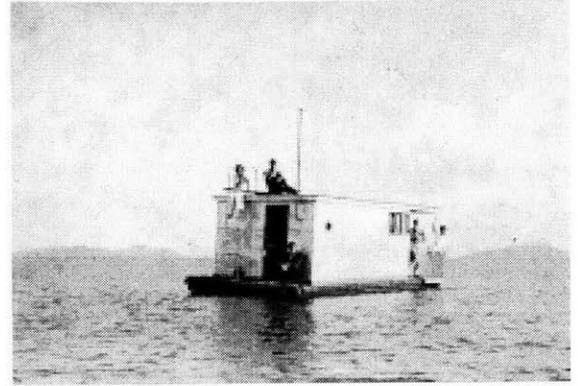
Architect(s): Ahsen Yapanar

Client:

Address:

Published in: Arkitekt 1939,p.18-19

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1938-1939

Design Date: 1938-1939

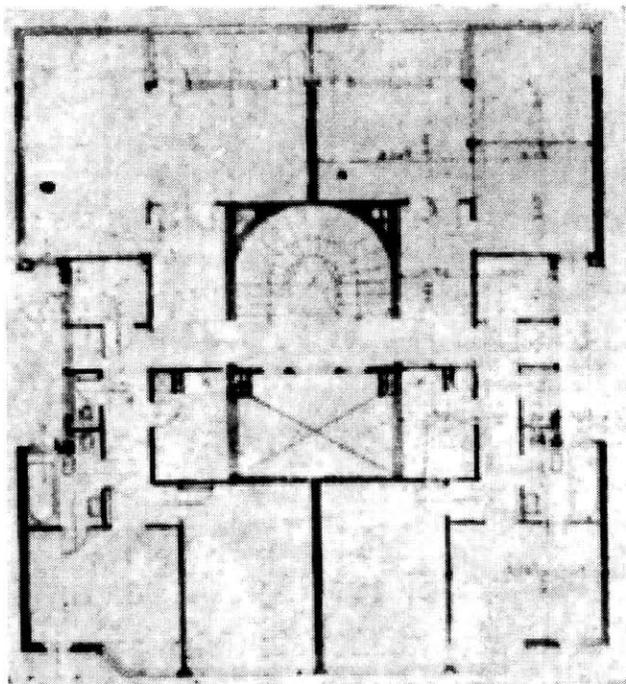
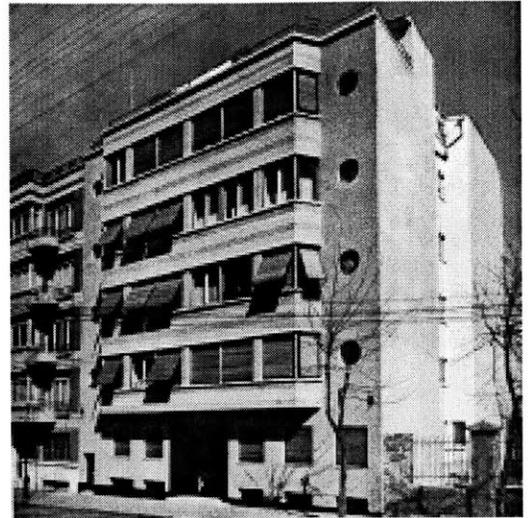
Architect(s): Arif Hikmet Holtay

Client:

Address: Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1939, p.1

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1938-1939

Design Date: 1938-1939

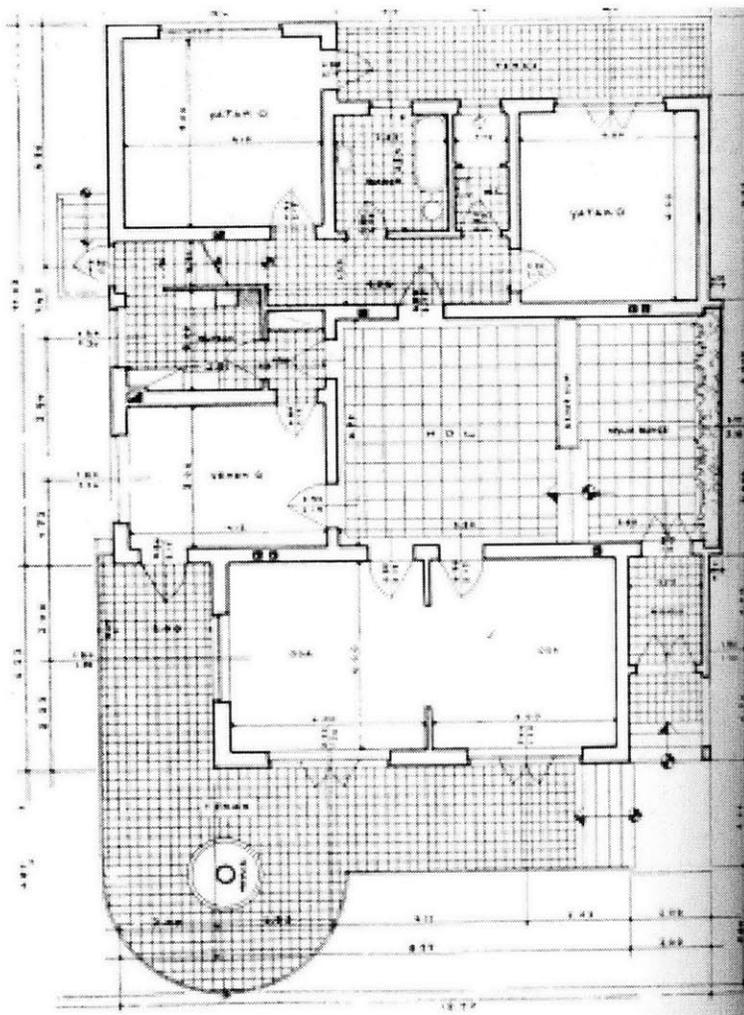
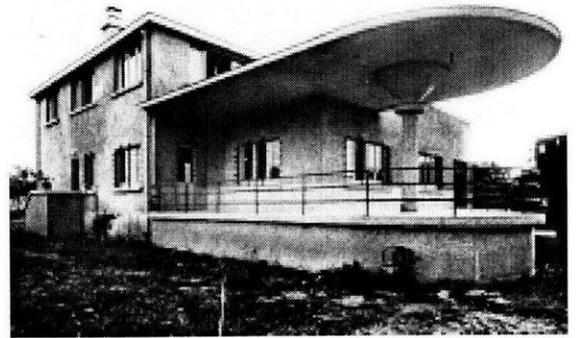
Architect(s): Munci Tangor

Client:

Address: Tramway St. Baglarbasi

Published in: Arkitekt 1939, p.63

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1938-1939

Design Date: 1938-1939

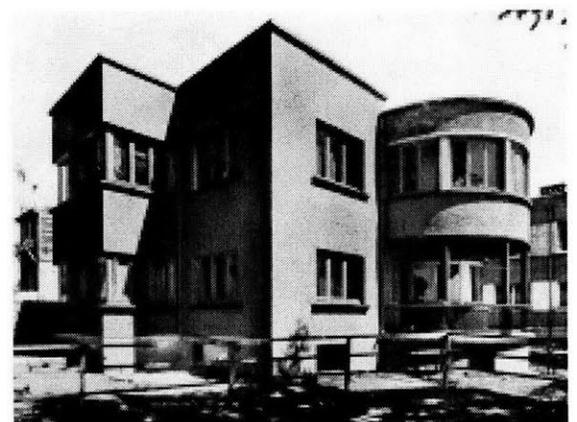
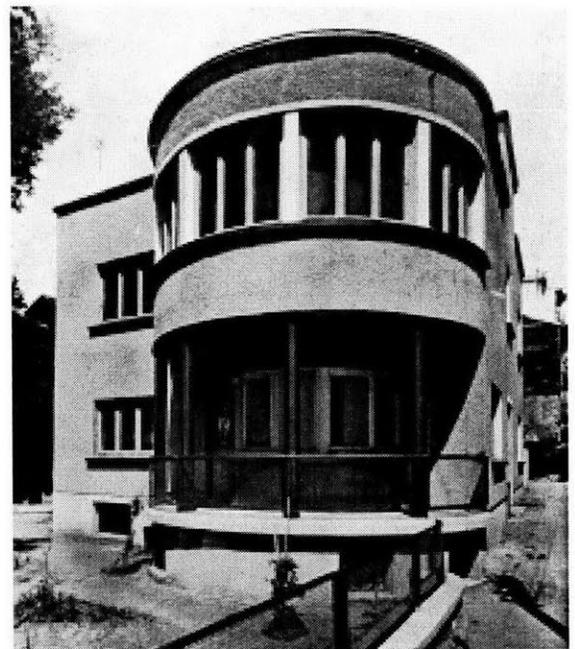
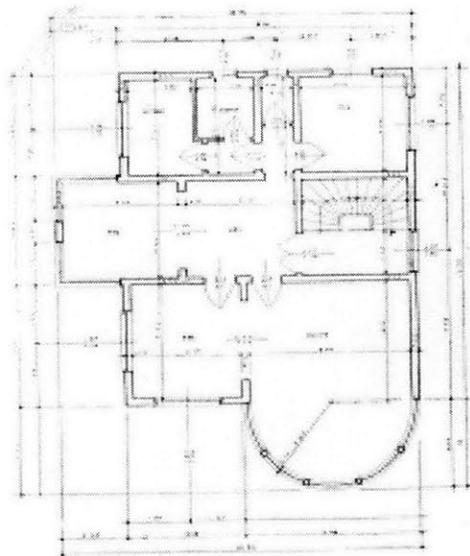
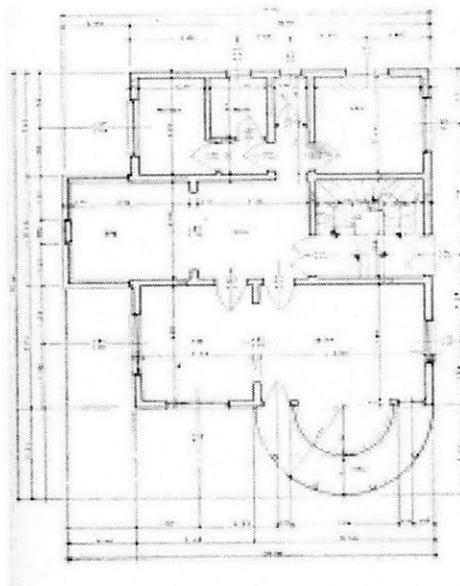
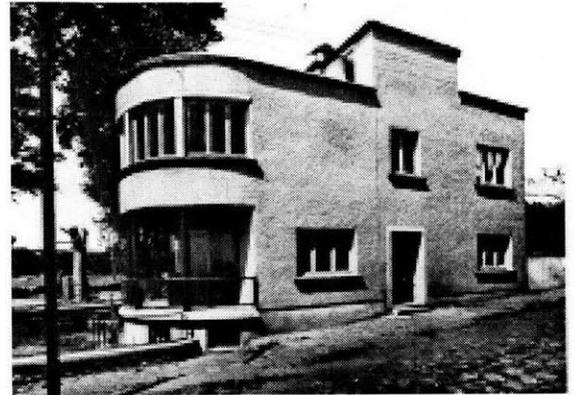
Architect(s): Munci Tangor

Client:

Address: Muhurdar St. Kadikoy

Published in: Arkitekt 1939, p.106-108

Notes: Designed for two families



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1938-1939

Design Date: 1938-1939

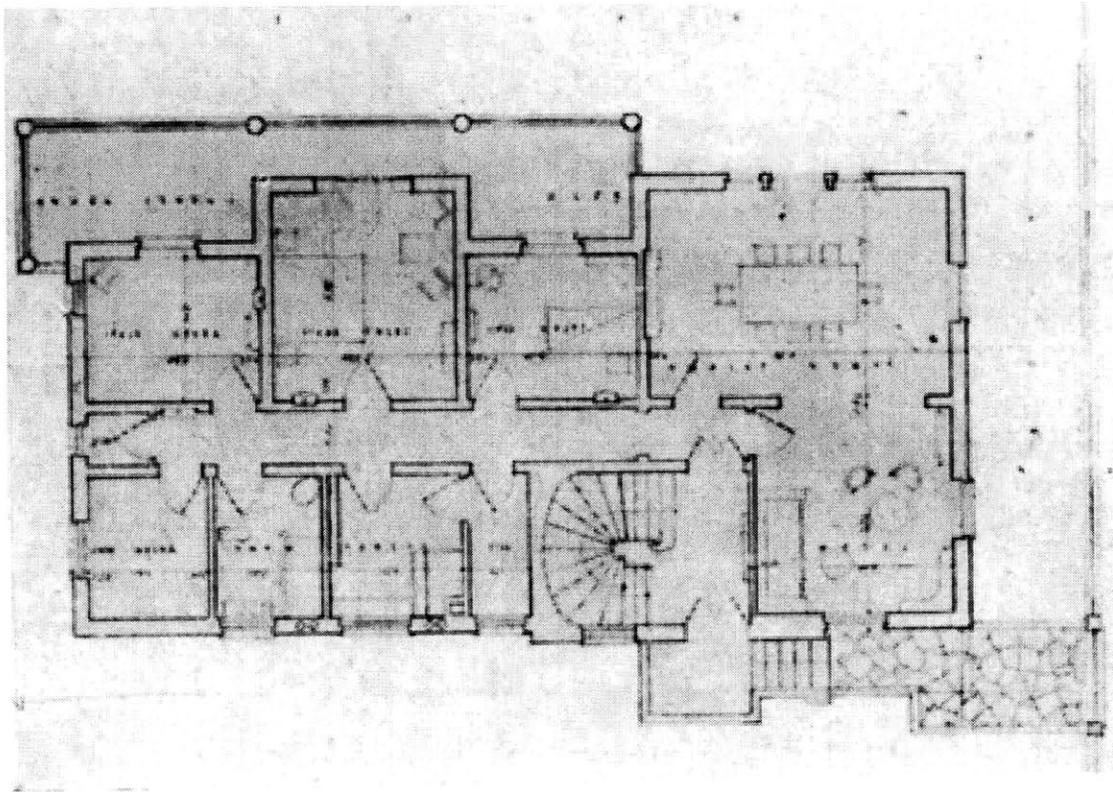
Architect(s): Naci Meltem

Client:

Address: Guzelbahce St. Nisantasi

Published in: Arkitekt 1939, p.56

Notes: Designed for two families. Bosphorus view was emphasized.



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1938-1939

Design Date: 1938-1939

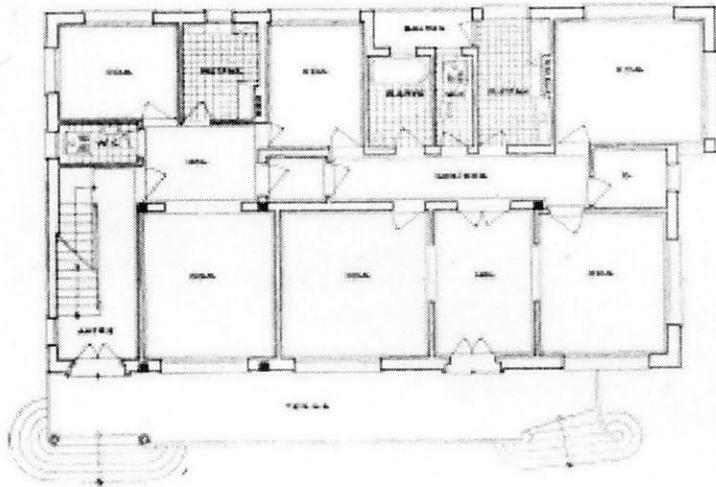
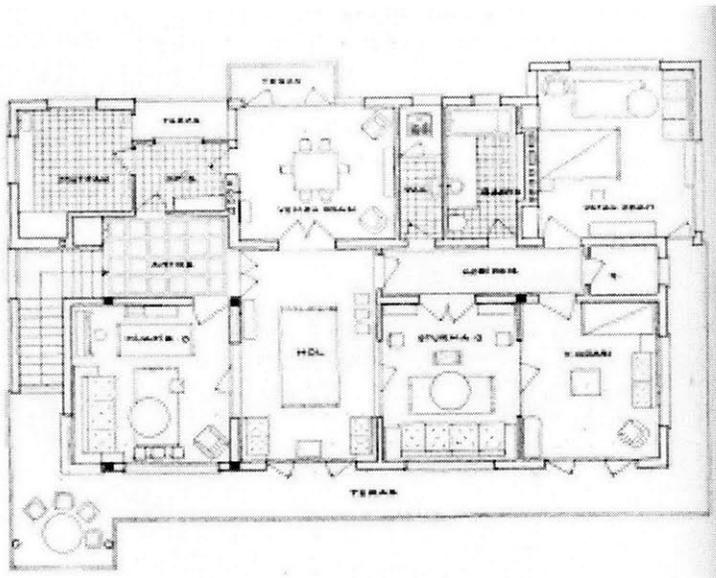
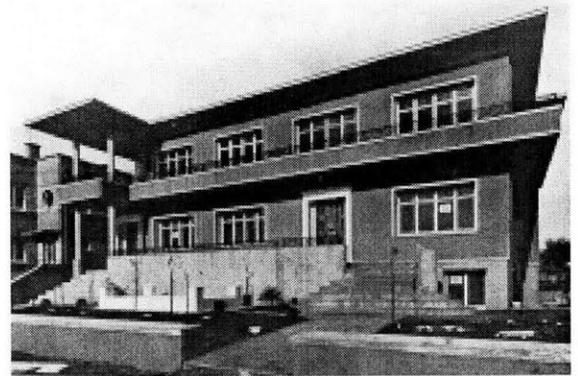
Architect(s): Nazif Asal

Client:

Address: Tramway St. Suadiye

Published in: Arkitekt 1939, p.5

Notes:

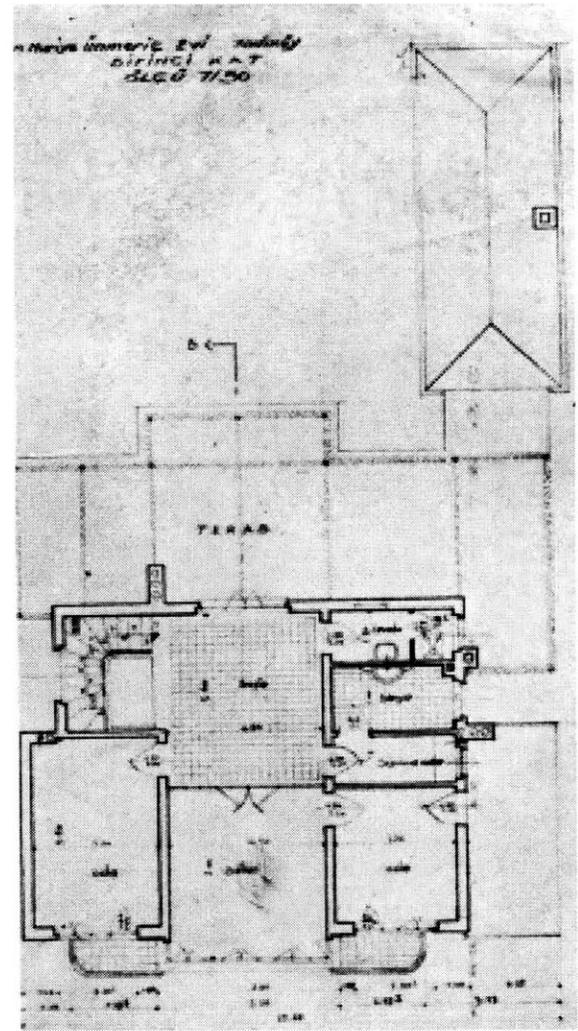
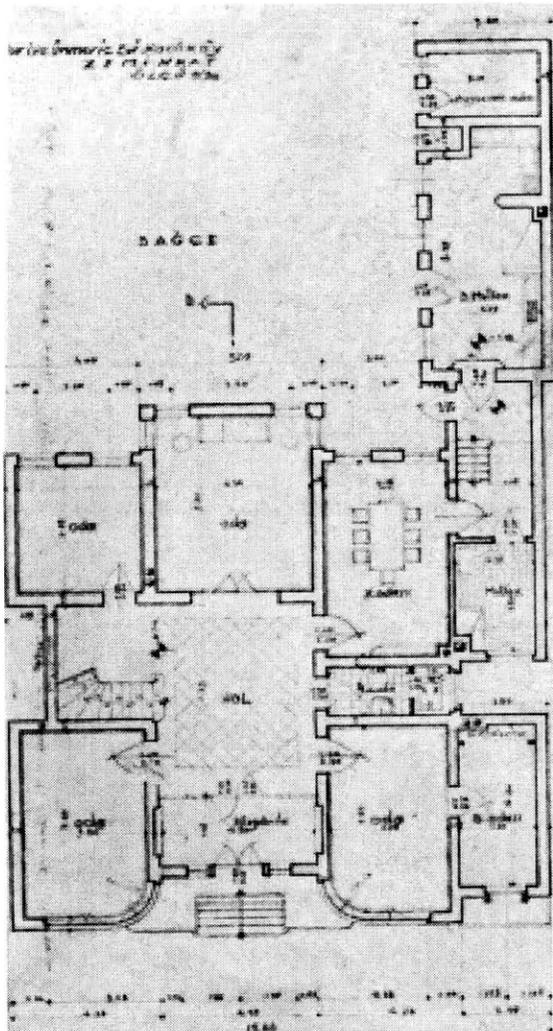
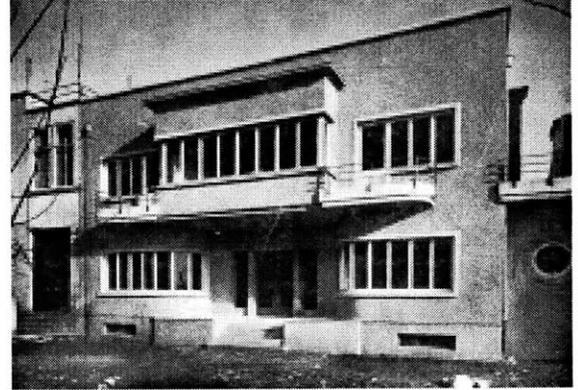


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Ms. Unmeric House
 Construction Date: 1938-1939
 Design Date: 1938-1939
 Architect(s): Neset Akatay
 Client: Ms. Necmiye Unmeric
 Address: Kadikoy

Published in: Arkitekt 1939, p.15

Notes: Built on the foundations of an existing building.



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1938-1939

Design Date: 1938-1939

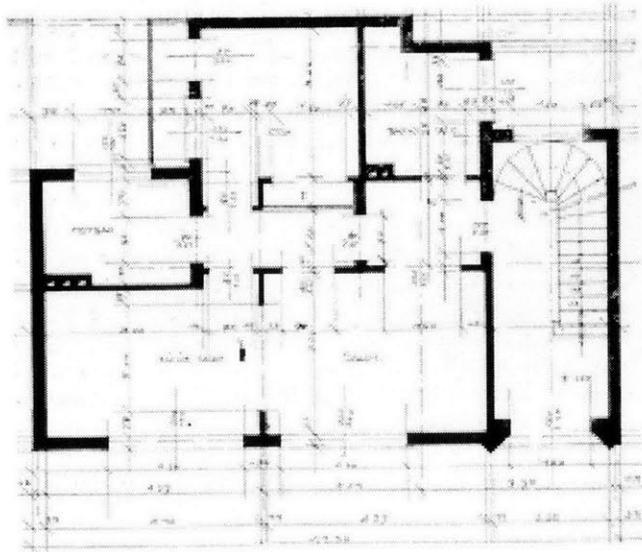
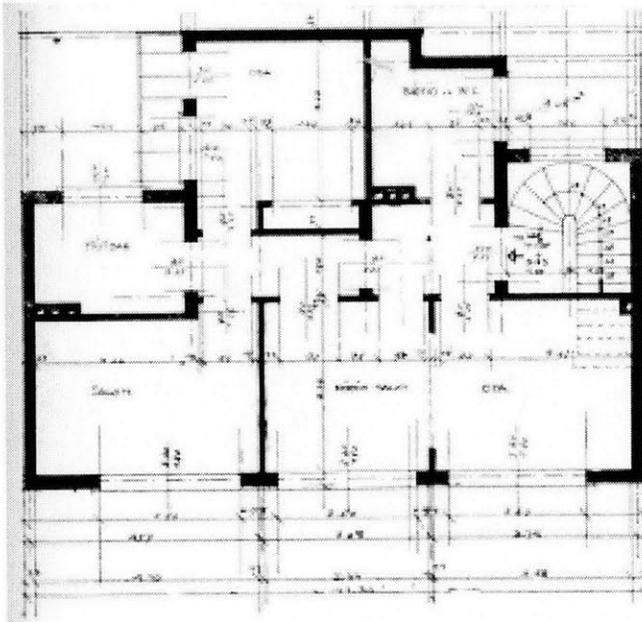
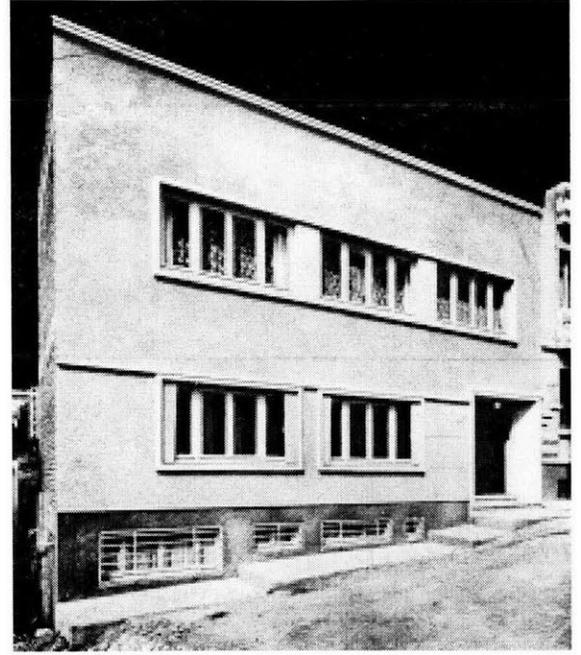
Architect(s): Samih Akkaynak

Client:

Address: Ayazpasa, Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1939, p.158

Notes: Designed for two families.

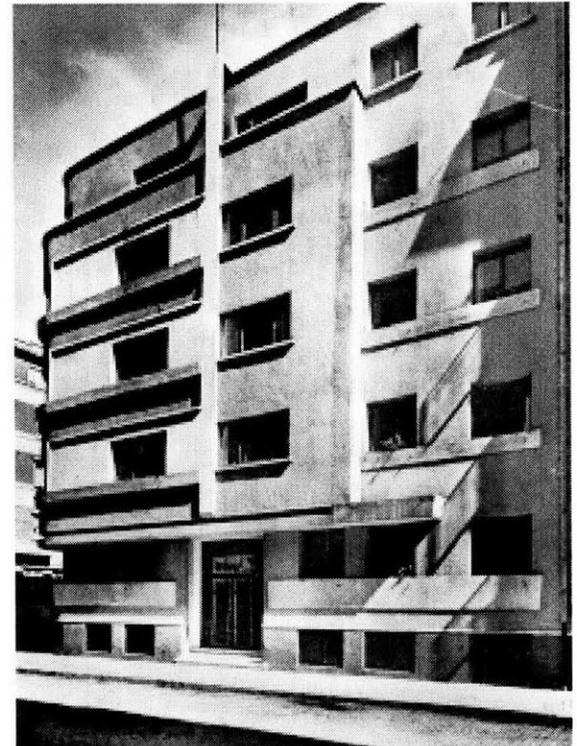
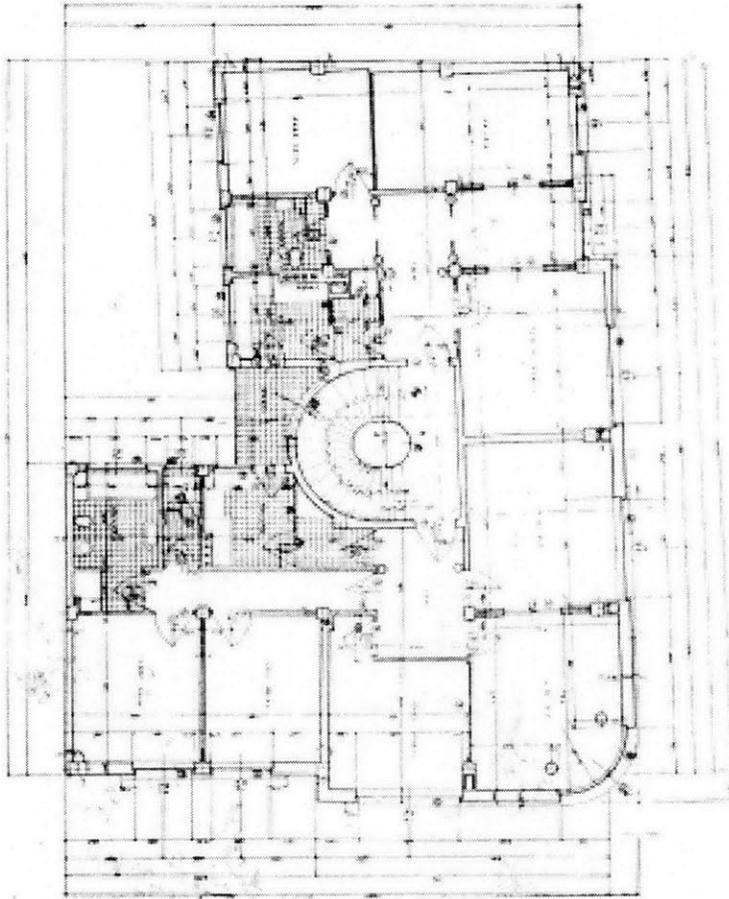
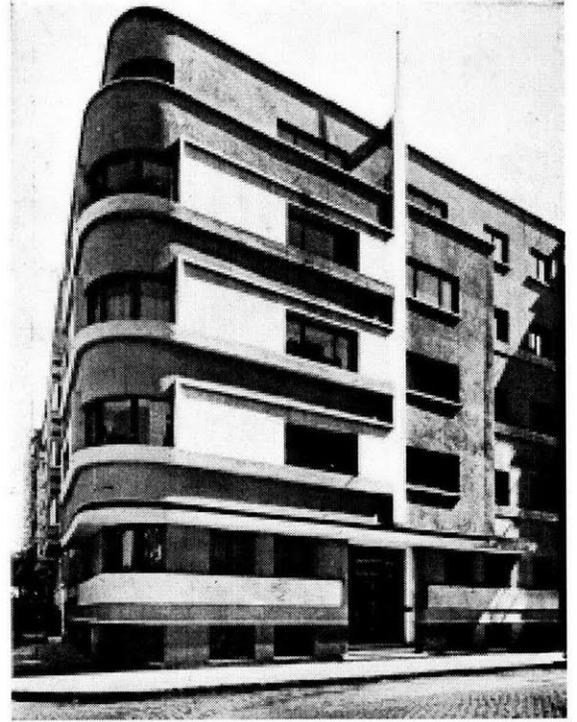


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Ayhan Apartment
Construction Date: 1934-1935
Design Date: 1934-1935
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan
Client:
Address: Aydede St. Talimhane, Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1939, p.101

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1939-1940

Design Date: 1939-1940

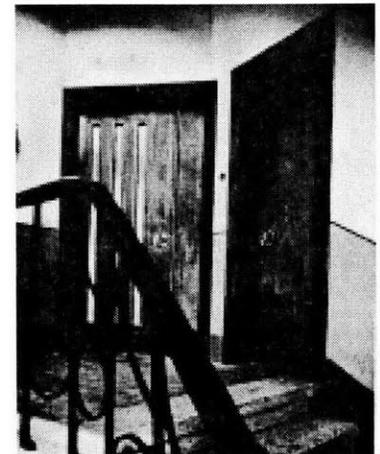
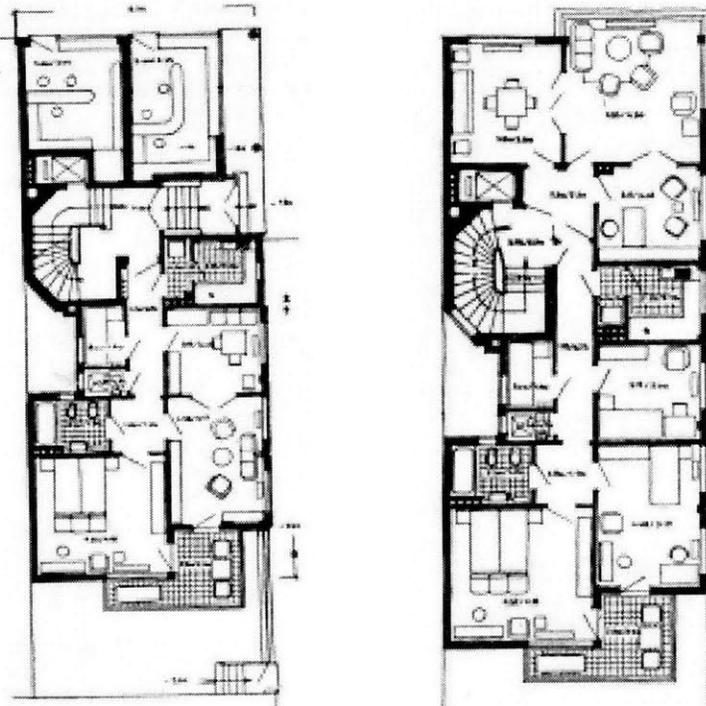
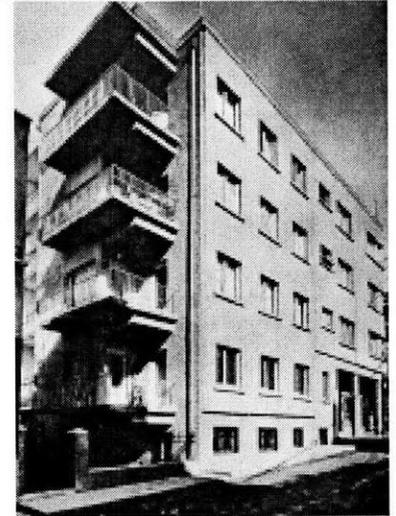
Architect(s): Asim Mutlu

Client:

Address: Macka St. Macka

Published in: Arkitekt 1940, p.6

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1939-1940

Design Date: 1939-1940

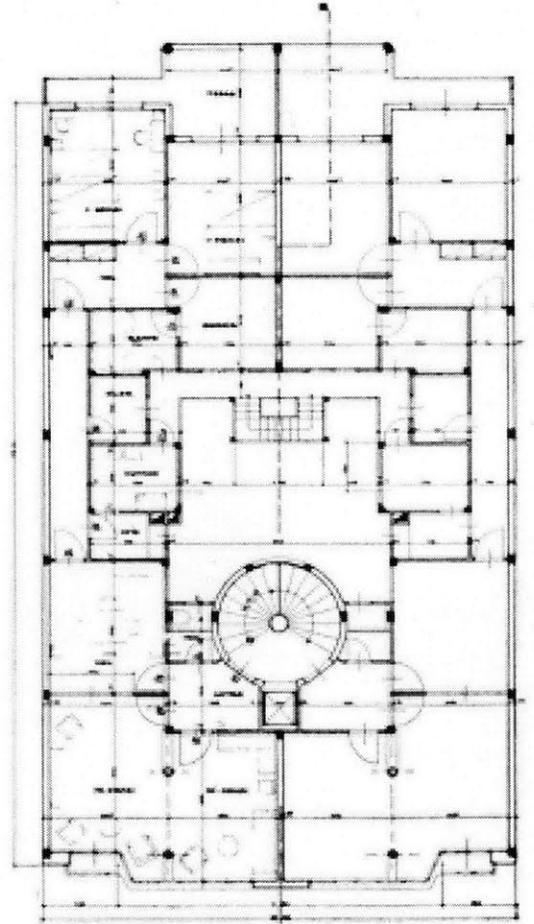
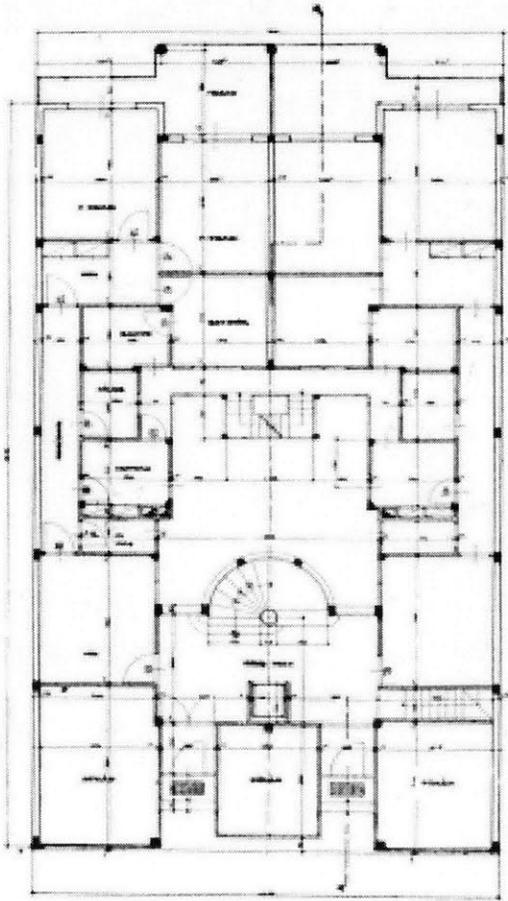
Architect(s): Nazif Asal

Client:

Address: Tesvikiye, Macka

Published in: Arkitekt 1940, p.245

Notes:

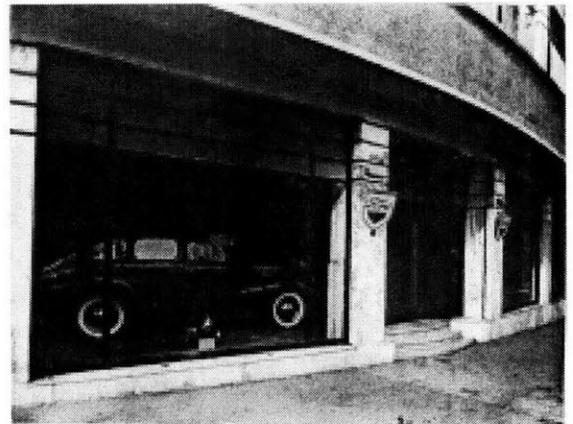
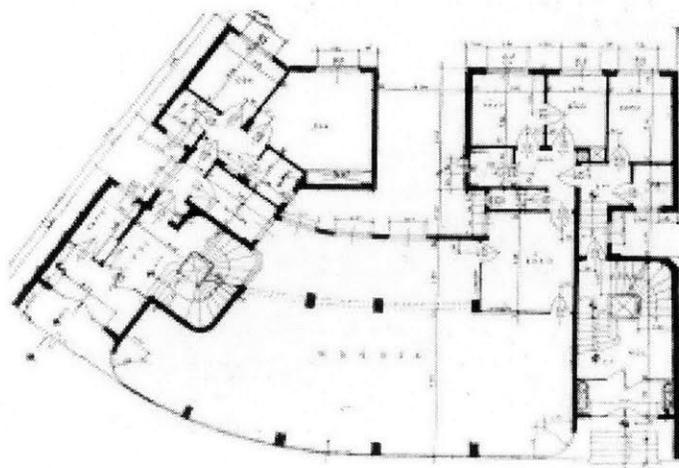
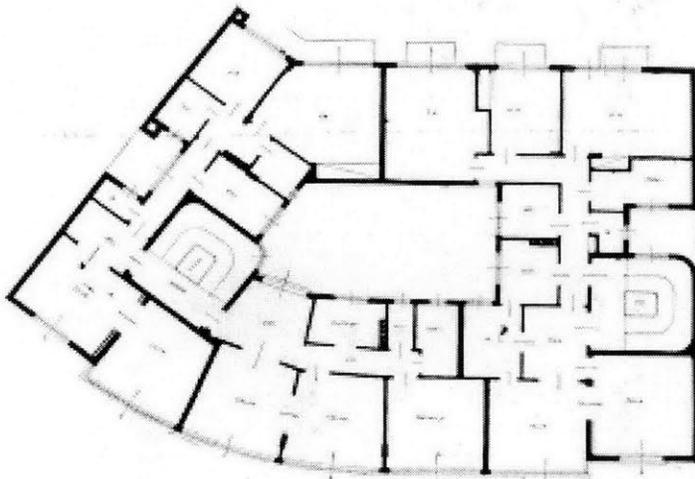


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Dogu Apartment
Construction Date: 1939-1940
Design Date: 1939-1940
Architect(s): Rebi Gorbon-Mustafa Can
Client:
Address: Inonu St. Taksim

Published in: Arkitekt 1940, p.145

Notes:

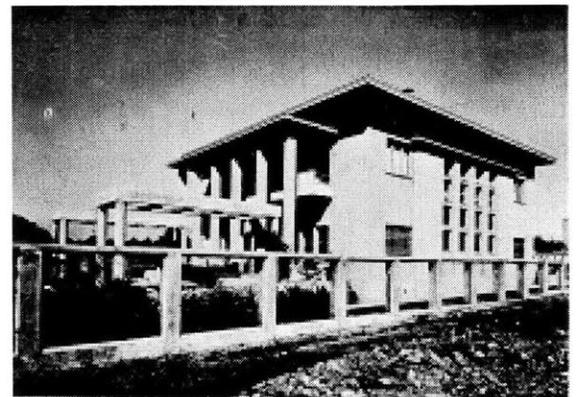
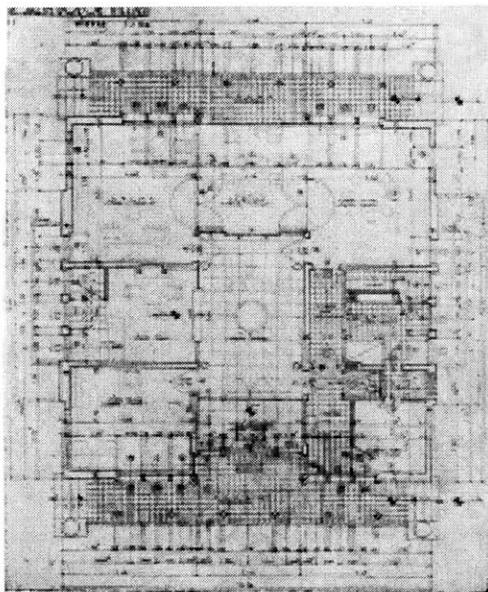
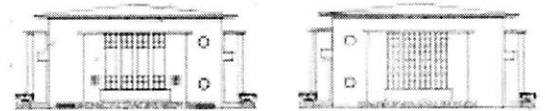
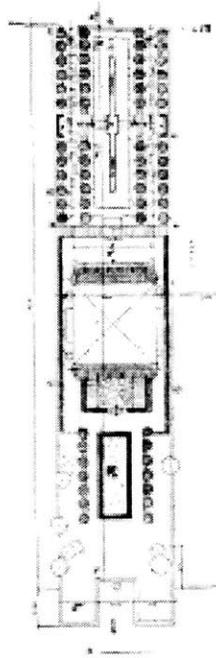
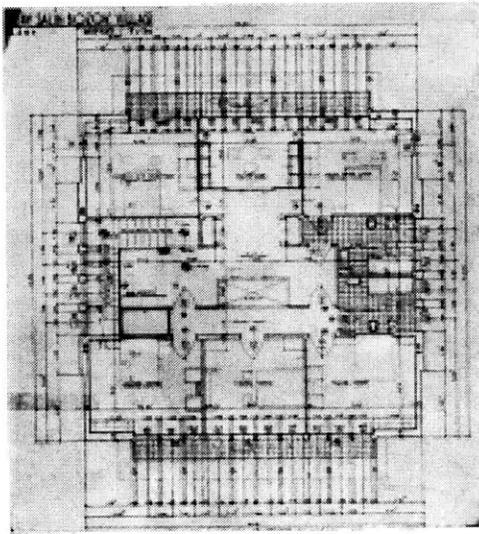
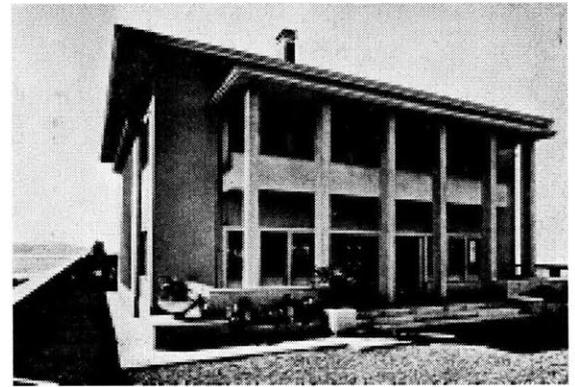
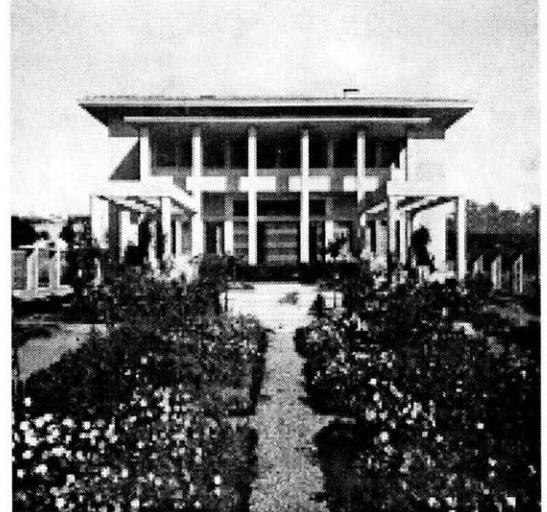


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Salih Bozok House
 Construction Date: 1939-1940
 Design Date: 1939-1940
 Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan
 Client: Salih Bozok
 Address: Suadiye

Published in: Arkitekt 1940, p.101

Notes: Salih Bozok was one of the members of the early Republican parliament and a close friend of Ataturk.

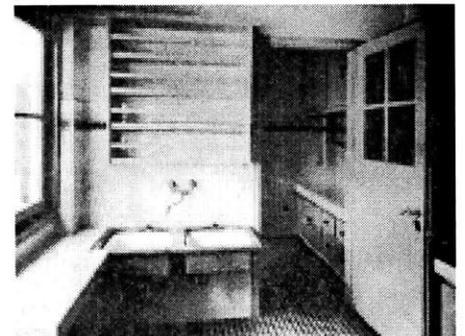
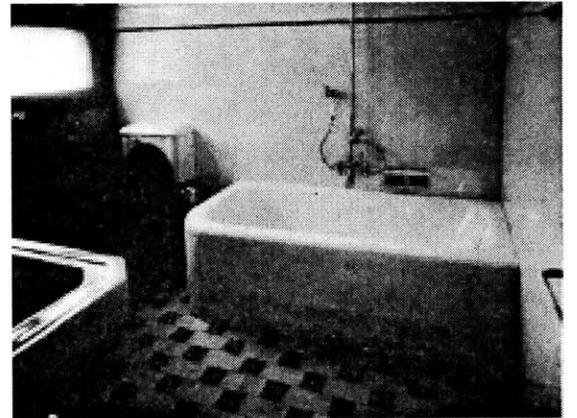
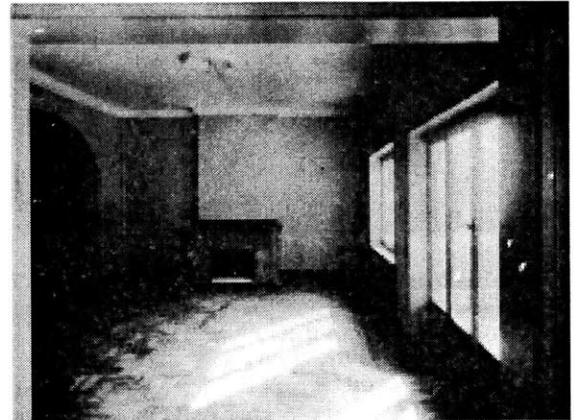
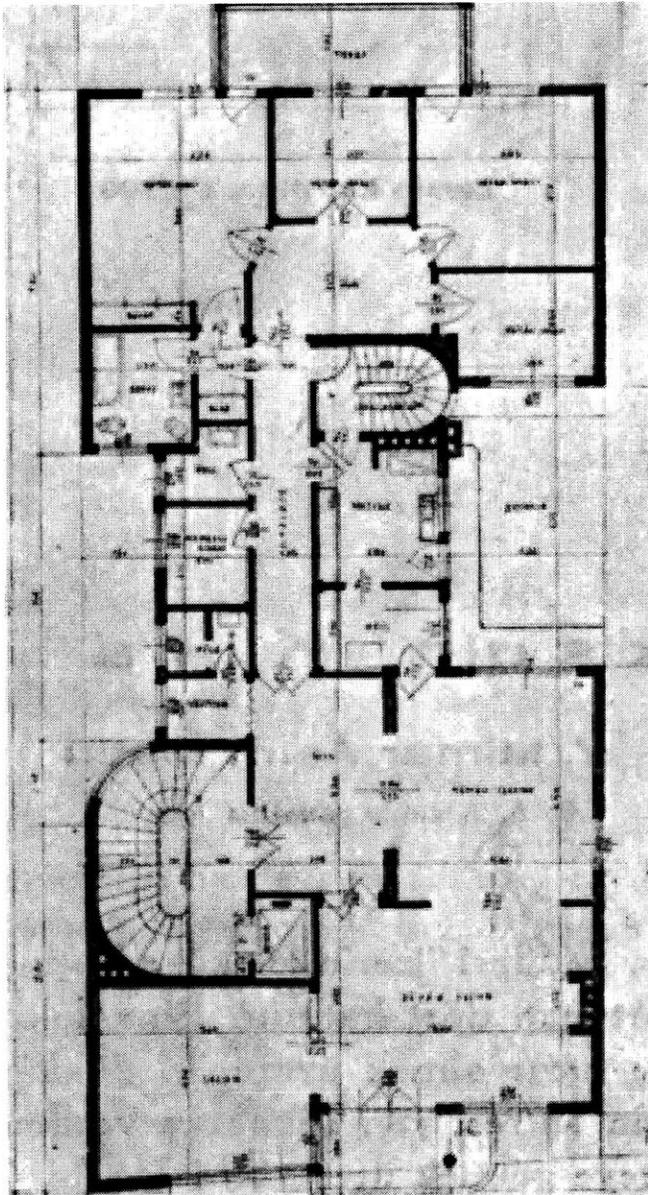
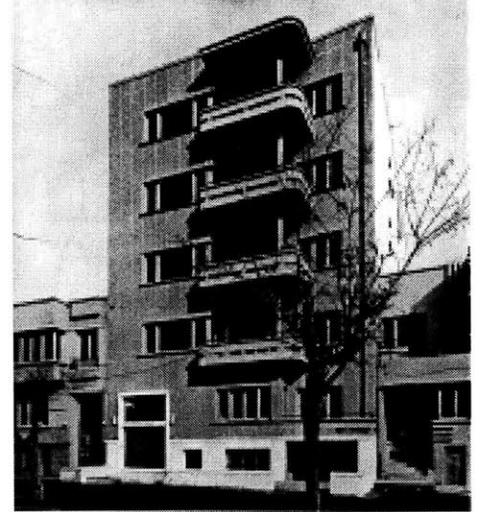


Additional Notes:

Building Name: Demirag Apartment
Construction Date: 1939-1940
Design Date: 1939-1940
Architect(s): Zeki Sayar
Client:
Address: Emlak St. Tesvikiye

Published in: Arkitekt 1940, p.1

Notes:



Additional Notes:

Building Name:

Construction Date: 1939-1940

Design Date: 1939-1940

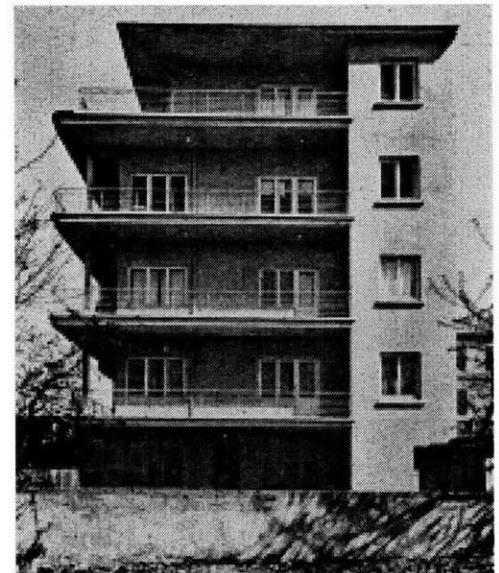
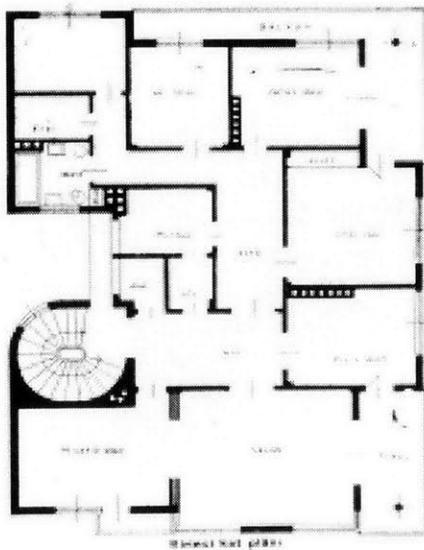
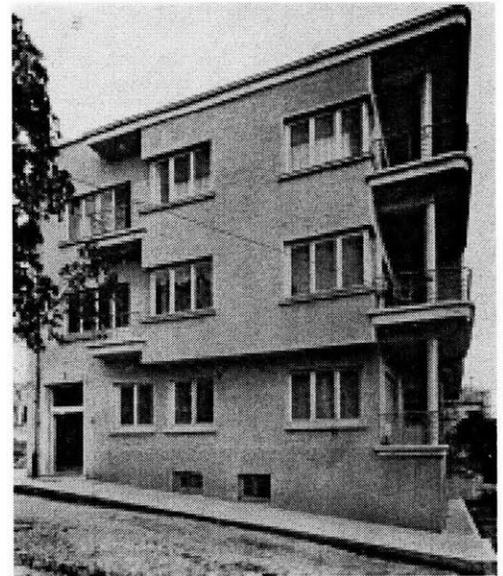
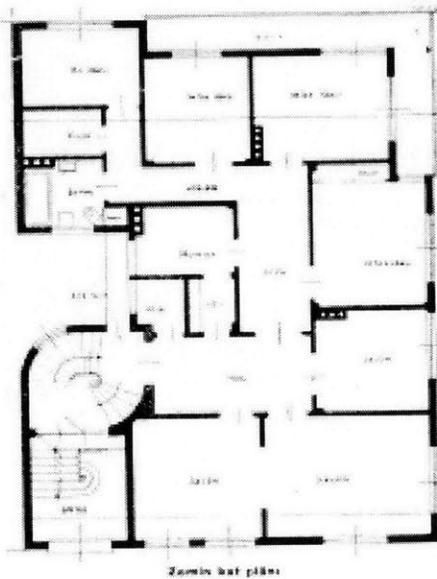
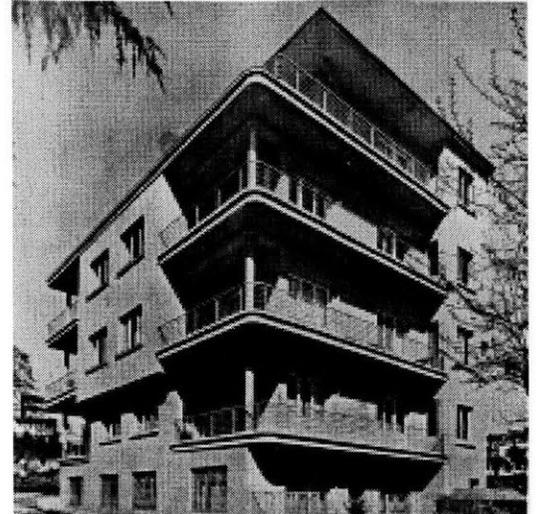
Architect(s): Zeki Sayar

Client:

Address: On the corner of Muhurdar and
Moda St. Kadikoy

Published in: Arkitekt 1940, p.241

Notes:



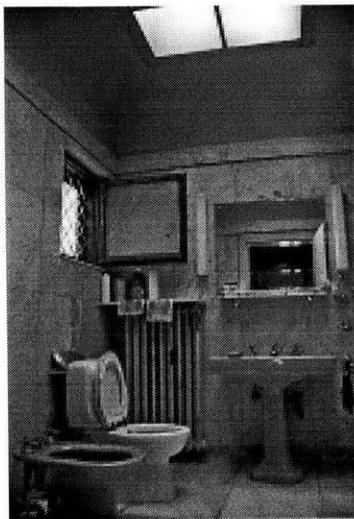
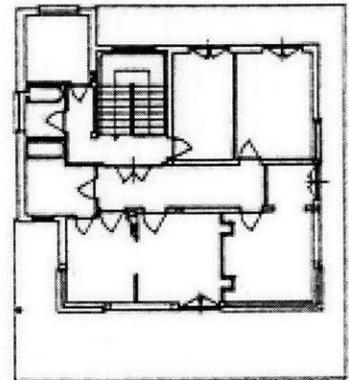
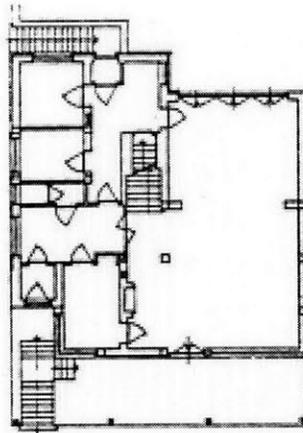
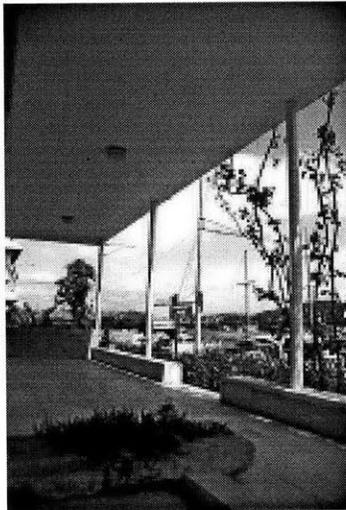
Additional Notes:

Unpublished buildings

Building Name: Devres House
Construction Date: 1932
Design Date: 1931-32
Architect(s): Ernst Egli
Client: Civil Engineer Ragip Devres
Address: Cevdet Pasa St. #152, Bebek



Notes:



Additional Notes:

These photographs were taken by the kind permission of the current residents of the house, who are close relatives of the client.

Unpublished buildings

Building Name:

Construction Date:

Design Date:

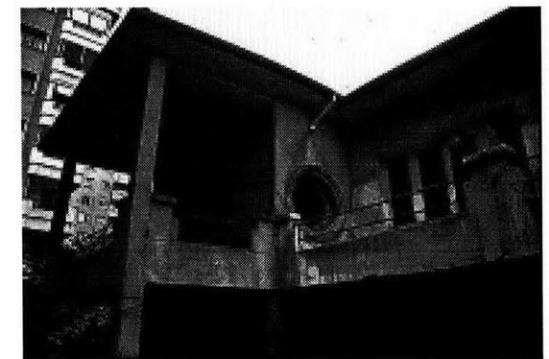
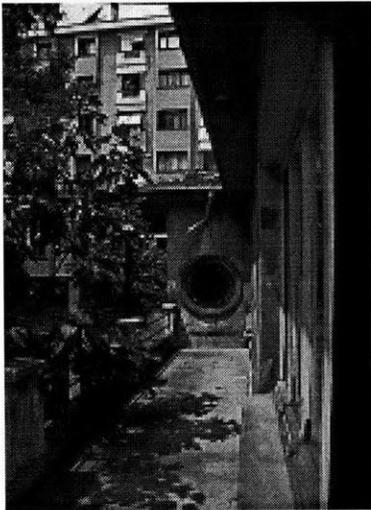
Architect(s):

Client:

Address: Omer Pasa St. #21 Goztepe



Notes:



Additional Notes:

Unpublished buildings

Building Name:

Construction Date:

Design Date:

Architect(s): Tevfik Komurcuoglu

Client:

Address: Gulden St. #17 Goztepe



Notes:

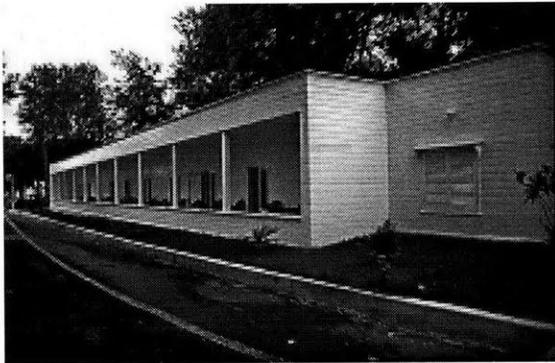


Additional Notes:

Unpublished buildings

Building Name: President's summer residence
Construction Date: 1934
Design Date: 1933-34
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan
Client: The Republican State
Address: Florya coast

Notes: The building was constructed with prefabricated wooden materials in 39 days.



This building is apart from the president's residence, on the back side of the coast and it was designed for the accommodation of the president's guests, servants and state officers.



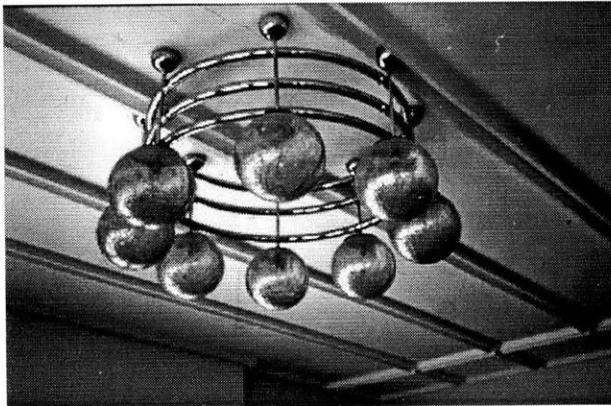
Additional Notes:

Unpublished buildings

Building Name: President's summer residence
Construction Date: 1934
Design Date: 1933-34
Architect(s): Seyfi Arkan
Client: The Republican State
Address: Florya coast



Notes: All the interior decoration, the furniture and even the lighting fixtures were designed by Seyfi Arkan.



Additional Notes:

Unpublished buildings

Building Name:

Construction Date:

Design Date:

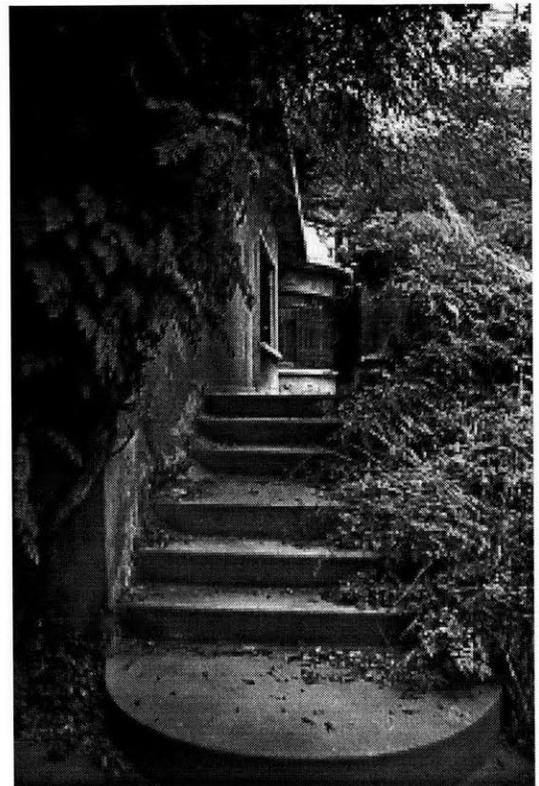
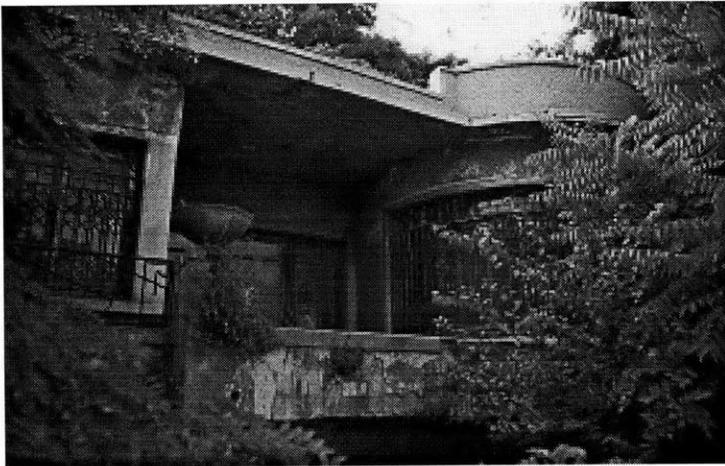
Architect(s):

Client:

Address: Plajustu st., Moda



Notes:



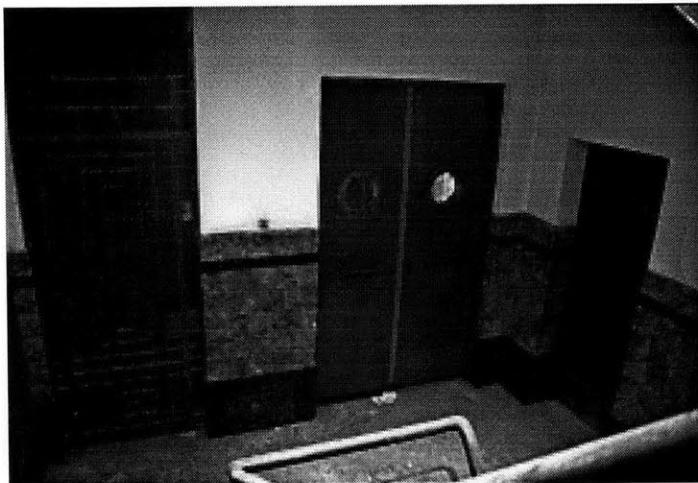
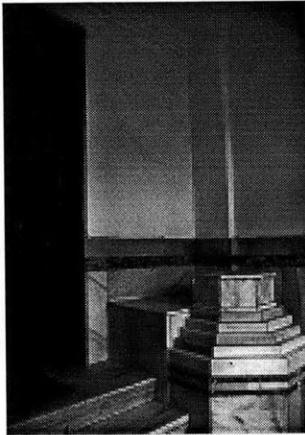
Additional Notes:

Unpublished buildings

Building Name: Gunes Apartment
Construction Date:
Design Date:
Architect(s):
Client:
Address: Cumhuriyet St. #4 Taksim



Notes:



Additional Notes:

Unpublished buildings

Building Name: Ardan Apartment
Construction Date:
Design Date:
Architect(s):
Client:
Address: Cumhuriyet St. #2 Taksim

Notes:



Additional Notes:

IMAGE CREDITS

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*The ones which have their credits in their captions are not included
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Fig.3.1 Yucel, Atilla, “Typology of urban housing in 19th.
century Istanbul” , in Housing and Settlement in Anatolia: A
historical perspective, Istanbul, 1996 p.304

Fig.3.2-3.4 Celik, Zeynep. The Remaking of Istanbul. Univer-
sity of Washington Press, 1986. p134, 137

Figs. 3.3-3.5 Bilgin, Ihsan, “Housing and settlement in
Anatolia in the process of modernization” n Housing and
Settlement in Anatolia: A historical perspective, Istanbul, 1996
pp.473,474,477.

Fig.3.11 Lihotsky, M. Schutte. Die Frankfurter Kuche, Berlin:
Ernst&Sohn, 1993

Figs.3.17,3.18,3.19,4.1,4.6 and 4.7 private documentation

Figs. 4.8 and 4.10 Rob Mallet-Stevens, architecte / concep-
tion et realisation, Dominique Deshoulieres ... [et al.] ; traduc-
tion anglaise de Susan Day.

Fig 4.11 Dreyse, D. W. Ernst May -Siedlungen. English.
(Ernst May housing estates : architectural guide to eight new
Frankfurt estates, 1926-1930. Frankfurt am Main, Fricke
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**Figs. 4.16, 4.17, 4.18, 4.19, 4.24, 4.25, 4.26, 4.27, 4.28, 4.29,
4.30, 4.31, 4.58, 4.73, 4.75, 4.78, 4.80, 4.81 and 4.88** private
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