

A Syncretic Modernism: Articulations of Painting in Turkey (1910s-1940s)

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Combined degree in Art History and Visual Arts
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Submitted to the Department of Architecture
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture:

History and Theory of Art

at the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

SEPTEMBER 2022

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a critical history of modern art in Turkey, focusing on two generations of artists that came to articulate the parameters of painting in the late Ottoman Empire and the Turkish early republic. I follow the trajectories of a selection of artists who became leading figures in the Turkish art world over the course of their careers: These painters contributed to the artistic discourse not only through their work, but also through their positions as teachers, gatekeepers, and tastemakers. While their artistic trajectories set these two generations apart, they had just as much in common: they all rose up to what they defined as the academicism of their teachers, formed generational alliances, opened exhibitions, served as missionaries of the new nation, attempted to find perpetual principles for a Turkish art, struggled to find their artistic identities, and got labeled as European imitators. Pressed between divergent expectations from the outside as well as the inside, they oscillated between the search for the universal and striving for the local.

Oil painting had been a marker of modernity and social emancipation already in the Ottoman period; it was a vessel in attaining a level of civilization contemporaneous with the rest of the world (read Europe), a crucial tool in the ongoing pursuit of technological modernity, and *also* a mode of self-expression. In the early years of the republic, the Turkish intelligentsia strove for a cultural synthesis that would take its forms from the West, whereas its content would be determined by local sources. Yet, painting is neither a technology that can be borrowed, nor simply a manifestation of cultural essence but a repository for both, and much more; it resists being delineated into strict categories of form and content. The task of this project is to chart the different ways in which the late-Ottoman and Turkish painters who embraced the medium of painting attempted to position themselves within this conundrum, oscillating between emulation and invention. Charting how this predicament manifested itself in the work of these artists and the discourse it generated is also revelatory of the paradox of Turkish modernization itself, with implications for our understanding of modernisms around the world and for emerging theories of the tensions between modernist art and the modernization of nation-states. Attending to the specific historical, political and aesthetic realms of this thirty-year period, this dissertation analyzes how the two generations of painters negotiated these challenges. In this dissertation, I read the paintings, exhibition histories, institutional shifts, artist testaments, articles and reviews that shaped Turkish painting over the period in question as *articulations* of a complex system, presenting a counter-history of one modernism among many. This, I argue, strove for synthesis but ultimately remained syncretic—a strategic amalgam of Turkey’s highly polyglot reality that refused to be smoothed into a synthetic whole.

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A note on translations: All translations from Turkish and French are rendered by the author unless otherwise noted.

A note on Turkish names: The law of surnames was passed in 1934, which meant that all artists that are mentioned in this dissertation received new last names. For some, like İbrahim from Çal, who was already called Çallı İbrahim, this was a simple reversal, while for others, it meant dropping their second name to take on a new one, as in Nurullah Cemal becoming Nurullah Berk. As most of this dissertation is set in the pre-1934 era, I refer to the artists by their first names. I have included their last names in brackets, both the first time their name is mentioned in the main body of the text, and also in the bibliography.

Acknowledgements

During my dissertation research, I started reading a book titled *Türk Promethe'ler: Cumhuriyet'in öğrencileri Avrupa'da (1925-1945)* [The Turkish Prometheans: The Republic's Students in Europe]. The book had been in my parents' bookshelf for years, and having realized its connection to my own project I had finally picked it up. Admittedly, the title, which likens the first Turkish students that the young republic sent abroad to study in the 1920s to mythological gods—specifically to the one that stole fire from Zeus—is rather odd at first. The designation refers to a famous quote by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, who said in a letter to the young students on their way to Paris, “I am sending you there as a spark, come back as a volcano.” The hyperbole is important to share here as it underlines the immense pressure of expectation put on the shoulders of this generation, which would shape their character as enlightened missionaries of a new nation. The task was indeed Promethean: Turkish students were to steal the fire of Modernity itself. Sparing no expense, the war-weary country sent them to further their degrees in science, engineering as well as the arts. They were expected to return and transform Turkey into a fully modern nation, contemporaneous in every field imaginable with its Western counterparts. The book did indeed shed light on my work as it helped me see the artists I study as part of a larger phenomenon. But it was the inscription on the cover page that was even more enlightening: the book was gifted by family friends to me in the winter of 2005, a few months after I had moved to New York to go to college in America. It all clicked for me then (a little late, as difficult as it is for anyone to see themselves as part of a specific demographic shaped by the arc of history): I was given this book at the beginning of my own time abroad to study, unaware that I now belonged to this nomadic “Promethean” group. When I returned to Istanbul after college, I found a way to consolidate my Euro-American art historical training with artistic practices from my own region by joining the core curatorial team of SALT. There, I joined discussions of what a cultural institution located in the so-called periphery should be in the 21st century. While at SALT, my interest was primarily in contemporary art, working with living artists from the greater MENA region as well as collaborating with institutions across Europe and the Middle East. However, when I arrived at MIT for graduate studies, I was encouraged to probe further back in time, realizing that cross-cultural networks and influences are not unique to our own time but characterize modernity at large. Working on modern Turkish painting has thus jibed with my own biography; restless seekers of knowledge have always shuttled across comparative frames, where global modernisms are concerned. My dissertation research now helps me understand that artists living in regions once considered peripheral to Western modernism made works as compelling as their Western counterparts, cross-pollinating while trying to find their identities within their home territories. Reading the note inside the book prompted me to see the challenges of Turkish artists as parallel to my own: negotiating the epistemic differences and adapting what is learned abroad back home and vice versa. Today, accepting my own position as part of a diasporic intelligentsia, where I feel at home the most is where these global connections are being acknowledged, studied, and prized.

I first have to thank dear Sarah-Neel Smith, who was not only the person that encouraged me to pursue a PhD in the first place, but also the one who never let go of my hand during the process. She has read and edited countless applications, conference proposals, in addition to many drafts of this dissertation. It is not an exaggeration to say that I would not have been able to do this if it was not for her. I also thank HG Masters, who was willing to leave Istanbul and move to Cambridge with me and bore the brunt of three grueling Massachusetts winters. Along the journey for this dissertation, I had the opportunity to form a cohort of friends, colleagues, and mentors, without whose help and support this project wouldn't have been possible. At MIT, my advisor Caroline A. Jones was my academic rock; a role model in her very own syncretic thinking, a generous editor, and a constant inspiration with her sky-high standards that expanded my art historical thinking. Ana Miljacki, whose curatorial achievements match her academic rigor gave me courage to continue pursuing this double path. I also thank Sibel Bozdoğan, whom I met while she was a visiting professor at MIT, and whose work on Turkish architectural modernism

encouraged me to attempt the same for Turkish painting. She showed me the path. I consider myself lucky to have met Defne Kırmızı during my Boston years, whose wisdom and warm company I continue to prize. Thanks to Renée Casso and Kathaleen Brearley, who helped me navigate the tortuous corridors of academic administration. Thanks are also due to Eli Keller, who made sure I had a roof over my head during sporadic visits to Cambridge, across the itinerant years of research and writing, and went as far as to give me his own room for my defense.

This dissertation received support from MIT in many forms; I was able to present early germs of my work in conferences in Baltimore and San Diego through the School of Architecture's Avalon Travel Grant in 2016; the MIT Center for International Studies Summer Study Grant in 2017 and the MIT France-Belgium Summer Research Grant in 2018 allowed me to visit archives in France. The MIT School of Architecture Aga Khan summer fellowship in 2020 the Covid grant for an extra academic year in 2021-2022 ensured the completion of this project. I also thank the Harvard University Center for European Studies for the Kress Dissertation fellowship in 2018-19, which allowed me to spend the much-needed research time in Istanbul.

In Turkey, there are many to thank. Conversations and collaborations with Karoly Aliotti, Nilüfer Şaşmaz, and Ahmet Doğa İpek across dinners, drinks and long walks in İstanbul, Paris, as well as the hills of Mount Ida and their continuous intellectual engagement provided the mental and emotional fuel necessary for this undertaking. My former colleagues from SALT, especially Sezin Romi generously offered her time and support as I made my way through the archival documents and library holdings at SALT Research. Vasif Kortun's unexpected invitation to join him at the Painting and Sculpture Museum in the efforts to re-launch it, though it remains an incomplete curatorial and institutional project for us, opened new doors for my research, provided temporary access to the museum's infamously inaccessible archive, and allowed me to see in person many of the paintings that I discuss in this dissertation. During my research, I was grateful to meet brilliant scholars who work on topics adjacent to mine: first and foremost, Ahu Antmen, whom I look forward to joining at Sabancı University soon, as well as the research powerhouse that is Ayşenur Güler, in addition to Gizem Tongo, who shared her own work and archival material with me. I also thank Dominique Bermann-Martin, Lisa Becker, Yusuf Taktak, Asuman Çoker and Maide Arel, who generously made the time to share with me the family archives they keep in their homes. As official holdings are often inaccessible, not well-maintained, or simply inexistent in Turkey, I relied on private archives for the majority of the research presented here.

The warm and supportive community that helped me finish include Ali Taptık and Elmas Deniz, with whom I not only shared an office but moments of respite. Ali offered his technical expertise to improve my poor-quality photographs, while Elmas provided me with much needed energy in the form of organic fruit plates during long afternoons. When I was in Paris for archival research, Serra and Cem Yentürk, whom I now count among my friends, opened their home to me when we were complete strangers; in the summer of 2018 we found comfort in each other as we watched undesired election results roll in from Turkey. There I also met Büke Uras, who also became a friend and a part of my project; he shared his contacts and unrelentingly sent me links to historical ephemera that related to my research as they surfaced on auctions. I am also grateful to Amira Arzık; my work is much better thanks to our growing friendship.

My greatest thanks go to my parents, Neşe and Yıldırım Demir, without whose psychological and financial support the last few years would have been impossible; they patiently listened and watched me as I went through the roller coaster that is a PhD, and offered help at every crucial moment. I also thank my great aunt, Ünal Oktay, whose continued cheering on weekly phone calls from Ankara meant the world to me. And finally, I thank my grandmother, Nevin Oktay, who passed away two and a half years ago, before she got to throw the party she had promised me to celebrate the completion of my dissertation. I dedicate this to her.

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INTRODUCTION:

“If one source of art is the creations of the people, the other source is the creations of the men of international attainment. Only those who drink the magic waters of both these springs will attain great achievements in art.”¹

Ziya Gökalp

The day before the Turkish Republic was proclaimed on October 29, 1923 and Mustafa Kemal became its first president,² he wrote several letters, arranging for the purchase of paintings for himself and for various state offices, as well as pushing certain ministers for making personal acquisitions.³ At the time, he was already officially the head of the Büyük Millet Meclisi [Grand National Assembly] in Ankara and the ministers that the letters were addressed to were all from the newly formed Halk Fırkası [People’s Party] as it had recently taken over the whole parliament in tightly controlled elections,

¹ Parla, Taha. *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876-1924*. Vol. 35., XXXV. Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East. Boston: BRILL, 1985: 264.

² Mustafa Kemal emerged as the leader of the resistance movement in Anatolia that came to be known as the Turkish War of Independence (May 19, 1919-October 29, 1923). After the end of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire had signed the Armistice of Moudros (October 31, 1918), effectively giving Entente Powers the right to occupy Ottoman lands. Before the end of the war, the leaders of the ruling party Committee of Union and Progress had prepared for an armed resistance movement to protect Muslim Ottomans in Anatolia. Although Mustafa Kemal had been in the inner circle of the Committee of Union and Progress and was part of the Young Turk movement that led to the Second Constitutional era of the Ottoman Empire (1908-1913), he had been left out when Enver, Talat and Cemal Pashas gained power with the 1913 coup. Erik Zürcher argues that the Unionists that remained in the empire (the three pashas fled for fear of being tried for war crimes) selected Mustafa Kemal especially as the military leader of the resistance movement for his clean slate (he had stayed away from Enver and Talat Pashas after the CUP coup that led to atrocities against the Christian communities in Anatolia, especially the genocide against the Armenians) and for his successful military record. Officially, Mustafa Kemal was sent by the CUP to suppress intercommunal violence in Eastern Anatolia as the inspector of the Third Army and was given very wide powers. After organizing congresses in Sivas and Erzurum that emphasized the national character of the Anatolian provinces, he led the War of Independence against the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) that the Ottoman Empire had signed with the Entente Powers, ceding large parts of Ottoman territory to France, the United Kingdom, Greece and Italy. Mustafa Kemal set up his command center in Ankara and the Great National Assembly (Büyük Millet Meclisi) was established there on April 23, 1920 (after the Ottoman government in Istanbul had prorogued itself earlier in the same month). Militarily, the war was won in 1922, when the Greek occupation of Western Anatolia ended. The sultanate was abolished, and the last Ottoman Sultan Mehmed VI, also known as Vahdettin, was deposed in November 1922; however, the caliphate still existed. A few months before the Republic was proclaimed, the Treaty of Lausanne was ratified with the Republic of Turkey as the successor to the Ottoman Empire, and determined the borders of the country, except for Hatay province. Zürcher, Erik Jan. *Turkey: A Modern History*. 3rd ed., new Ed. London; New York: IB Tauris, 2004: 113-168.

³ Şerifoğlu, Ömer Faruk. “İlk Sergilerden bir Seçki,” *Sanat Dünyamız* no: 157 (2017): 50.

consolidating Mustafa Kemal's power. Proclaiming a republic and establishing a conventional cabinet system –with a president elected by the assembly and the prime minister appointed by the president– was proposed by Mustafa Kemal himself. It was a move mainly to counter the confusion about the head of state in the aftermath of the War of Independence, as even though the sultan, Mehmed IV, also known as Vahdettin, had been abolished a year earlier, ending the Ottoman sultanate, the constitutional relationship between the former Crown Prince Abdülmecit Efendi in Istanbul, who was now the caliph, and the Grand Assembly in Ankara was not yet clarified.⁴ The exhibition from which Mustafa Kemal acquired paintings and was urging his colleagues to follow suit was *Birinci Ankara Resim Sergisi* [First Ankara Painting Exhibition], which had opened nine days earlier on October 19, and as the name suggests, it was the first of its kind to take place in this city located in the heart of Anatolia. Making sure that the new capital played host to an exhibition of paintings was, of course, a symbolic act unto itself. Until then, Istanbul had not only been the seat of the empire but also its artistic epicenter. Even during the Great War (1914-1918) and the occupation of the city by Allied Forces that followed (1918-1923), Istanbul had remained culturally active. Ankara on the other hand, did not have much to offer other than being a militarily strategic choice for Mustafa Kemal and his supporters from where they had commanded the national resistance movement (1919-1923) and set up the new government.

When the armistice that followed the World War I resulted in the *de facto* occupation of Istanbul (by French, British, Greek and Italian troops) and the partitioning of remaining Ottoman lands by the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), Ankara served as the control center for the Turkish national resistance movement as it was safely nestled in the middle of Asia minor.⁵ Ankara was a small, arid and provincial town in the

⁴ Until the deposition of the last sultan the caliphate had been both the religious and political seat of supreme leadership of all Muslims in the world. The crown prince Abdülmecid II was the first caliph to be elected by the Great National Assembly, which only earlier had separated the caliphate from the sultanate. However, a few months later, on March 3, 1924, the caliphate would also be abolished by decree of the Great National Assembly, and Abdülmecid II was sent to exile along with the rest of the members of the House of Osman, the dynasty that had ruled the empire.

⁵ Treaty of Sèvres was signed between the Ottoman Empire and the Entente Powers in 1920, ceding large parts of Ottoman territory to France, the United Kingdom, Greece, Armenia and Italy. It was never implemented. Derived from the treaty's name, some scholars refer to the term "Sèvres syndrome" to describe a national paranoia that

Anatolian steppe, but through the years of the resistance it had officially become the new seat of governmental power. It was the city from which Mustafa Kemal had led the War of Independence (1919-1923), and where he had established the new parliament in 1920. It was clear that he was now also intent on shifting cultural life to this city (and perhaps, positioning the new government as a rival to the existing patron of the arts, the caliph in Istanbul.)⁶ Significantly, the week before Mustafa Kemal wrote the letters in question, on October 13, 1923, he had also declared Ankara the new capital. Hence, *Birinci Ankara Resim Sergisi* –the first painting exhibition in the new capital– was as novel as it was conspicuous.

While he missed the opening, Mustafa Kemal visited the exhibition a few days later, and picked out three paintings for himself: two serene genre paintings by Mehmed Ruhi [Arel] [fig.I.1-I.2], both depicting rural women deeply absorbed in their acts of floral embroidery; one seated in a modest interior with a hoop in hand, the other working on her tambour frame in a peaceful garden. His third pick was a fantastical soft-focus landscape painted in the typical golden-hour hues of orange and purple by Hüseyin Avni [Lifij] [fig.I.3], foregrounding two lovers who had locked eyes in romantic bliss, sharing a jug of wine on a hill overlooking an idyllic Ottoman town.⁷ Mustafa Kemal also personally picked several other paintings for his colleagues, making sure that at least half of the 119 paintings that were on view did not return to Istanbul and found homes (or, more accurately, in most cases *offices*) in Ankara. They were acquired both personally by the *mebuslar* [representatives at the National Assembly] and officially by the state ministries. He drafted the following hand-written template encouraging Ankara politicians and

foreign powers, especially Western countries, are intent on weakening the Turkish state internally and externally to carve up its territories.

⁶ Himself a painter, Abdülmecid generously supported art and artists, and had been the honorary patron of the Journal of the Society of Ottoman Painters since its inception. For a closer look at Abdülmecid's own artistic output, see: *Prince's Extraordinary World: Abdülmecid Efendi* (Exh. cat.), İstanbul: Sabancı Museum, 2022 and Şerifoğlu, Ömer Faruk (ed.). *Hanedandan bir ressam: Abdülmecid Efendi*, İstanbul: YKY, 2004.

⁷ This information is from an article that notes under the three illustrated paintings that they were acquired by Mustafa Kemal: Yakub Kadri. "Sanayi-i Nefise Beşinci Resim Sergisi," *Yeni Mecmua* no:81, August 2, 1923: 309-313. I thank Asuman and Adnan Çoker for sharing this article and its transliteration with me. The archival material printed alongside the 2017 Şerifoğlu article confirms the artist names. Şerifoğlu, Ömer Faruk. "İlk Sergilerden bir Seçki" (2017):40-63. While the documents do not include the titles of the paintings, they show amounts paid to each artist for their work. The purchase of the particular paintings can also be confirmed by the fact that the works are still in the Çankaya Atatürk Müze Köşkü [Çankaya Atatürk Museum Kiosk] collection.

bureaucrats to participate in this effort and support the artists, which, coming from him, must have been considered more an order than a request:

Dear Sir,

You know that an art exhibition has opened in Ankara ten days ago. Our government has already bought some paintings and shown the necessary ownership and need for our artists, who have embodied the Turkish painter for the last fifty years without any genuine encouragement from the country, and managed [for themselves] a distinguished place among the painters of other *civilized* nations. I also personally selected a few paintings. It is desirable for all of us and is indeed imperative that our painters, who came to the center of the national government with great hope and have devotedly worked in order not to extinguish the flame of art, that they do not to return from here in disillusionment. Wishing for your participation in the incentive to be shown by us, I chose for you the paintings [...], the price of which consists of [...]. I hope that the members of the National Assembly will follow suit and pursue the same goal together and not be afraid of the small expense that befalls them.

I would like to ask you to take the paintings reserved for you from the exhibition and deliver the sum to the head of the delegation Painter Ali Sami, who came here as the dignitary of the Society of Turkish Painters, and hereby repeat my friendship on this occasion.⁸

It is hard to ignore the letters' timing as a message unto itself. The new leader of the new nation setting aside a moment not only to see an art exhibition, but also to select paintings for purchase for himself as well as for others and negotiating their price– the day before proclaiming Turkey as a republic. The gesture must have communicated a clear message then, and the symbolism of the act is still strong today, as it testifies to the weighty role Mustafa Kemal ascribed to the fine arts, and especially painting, as a *civilizational* signifier. In fact, his stance did not deviate far from the late Ottoman sultans' approach to oil painting or the cultural policies of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) during the Second Constitutional era (1908-1920), who all saw the limited presence of European fine arts within the empire, especially the practice of painting, as a measure of civilization among nations, and a signifier of its Westernizing efforts, and as such, deserving of attention and support from the state, and especially its leaders. The content of the letter is also compelling, as its description of “Turkish” painters having heroically endured to keep their practice alive and well in the previous fifty years, on par with others'

⁸ Şerifoğlu, Ömer Faruk. “İlk Sergilerden bir Seçki” (2017): 156.

(read European) and without much support (read lack of Ottoman patronage) also reflects the attitude that would soon be adopted by the new republic.

This characterization does two things at once. Firstly, the wording of the letter downplays the continuity of modernizing policies and cultural reform from the empire to the republic, inflating minor differences to ignore former Ottoman investment in modernization through Westernization, which had been a central aim of the empire since the era of modernizing reforms known as the *Tanzimat* (1839-1876), in order to be on par with other *civilized* nations and empires. More importantly, the sleight of hand in Mustafa Kemal's letter, attributing the last fifty years' efforts to "Turkish" artists, signals the desire to retroactively ascribe certain achievements to the new-born Turkish state or to its majority population, the "Turks," (a not so stable signifier at the time) either projecting their efforts into the past as "Turkish achievements" or designating the republic's efforts in a certain field as "firsts." The "Turkish artists" in the exhibition in question were until very recently Ottoman subjects, whose artistic formation had depended mostly on non-Muslim Ottoman instructors in the empire as well as the teachings of European painters abroad. While the roster of artists in the Ankara exhibition comprised only Muslim-Turks, until the last decade, this majority *millet* had only played a minority part in a diverse and dominantly non-Muslim artistic milieu, among painters that included Armenians, Rums, Levantines as well as European expats living in the empire. The carefully chosen wording of the letter foreshadows the rather self-congratulatory and often purposely "forgetful" tone that would be adopted by the Republic, which Turkified the present as well as the past.

A closer look at the three paintings that Mustafa Kemal personally selected from the exhibition in Ankara reveals slightly more than what the exemplary grand gesture suggests. The seemingly disparate choices of the nation's leader of works by artists from the 1914 generation, particularly by Mehmed Ruhi and Hüseyin Avni coalesce in a romantic predilection for the arts when one considers the subjects. In both of Arel's paintings [fig.I.1-2] young women, dressed similarly in caftans and casual head dress, one of them with fresh flowers tucked behind her ear, are absorbed in their acts of embroidery. With their

delicate slippers carefully cast aside, and a small box or handkerchief holding their tools beside them, they are both patiently working in solitude. The light filtered through the window in the domestic scene or through the leaves of the trees that surround the figure in the garden casts its rays on the faces of the women and their work, gently focusing the viewer's eyes where the women's attention is also concentrated, the floral decoration. Perhaps ornament on easel is how the nation's leader saw these paintings themselves; his choices suggest that Mustafa Kemal saw painting as something that offers respite, rather than to be deployed as a medium for propaganda or act as a formal reflection of the advanced program of societal reform he was soon to implement (though both the former and the latter approaches would be taken up by artists about a decade later). There is no glorification of recent military might in the chosen paintings either, which would have been an obvious choice to reinforce the sense of nationhood through the bond of war, but that is not the avenue Mustafa Kemal followed. If the solitary women in these paintings are engaging in the arduous act of embroidery as a meditative exercise to ease the anxiety of waiting for a son, a husband or fiancé employed at battlefield, there is no sign of an inner struggle or distress suggested. Mehmed Ruhi's depiction of these vignettes with an all-over rendering of the surface does not suggest tension, but the full integration of the figures with their surroundings. The overall painterly treatment of the entire surface seamlessly integrates these figures into their respective surroundings; as will be illustrated in the second chapter, for the artist, this had been a stylistic choice that moved away from academic painting – a small but significant move towards the moderately modern – but for the untrained eye, this would have suggested a painterly harmony that communicated absorption of the subject into her environment more than anything else. Perhaps for Mustafa Kemal, Mehmed Ruhi's genre paintings were not scenes from the recent past, but portrayals of the much-awaited peaceful calm of the current moment, and the projection of its continuation into the future. The paintings also serve as model yet moderate portraits of women, engaged in gentle handiwork, dignified and individualized but not as independent as they would be if portrayed in a public rather than domestic environment. They function as symbols of countryside purity and modesty, rather than elevating aspirational characteristics for the new republic's image of women, such as modern, urban, independent and efficient- establishing these norms

of modernity as desired qualities for Turkish women would take at least another decade, and extensive societal reform.

The lovers of Hüseyin Avni, [\[fig.I.3\]](#) on the other hand, while perhaps less innocent, are also in complete harmony with their surroundings. Here, the effect is not created through the painterly treatment of the overall brushstroke, but by the other-worldly pastel palette of half-tones characteristic of the artist. The figures, mesmerized by the view as well as by each other, also communicate an earnest folk sensibility in harmonious existence with the generous lands that surround them. The trees and vine leaves framing the couple signal a Rousseau-esque romantic union with nature, but the quilted turban of the mustachioed man and the woman's caftan dress with sash and headgear locate this fairy-tale like scene somewhere in the Orient. This is supported by the title of the painting, *A Page from the time of Nef'i*, referring to the famous Ottoman poet known mainly for his satirical work, which places the couple firmly in the outskirts of a 17th century Ottoman town, during the peaceful (and decidedly Western) Tulip era. Perhaps one of the lovers is reciting a poem of Nef'i's as they sip the remaining wine from the cup they are sharing while enjoying the view, of the idyllic town as well as of each other.

The paintings in question might at first seem an unlikely choice for their sentimentality, enhanced by their soft palette and tender nature of the scenes depicted for a military commander turned leader of the new nation. (In fact, the *Nef'i* painting, bordering on tacky, had been the subject of attacks by critics the previous year when it was first shown, which the artist had not taken in stride.⁹) However, taken together, the three paintings mirror the message of Mustafa Kemal by making the purchases and drafting the letters; they all show somewhat provincial subjects engaged in *aesthetic appreciation*. Whether it is a poem by Nef'i or floral decoration, the subjects are shown having seamlessly integrated a form of art into their everyday. In their slightly folk subject-matter, whether it is the floral embroidery of the women or the poetic bliss of the lovers, the three paintings all hint at an idealized but earnest vision for the peaceful

⁹ For the back and forth between Hüseyin Avni and Ahmet Haşim on this painting and the role of art criticism at large, see Lifij, Avni. *Sanat yazıları*. Istanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2019: 105-112 and 364-369.

nation; there is in all of them a sense of muted folk tradition, but no sense of rigidity, an engagement with beauty, but no decadence, a hint of history, but no overbearing narrative or indication of class. With easily identifiable if slightly escapist subject matter devoid of potentially alienating specifics, they are not only gentle and welcoming in subject-matter but also formally unthreatening, without any sign of overt messaging or risqué artistic experimentation. Made by Muslim-Turks, they are modern and Western just by virtue of being what they are, pictures on canvas, hung on a wall to be displayed publicly, where they are exhibited for contemplation, engagement, and appreciation. In the happy stylistic middle embraced by the 1914 generation painters that both Hüseyin Avni and Mehmed Ruhi were part of (more on this in the second chapter), these paintings are *moderately modern*; they not only signal Mustafa Kemal's foray into the artistic arena as a patron and supporter of the fine arts, but also hint at his strategy of leading by example that he would utilize in reinforcing the reforms that followed in the first decade of the republic.

The 1923 Ankara exhibition was organized by the Türk Ressamlar Cemiyeti [The Society of Turkish Painters]—formerly known as the Society of Ottoman Painters¹⁰—and took place at the Türk Ocağı [Turkish Heart] building. In fact, the *First Ankara Painting Exhibition* was not exactly a first. It was a smaller version of the fifth iteration of the *Sanayi-i Nefise Sergisi* [Exhibition of Fine Arts]—the annual salons which will be referred to as the *Galatarasaray Sergileri* [Galatasaray Exhibitions]¹¹—that was organized in Istanbul earlier that summer. [Fig.I.4] The Ankara exhibition had a slightly smaller roster of artists presenting more or less the same paintings they had previously shown in Istanbul, with the

¹⁰ As will be delved into in more detail in the following chapter, not insignificantly, the “Ottoman” qualifier in the title of the society was changed to “Turkish” in 1921. The founding members of the new society were Çallı İbrahim, Hikmet [Onat], Feyhaman [Duran], Şevket [Dağ] and Sami [Yetik]. The new legislation they introduced was significant in transforming the Galatasaray exhibitions into juried events. In 1926, the name changed again and became “Türk Sanayi-i Nefise Derneği” [The Foundation for Turkish Fine Arts], expanding from a painters’ society into an official foundation for artists working in different mediums, though painting remained dominant in its activities. In 1927 it was declared a union, “Türk Sanayi-i Nefise Birliği” [The Union of Turkish Fine Arts], and finally in 1929, dropping the “Turkish” identifier, and modernizing the name by switching from the Arabic rooted Sanayi-i Nefise to the more Turkish sounding Güzel Sanatlar (the root for the word for art *san*’ was preserved in *san’at*), they settled on Güzel Sanatlar Birliği [The Union of Fine Arts], and as such the union remained active until the 1980s.

¹¹ These annual salons (1916-1951) took place at the painting ateliers of the Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânîsi, the Imperial High School in the summers, hence they are often referred to as the Galatasaray Sergileri [Galatasaray Exhibitions]. These exhibitions are treated in some detail in the second chapter.

occasional addition for Ankara.¹² [Fig.I.5-6] Mustafa Kemal had not attended the Galatasaray exhibition himself as it was in Istanbul (he had purposely not been to Istanbul since his departure in 1919, when he was sent to Eastern Anatolia to lead the resistance movement; in fact, he would not set foot in the city until 1927), however, he had also acquired paintings from that particular summer exhibition at the Galatasaray lycée, the selection of which he had entrusted to the jury.¹³ The works that were selected for him were Namık İsmail [Yeğenoğlu]'s now well-known large-scale landscape painting *Harman* [Harvest] of farmers on a sunny field, Sami [Yetik] Bey's *Son Ziyalar* [Last Lights] depicting a villager crossing a mountain range via oxcart at dusk, and a mythological scene with three female nudes titled *Fecir* [Dawn] by Çallı İbrahim. [fig. I.7-10] It could be contended that the jury's choice reflected the three thematic strains to be expanded on by artists in the years to come: hopeful landscapes depicting idealized scenes of village life, scenes of physical hardship as reminders of the sacrifices necessary for the new nation, and figurative work, especially nudes, that aimed to ease the dominantly Muslim public into the mores of the Western canon.

The recently re-named Society of Turkish Painters organizing the 5th exhibition in Istanbul had recognized both the spiritual and the political leaders as patrons of the arts, and extended invitations to Caliph Abdülmecit Efendi, who had been their supporter since the foundation of the Ottoman Painters' Society in 1909, as well as to Mustafa Kemal, the new political leader of the Turkish state.¹⁴ While

¹² This is based on a comparison of the exhibition brochures transliterated and published in Şerifoğlu, Ömer Faruk. "İlk Sergilerden bir Seçki," *Sanat Dünyamız*, no: 157 (2017), 40-63: 55-62 for the exhibition in Ankara and for Istanbul Şerifoğlu, Ömer Faruk (ed.). *Resim Tarihimizden: Galatasaray Sergileri 1916-1951* (exh. cat.), Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003: 44-45. While the Istanbul exhibition also included commercial graphic work, in this case specifically poster designs by İhap Hulusi, these were not shown in Ankara. On the other hand, one sculpture, a bust of Mustafa Kemal by Nijad Sirel, as well as some sketches of the new capital were presented in Ankara. In the following years, the subject of Ankara would be taken up by many artists in both exhibitions.

¹³ Yakub Kadri. "Sanayi-i Nefise Beşinci Resim Sergisi," *Yeni Mecmua* no:81, August 2, 1923: 309-313.

¹⁴ While this was technically the 7th Galatasaray exhibition, they discounted the war-time exhibitions and took the 1919 exhibition as the first one, hence, the 1923 exhibition is referred to as the 5th exhibition. The group also organized an exhibition with sales in the Çemberlitaş Serbest Resim Atölyesi [Free Painting Atelier] the same year, resulting in criticisms that more effort was spent on this minor exhibition instead of the Galatasaray salon. See Şerifoğlu, *Galatasaray Sergileri*: 35. In 1923, a 'rival' society was formed by [Hoca] Ali Rıza, [Bahriyeli] İsmail Hakkı Bey, Hüseyin Avni [Lifij], Ali Sami [Boyar] and İhsan Ahmed Bey, but it was short-lived, it closed after organizing only one exhibition in collaboration with the Serbest Resim Atölyesi in Ankara in 1924. For its by-laws, see: *Avni Lifij- Sanat Yazıları* (2019): 345-350.

neither of them personally attended the opening, they both sent representatives. Mustafa Kemal sent minister Hamdullah Suphi¹⁵ in his stead, whose statement at the opening made a somewhat poetically expiatory allusion to Islam as the reason for the short history of representational art in Turkey, another nascent trope to excuse potential lacks in Turkish painting:

If our contemporary painting, which today has a history of fifty or sixty years, had begun earlier, then the great past would not have been in this state: memories deprived of form. Ottoman history resembles a gravestone with a great turban atop, seen through the window of a cemetery wall. The hand that depicted this turban was stopped when it made its way to the face. The entire Ottoman history is like this stone; the face remains without having been portrayed, under a great turban. We are especially grateful to our painters, who have chosen to record the recent past rather than distant history.¹⁶

Like Mustafa Kemal's letter to the parliamentarians, Hamdullah Suphi's speech also works on multiple registers, and hints at the tendencies for cultural policy that would soon become the official party line, downplaying Ottoman modernization, scapegoating its multi-ethnic makeup and extravagance for its decline and dissolution, and portraying an ingenuous and pure Turkish lineage finally freed to express itself. Having tactfully blamed the Islamic artistic tradition and its general refrain from depicting the human figure through the metaphor of the Ottoman gravestone, Hamdullah Suphi described this monument to the dead as not only an object of aesthetic lack but also a thing of distant history. He also simultaneously expressed his disdain for the potential path of historicism the painters might fall into, and showed his appreciation for the painters' choice of contemporary subject matter, praising the artists –not so covertly– for avoiding references to the Ottoman past –whether it was recent or very distant.¹⁷ The rest of his speech was infused with a disdain for Ottoman cosmopolitanism, and stayed true to his Turkist

¹⁵ Head of the Turkish Hearts association, Hamdullah Suphi [Tanrıöver] (1885-1966) was a poet, politician, and later, diplomat. He was a staunch Turkist. He was in the group of intellectuals that visited the Gallipoli front in 1915 together with the painters İbrahim Çallı and Nazmi Ziya, as part of Ottoman propaganda efforts. In his articles and speeches, he encouraged artists to work on national subject matter. The other official representative at the exhibition opening was Caliph Abdülmecid Efendi's aide Ekrem Bey.

¹⁶ Elif Naci in *İkdam*, July 21, 1923, quoted in Şerifoğlu (2003): 42.

¹⁷ As scholars have illustrated on numerous occasions, in fact, this had not been the case. Figurative representation had been a part initially of the art in the Ottoman court, and later, outside the court as well. See: Renda, Günsel. *Osmanlı Minyatür Sanatı*, İstanbul: Promete, 2001; And, Metin. *Turkish Miniature Painting*. Rev. new ed. Ankara: Dost Yayinlari, 1978 and Okçuoğlu, Tarkan. *Hayal ve gerçek arasında Osmanlı resminde İstanbul imgesi 18. ve 19. yüzyıllar*. İstanbul: Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2020.

nationalist stance, which, brushing over all historical detail, portrayed (the fictive entity of) Turkish art as having been finally freed from the hands of foreigners:

Starting with Bellini and reaching all the way to Valeri, who was appointed as a teacher to our own School of Fine Arts, Turkish subject matter has been painted by the brush of those who are not Turkish. Now, our painters have claimed this field.¹⁸

Hamdullah Suphi had in one breath drawn a line from the European painters who were invited to the Ottoman court beginning with Mehmed the Conqueror's invitation to Giovanni Bellini in the 15th century, to the European, Levantine and other minority painters who had taught at the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul at the request of its founder Osman Hamdi, such as the painting instructor he named in his speech, Salvatore Valeri. Setting the trenchant ethno-nativism aside momentarily, the issue was never as simple as Hamdullah Suphi put it. Indeed, at the time of Hamdullah Suphi's speech, Muslim Turkish painters had in a sense claimed the field. It was true that the current Galatasaray salons were not the cosmopolitan events the Pera salons or earlier exhibitions of painting in Istanbul used to be. These exhibitions showcased work by a select group of painters that remained in Istanbul after the dissolution of the empire, and the diversity of the participants had waned especially after the two war-time exhibitions.¹⁹ The Ankara exhibitions would also reflect these shifts. The exhibitors were mostly Muslim Turks, who comprised a majority in the artistic sphere since the end of the First World War. By 1923, most if not all "foreigners" (while some designated foreigners had indeed come from other countries, "foreigners" was

¹⁸ Naci, Elif. *On Yilda Resim 1923-1933*, İstanbul: Gazetecilik ve Matbaacılık T.A.Ş (1933): 6.

¹⁹ For Istanbul exhibitions in the 1880s and how they were perceived differently, either as Ottoman events or European ventures depending on the affiliation of the art critic, see Roberts, Mary. *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*, University of California Press; Oakland (2015): chapter 4: "Istanbul's Art Exhibitions." For the former unjuried Pera exhibitions, often referred to as the Pera Salons and organized between the years 1901-1903, which could be seen as the precursor to the Galatasaray exhibitions, see Sinanlar Uslu, Seza. "Pera'da Resim Üretim Ortamı 1844-1916," Ph.D. dissertation, Istanbul Technical University, 2008 and Sinanlar Uslu, Seza. *Pera Ressamları-Pera Sergileri: 1845-1916*, (exh. cat.), İstanbul: Norgunk, 2010.

now used as a catch-all term that included those former Ottoman subjects of *millets* other than Muslim) in positions of power in the artistic field had been replaced by Muslim Turks.²⁰

Hamdullah Suphi was right that the field was mostly left to painters of Turkish-Muslim origin during the transition from empire to nation. But for the artists who were said to have “claimed the field,” it was not as simple an endeavor as he had put it; these painters were neither the vessels for a pure Turkish art, nor were they prepared to formulate what the artistic language of a rapidly homogenizing nation entailed. Contrary to what Hamdullah Suphi would have us believe, while the artistic sphere was demographically Turkified, painting did not become Turkish overnight, if at all.

Unlike the proudly congratulatory tone befitting a state official in Hamdullah Suphi’s opening speech for the 1923 Galatasaray exhibition, journalist and novelist Yakup Kadri’s²¹ review of the same salon, while still cautiously hopeful for the future of Turkish painting, was less generous about its current state and perhaps more reflective of the frustrations that would get increasingly vocalized in the following years:

I feel that most of the works in this exhibition are devoid of what we call creative value. I feel that the owners of these works are not able to discern between a work of art and craft. I feel that for the last five years, these pieces of the world that hang in four-cornered frames, organized like small and large windows in the salons of the Galatasaray school are not yet reflections of a creative prowess. And this world, with all its colors and forms, is far from moving our soul. But has any other branch of the Turkish fine arts been able to achieve a greater development than painting? Is this expression of power more present in our poetry or prose? I sense that it is dangerous to make such a comparison. I feel that literature and painting are more or less walking side by side. [...] Is it possible that when the creative genius of a nation is

²⁰ The exceptions were few and far in between, to name a few, Armenian Viçen Arslanyan continued to teach at Galatasaray high school, and photographs with students in the 1920s attest to Hralious Ksantopoulos teaching at the School of Fine Arts. More research is required on this artist of Rum origin. For the aforementioned photographs see: Giray, Kıymet. *Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltıraşlar Birliği Akbank Kültür Sanat: İstanbul* (1997): 33-34. Both names also appear in the roster of Galatasaray exhibitions.

²¹ Yakup Kadri [Karaosmanoğlu] (1889-1974) was a journalist, novelist, and later, parliamentarian and diplomat. His novels reflect the societal tensions that arose with the transition from empire to republic. A Turkish nationalist, Yakup Kadri had an active role in the Turkish Hearts, and was also one of the founding members of the leftist *Kadro* journal that advocated for a classless society reached through statist economic policy. Like the name of the journal, which is derived from “Cadre,” Yakup Kadri can easily be identified as one of the prominent figures of the Kemalist *cadre* of intellectuals that firmly believed in the Turkish revolution, but he was also one of the few who were not afraid to criticize it.

developed, its reflection would only be seen in a single branch [of the arts]? This genius is like the sun, once it has risen, it will illuminate all corners of the country, warming its every crevice, and its essence will gush out from every field. We cannot [yet] contend that we are in the eve of such a season. In fact, we feel with deep anxiety that our aesthetic standards are decreasing from day to day. Just as we do not have a poet deserving of praise, neither in music nor in painting have we raised an artist who could rival a fourth-degree European artist in the last forty years, and the chances of it happening is decreasing by the day. I am therefore obliged to admit with great pain that the 5th Exhibition of Painting is worse than the one before...²²

Tinged with Enlightenment imagery, describing the national consciousness in arts rising like a sun over the country, Yakup Kadri's evaluation intends no discouragement, but neither does it hide his disappointment. He also introduces another trope to be repeated in the following years, by critics as well as by practitioners; the measuring of the Turkish artist against a European counterpart, hence, measuring the national self against another after which it is in the process of molding itself. In the years to follow, repeatedly asking 'why is it that there aren't any artists of the same European caliber yet' will set this comparative frame deep into the psyche of the artists, always imagining the day when their work will be appreciated on the world stage, finally affirmed and welcomed by the European artists and critics.²³ These artists will also consequently struggle with a divided self, oscillating between emulation and invention; between individual expression and national coherence, not able to choose between their formative

²² Yakup Kadri, "Sanayi-i Nefise Beşinci Resim Sergisi," *Yeni Mecmua*, August 2, 1923: 309-313. "Hissediyorum ki, gördüğüm eserlerin büyük bir kısmı bediay-ı kıymet dediğimiz şeyden mahrumdur. Hissediyorum ki, bu eserlerin sahipleri henüz san'atla zanaatı birbirinden ayıramayacak derecede afakidirler. Hissediyorum ki, 5 seneden beri, her yaz sonunda Galatasaray mektebinin divanhanelerinde irili ufaklı pencereler gibi sıra sıra dizilen dört köşeli çerçevelerin içinde seyrettiğimiz alem parçaları henüz hiçbir yaratıcı kudretin ifadesi değildir. Ve bu alem bütün renkleriyle, şekilleriyle bizim ruhumuzu harekete geçirmekten çok uzaktır. Lakin Türk Sanayi-i Nefise'sin herhangi başka bir şubesi acaba resimden daha büyük bir inkişafa mazhar olmuş mudur? Resmimizde bulmadığımız ayar edici kudretin ifadesi acaba şiirimizde, nesrimizde daha ziyade mi mahsusdur? Bu hususta kat'i bir hüküm vermenin veya bir mukayese yapmanın pek tehlikeli olduğunu hissediyorum. Bana öyle geliyor ki memleketimizde 'edebiyat'la 'resim' hemen hemen yan yana yürümektedir. [...] Esasen, kabil midir ki bir milletin yaratıcı dehası inkişaf etsin de bunun tezahüratı yalnız bir şubede görülsün; bu deha güneş gibidir, bir defa doğdu mu, memleketin her tarafını aydınlatır, her tarafı ısıtır ve her sahada ayn-ı hayat usaresininin feveranını husule getirir. Biz henüz böyle bir mevsimin arifesinde bulunduğumuzu iddia edemeyiz. Hatta; heyhat... Evet hatta bedii seviyemizin günden güne düşmekte olduğunu bile, derin bir endişe ile hissetmekteyiz. Kırk seneden beri, şiirde hamde mûsavi olacak bir şairimiz yetişmediği gibi resimde ve musikide herhangi bir dördüncü derecedeki Avrupalı sanatkara rakip olabilecek tek bir sanatkarımız yetişmemiştir ve bu ihtimal günden güne azalmaktadır. Nitekim 5. Resim Sergisi heyet-i umumiyesi itibariyle 4.ye nisbeten durdur." I am indebted to Asuman and Adnan Çoker, who not only provided me with this article from their archive but also its transliteration from Ottoman script to the Latin Alphabet.

²³ This is precisely the position explained by Meltem Ahıska as "occidentalism," the notion of an observing Western eye for whom being modern gets performed. Ahıska, Meltem. "Occidentalism: The Historical Fantasy of the Modern." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102, no. 2 (June 16, 2003): 351-79.

influences (European artistic training) and the search for what is (supposedly) to be found within (a Turkish core): it is this distinct quality that will come to define the syncretism of the Turkish painters of this period. Yakup Kadri characterizes what is exhibited as not art but rather as paintings that are yet to evolve from the stage of craft, in other words, *techne*, setting Turkish art on an evolutionary road to finding itself. Had it not surpassed this technical stage already? Yakup Kadri is obtuse when it comes to pointing a way forward for the artists. As his article is generously illustrated, it gives us a sense of the full range of artworks displayed in the exhibition, and hence, a fairly good idea of the spectrum of paintings and artistic approaches just before the foundation of the republic. Reproduction of images in printed material had become much easier during this time, and for a magazine such as *Yeni Mecmu'a* [New Magazine] (published by none other than Ziya Gökalp) that put novelty on the forefront and embraced modern techniques, it was important to give ample space and coverage to the Galatasaray exhibition. The cover of the magazine, which featured Feyhaman [Duran]'s portrait of his wife, painter Güzin [Duran], (also an artist herself, and one of the exhibitors), proudly announced that fifteen more illustrations from the exhibition could be found inside. [Fig. I.7-8] The three paintings picked by the jury for Mustafa Kemal mentioned earlier take precedence in the illustrations and are captioned as such. First is Namık İsmail's *Harvest* showing a sunny field of wheat under a blue sky with several oxen in the middle ground as a healthy and dignified farmer takes a water break in the foreground, reminiscent of Jean-François Millet's *Gleaners* in its sun-drenched pastel color-palette, monumental size and idealized serenity of provincial life. [Fig. I.9] Next to this painting on the same page we see Çallı İbrahim's mythological scene *Fecir* with three female nudes (also set aside for Mustafa Kemal) followed by another mythological scene by the same artist on the next page called *Santor* (known today as *Kayalıklarda Yıkanan Çıplaklar* [Nudes Bathing on Rocks]). [Fig. I.10] Also on this page is Sami [Yetik]'s painting depicting a villager woman atop an oxcart on a rough road, pulled by two oxen titled *Last Lights*, the final painting selected for the leader of the nation. The subject matter of the painting combined with its title hints at this scene as functioning on a symbolic register; it attests to the makeshift nature of the Anatolian resistance movement, which required everyone's participation, including elderly women making difficult crossings

in mountains, who in this case might as well be returning from carrying arms or food to a battlefield. The personal and modest resources like the oxcart with which the War of Independence was won had quickly become a popular theme for painters and would be repeated in the following years.²⁴ This painting, typical of Sami, is accompanied in the magazine spread by two distinct portraits, an oval-shaped portrait of Abdülhak Hamid Bey (the romantic poet and playwright Abdülhak Hâmid Tarhan, 1852-1937) pictured as the Europeanized intellectual he was, complete with a monocle by Namık İsmail. The other portrait is a traditional folk figure/irregular militia member from Western Anatolia titled *Bir Zeybek* by Ruhi Bey. The two portraits together present the wide range of Turkish types, not necessarily to cater to the European Orientalist sensibility (as it would have been the case, say in the Pera salons twenty years earlier), but more likely to represent the nation to itself. The pairing on the page reveals the different avenues through which painters could go about this task. From the lower-class provincial figure of the Zeybek depicted to ethnographic precision, to the restrained veneration of the highly literate and Westernized urban intellectual poet (who perhaps also serves as a reflection of the elite circles that most of these artists were part of), the juxtaposition signals another dichotomy of the self that Turkish artists would find themselves in; which one were they to embrace and to what extent? Which one was the one to be taken as the image of the nation, to be represented by the artists? Could the two images, hence the two identities, somehow coalesce, get reconciled into a synthetic whole? These were the questions that would occupy the bureaucratic elite tasked with strengthening national sentiment as well as the art intelligentsia that would fully put its support behind the new government in the first decades of the republic.

On the following pages covering the exhibition are featured a seascape by student Refik [Epikman], a typical landscape by Hikmet [Onat] Bey depicting a small boat and dinghies on the shores of the Golden Horn, and another of a fleeting moment of sunrise and its reflections caught by Nazmi Ziya.

²⁴ However, just a few years later, in 1929, depicting the oxcart was criticized by a minister for signifying backwardness. The oxcart in this sense went from a symbol of sacrifice during hard times to serving as an image that reflected the anxiety of the Kemalist cadre that modernization was not happening as fast as they would like. Minister Celal Sahir's criticism reveals this uneasy sentiment: "It seems to us that the roads and transportation vehicles in our country will completely change and become modern; but this oxcart that travels on nameless roads without stopping will not reach its destination." Celal Sahir, "Altıncı Resim Sergisi", *Hayat*, vol. 6, no: 135, July 15, 1929: 11-15.

The last two artists are those who were known to use the Impressionistic visual idiom to depict romanticized views of Istanbul amidst fast transformation, albeit within their own signature styles.

[Fig.I.8] These were followed by a typical mosque courtyard by Şevket [Dağ] Bey, a battle scene from the War of Independence by Mehmed Ruhi [Arel], and the kind of work that would peter out from these exhibitions in the following years: a manuscript illumination depicting the life of Prophet Joseph by calligrapher Tahir (these kinds of hybrid works were grouped under “tenzip” or, *illumination*, before completely disappearing from the salons). Finally, the loving portrait by Feyhaman of his painter wife Güzin repeated from the cover, followed by a landscape by Güzin herself, the only painting by a female artist, its reproduction the smallest in size on this five-page spread about the exhibition.²⁵

Aside from the hybrid work of Tahir Bey,²⁶ the selection of paintings illustrated in the magazine was reflective of the varied but consistent output of artists who had been presenting their work in the annual salons. In his review, Yakup Kadri complains that the Turkish painters do not read histories or philosophies of art, that they lack aesthetic excitement and passion. He says: “It is hard to discern what all these forms and colors are for” and urges them to move from craft to art, and to display true aesthetic conviction. In the following years, while they continued to receive the full support of the state, both the Galatasaray salons in Istanbul, and their Ankara counterpart, *Sanayi-i Nefise Sergisi* [The Fine Arts Exhibition] faced criticism in newspapers and magazines from the intelligentsia, and some were not as compassionate as Yakup Kadri’s either. While the Ankara exhibitions, attended by the highest ranks of

²⁵ Out of the fifty-three artists who showed works in this particular Galatasaray exhibition, eighteen were women, almost comprising one-third of the exhibitors. The spread in *Yeni Mecmua* does not reflect this ratio.

²⁶ I have not come across this kind of work in state collections, neither is it mentioned in the limited art criticism of the time. Starting in 1924, the Galatasaray exhibitions featured a separate section on “tezhip” [illumination] as well as one for sculpture and another for graphic works called “ilân” later referred to as “afiş” [poster/advertisement]. In 1926, there was a section called “hak” [engravings] that featured work by Fikret Mualla. In 1928, *tezhip* was relegated to the status of *sanayi-i tezyinat* [decorative arts] and grouped together with leatherwork, ceramics and other decorative works. By the 1940s, this section had completely disappeared from the exhibition brochures. Somewhere between the thoroughly Westernized oil paintings of the other artists in the Galatasaray exhibitions and the traditional manuscript illumination that had been largely abandoned by the 18th century, this type of work is not historically studied either. Perhaps the absence of Tahir Bey’s work and its likes from the literature marks another anxiety about hybridizing tradition, or perhaps manuscript illumination was seen as backward and not deserving of as much attention at the time. But what does the current lack of scholarship on the subject say about the interests of historians today?

the new state, were not as casually attacked, the Istanbul salons and their repetitive nature did not escape the critics, who were increasingly intolerant in their reviews.²⁷ A staunch critic of the Galatasaray exhibitions, poet and journalist Ahmet Haşim had gone as far as likening the state of the artists who participated in these salons to the double misfortune of the blind who get lost in the depths of a dark forest when their guide drops dead, a metaphor borrowed from Belgian playwright Maurice Maeterlink's play *The Sightless (Les aveugles, 1890)*. Ahmet Haşim, who also taught art history and aesthetics classes at the Istanbul School of Fine Arts and at its counterpart for women, İnas Sanayi-i Nefise, said: "...no doubt, our painters are not blind. How could they be, they are neither ears nor nose. Or feet. They are solely a set of eyes, turned towards life, light, and the mystery of what is between the ground and the air. But they cannot see [...] and they continue to struggle in the forests of their spirits, the entrance and exit of which are completely unbeknownst to them."²⁸ By the third iteration of the Ankara exhibition, which included 120 paintings, the question of why a world-renowned painter was yet to be one of the graduates of the Istanbul School of Fine Arts got raised again, and a demand was made for the exhibitions to be richer, both in quality and quantity.²⁹ Despite the disappointment expressed by certain writers, the state was still the greatest patron of painting, and attendance numbers for the annual exhibition in Ankara were on the rise; the support that the new republic threw behind these salons and their extensive coverage in the press (both positive and negative) gradually made exhibition-going into a regular activity for the public in the capital.³⁰ The popularity of the Galatasaray exhibitions on the other hand, further diminished when the Sanayi-i Nefise Birliđi [The Union of Fine Arts], which was established in 1926 as the official organizational body for both salons, decided that same year to open the annual exhibition first in Ankara.

²⁷ Elif Naci, *10 Yılda Resim*: 12-13. According to Naci, as soon as the 1925 salon in Istanbul opened, the newspapers, as if they had made a pact, spoke of its poor nature.

²⁸ Ahmet Haşim, *İleri* no: 930-933, August 17-20, 1920 quoted in Elif Naci, *10 Yılda Resim* (1933): 8 and *Galatasaray Sergileri* (2003): 32.

²⁹ "Maarif Vekâletinde Resim Sergisi" [Painting Exhibition at the Ministry of Education], *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye*, March 1, 1926.

³⁰ The Ankara exhibition in 1927 was visited by 1500 people who paid an entry fee. With students and invitations, the number of visitors was 2500. The Ministry of Education bought 2300 lira worth of paintings, the parliament spent 500, not counting those bought by the Ankara Municipality or the Ministry of the Interior. Elif Naci, *10 Yılda Resim*, TAŞ, 1933: 19.

This meant that the artists would only show their unsold works in Istanbul afterwards. In other words, Mustafa Kemal's plan had begun to work in molding art patrons out of newly established state institutions, hence making it desirable for the artists to show their work in the city, which, in turn, enlivened the otherwise arid cultural life in Ankara.³¹

This dissertation is a critical history of modern art in Turkey, that looks at the years that envelop this moment in 1923. Roughly spanning three decades, it focuses on the formative years and painting practices of two generations of artists who were active during the foundation of the Republic. I follow the trajectories of a selection of painters who, over the course of their career, became leading figures in the Turkish art world. They contributed to the art discourse in Turkey not only through their artworks but also through their positions as writers, teachers, gatekeepers, and tastemakers. After attending the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul, both generations went to Europe to further their artistic education, before and after the Great War. While some attended the École de Beaux-Arts in Paris, others opted for various independent ateliers; they respectively returned to their country as young and ambitious artists with their freshly altered views on painting, ready to challenge the artistic principles instilled in them earlier in Istanbul, both in practice as artists and in their pedagogical approach as art instructors. They rose up to what they interpreted as academicism, claimed the vanguardist position,³² opened exhibitions, circulated

³¹ However, this would be only momentary, though the annual exhibitions in Ankara were significant events, Istanbul remained the primary location of artistic production. The School of Fine Arts in Istanbul continued to assert its significance as the hub of artistic discourse; it was the main employer of the artists and also retained its status as the designated advisor to the government in matters of the arts. Especially in the 1930s, the school organized significant local exhibitions and also was entrusted with maintaining the State Museum of Painting and Sculpture that opened in 1937. Turkey's artistic participation in the international circuit, which also began in the mid-1930s, would also be organized by the school's administration.

³² Following Wendy Shaw, it can be argued that the appropriated use of *avant-garde* for their objectives can be seen in relation to the term's origins in the French military, as the artists in question saw themselves at the service of revolutionary change (which proves apt in the context of the Turkish Republic). Shaw says that "In contrast to the bohemian avant-garde of Western artistic modernism, the Ottoman, and later Turkish version of artistic modernity colluded with a political avant-garde guided by state policies of modernization." Shaw, Wendy M. K. *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011:132. It can also be protested, as Sibel Bozdoğan does in her study of modernism and architecture in early Republican Turkey, that this vanguardist declaration prevented an actual avant-garde from developing, since these painters promoted a "docile modernism," devoid of social critique. Bozdoğan says: "Giving up technocratic detachment and artistic autonomy, they surrendered to the conformity of the republican ideology and the benefit of becoming the cultural elite of the nation and prevented the rise of an artistic avant-garde." Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Studies in Modernity and

abroad to serve as artistic missionaries of their nation, attempted to find perpetual principles for a Turkish art, struggled to find their artistic identities, and got labeled as European imitators. Pressed between divergent expectations from the outside as well as the inside, they oscillated between the search for the universal and an insistence on the local. They were venerated as teachers, followed as critics, took advantage of their position as bureaucrats. Sometimes perceived to be too advanced, and at other times characterized as tragically belated, they finally came to be seen as having produced an artistic baggage worthy to be rebelled against in the 1950s. If their academic legacy was later seen to have impeded more critical, and less formulaic modes of artmaking, I propose that they are now in need of a proper history. I posit in this dissertation that the modernism they came to represent was *syncretic*, as they attempted to suture divergent artistic traditions, making art for and representing a multiplicity of peoples that were brought together—or in some cases expelled—under the unifying powers of a nation. Continually striving for synthesis and unconditionally committed to the cohesion of their nation, these artists had an impossible mission. Their syncretic modernism has formal and social complexities that prove infinitely interesting to study, with implications for our understanding of modernisms around the world and for emerging theories of the tensions between modernist art and the modernization of nation-states.³³

In histories of non-western modernisms, we come across designations such as hybrid, cosmopolitan, alternative, or translated. These grapple with a Euro-American canon that accepts modernism as a set of creative adaptations to modernization while rarely granting innovation to the non-West as such. More recently, scholars have acknowledged the tension between localized heterogeneity

National Identity. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, c2001., 2001: 152. Not dismissing these positions entirely, I add that the use of the term *avant-garde* also signals a perception of history that distinguished these artists from their predecessors; it testifies to their view that there was already an academicism against which they needed to position themselves.

³³ In his article “Battle for Art,” curator and writer David Elliot pits the autonomy of modernism against “a corporate view of culture” that is exemplified by artistic policies adopted by Soviet Russia, Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany. Turkey and its cultural policy as it is manifested in the paintings that are the subject of this dissertation present a challenge to this view. While art gets instrumentalized in Turkey’s modernization, as this dissertation will show, art was neither fully compliant nor entirely autonomous. The established notion in art history that art becomes the product of cultural revolutions or positions itself fully against policy as the true *avant-garde* falls short of accounting for the complicated and nuanced relationship between art, artists and the state in Turkey. Elliot, David. “Battle for Art,” *Art and Power: Europe under the Dictators 1930-1945* (eds. Dawn Ades, et al.); Thames & Hudson Ltd: London (1995): 30-35.

versus the claims of modernism to the universal. If modernism labels the aesthetic mode of relating to modernity and modernization (wherever and whenever that might be), I posit that a new term is needed for thinking about and understanding Turkish modernism: syncretic. Here, I take José Gatti and Marcos Becquer's revival of the term in *Third Text*, in an essay rescuing syncretism from its negative connotation in religious and ethnographic studies (in which it signified a transitional moment), and restore to it a more neutral, and rather dynamic understanding of disparate elements fused into a strategic alliance.

Epistemologically, syncretism comes from Plutarch's Crete, (syn- 'together' + kretoi 'Cretan') where distinct Cretan communities came together to face a common enemy, despite their differences. The 17th century modern Latin revival of the word was, of course, in relation to reconciling differences in Christian theology, and later took on the more extensive meaning of a fusion of different religious beliefs. In the 18th century, Diderot expanded the reach of the term further in his dictionary to encompass a concordance of eclectic sources in any field.³⁴ In a strategic *detournément*, this dissertation will call back the term to the vicinity of its birthplace, to designate a set of aesthetic and intellectual negotiations Turkish artists went through, starting with the last years of the Ottoman Empire and extending into the 1950s, in which they tirelessly tried to achieve a synthesis between the East and the West, to find the prevalent formula for a truly national, modern and authentic art. While their goal was "synthesis," a smooth combination of two simpler things for a more complex compound, I argue that the outcomes remained much more syncretic than synthetic.

Gatti and Becquer posit that syncretism forms in response to changing conditions, signaling "not the pre-ordained telos of a redemptive higher unity contained within a diachronic self-unfolding, but the historicized interchange between elements based on the complex play of differences and affinities in a collective will to hegemonize."³⁵ In other words, acknowledging different configurations of power and shifting systems of difference, syncretism suggests a strategic alignment as the point of contact and

³⁴ Alembert, Jean Le Rond d', Denis Diderot, Pierre Mouchon, and Edwin Binney. "Synchrétistes, Hénotiques, Ou Conciliateurs" in *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*. Paris: Briasson, 1751, volume 15: 748-750.

³⁵ Becquer, Marcos, and José Gatti. "Elements of Vogue." *Third Text* 5, no. 16/17 (September 1991): 70.

negotiation within a given historical condition. (Unlike synthesis, the seams of syncretism remain evident, relations dynamic.) Furthermore, as Gatti and Becquer also point out, while the two sides are mutually modified during this encounter, it is political and temporary. The modifications are not of the kind in which there is a smooth dissolution of difference, but only a relational adjustment, creating not a homogeneous unity but a heterogeneous front, “a ‘formal’ coexistence of components.”³⁶ In the thirty-year period I have chosen as the subject of my dissertation, Turkish sources often repeat the word “sentez” (synthesis) not only as the ultimate solution to finding a mode of art-making that would allow Turkish art to fully realize itself, but also for the country at large, to synthesize itself into an Islamic, Turkish and Western society.³⁷ The repetition of this concept in the literature of the time signals the double-consciousness of ontological difference that Gatti and Becker hint at. However, the Turkish sources point to a tirelessly optimistic and collective belief on the part of cultural producers that there is potential to reconcile this difference. Sometimes bi-focal, and sometimes cross-eyed, this awareness of multiple perspectives either invoked or negated by artists and critics is what makes this thirty-year period remarkable. I supplement this term in the title of the dissertation with another strategically chosen locution: “articulations,” invoking Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe’s theorization, signaling “a political construction from dissimilar elements”³⁸ that gains meaning through geographical positioning. Articulation implies that while representing a unity, a form of connection—in this context painting—is a complex cultural formation, and is a product of negotiation, imposition, resistance and transformation.

³⁶ Ibid.: 69.

³⁷ For societal and cultural synthesis as envisioned by Gökalp, see: Parla, Taha. *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876-1924*. Vol. 35., XXXV. Social, Economic and Political Studies of the Middle East. Boston: BRILL, 1985. Examples also include expressed desires for synthesis as well as discussions of failure. See: Safa, Peyami (1963), *Doğu-Batı Sentezi* (Haz: İsmail Dayı), İstanbul and Safa, Peyami (1938), *Türk İnkılâbına Bakışlar*, İstanbul. The arguments and hopes for artistic synthesis by artists and critics are not as directly theorized and remain more evasive, they will be referred to and cited throughout the chapters.

³⁸ Laclau, Ernesto. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. 2nd ed. London; New York: Verso, 2001: 85.

During the *Tanzimat*—a forty-year period of reorganization spanning the middle of the nineteenth century (1839-1876) and characterized by Westernizing reforms in the Ottoman Empire, what art historian Wendy Shaw calls “a Western modality of art”³⁹ entered Ottoman visual culture. The introduction of the printing press, lithography and photography all happened during this time, but more specifically, art in the Western modality found its unlikely home in the newly established Ottoman military schools, where drawing became a subject of instruction. The *Tanzimat* reforms were mainly undertaken to modernize the Ottoman Empire’s army and to reinvigorate its waning military force. “Modernization” included entirely new points of view—perspectival drawing as well as copying of European prints, postcards and photographs became the point of engagement with new modes of looking and representing. While Ottoman landscapes and portraiture had been, to some extent, formally similar to their contemporaneous European counterparts, they were not modernist enterprises, as they did not subscribe to the idea of destroying an artistic tradition already in place or offering societal critique. However, the existing relationship to representation, between the makers and viewing subjects and the image in Ottoman Empire was to be radically altered. This was a negotiation of the non-perspectivalism of Islamic abstraction, and the non-spatial relationship of miniature painting with that of one-point perspective that had become the norm in the West since the Renaissance. The very act of painting on canvas, incorporating the human figure—especially that of the female—into the visual vocabulary, and using one-point perspective as a window onto another world were in themselves signs of modernization for the Ottoman constituency.

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, Ottoman artists educated abroad—predominantly in France—took on history painting, realism, and even Orientalism in the studios of Gustave Boulanger, Alexandre Cabanel and Jean Leon Gerôme, and were the first ones to struggle with the task of translating and adapting modes of painting learned abroad into the Ottoman context, working either under the patronage of the palace, or more often, as instructors in military academies or high schools. Emerging

³⁹ Shaw, *Ottoman Painting* (2011), see Chapters 1 and 2.

from a different modernity and adoption of European models required an active mode of translation, as Shaw has described, partaking in a constant negotiation of Ottoman sensibilities within a predominantly Muslim society, confronting a lack of affinity with perspectivalism, and all the while working towards Western modes. The Tanzimat was followed by other waves of reform, allowing art to expand into the public sphere slowly but gradually through the establishment of institutions of instruction (such as a Fine Arts Academy, which was founded in 1882, distinct from the military), museums and annual exhibitions. However, in addition to acting as a symbol of modernity within and outside the empire, art in the Western modality was also drawn into other roles, such as serving to glorify the Ottoman Empire. The nineteenth century styles adapted from European academic practice served well in depicting an ideal imperial past, constructing a sense of Ottoman heritage, or eventually serving proto-nationalist propaganda celebrating military might.

The ideologue of Turkish nationalism, sociologist Ziya Gökalp's distinction between "culture" (hars) and "civilization" (medeniyet) echoed ideas from the Tanzimat era, when Ottoman thinkers and reformists thought of borrowed technological modernization (from Europe, primarily) as distinct from cultural assimilation. Gökalp posited civilization as something at the service of all, and culture as the character of the nation.⁴⁰ He and his followers defended their thesis that in Turkey cultural synthesis would take its form from the West, and its content would take shape through local sources. Channeling Ziya Gökalp's influence, artist İpek Duben characterizes how this drive was to be applied in the arts succinctly in the following way: "As with the arms, weapons, and other technologies that were borrowed from the West, so could one take the symphonies, cubic forms, impressionist views; what mattered was to remain connected to the physiology, spirit and melody of the Turkish people and to the colors and topography of the Anatolian soil."⁴¹ However, as this dissertation will illustrate, this was no simple task.

⁴⁰ The location of culture as that of a folk (with both ethnic and linguistic connotations), and civilization as purportedly more universal, has its roots in an 18th century European debate in which German intellectuals plumped for *Kultur* and French savants for *civilisation*. For one influential analysis, see Norbert Elias, "Sociogenesis of the Antithesis Between Kultur and Zivilisation in German Usage," chapter 1 of Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (orig. *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*), 1939.

⁴¹ Duben, İpek. *Türk resmi ve eleştirisi: 1880-1950* (2007): 17-18.

Painting sits in a strange place in Gökalp's delineation between culture and civilization, even though Gökalp himself placed the fine arts strictly within the category of culture. Painting is neither a technology that can be borrowed, nor simply a manifestation of cultural essence, but a reflection of both at the same time, not to be easily delineated into form and content. For the particular history of Turkish modernism at hand, oil painting initially fell in the category of civilization rather than culture; it came on the wings of military technologies that the Ottoman Empire desired to import from Europe. As the creeping of perspectival drawing into the Ottoman military academies illustrates, vision itself, as well as its twin, representation –vision's mode of registration in any given medium– are shaped by both technology, time, and place. Oil-painting is a product of Western civilization as well as its culture, its history is a history of how painting registered social, economic differences as well as scientific shifts on its surface in form as well as in content; painting is an embodiment of how culture and civilization, as understood by Gökalp, are inextricably interwoven. The task of this project is to chart the different ways in which the Ottoman and Turkish painters who embraced this medium attempted to position themselves within this conundrum and attempted to negotiate the dichotomy of content and form; charting how this predicament manifested itself in their paintings is also revelatory of the paradox of Turkish modernization itself.

In a sense, the function of art during the late-Ottoman Empire's second constitutional era (1908-1920) and the early Republic (1923-1945) did not appear to change, holding onto its Western modes that merely became more focused on reinforcing a Turkish-nationalist agenda. Artists were still carrying the flag of modernization through Westernization but were additionally tasked with visualizing the imagined community⁴² that was the new Turkish nation.⁴³ However, simply ascribing patriotic intentions as the sole motivator for the practice of these artists would be taking them too lightly. While attending to the increasing instrumentalization of painting during the period in question, this dissertation aims to illustrate

⁴² Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London; New York; Verso, 2006.

⁴³ Sibel Bozdoğan points that this alignment resonates with contemporaneous state-sanctioned modes of artmaking elsewhere, such as social realism in Soviet Russia and neo-classicism in Weimar Germany. Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building* (2001): 148-149.

that artists were inventive in carving out the space necessary for their individualism, even when they were asked to perform a certain role by the state –which often involved more layers than a narrowly defined patriotic aim and aesthetic program. Consequently, the artworks they produced often function in multiple registers, a testament to their syncretic modernism. While the cultural revolution in Turkey’s early years under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal has been likened to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, Italian Fascism or German National Socialism (and the echoes of Social Realism or an embrace of neo-classicism well-loved by Hitler and Mussolini can all be found in certain work in the history of Turkish painting), in the realm of art, these tendencies neither imposed a repressive aesthetic regime nor was the societal makeup suitable to fully inform or welcome modernist autonomy, leaving artists to operate within a grey area characterized by the particularities of their elite status, a position that can be best compared in its degree of enthusiasm and participation to a sense of *noblesse oblige*.

Another premise of this dissertation is to recognize the continuities during the transition from the Empire into the Republic. The program of sending artists abroad, a defining experience which shaped the work of the artists in this study, was initiated during the last years of the empire, and continued in the early years of the Republic. The two generations of artists I follow are themselves transitional figures; the 1914 generation artists went to the Istanbul School of Fine Arts when societal norms meant a life-class was out of the question, but it was the same painters who were the first Muslim-Turkish artists to exhibit paintings of nudes at the Istanbul salons; only a decade later, in the 1920s, they would become the first instructors who could teach through life-classes at the academy. The second generation I look at, the “children of the revolution” were the first students in these classes. Some of the artists from both generations were trained in oil-painting as well as Ottoman calligraphy; others, while writing in modern Turkish in widely-distributed newspapers, continued to use the Arabic script in their personal correspondence; they danced the fox-trot in parties in the European district of Pera, as well as attending whirling dervish ceremonies in Sufi lodges in the historical peninsula, both of which they recorded in their paintings.

To indulge in understatement, the position of artists during the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic was complicated. While Gökalp’s clear-cut distinction between culture and civilization was problematized by many intellectuals in Turkey in later years, his binary model was influential on the CUP government during the last years of the Ottoman Empire as well as the leader of the Republic Mustafa Kemal and his cultural policies during the single-party rule. In this historical investigation, I trace the careers and work of artists who took on the challenging task set by Gökalp and were therefore destined to operate in a world of binaries. The 1914 generation, the first group of Istanbul Academy graduates to be sent to Paris on the dime of the Ottoman government returned to their homeland amidst the beginning of the First World War, after encountering what had become an academicized Impressionism in Paris. Their initial efforts to foster a public for their paintings—a medium that was viewed with suspicion, especially among the Muslim populace—by organizing annual salons was quickly enmeshed with rising Turkish nationalism and the government’s war-time propaganda efforts. The ensuing occupation of Istanbul further inflicted their artistic practice with questions of identity and instilled in these artists anxieties of influence. The following generation—the children of the revolution⁴⁴—who came of age during a decade of wars (World War 1, 1914-1918; followed by the Turkish War of Independence, 1919-1923) had been trained by the 1914-generation, in other words, the Parisian-educated Muslim-Turks espousing a “belated” Europhilic academic tradition, before they went to Europe themselves. Just a year after its foundation, in 1924, the Turkish Republic quickly resumed the CUP government’s program of sending artists to Europe for further education, despite its strained economy following the War of Independence (1919–22). But the artists were expected to be more than just teachers by the state. There, they were to be molded by the results of another major shift in perspective in European painting: Cubism. While the children of the revolution initially saw their contribution to be bringing the various manifestations of this major development home, they would soon

⁴⁴ This designation was used by artist İpek Duben for painters Turgut Zaim and Nurullah Berk, which I expand to other artists of the same generation that will be included in the scope of this dissertation. Duben, İpek. *Türk Resmi ve Eleştirisi: 1880-1950*. [Turkish Painting and Art Criticism, 1880-1950] Sanat-Estetik: 4. Şişli, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007: 119.

be challenged as importers of a foreign fad, and tasked with producing a *milli sanat* (national art) for which there was not any specific formal vocabulary beyond the “friendly naturalism” of the 1914 generation to emulate.⁴⁵ Additionally for this particular generation, sending artists to Europe was part of a larger educational push for the Turkish government, which planned to put these young painters to work as teachers upon their return to the country. While these artists were both indebted to and committed to the new republic, they were not willing to forsake their artistic careers as low-level teachers in Anatolian provinces. Hence, despite Mustafa Kemal’s efforts, Istanbul remained the cultural center, and the artists refused to live elsewhere. As bureaucrats under public service, both generations were asked to illustrate their political alignment with the reforms of a modernizing revolutionary state through painting, while artistically, they were also expected by the intelligentsia to carve out the necessary space for aesthetic experimentation and investigation. The way they could lay a claim to the “modern” (the central aspiration of the Young-Turk-governed Ottoman Empire as well as Kemalist Turkey) was to aspire to a self-proclaimed avant-garde, but as they were simultaneously participating in state-sanctioned modes of artmaking, they fully defy the Western conceptions of this term. Existing art historical theory of the avant-garde fails to provide interpretive models for this phenomenon.⁴⁶

In 1933, in his speech marking the tenth anniversary of the Republic, the leader of the nation Mustafa Kemal himself again emphasized the fine arts as the primary vehicle through which the level of “contemporary civilization” was to be reached and surpassed.⁴⁷ In Turkish painting, the stylistic choices

⁴⁵ One thing to problematize here is what art historian Wendy Shaw calls a “friendly naturalism” (often referred to as “Impressionism” in local histories) in that these artists have this unacknowledged link to *Turkification* in the academy, and their placement is less than friendly from the point of view of those asked to leave during the rise of ethnic nationalism. The 1914 generation was Muslim Turks, taking the place of their cosmopolitan teachers, including many Armenian and Greek Ottomans. These former imperial subjects had gradually started leaving the empire and later the Turkish nation-state, their departures hastened through population exchanges, forced migrations, and pogroms. This will be further elaborated in Chapter 2.

⁴⁶ For example, Peter Bürger sets an opposition between the artistic autonomy of the modernists and avant-garde, designating the avant-garde struggle to bring art closer to the social as the more heroic undertaking. This, and other examples of defining modernism and the avant-garde from within a strictly Western European or Anglo-American point of view fall short of providing models that can attend to geographical and socio-political specificity that remain outside these Euro-centric limitations, and sadly remain popular but inefficient. See Bürger, Peter. *Theory of the Avant-Garde*. Theory and History of Literature: V. 4. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c1984., 1984.

⁴⁷ Art historian Wendy Shaw has interpreted this national aim as a “double-edged sword,” as Mustafa Kemal took the notion of *contemporary* (first used as *muassır*, then referred to as *çağdaş*, in Turkish) as a marker of progress in

of Turkish artists educated in Europe seem to follow a thirty-year delay in the beginning of the 20th century, as with the 1914 generation, loosely associated with Impressionism, or their successors, who adopted modes of deformation informed by Cubism in the late 1920s and early 1930s, well noted in local art histories. In this dissertation, their easily recognizable stylistic belatedness from the teleological lens of modernist art history is not of central importance; the notion of belatedness is only significant in understanding the mindset of the Turkish intelligentsia; belatedness as always already inscribed into Turkish consciousness is itself useful in understanding the predicament of the artists in question. My approach is to evaluate these seemingly awkward translations within the understanding of modernity's own differential time frames that result in asynchronicities; the use of syncretism to characterize these painters' work is also intended to capture the asynchronous nature of their experience of modernity in describing the modernism they came to embody.

This artistic predicament (perhaps we could label such surprising conjunctions: the avant-garde bureaucrat, the nationalist Impressionist, the Constructive Cubist or, as I argue, the syncretic modernist) not only provides a rich ground of investigation for the art historian, but also asks the researcher to occupy a bi-focal position similar to that of the artists, demanding to be always alert to semantic shifts, the relativism of canonical frameworks, and slippages of meaning. While art was definitely instrumentalized in the late Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic to express its efforts of modernization, the military might of its people, the revolutions of the Republic, and the greatness of its leader, it was also enmeshed in an ongoing struggle to find the formal language and artistic idioms that would best fit the needs of a new nation whose legacy of previous, non-perspectival traditions of art-making had long been abandoned.⁴⁸ Artists had to actively pursue uncharted territory to attain the modern,

a teleological sequence: "Through the self-consciousness of this objective, the nation becomes always already excluded from the benchmark of contemporary civilization." Shaw, *Ottoman Painting* (2011): 173.

⁴⁸ While the Ottoman Empire had implemented westernizing reforms since the *Tanzimat*, this period of modernization was downplayed during the early years of the Republic, claiming its revolutions to be much more far-reaching and transformative. Painting in the Western modality had been practiced in the Ottoman Empire for at least a hundred years and was already a signifier of modernization by way of Westernization, with some educational and exhibitionary frameworks already in place. This role ascribed to painting was, in this sense, a continuation rather than a break in the way it was instrumentalized. Chapter 1 will focus on some of these continuities.

reach the cultural ideals of the nation, and attend to their own individual aesthetic positions. Oil painting had been a marker of modernity and social emancipation already in the Ottoman period; it was a vessel in attaining a level of civilization contemporaneous with the rest of the world (read Europe), a crucial tool in the ongoing pursuit of technological modernity, and *also* a mode of self-expression. Attending to the specific historical, political and aesthetic realms of this thirty-year period, this dissertation analyzes how the two generations of painters negotiated these challenges.

The first chapter, titled “Culture of the Copy” locates Ottoman and Turkish painting in a mimetic episteme. It argues that with the entrance of the Western modality of oil painting came the culture of the copy; this is a framework that both normalizes imitation and looks at its varied results departing from the ‘original’ that can be characterized as emulations, homages, facsimiles, appropriations, translations and assimilations as modes of a necessary strategy of mimicry in syncretic modernism. It intertwines three stories as they relate to the copy: the collection of copies commissioned by Osman Hamdi’s brother Halil Edhem in the 1910s, the ‘fabricated’ scandal of copies submitted to the *Exhibitions of the Revolution* in the early 1930s, and the challenges faced by painter Maide Arel when the copies she was asked to make are refused by a committee formed at the Istanbul Fine Art Academy in the early 1950s. Through the interweaving of these three moments, mimicry becomes part of syncretic modernism’s narrative of progress towards originality as it relates to an unfolding towards artistic production with a national character. By blurring the line between imitation and invention, this chapter also aims to reconsider narratives of modernism and their stake and investment in originality.

The second chapter, “From Techne to Turkification” focuses on the formative years and the works of the 1914 generation. Attentive to the affiliations of its protagonists, it constructs a narrative of presence and absence in painting. In addition to illustrating who was included and who was sidelined in the Istanbul art world during and after the First World War, this chapter also addresses the emerging anxieties of Muslim Turkish painters as they searched for what might constitute the national element in their work, during a time of rising nationalism. Going against the grain of existing scholarship by Turkish

art historians that interprets the work by these artists as merely a stylistic import or a superficial formal engagement with established European trends, I trace their adoption of the Impressionistic brushstroke as an active negotiation in finding a happy middle between technical freedom and tradition, namely, the *juste-milieu*, and of course, further evidence of a *syncretic modernism*.

The third chapter, “From Perception to Conception” takes on the task of tracing the famed arrival of Cubism to Turkey. Following “new painting” and “new painters” from their early activities in Istanbul to their pedagogical stops in Europe, this chapter identifies two key figures, namely, André Lhote and Hans Hofmann, who introduced Turkish painters to new painting practices that emerged in Europe in between the wars. By focusing on the interests, philosophical influences, and personal motivations and teaching methods of these two artists in particular, this chapter establishes what kinds of Cubism informed *küçük*, a catchall term that characterized and mischaracterized the work of young Turkish artists who practiced new modes of painting, which, though not strictly Cubist, marked the disappearance of the illusionistic aims of painting in Turkey. The chapter also briefly investigates *küçük* from the point of view of reception, tracing the reactions of viewers, motivations of reviewers, and the inclinations of its theorists.

The conclusion also marks a collision; the 1914 generation and the “children of the revolution” came head-to-head when new modes of painting and the influences of its European exporters found their way into the Istanbul Fine Arts Academy in the early 1930s. Touching upon the larger academic reforms that changed the face of higher education in Turkey, this final chapter once again underlines the reliance of the Turkish artists as well as the Turkish state on European experts. It also more directly addresses the instrumentalization of painting and sculpture by the Turkish republic, and how developing theories of cultural identity in the early 1930s, and the ensuing shifts in cultural policy after the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the late 1930s manifested in painting. This final chapter ends with a nod to the resulting possibilities of a much-awaited Turkish synthesis in painting, though it hesitates to present a happy ending, keeping one foot firmly planted in the argument for syncretic modernism.

If paintings are “pieces of the world that hang in four-cornered frames,” as Yakup Kadri described them in his review of the Galatasaray salon in Istanbul in 1923, they embody within their make-up not only a piece of the world, but also a worldview; they present particular pieces of the world rendered in particular ways. The aim of this dissertation is to understand the worldview that surrounded, shaped and informed the artists it studies. Just as one cannot separate the one-point perspective from ideas and inventions that fueled Renaissance humanism, or untie Impressionism from the visual developments in late-19th century or from the sense of individuality that developed in France contemporaneously; nor could one think of Cubist deformation without the colonial circulation of African and Oceanic artifacts, or the artistic encounters allowed by the social circuitries in Paris. Oil-painting in the 20th century—a product of European culture that came to be embraced by others, including my Ottoman and Turkish protagonists—had already begun to welcome other civilizations onto its surface, changing from within. In this dissertation, I try to look at the paintings of the artists in question from this manifold position, as products of their era, markers of their place, revelatory of societal and personal dynamics as well as reflections of larger philosophical forces and economic conditions. They are reliable documents as much as they are unstable repositories, allowing for slippages of meaning that are dependent just as much on the idiosyncrasies of their maker as they are on the position of the viewer. In this sense, they are also mirrors, the reflections of which I try to evaluate with both a generous and a discerning eye, simultaneously attempting to cast away the prejudices of my Western art historical training, and the inclinations informed by my place of birth. In this dissertation, I read the paintings, exhibition histories, institutional shifts, artist testaments, articles and reviews that shaped Turkish painting over the period in question as *articulations* of a complex system, presenting a counter-history of one modernism among many. This, I argue, strove for synthesis but ultimately remained syncretic—a strategic amalgam of Turkey’s highly polyglot reality that refused to be smoothed into a synthetic whole.

Chapter 1: The Culture of the Copy

“One must not think that the exclusive love I have for this painter [Raphael] causes me to ape him; which would be such a difficult thing indeed, even impossible. I think I would know how to be original by imitating. Hey! Who, among the greats, has not imitated? One can’t make something out of nothing, and it is by making others’ inventions familiar that one makes them good. The men who cultivate letters and the arts are all children of Homer.”⁴⁹

Jean-Dominique Ingres, 1821

“Lately it’s been said that our art has entered an era of creation. Empty words. We haven’t yet properly understood Western art; how can we create something new in a sphere we don’t understand? In my opinion, it is sufficient for us to reach western artists through imitation for now. If creative imitators surface during this time, good for them.”⁵⁰

Oktay Rifat, 1957

“In order to partake of Western modernism, Ottoman and Turkish art was bound to be a copy, and thereby to forgo the basic principle of modernism.”⁵¹

Wendy M. Shaw, 2011

⁴⁹ “Il ne faut pas croire que l’amour exclusif que j’ai pour ce peintre (Raphaël) me fasse son singe: chose d’ailleurs si difficile, ou mieux, impossible. Je pense que je saurai être original en imitant. Eh! qui, dans les grands, qui n’a pas imité? On ne fait rien de rien, et c’est en se rendant les inventions des autres familières que l’on en fait de bonnes. Les hommes qui cultivent les lettres et les arts sont tous enfants d’Homère.” Jean-Dominique Ingres quoted in Delaborde, Henri. *Ingres: sa vie, ses travaux, sa doctrine*. Paris: Henri Plon, 1870: 96. I first came across a partial use of these lines quoted in Artun, Deniz. “Am I Obligated to Imitate You? On Copying the Grande Odalisque for the Ottoman Collection of Paintings Elvah-ı Nakşiye.” *Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques* 70, no. 4 (2017): 1141–1158: 1147. <https://doi.org/10.1515/asia-2016-0039>.

⁵⁰ “Son zamanlarda sanatımızın bir yaratma çağına girdiği söyleniyor. Boş söz. Daha batı sanatını doğru dürüst anlamış değiliz; nasıl olur da anlamadığımız bir alanda yeni birşey yaratabiliriz? Bence, taklit yoluyla batı sanatçılarına erişelim, bize şimdilik yeter. Bu arada yaratıcı taklitçiler de çıkarsa onlara ne mutlu.” Rifat, Oktay. “Taklit” [Imitation], *Esi*, no:13, January 1957: 10. All translations from Turkish and French to English are the author’s unless otherwise noted.

⁵¹ Shaw, Wendy M. K. *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. London: IBTauris, 2011: 182-183.

“...the intensity of the search for the original depends on the amount of passion and the number of interests triggered by its copies. No copies, no original. In order to stamp a piece with the mark of originality, you need to apply to its surface the huge pressure that only a great number of reproductions can provide.”⁵²

Latour and Loewe, 2011

Part 1: The Original Copies of the Photo-Interpreters

In 1980, Turkish art historian Sezer Tansuğ published an article in which he shared a recent discovery: Some of the earliest known Ottoman painters of the mid-to-late 19th century, loosely grouped under the umbrella term “Türk Primitifleri” [Turkish Primitives], who came from military backgrounds⁵³ and mostly painted eerily placid landscapes devoid of figures, had not worked from nature *en-plein-air* as assumed, but had instead based their paintings on photographs.⁵⁴ The figureless views of the shores of the Bosphorus, the grounds of the Yıldız Palace gardens and other various residences of the sultans built in European styles had in fact been based on various photographs, mainly from the Abdulhamid albums.⁵⁵

⁵² Latour, Bruno and Adam Loewe. “The Migration of the Aura, or How to Explore the Original Through Facsimiles,” *Switching Codes* (ed. Thomas Bartscherer), University of Chicago Press, 2011: 279.

⁵³ The notion of landscape and linear perspective entered the vocabulary of Ottoman artists through military education. The Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun (1793) [Imperial Land Engineering School] and Mekteb-i Ulumu Harbiye-i Şahane (1834) [Imperial School of Military Sciences] were the schools where art classes were initially taught; both were founded before the Fine Arts Academy (1883). The classes offered in these institutions which aimed at training military personnel as well as engineer-architects were *menazır* (perspective) and painting classes based on copying from already two-dimensional work such as photographs and European prints. Cezar, Mustafa. *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi*, vol.1; Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1971: 374-399.

⁵⁴ Tansuğ, Sezer. “A New Fact in Our Art of Painting that Surfaced: Late 19th century Photo-Interpreters,” *Sanat Çevresi*, no:23, September 1980: 4-7. There is some contestation about who made this discovery first. Sezer’s article mentions that the discovery was made while he was working on a book on Turkish painting together with painter Adnan Çoker. According to Tansuğ, while Çoker had this hypothesis, he provided initial material evidence by locating a photograph that exactly matched a painting in an album (most likely by Abdullah Brothers). More matches were made by examining the Abdülhamid albums later, which featured photos from many studios and photographers working in the empire. In interviews, Adnan Çoker claims that the discovery was his. See also: Çoker, Adnan. “Fotoğraftan Resim ve Darüşşafakalı Ressamlar,” [Painting from Photography and the Darüşşafaka School Painters] *Yeni Boyut Plastik Sanatlar Dergisi*, no:2/9, January 1983:4-12. For the Abdülhamid albums, see: Nolan, Erin Hyde. “The Gift of the Abdülhamid II Albums: The Consequences of Photographic Circulation” *Circulation*, Volume 9, Issue 2, Spring 2019.

⁵⁵ One can only speculate about why the paintings were devoid of figures, as the photographs they were based on did in fact capture people inhabiting these spaces. One common assumption is that as early Muslim painters, these

Tansuğ used this opportunity to get rid of the *primitif*⁵⁶ misnomer and re-named these painters “late-19th century photo-interpreters.” [fig.1.1-1.2]

While they were trained in the Western modality of representation, these military painters were not educated according to traditional beaux-arts principles; they took “art classes” as part of a curriculum for the making of topographic layouts, technical drawings and engraving, not aimed at producing artists who could express themselves through the act of painting. Adapting Western techniques primarily for military objectives, they also made landscape paintings for the palace, which is how they came to be known as the *primitives* of Turkish painting. The landscape paintings without figures, which were these painters’ preferred choice, as they least offended Muslim sensibilities, were exercises in the newly adopted Western modality, through which modernity could be both displayed and performed. Rather than landscape paintings in the Western tradition, expressive, romantic, or idealized, implying the subject position of a beholder, these were “painting[s] of photograph[s] of land that has been landscaped [...]”⁵⁷ Oddly glassy, these enlarged colour renditions of photographs, taken to be the first examples of Turkish painting in art histories written after the foundation of the Republic, were manual reproductions of technologically induced recordings of light on a chemically treated surface. Translated from the two-dimensional plane of the photographic paper onto canvas, they were representations of representations, in other words, *copies*.

soldier-painters were hesitant to include the human figure in their work due to the religious sensibilities around its artistic representation, as it was commonly believed that Islam prohibited such practices.

⁵⁶ In local art histories, the initial word used for these painters was “iptidai”, but this was later exchanged with the transliteration of its French counterpart, *primitif*, perhaps in an effort to mimic the Western art historical narrative of progress by finding an Ottoman counterpart to suggest a trajectory of evolution in the history of Turkish painting. According to Nurullah Berk, the term *primitives* was suggested by Louvre curator Renée Huyghe while touring the Istanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture (IRHM). Berk, Nurullah. “Çağdaş Primitifler” [Contemporary Primitives], *Sanat Dünyamız* no:16, 1979: 44-48.

⁵⁷ Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*, (London: IBTauris, 2011): 35.

This chapter argues that with painting in the Western modality in the Ottoman Empire came the *culture of the copy*.⁵⁸ In the *Dictionnaire de l'académie des beaux-arts* (1858-96) penned during the same period as the paintings in question were made, this kind of transfer from one medium to another is ranked as the lowest type of *copie*.⁵⁹ However, unlike the lithographs or engravings that fall under this definition in the French context, these Ottoman landscapes were copies that transferred an image from a *reproducible* medium to one that required a certain manual dexterity and suggested a certain *uniqueness*, a translation in the opposite direction that refuses to fit easily in this category. Ranking just above this definition in the Beaux-Arts dictionary was the meaning that we most commonly think of as a copy in the 21st century: either exact replicas or 'homages' that freely depart from the source but still preserve recognizable attributes of the original (usually in form rather than medium), done outside the knowledge of the author of the original.

The work of the primitives (or "photo-interpreters") thus eludes both Beaux-Arts definitions, as there is a significant switch as one medium is substituted for another (and because a "lower" machine mode is translated to oil, a "higher" status medium). The secondary definition of the copy in the *dictionnaire* was what we today most commonly refer to as replicas, either made by a studio assistant

⁵⁸ It might be posited, especially by an Islamicist reader, that there already was a culture of the copy in the Ottoman Empire as there were workshops of miniature and calligraphy, both of which depended on a master-apprentice relationship with a training model based on following iconographic conventions or existing models of formal composition. These practices were emulative and based on archetypes, allowing for the personalization or an update of these conventions by the artist/craftsman. This traditional form of copying is different from copying in the modern sense that is the subject of this chapter. For Indian miniature, this difference between the modern copy and the traditional emulative practices has been clearly made by scholars. See for example N. Desai, Vishakha. 'Reflections of India's Past in the Present: Copying Processes in Indian Painting' in *Perceptions of South Asia's Visual Past* (eds. Catherine B. Asher and Thomas R. Metcalf) Oxford and IBP, New Delhi, 1994: 135–148. My argument here is that the budding concept of the original that came with the introduction of painting in the Western modality brought with it the culture of the copy and vice versa, a thoroughly modernist affair. It has been argued that the word, etymologically based on the Latin word "copia," meaning "plenty, abundance, a copious quantity" only took on a negative connotation in the early modern era. Fransen, Sietske, and Katherine M. Reinhart. "The Practice of Copying in Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: An Introduction." *Word & Image* 35, no. 3 (July 3, 2019): 211–22.

⁵⁹ In her study of the various kinds of copies in 19th century France, a time of transition between tradition and modernity, Patricia Mainardi insists on the difference in *mentalité*, and uses the Beaux-Arts dictionary entry for *copie* to illustrate that the importance given today to uniqueness and chronological priority that valorizes originality was not there yet. Mainardi, Patricia. "The Ninetenth-Century Art Trade: Copies, Replicas, Variations," *Van Gogh Museum Journal* 2000: 62-73.

under the supervision of the artist, or as studies of a master's work by a student. Both kinds of copies were assumed to be faithful renditions of the image they were made after. However, unlike the signature style of an established artist that would then be emulated by students, these Ottoman paintings present an ingrained set of shared characteristics, common to the 'photo-interpreters' paintings despite their having been made by different hands. Multiple hands produced the appearance of a single individual's hand, but there was no master artist to speak of. These landscape paintings by Ottoman military painters evade an exact match with the French definition of *copie* but nonetheless have something to do with the emerging French division between *copie* and original. The Ottoman works were not made by students copying a master, but they were made as proof of the artistic dexterity of their makers. They were not replicas made for easier dissemination or for commercial interests, produced with the push of an ambitious gallerist, but they did translate an image from one medium to another. They did not function as an homage to a master, but they suggested a faithful adherence to a set of painterly principles. Finally, they certainly do not fall under the primary definition of the 19th century *copie*, which meant a variation of an existing work undertaken by the master artist himself.

The unwieldy nature of these Ottoman paintings that resist the definitions of the copy offered by the French fine arts dictionary testify to the epistemic difference one has to keep in mind while looking at this particular history. Today the categorizations of the copy have branched out to include even more meanings than it did in the late 19th century, and significantly, having internalized the modernist quest for originality, *copy* has become a primarily derogatory term, signifying not only the loser in a chronological race but also a morally corrupt double. As will be shown in this chapter, once we establish the particular context of late-Ottoman and early Turkish history of painting, the *culture of the copy* refers not simply to a manual imitative act, or a secondary production, but to a mode of assimilation that would inform the *syncretic modernism* of the painters of the early Turkish Republic. *Syncretic modernism*, in this account, accomplishes the local alchemy of converting assimilated modes into original nationalist achievements for a post-revolutionary Turkish Republic. As much as it resists the modernist scorn for the copy, this

chapter also invites the reader to re-consider the notion of the original from that established by ideologies of the avant-garde, suggesting that a copy can also be an original in its new context.

When artist Turan Erol had captured the uncanniness of these first examples of landscape painting in the Ottoman Empire in a text written before the photographic sources had been identified, he also testified to their vexing originality:

In these paintings, the sky is always blue, sometimes brightening as it recedes into the horizon or becoming lit up by thin white clouds, and the waters are mirrors reflecting this blue. The trees and the streetlamp set up a monotonous rhythm in the same direction; nothing ever moves, while everything receives its share of light eternally from the same source and in the same proportion. These paintings are mirrors of a universe where neither morning nor evening exists, where there are no misty horizons, where the sun never shines, and the seasons never change. In this world, there is no autumn or winter; everything seems to be immersed in an eternal sleep under an indirect spring light.⁶⁰

Setting the stage for understanding the syncretic modernism of Turkish painting, this introduction treats mimicry as a necessary strategy, reveals ongoing tensions surrounding the quest of Turkish artists for originality, and rejects stable and potentially moralizing definitions of the copy. It begins in the early 1950s, reconstructing the story of a certain enmity in the Istanbul artworld between figurative painting and abstraction (itself a European conceit)⁶¹ that resulted in a public showdown about artistic originality, investigates how artists were encouraged to make copies by the Art Academy in mid-century, then reaches all the way back to the late 19th century to trace the origins of Istanbul's Painting and Sculpture Museum in a late-Ottoman collection of copies. The longer trajectory of the culture of the copy that is intertwined with the history of painting in Turkey culminates in the syncretic modernism of the 20th century.

⁶⁰ Turan Erol, "Painting in Turkey in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," *A History of Turkish Painting*, (Geneva, Switzerland: Palasar SA, 1988): 41.

⁶¹ The production of a "scandale" between figuration and abstraction is treated as a European conceit in Jones, Caroline A. "Predicated Internationalism: Sadequain and the Global Working of Art's History," in Claire Grace and Joseph Siry, eds., *Canons in Visual Art: History, Theory, Criticism* (forthcoming, 2021).

Part 2: The Fabricated Scandal

On July 25th, 1951, *Cumhuriyet*, one of the main daily newspapers of the Turkish Republic, announced an artistic scandal from its first page. The headline read “Young painters are accusing famous artists of being copyists.”⁶² [fig. 1.3] The article reported that a passionate dispute between the old and the new had flared up (again). A group of young painters, known as “Tavanarası Ressamları”⁶³ [The Attic Painters] were accusing certain older and well-established modernizing painters with plagiarism. Printed with the article on the front page was a juxtaposition between French painter Luc-Albert Moreau’s 1914 painting *Le Raid Aérien*, and Turkish painter Nurullah Berk’s 1933 *Aviators*. The compositional similarities were hard to miss; both paintings featured figures studying a map, with a seated figure on the left of the canvas, and a detail of an airplane wing or propeller in the background, and three additional figures on the right, the gazes of whom all pointed to the map in the center. While Moreau’s painting only featured one seated figure, Berk’s had two, with a more prominent airplane wing in the background than Moreau’s vaguely visible propeller, and the addition of the Turkish flag on the upper right corner. Unlike Moreau’s figures, Berk had his protagonists in uniform, with a more explicit reference to the Turkish army, presumably hard at work during the War of Independence that preceded the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Although the grainy black and white print of the newspaper didn’t allow for granular comparison or a discernment of color use between the two artists, the pairing was sufficient for any lay person to delineate the striking degree of similarity between the two paintings, steering the reader to easily conclude that Berk’s painting had been clearly modeled after Moreau’s composition.

Continuing on the fourth page of the newspaper, the rest of the article included another visual pairing, this time exposing the compositional similarities between Eugène Delacroix’s renowned

⁶² The original headline was “Genç ressamalar tanınmış ressamaları kopyacılıkla itham ediyorlar” *Cumhuriyet*, July 25, 1951:1.

⁶³ The members were Erdoğan Behnasavi, Baha Çalt, Atıfet Hançerlioğlu, Seta Hidiş, Ömer Uluç, Haluk Muradoğlu, Ümit Mildon, Vildan Tatlıgil, Yılmaz Batıbeki. The group disbanded after its second exhibition the following year, with many choosing to pursue other career paths. The most recognizable name today that emerged from this group is abstract painter Ömer Uluç (1931-2010).

La Liberté guidant le peuple [Liberty leading the people] (1830) and Zeki Faik İzer's 1933 *İnkilâp* [Revolution]. [fig. 1.4] The article explained that this visual exposé of İzer and Berk had been initially made through a pamphlet titled "Our First Exhibition" that the Attic Painters prepared in response to the reproach of the older generation against their work.

While the initial target of the Attic Painters was the two towering figures of the art world⁶⁴—at the time İzer was the director of the İstanbul Fine Arts Academy and Berk was a professor of painting there as well as a prominent author of art books and a public figure with widely published articles on art in magazines and newspapers⁶⁵—the pamphlet included a further threat: the younger artists of the Attic group were hard at work on a whole album of similar juxtapositions. The Attic Painters claimed that in Turkey, the work of foreign artists had been plagiarized by "those who had no reservations about putting their own signature under paintings copied from the likes of Raoul Dufy, [Marcel] Gromaire, André Loth [sic], Georges Renault [sic], [Henri] Matisse as well as Moreau and Delacroix."⁶⁶

In fact, the Attic Painters were not retaliating against a direct critique from the Academy instructors that they targeted in their pamphlet, but to an art critic, Fikret Adil. Adil was known for his support for the older artists' Group D, of which İzer and Berk were founding members. Since its first exhibition in 1933, Group D had claimed a modernist stance, promising to bring the latest developments in Europe to Turkey without delay, a contradictory statement which claims the vanguard without the

⁶⁴ The two had also worked together as exhibition organizers (*commissaire d'exposition*) on multiple occasions for selecting and representing Turkish art abroad since the end of the Second World War, significantly at the 1946 UNESCO exhibition. The importance of the bureaucratic roles these artists embraced will be examined in the following chapters.

⁶⁵ By 1951, Berk had published books on topics as varied as Italian Renaissance masters such as Leonardo da Vinci and Gentile Bellini, as well as a book on modernist art movements in Europe, and overviews of Turkish painting and sculpture in Turkish, French and English. *Modern San'at* [Modern Art]. Semih Lütü Bitik ve Basımevi, 1934; *Türk Heykeltıraşları* [Turkish Sculptors]. Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatından, Ahmed İhsan Basımevi Ltd., İstanbul, 1937; *Türkiye'de Resim* [Painting in Turkey]. Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatından, Cumhuriyet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1943; *Sanat Konuşmaları* [Conversations on Art]. A.B. Neşriyatı, Ülkü Basımevi, İstanbul, 1943; *La Peinture Turque*. Basın ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayını, Ankara, 1950; *Modern Painting and Sculpture in Turkey*. Basın ve Turizm Müdürlüğü Yayını, Ankara, 1950; *Bellini'ler* [Bellini's]. Millî Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1951.

⁶⁶ "Genç ressamın tanınmış ressamı kopyacılıkla itham ediyorlar" *Cumhuriyet*, July 25, 1951: 3.

anxiety of originality.⁶⁷ Fikret Adil, steeped in this paradoxical origin story of Turkish imitative modernism and its initially figurative thrust, mocked the novice status of the Attic group of students in his review: “like English in 6 months, painting in 6 months!”⁶⁸ The fact that recent graduates of the academy had opened their own independent studio where they offered painting instruction, and had boldly moved to their own exhibition of *abstract* works, demonstrated how easy it had become for an artist to make a foray into the artistic sphere through non-figurative painting. Adil’s snide comment pointed to the threat of non-figurative painting, not only to critics like himself, who perhaps felt unequipped to offer their opinion on the merits of this newly embraced approach to painting, but also to a generation of teacher-painters whose authority as artists as well as earnings as instructors depended on a firm belief that the path to being a painter required years of training (mastery by copying masters).

The Attic Painters were a heterogeneous group that had banded together at the independent atelier of Nuri İyem (1915-2005). İyem, a Fine Arts Academy-trained painter, had rented an attic together with his schoolmates Fethi Karakaş and Ferruh Başağa in 1950, where he had started giving painting classes a few days a week, much to the chagrin of the painting teachers at the academy. The Attic Painters were İyem’s first group of students from this short-lived independent atelier, who opened their first exhibition less than a year into their training. Like their teacher İyem, they were trying their hand at non-figurative painting that was slowly becoming popular among younger artists but seen with suspicion by critics and the more established painters. In fact, it was İyem who had brought the images of the copied works to the atelier to show his students, fueled by the fury of the exhibition review.⁶⁹ Interestingly, İyem had not made this discovery himself either; this very same disclosure had already been made in a book titled

⁶⁷ Similar to this ‘fabricated scandal,’ this is the constructed tension, between modernism and originality that does not necessarily hold for its peripheral manifestations; perhaps it is also the reason that the album the Attic Painters threatened with did not get produced. The issue of modernist emulation will be delved into in the second and third chapters. I use the word ‘anxiety’ in reference to Harold Bloom’s concept of the “Anxiety of Influence.”

⁶⁸ Adil, Fikret. “Son Sergiler Dolayısıyla Türk Resmine Bir Bakış” [A Look at Turkish Painting on the Occasion of the Latest Exhibitions], *Yeni İstanbul*, May 21, 1951.

⁶⁹ As recounted by group member Haluk Muradoğlu. Muradoğlu, Haluk. “İlk Sergimiz Üzerine,” [On Our First Exhibition] from his unpublished memoir, 2001.

Resim ve Cemiyet [Art and Society] published nine years earlier by sociologist and theorist Hilmi Ziya Ülken.⁷⁰

In this proto-culturally materialist book, Ülken discusses art as the product of social forces, and argues that painting is a function of society. The short book is replete with covert Marxist references to base and superstructure; it characterizes society and therefore art as shaped by religious, political, ethical and theoretical forces at play, and suggests that artistic exploration is reflective of the dialectical relationship between old and new societies, that an artist internalizes and illustrates this struggle. Ülken addresses the momentous question of what makes art national by suggesting that technique and subject matter are inseparable, and that art that is national in character will soon emerge out of the current artistic struggles, if artists remain true to themselves and their society, with an open but cautious endorsement of attempts by the *Yeniler* [Newcomers] group, of which İyem, as well as his partners at the attic atelier Ferruh Başağa and Fethi Karakaş were members.⁷¹ Not yet fully abstract, these artists who banded together plumped for socially concerned topics, accusing their “Group D” predecessors of aesthetic irrelevance. Ülken acknowledges that the history of painting in Turkey is rather short, and that it is going through a period of transition, but that it will finally find its course, benefitting both from the East and the West as it embraces its own character.

İzer and Berk’s paintings in question were printed together with their French “originals” in the back of Ülken’s 60-page book among other reproductions of Turkish and European paintings. [fig. 1.5-6]

⁷⁰ Ülken, Hilmi Ziya. *Resim ve Cemiyet* [Art and Society], İstanbul: Üniversite Kitabevi, 1942.

⁷¹ The group consisted of Avni Arbaş, Agop Arad, Mümtaz Yener, Turgut Atalay, Haşmet Akal, Kemal Sönmezler, Selim Turan, Fethi Karakaş, Ferruh Başağa and Nuri İyem, who had all been students of French painter Léopold Lévy. Their first exhibition, endorsed as a promising effort in Ülken’s book, was titled “Port City Istanbul.” The group received support from a range of writers and thinkers, especially from theorists Mustafa Şekip Tunç and Hilmi Ziya Ülken. *Yeniler* exhibited together from 1941 to 1952. The members argued for a more socially concerned approach to art making, as opposed to art for art’s sake, which they ascribed to be the principle embraced by members of Group D. (Abidin Dino, who participated in the first exhibitions of both groups, did not stay as a member with either) Known as left-leaning painters, they took their subject matter from contemporary life, but never stylistically identified with Soviet Socialist Realism. Their first exhibition was opened by a fisherman who cut a fishnet—a gesture that was supposed to signify an artistic community more integrated with real life.

There isn't any direct reference to these specific paintings within the body of the text other than the following statement:

Imitating the large compositions of Western painting is a useful tool in apprenticeship. Composition cannot be reached through still-lives and landscapes. People learn swimming by swimming. Every composition is the result of an inner sensation and is the product of its era. A rough adaptation of it can result in false artworks. Just as it is inconceivable to write the saga of independence by adapting *Jerusalem Liberated*, it is impossible to represent our history or our revolution by adapting Turner or Delacroix. Every composition will take its soul from the truths and beliefs of its own world.⁷²

While the message would have been clear for the initiated, Ülken had not made a blatant accusation, and this was perhaps why the issue had gone unnoticed by newspapers, and remained as a hushed altercation within the Istanbul art world until the summer of 1951.⁷³ In the text, Ülken almost offers a brief history of Turkish painting within the culture of the copy, as a narrative of not yet having found a true national art, which will coalesce in technique and subject matter once matured. Berk and İzer are by no means his sole target, but only examples in a series of failed attempts of this unfolding (im)maturity.⁷⁴ By Ülken's dialectical narrative, the heavy influence of European painting –whether it is the narrative strength of neo-classicism, the technical prowess of Cézanne, the solipsistic crisis of Cubism, Dada or Futurism, or the fantasies of abstract painting–will soon be left aside by Turkish artists, and the truly Turkish painter will arrive at his own world. This hopeful narrative of progress towards originality is echoed by Turkish writer Oktay Rıfat, who was quoted in the epigraph to this chapter, a decade later.

What this chapter argues also goes against the local interlocutors' internalizing of a modernist quest for originality presented as an artistic stage to be achieved eventually by Turkish artists in a teleological progression of art history. Ülken as well as Rıfat's viewpoints, not directly shunning but

⁷² Ülken, Hilmi Ziya. *Resim ve Cemiyet* [Art and Society], İstanbul: Üniversite Kitabevi, 1942: 41. All translations from Turkish and French are the author's unless otherwise stated.

⁷³ In the text he also talks about the impossibility of “*Cézannisme*” as a valid approach to painting; it is a technical study phase to be surpassed.

⁷⁴ He says “Hakiki resim mevzula teknikin inkişafından doğuyor.” True painting is borne out of the unfolding of subject matter and technique.” Ülken, *Resim ve Cemiyet*: 38.

tolerating the copy as a necessary step on the way towards originality assume a belated Turkish artist who is playing a game of catch up; rejecting this standpoint, I suggest a positive thesis of the culture of the copy, which treats copying as a entrypoint into the world conversation of modernism that Turkey, as a modern nation state with full support of painting as a significant if not tokenistic cultural output, needed to engage in.

Back in 1951, İzer and Berk hastened to respond to the accusations; their statements on the matter were on the front page of *Cumhuriyet* the very next day, reported under the title “The Gossipy Incident Between Our Painters” [Ressamlarımız arasındaki dedikodulu hadise].⁷⁵ The inquiry, taking almost half a page of the merely 8-page newspaper can be read as a simple but telling indicator of the national significance of the matter. When asked about the charge, Berk simply admitted: “Yes, these are copies. Artists are always under the influence of each other. I was under the influence of Moreau when I painted this composition. It is the only copy I’ve made in my life. I was asked to submit a painting to the 1935 state exhibition [he misremembers the date, it was a submission to the first installment of the annual exhibition, in 1934], so I quickly made this painting.”⁷⁶ Berk expanded on his thoughts about the copy by arguing that quotational borrowing among artists of different generations has been a part of art history since time immemorial:

The art of the copy is born out of mutual influence, of movements and positions that continue throughout generations. There are great artists, who have been under the influence of each other to the point where they almost copy each other. For example, artists such as Manet, Ingres, or even Delacroix, have borrowed themes from Greek and Renaissance art. Specifically, in the Louvre, there is a painting by Manet titled *Déjeuner sur l’herbe*, the composition is in fact taken directly from an Italian etcher, Marc Antoine [sic. Marcantonio Raimondi]. Similarly, Monet [sic. He must mean Manet] has borrowed compositional elements from Vélazquez and Goya, including them in his paintings with transformations. There is an infinite number of examples as such.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ “Ressamlarımız arasındaki dedikodulu hadise” [The Gossipy Incident Between Our Painters], *Cumhuriyet*, July 26, 1951: 1, 4.

⁷⁶ Ibid: 4.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

The noticeable blurring of lines between inspiration, influence, and imitation seems to be intentional in Berk's statement. In his lengthy response, Berk also reveals his anxieties about the direction in which painting seems to be going. He says that he is following the movements in Europe as well as in Turkey with great worry. Berk explains that becoming an artist was much harder and required years of effort and classical study. Today, "snobbism, combined with speculation and market allows for certain people to pursue the path of quickly becoming famous; exhibiting your work in an exhibition used to only happen after a worthwhile struggle with the difficulties of art."⁷⁸ He is confident of the students at the Academy, and ensures that soon, whether it is his own generation, or the generations that will follow, the art of Turkish painting will produce artists of European caliber. With what seems to be a calculated nonchalance, he adds that he hasn't had the time to see the exhibition that "these youngsters" have put together.

İzer's response, which follows a similar logic about influence and what he calls 'borrowing *thèmes*,' that he describes as a practice common to literature and art, is somewhat bolder: "Us Turks will inevitably fall under certain influences."⁷⁹ İzer takes a further step by turning the issue of inspiration around; he says French artists today study "Turkish, Japanese, Spanish, German, black or barbaric arts to pull out *thèmes* they find appropriate for their own work." While putting his foot down about mutual artistic exchange with France, he is adamant about defending his own work, not accepting the label of the copyist:

... Delacroix's work demonstrates a street battle during the French revolution. My work is a symbolic painting of the revolution. The only similarity between the two paintings is that they both represent the country through a female figure. Also, they both have a triangular composition. In my work, Atatürk points towards the path needed to be taken. In the front are the toppled sultanate and reactionism. With his other hand, Atatürk holds the youth, represented by a male and a female university student. The child on top of the small rock is pointing to the tenth year of the republic with his hand. Together with the youth is the military, the torch represents education,

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

there is a woman who has been freed by discarding her hijab, the mass of the populace, behind them is the Ankara citadel, and behind that is the rising light. The painting printed in your newspaper is such a symbolic work of art. If I were to make the same painting today, while I would try my best to make an even better painting, I would have made it the same way.

As for Nurullah Berk's painting: Even though he is not as strong a painter as the artist he is said to have copied, he has realized a work of art that is more beautiful than the one he is said to have been inspired by.⁸⁰

Berk and İzer have slightly differing views on the copy. Berk admits that his work was a copy but downplays it as having been under the influence of Moreau, presenting it as part of a common practice with examples replete in art history. İzer on the other hand, brazenly ignores the allegorical workings of Delacroix's painting in his statement, even though it must have been precisely this connection between the French Revolution and the War of Independence led by Atatürk, and the following reforms he initiated that drew İzer to realize this work. Presenting the contextual adaptations he has made as having elevated the painting into one that operates on a symbolic register, İzer rejects that his painting is a copy. His statement about Berk's work is complimentary but completely evasive; both artists seem to intentionally muddy the waters between influence, compositional borrowing, artists' historical dialogue with precedents, quotation, and imitation.

Copying had been part of the French tradition since the early 17th century, when royal portraits were commissioned to be copied and distributed to various offices at the orders of Louis XIV. It was of course, also a pedagogical tool; the entire system of the beaux-arts education being based on having the student copy, first by making drawings from reliefs and sculpture, followed by life classes, gradually ascending to copying from paintings. Moreover, since its establishment in 1666, the students at the Académie de Rome would make and send exact copies back to France; this way not only did they engage closely with the work of an Italian master, but also helped expand the royal collections. Copying was also a form of veneration; to copy was to flatter. Established artists such as Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres continued to make copies from masters throughout their lives. As was shown by Patricia Mainardi, both

⁸⁰ Ibid.

academicians such as J.A.D. Ingres and moderns such as Delacroix also ensured their living costs by *répétitions*; repeating their own work with slight variations.⁸¹ By the 19th century, copying was institutionalized; the French state commissioned copies for townhalls and churches, and the bourgeois collector acquired *réductions*;⁸² producing a new class of painters: professional copyists. If a copy was found inefficient, the state inspectors would have it perfected by another artist. These replica copies, made by professional copyists as well as young students of the arts, were not only commodities made on demand, but also increased the symbolic value of the artwork. The Louvre was so overrun by copyists that regulations had to be put in place.⁸³ [fig.1.7] It was only by the mid-19th century that the exact copy slowly started to lose its primary place, and slight deviations as signs of personal temperament came to be appreciated. Tellingly, the salon banned exhibiting copies in 1852; the expressive “homage” was another matter. With the Third Republic, portraiture was no longer in fashion, and with the embrace of secularism, the state demand for copies of religious paintings came to a halt. By the turn of the century, copies that showed an understanding of the original, but departed from it with an act of personal interpretation were on the rise, made by many modernists, including Cézanne, Van Gogh and Matisse.⁸⁴ Picasso’s ‘paraphrases’ decades later can be seen as a continuation of this type of homage-copy. Calling these ‘modern copies,’ art historian Roger Benjamin argues that with the modern copy, the replica-

⁸¹ Mainardi, Patricia. “The Nineteenth-Century Art Trade: Copies, Replicas, Variations,” *Van Gogh Museum Journal* 2000: 62-73.

⁸² Ibid. A copy smaller in size, often but not necessarily by the original artist.

⁸³ “Artists both for and against the academic tradition copied in the Louvre, the one because imitation was a cornerstone of orthodoxy, and the other for the freedom it gave as a studio without teachers.” Duro, Paul. “Copyists in the Louvre in the Middle Decades of the Nineteenth Century,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol.111 no:130 (1988): 249-254.

⁸⁴ There is a wealth of scholarly research and curatorial effort that look at the French copy across centuries. For the academic copy see Boime, Albert. *The academy and French painting in the nineteenth century*, London 1971. Paul Duro has many articles, including Duro, Paul. “Copyists in the Louvre in the Middle Decades of the Nineteenth Century,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol.111 no:130 (1988): 249-254 and “The ‘Demoiselles à Copier’ in the Second Empire.” *Woman’s Art Journal* 7, no. 1 (1986): 1–7. For the modern copy, Benjamin, Roger. “Recovering Authors: The Modern Copy, Exhibitions and Matisse.” *Art History* 12, no. 2 (June 1989): 176-201. For the distinctions between different 19th century copies, see Mainardi, Patricia. “The Nineteenth-Century Art Trade: Copies, Replicas, Variations,” *Van Gogh Museum Journal* 2000: 62-73. Exhibition catalogs include *The Repeating Image: Multiples in French Painting from David to Matisse* (ed. Kahng, Eik), Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MD 2007; *Retaining the Original: Multiples, Originals, Copies and Reproductions*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC 1989 (Studies in the History of Art 20) and *In pursuit of perfection: The Art of J.A.D. Ingres*, Louisville KY (J.B. Art Museum) & Fort Worth TX (Kimbell Art Museum) 1983-84.

function was replaced by the author-function; faithful emulation was overtaken by the modernist regime of personality and originality.⁸⁵

Neither strict copies, nor overtly interpretive, Berk and İzer's adaptations occupy an awkward middle ground between a venerational exercise and the modern copy Benjamin describes in the French artworld. Vaguely personalized, their copies adapted French originals to a strikingly different historical context. But was that not allowed? Should theirs be considered shameful copies? Or, when did they lose their acceptability? In the early 1930s, when modernism, to which these two artists were fully committed, did not yet offer a visual rhetoric, where should they have turned in order to depict Atatürk's reforms?

The polemic about the European sources of Turkish copies would spill onto the pages of various other newspapers and magazines in the summer of 1951. Writing in *Yeni Sabah*, another prominent newspaper of the 1950s, İzer and Berk's colleague from the academy, Cemal Tollu expanded on the art historical examples that his colleagues had offered, but more than anything, his was a symbolic gesture of support, announcing his side on the debate among his fellow Group D members. He gives examples from a recent Phaidon publication, in which the similarity between a Donatello sculpture and a later one by Bellini is discussed; both sculptures are in fact similar to a Greek relief from 470 BC. Moreover, the female nude pouring water in *La Source* (1856) by Ingres, is based on a relief by 16th century sculptor Jean Goujon on a fountain (he must be referring to one of the nymphs from the Fountain des Innocents).⁸⁶ While it was never addressed at the time, it has been later pointed out that Tollu's own submission to the very same state exhibition (more on this shortly) in 1933, *Alfabeye Okuyan Köylüler* [Villagers Reading the Alphabet] is rather similar in its composition to Leonardo da Vinci's *The Virgin and the Child with St.*

⁸⁵ Benjamin, Roger. "Recovering Authors: The Modern Copy, Exhibitions and Matisse." *Art History* 12, no. 2 (June 1989): 176-201. I would call these "20th century copies" rather than the modern copy, as I find the 19th century practice of the copy to be already a wholly modern enterprise.

⁸⁶ Tollu, Cemal. "San'at Eserlerinde 'Tesirler'" [Influences in Works of Art], *Yeni Sabah*, August 2, 1951

Anne (c. 1510), a painting in the Louvre Museum's collection that the artist would have been familiar with from his days in Paris, like Berk and İzer.⁸⁷ [fig. 1.8-9]

While Ülken's inclusion of paintings by Berk and İzer alongside the "originals" in his book in 1942 could perhaps be seen as a gentle push to move Turkish painting out of this phase of imitation and influence, the brochure by İyem and his students can comparatively be characterized as a vicious exposé that was part of a prolonged artistic battle to make room for more approaches to painting than the one embraced by the teachers at the Academy in Istanbul at the time. The independent atelier and its students presented a challenge to the established approach to art; for previous generations becoming an artist required years of training, both in Istanbul and abroad, only to be crowned by an exhibition much later. Berk and İzer, as well as other members of Group D, had supplanted their academic training in Istanbul in independent ateliers in Europe, and had been heavily influenced by the teachings of their atelier teachers. They had become representatives of the unlikely conjunction of modern academicism: syncretic moderns. On the other hand, the exposure of İyem and his generation to European painting had been through reproductions in books, and the non-academic French painting instructor at the academy at the time, Léopold Levy.⁸⁸ İyem had not been to Paris, Berlin or Munich like the previous generation, as his student years coincided with the Second World War. He had entered the academy the year Group D opened its first exhibition in 1933. Berk and İzer were recent hires at the academy when İyem returned to the school as a graduate student.⁸⁹ Art historians have argued that this was a blessing in disguise;⁹⁰ Levy, who

⁸⁷ It should also be mentioned that Tollu and İzer had turned to well-known masterpieces, while Berk chose a contemporary painter's work less likely to be known in Turkey. Perhaps, Tollu and İzer had taken the advice of their teacher André Lhote to go to the Louvre to learn from the masters, while Berk's was a more covert choice; this will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁸⁸ Levy was a self-trained artist with almost no international renown, and a very odd choice for heading the painting department the Istanbul Art Academy at the time. The concluding chapter delves into his appointment more in detail.

⁸⁹ According to Nurullah Berk, alongside Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu and Cemal Tollu, he was hired at the academy as a teaching assistant at the request of Léopold Levy when the latter became the head of the painting department in 1937. That year, İzer was hired as the photography teacher by the Academy's director Burhan Toprak. Some artists have argued that Group D members were not requested by Levy, he had in fact chosen others but their hiring was a negotiation with the director Burhan Toprak who had an affinity with the group. See Cûda, Mahmud. *Kılavuzun Böylesi* [A Guide Such as This], İstanbul: Yaylacık Matbaası, 1973: 14-15.

⁹⁰ Sönmez, Necmi. *Paris tecrübeleri. École de Paris - Çağdaş Türk sanatı:1945-1965*. İstanbul: YKY, 2019: 21-22.

himself was not academically trained, did not teach an academic canon, nor did his teaching result in a stylistic dominance or a heavy-handed academic or theoretical training based on the French tradition; his students were encouraged to find their own personal styles (itself an ideology of individualism and originality), and to look at their own traditions rather than to Europe.⁹¹ The work of the *Yeniler* group, as well as the early non-figurative explorations of their students from the independent atelier they set up, the Attic Painters, need to be seen in this context. Moreover, İyem and his peers were too young to have felt the national pressure to serve the country as artists by participating in the state-organized Exhibitions of the Revolution, to which the two paintings in question by Berk and İzer were submissions. *İnkilap Sergileri* [Exhibitions of the Revolution] were initiated on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Republic and took place annually between 1933 and 1937. The aim of these large exhibitions was to commemorate the War for Liberation and the revolutions of the republic.⁹² The state's patronage (numerous paintings would be acquired by the parliament and the ministries from these exhibitions), as well as the framework resulted in artists taking up historical genre painting, which was a weighty challenge for Turkish artists without such an established artistic tradition. While this national pressure encouraged some to emulate the tropes of Social Realism, even if these were not their preferred modes or

⁹¹ While Nuri İyem is most well-known for his unvarying portraits of Anatolian villagers today, during the decade in question, he experimented with non-figurative painting, before settling on the distinct style he is now famous for. İyem himself had turned to non-figurative painting simultaneously with his students in the early 1950s. In his unpublished memoir, Attic Painters member Haluk Muradođlu vividly describes the moment İyem himself tried his hand at abstraction, therefore influencing his students: "One day, Şadi Çalık came to the studio. He explained the contemporary approach to painting in Paris to Nuri. We just listened but Nuri was able to understand, or rather interpret what [Çalık] was saying. The very next day he started painting, and for the next ten years, he made non-figurative paintings that were better than [Hans] Hartung's or [Jean René] Bazaine's. Şadi had also brought a booklet with him, Bazaine's *Notes sur la peinture d'aujourd'hui* [1948]. They gave the book to Safa [M. Yurdanur] there and then, and he translated it immediately. The book was soon published [in Turkish]. We talked about it, but I don't know if it influenced others." Haluk Muradođlu, "Asmalımescit," from his unpublished memoir, 2001, unpaginated.

⁹² The first exhibition "İnkılâp Resim Sergisi" [Revolution Painting Exhibition] took place in the People's House in Ankara, the former Türk Ocađı (Turkish Hearth) building. Some of the larger state-sponsored exhibitions would later be presented in a dedicated space, architect Şevket Balmumcu's ocean-liner shaped Ankara Sergievi [Exhibition House] down the hill. The Exhibitions of the Revolution were cancelled after a few years, but it can be argued that they only transformed into "State Painting and Sculpture Exhibitions" in 1938. While a jury was introduced, and the subject-matter limitation was lifted, the mission of representing the revolutions of the new Turkish republic continued partially as an ethos in the first decade of the annual state exhibitions, often resulting in artists producing with a different mindset for these exhibitions than their own personal styles and chosen subject matter. This issue will be treated in more detail in the following chapters.

styles of artistic practice personally, others, like İzer and Berk, turned to French painters for inspiration, emulation, or in the words of the Attic Painters, and their teacher İyem, copying.

In fact, the struggle that the artists had during the 1930s with finding an appropriate artistic idiom to express the Revolutionism of the young republic, whether by illustrating the reforms of the past decade, or finding the appropriate visual expression to reinforce the cult of Mustafa Kemal as the father of the nation, can clearly be seen in another painting, Arif Bedii Kaptan's *Gift of the Republic to the Youth* (1934), a submission to the second iteration of the Exhibitions of the Revolution. [\[fig.1.10\]](#) The emulation of Christian tropes, with Atatürk shown in the clouds, flanked by figures as Christ would be by angels, is not a direct compositional borrowing from a specific painting, but an application of a centuries-old artistic formula to another context. The painting both echoes a Virgin and Child, as well as Christ ascending.⁹³ Perhaps, Kaptan was looking at the painting that was featured in the cover of the art history book that was taught at the academy, Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* (1512). [\[fig.1.11\]](#) Kaptan's allegory is rather similar to İzer's in that toppled at the feet of Atatürk are figures that represent the *ancien régime* where the *putti* are in Raphael's; he is supported by figures behind him that represent the power of knowledge and military might, one holding a sword and the other the torch of enlightened thought, while entrusting the nation (the baby) to the youth, scantily clad but somewhat modestly represented by healthy male and female figures, wearing the colors of the Turkish flag (red) and Islam (green).⁹⁴

When *Vatan* interviewed the Attic Painters later that summer, their teacher-cum-spokesperson İyem tried to sharpen the distinction between copying and influence.⁹⁵ While he tried to further his argument in the following months in journals, the album that was promised, intended to reveal many

⁹³ Shaw, Wendy M. K. *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011:174-175

⁹⁴ In her reading, Wendy Shaw interprets the figure holding the torch as a reference to the Olympics, in which Turkey would participate two years later.

⁹⁵ İyem further elaborated that if they wanted to talk about influence, in the case of Nurullah Berk, they would have brought up André Lhote, and that it is a rather different matter to copy from Moreau. Yalman, Tunç. "San'at Aleminde," *Vatan*, May 27, 1951.

other copies by well-known Turkish painters, never materialized, and the issue died down, with the academy teachers remaining relatively unscathed.⁹⁶ This episode would be brought up by savvy reporters once in a while, and both İzer and Berk were asked about it later in life. While Berk didn't change his position, İzer softened, admitting the artistic shortcomings of the time. Speaking in 1967, he still refused the idea of plagiarism, but was humbler and more candid:

They said I stole it, but our situation was clear... Our technical ability was to express a scene of the revolution. That is, we are both distant and lacking the image power of Ingres and Delacroix! The real revolution is in the quality of those who participate in the state exhibition... Art needs the long haul; the strength and luck of generations is important; essences remain...⁹⁷

What makes this scandal a matter of fabrication is precisely the suppression of the instances of the copy in the writing of a modernist European art history. At the time of the first exhibition of Paintings of the Revolution in 1933, İzer was 28, Berk 27 years old. They were young artists who had just returned to their country after studying in Paris. Like fellow artists, they participated in the celebrations of the first decade of the new republic by submitting paintings to the first state-organized exhibition. How best were they to express the revolutions of the new nation? Unsurprisingly, they turned to French masters for direction. But neither Berk nor İzer was artistically mature enough to have developed their own signature styles to do the proper modernist *homage*. Is an artist from the periphery allowed to do an homage even when they have a fully developed and recognizable signature style?⁹⁸ It can be inferred from the ruckus

⁹⁶ In fact, Nurullah Berk turned it around, to use the notion of copyism to accuse abstract painters, in articles as far apart as in 1953 and 1962; see Berk, Nurullah. "Kopyacılık Üstüne" [On Copyism], *Varlık* no. 512, October 15, 1959:3 and Berk, Nurullah. "1961'de Resim ve Heykel" [Painting and Sculpture in 1961], *Varlık Yıllığı*, *Varlık Yayınları*: İstanbul, 1962: 69-80.

⁹⁷ Quoted in Shaw, *Ottoman Painting* from Elibal, Gültekin. *Atatürk ve resim heykel. [Birinci Basılış]*. İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 121. İstanbul: Kırıl Matbaası, 1973: 176. (based on a conversation with Elibal on August 25, 1967)

⁹⁸ In a similar vein, Caroline A. Jones explores the phenomenon of what she calls "predicated modernism," in which "The semiotics of predication both communicate and perform the relation of subservience." Caroline A. Jones, "Predicated Internationalism: Sadequain and the Global Working of Art's History," in Claire Grace and Joseph Siry, eds., *Canons in Visual Art: History, Theory, Criticism* (forthcoming, 2022). My thinking on the peripheral artist's position aligns with hers, and we both also owe it especially to the Picasso Manqué syndrome theorized by scholar of Indian modernism Partha Mitter in *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-garde, 1922-47*, (Reaktion Books, 2007); and taken further in works such as "Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde

that the Attic Painters raised that, by the early 1950s, influence had turned into “an anxiety of influence” for artists in Turkey.⁹⁹ This uncovering of Berk and İzer’s adaptations of Moreau and Delacroix respectively, had become scandalous material somewhere between 1933 and 1951. Berk and İzer’s refusal to give up their modernist positions is precisely indicative of the internalization of the scorn for the copy, an embrace of the artistic hierarchy for unattainable originality.

In her analysis of both Kaptan’s and İzer’s paintings, art historian Wendy Shaw characterizes these works as nearly parodic, and attributes “an unself-conscious postmodernism” to these artists for their “recognizable reapplication of well-known paintings.”¹⁰⁰ For her, these paintings testify to how painting in the Turkish Republic was pressed into the needs of the nation, and the imposition of patriotic expression barred it from speaking, and if it did, it was a mistranslation. She is particularly unforgiving of İzer and takes his painting to illustrate how this re-application stripped the painting of Delacroix’s utopian message.¹⁰¹

Art from the Periphery,” *The Art Bulletin* Vol. 90, No. 4 (Dec., 2008), 531-548, and as late as 2014 with “Collapsing Certainties,” in *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs* (Summer, 2014), online at <https://www.thecaireview.com/essays/collapsing-certainties/> in addition to a Guyanese case discussed in Simon Gikandi, “Picasso, Africa, and the Schemata of Difference,” *Modernism/modernity*, Vol 10 No. 3 (September 2003): 455-480.

⁹⁹ Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence; a Theory of Poetry. The Anxiety of Influence; a Theory of Poetry.*, 1973. As I will argue in the following chapters, “the anxiety of influence” become an issue to contend with for both generations who are the subject of this study that came before the Attic Painters, however, for a brief period in the 1930s, when *Group d* was newly founded, the artists initially cared more about learning a modernist idiom through emulation before contracting its anxiety for originality.

¹⁰⁰ Shaw, Wendy M. K. *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011:173.

¹⁰¹ She says: As the painting translates a French allegory of nationhood into a Turkish idiom, the loss of symbolic representation in each of the figures entirely transforms its message. Within the academic tradition, the key female figure in the Delacroix is automatically perceived as allegorical. In the appropriated version, who is this woman holding the flag? Is she a clothed allegorical liberty, as in the statue in New York harbor? Or is she a personification of ‘the nation’ which has played out many of the controversies of modernity through the rights and images of women? Or is she just a woman commanded to march forward by the patriarchal figure of Mustafa Kemal? As such, is she a role-model for the young girl? Is she the symbolic liberated women of modern Turkey? Significantly, it is not she who leads, but who follows. While Delacroix’s *Liberty* looks back in order to lead her minions forward, this woman looks to Mustafa Kemal for guidance: no transfer of vision takes place from the great leader to the personified nation. Indeed, replacing the middle-class revolutionary with the president, Zeki Faik takes power away from the people and vests it instead in a single figure who must, for all eternity, keep the young teachers of the nation under his wing. Those he protects are the modern few, not the multiplicity of classes suggested by Delacroix, and certainly not the predominantly rural populace of the 1930s Turkey. The work depicts dependence not on a revolutionary ideal, but a paternalistic leadership antithetical to egalitarianism or democracy. The painting attempts

Could it be that İzer's awkward transcription is precisely revealing of the different dynamics in place in the Turkish revolution as opposed to the French? While Shaw believes the slippage of meaning that allows art to distinguish itself from other "*lexie*"—that which gives it autonomy— is lost at the hands of Turkish republican artists, who turn paintings into signs that fulfill particular patriotic functions, another approach to İzer's quotational allegory would be to see it as revealing or even generating the precise Turkish Republic meanings in those deviations surfacing in the re-application and derangement of "original" motives.¹⁰² Turkey was in fact not striving for democracy *à la France*, but would remain under the one-party system until 1946. The revolution was not a bottom-up insurgency, but a military uprising that resulted in the founding of a new Republic, with the top-down imposition of a series of reforms that attempted to transform a dominantly rural, non-cohesive populace into a nation. By 1933, Mustafa Kemal was indeed a paternalistic, even god-like figure; only a year later, after the surname law he initiated was passed, he would officially take the surname Ata [Ancestor]-türk that was ascribed to him by a law passed by the Turkish parliament. The reforms gave women equal rights, but the female figure remained tokenistic, in society as well as in paintings for years to come. If İzer's borrowing is to be seen as a document, it is not an unself-conscious (and fully anachronistic) postmodernism, but a conscious decision to mimic the *lingua franca*, to learn it; the unself-conscious can only be attributed to the slippages pointed by Shaw, that are in effect the slippages of the transposition of the ideals of French Revolution into the formation of the Kemalist regime.

to suggest 'as in France, so in Turkey,' but the ideals have been lost in translation." Shaw, Wendy M. K. *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011:176.

¹⁰² It should also be considered that İzer, Berk, Tollu and Kaptan's paintings, made in the very same years for non-state sponsored exhibitions are completely different in style and subject matter. It would be myopic to deliberate on these artists' output solely through the lens of what they submitted to the state exhibitions. The following chapters delve into the other side of their output in detail.

İzer's *On the Road to Revolution* is as reflective of the influence of Jacobin ideas on the republican modernizers, as it is of what got lost in translation in Turkey's societal reformation.¹⁰³

The slippage is in this case rather Freudian, in that it can almost be read as a critique of Turkey's modernization. While the paintings by Kaptan and İzer look parodic to the contemporary eye, as documents, they testify to the bold attempts of artists who were searching for ways of expression in a borrowed language- a language that had to be borrowed if modernism was the goal. What seems to be a lack of sophistication in these direct transpositions, their awkwardness today, was far from legible in 1930s Turkey. Their messages, assumed to be reflective of the simple patriotic intentions of the artists who made them were not as evident to the Turkish public at the time either, even to the most sophisticated. An anecdote by artist and museum director Halil Dikmen about Atatürk's first visit to the Museum of Sculpture and Painting in 1937, which opened at his orders, testifies to this. Dikmen says that Atatürk was most interested in İzer's *On the Road to Revolution* and asked him to explain its subject matter. Dikmen, like İzer, had to describe to Atatürk its allegorical workings that are straightforward to viewers today:

'On the upper left corner of the painting is a group of people; this group represents the youth that is progressing in the direction you have pointed; on the right, lower corner, is a second group; this part shows how the reactionaries were quashed with your progressive move.'¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ This must be precisely why architectural historian Sibel Bozdoğan chose İzer's painting for the cover of her book *Modernism and Nation Building*. She says: "The revolutionary self-consciousness of the Kemalist *inkilap* [reform] is most evident in the way it represented itself in the image of the French Revolution. The secular and scientific look of the Enlightenment had been the single most important source of inspiration for the Turkish modernizers in general, even before the republican reformers appeared on stage." Bozdoğan sees İzer's painting as a "remarkable artistic expression of [the inspirational force of the French Revolution]." Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Studies in Modernity and National Identity. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, c2001., 2001: 57.

¹⁰⁴ Halil Dikmen's statement in Özgü, Melahat. *Atatürk'e Saygı*. Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları. Ankara: 1972: 148-149 quoted in Elibal, Gültekin. *Atatürk ve resim heykel*. (Birinci Basım). İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 121. İstanbul: Kırıl Matbaası, 1973: 157.

Atatürk was very pleased with this explanation, and after standing in front of the painting for a while, he said: ‘Beautiful.’¹⁰⁵

Part 3: The Certified Copy

That very same scandalous summer of 1951, Zeki Faik İzer was also in another skirmish concerning copies of paintings. Just three days after the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* made his name front-page news, he convened a council of teachers at the academy to overturn a decision about acquiring two copies of paintings made by female artist Maide Arel for the collection of the Museum of Painting and Sculpture.¹⁰⁶ Arel had spent the last two years in Paris on a state fellowship, studying in the independent atelier of André Lhote, together with her husband, painter Şemsi Arel. Maide Arel had spent three precious months of her time in Paris fulfilling a commission, by copying her teacher André Lhote’s *La Moisson* (1935) and Pablo Picasso’s *La casserole émaillée* (1945) both on view at the time at Musée d’Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris.¹⁰⁷ According to Arel, the director of the academy, Zeki Faik İzer, “especially requested her to make copies during her stay in Paris and asked her to bring them back.”¹⁰⁸ [fig.1.12-13] By making a copy from her own teacher Lhote, as well as another by an internationally recognized master, Arel was in fact participating in two different lineages of the copy; French and Ottoman. She was making a copy to understand the work of her teacher, as the students in the studio of Ingres had. She was analyzing Lhote’s salon Cubism through mimicry, and the influence of her teacher would be a defining factor of her own personal style. Secondly, she was providing an opportunity for the art students as well as the public in modern Turkey to see a work by a European master by offering its hand-made replica; an Ottoman practice that will be delved into further in this chapter. In fact, earlier that

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ The Museum of Painting and Sculpture [Resim ve Heykel Müzesi] had opened in 1937 in the Princes’ quarters [Veliâht Dairesi] of the Dolmabahçe Palace, upon Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s orders. While its director was painter Halil Dikmen, the museum was tied to Fine Arts Academy. Hence, the director of the museum and the director of Academy worked in collaboration. The museum had been closed since 1939, first as a precaution due to the Second World War, and later, failed to re-open due to a lack of funds until later that year in 1951.

¹⁰⁷ Both works are now in the collection of Centre Pompidou. The Picasso still-life was part of the “ten masterpieces” that the artist donated to the Musée d’art moderne de la ville de Paris in 1947 for its inauguration. Lhote’s painting was purchased by the state in 1938.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from Maide Arel to the Ministry of Education, undated. IRHM archives, no folder number.

spring, a committee at the Fine Arts Academy, headed again by İzer, had convened and decided to purchase the two paintings presented to the committee by Arel, only to inform the artist in June that the school “currently lacked sufficient funds to purchase the paintings.”¹⁰⁹ After İzer tried to annul the agreement to acquire Arel’s copies in July, stating that in fact, they were not “perfect,”¹¹⁰ Arel started a vehement campaign to have her copies purchased, as per the initial decision of the first committee. She wrote letters of complaint to the Ministry of Education, asked her fellow artists to testify to the adequateness of her copies,¹¹¹ and requested her teacher Lhote to certify her copy of his work, which he happily provided, declaring: [fig. 1.14-15]

I, undersigned, André Lhote, artist living in Paris, certify having seen Mrs. Maide Arel copying my painting “Les Meules” exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris. I have seen the care that she took in reproducing this composition and in getting as close as possible to its pictorial material. I esteem the result and find it very satisfactory.¹¹²

Arel also proudly included the two copies she had made alongside sixteen of her own geometricized landscapes, nudes and still lifes in the exhibition that she opened together with her husband Şemsi Arel at the French consulate in İstanbul (October 27-December 9, 1951) the same year. The small brochure, which features on its cover one of her late-Cubist still-lifes that evinces her teacher Lhote’s heavy influence, lists the copies after Arel’s own paintings. The copies also take pride of place in her brief

¹⁰⁹ Letter from Maide Arel to the Ministry of Education, dated December 5, 1951. Esin Arel Tunalıgil family archive. It is stated that Halil Dikmen and Zeki Faik İzer had objected to the acquisition in the first round as well, but the majority opinion was to acquire the paintings.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. The term used was that the copies “lack perfection” [*kopyalar mükemmeliyetsiz*].

¹¹¹ In the Arel family archive, there are two letters addressed to artists Hasan Kavruk and Şevket Sayan, who had witnessed her working on the copies in Paris. Another letter to the Ministry of Education says three letters from fellow artists testifying to the adequateness of her copies were attached, but since the attachments did not survive, the third artist remains unknown.

¹¹² The letter reads: “Je soussigné André Lhote, artiste peintre à Paris, certifie avoir vu Madame Maide Arel copier ma toile ‘Les Meules,’ exposée au musée d’Art Moderne de Paris. J’ai vu le soin qu’elle prenait à reproduire cette composition et à se rapprocher le plus possible de sa matière picturale. J’estime le résultat très satisfaisant.” Paris, September 10th, 1951. Esin Arel Tunalıgil family archive.

biography as important achievements: “[Maide Arel] copied these paintings by two Western masters with full success and brought them to the homeland.”¹¹³ [fig.1.16]

The artist’s correspondence with the Ministry of Education was initially equally vexing, as İzer’s non-compliance went as far as misinforming the Ministry. However, with Arel’s persistence, by December, the Ministry of Education urged the Academy to honor the initial decision and purchase the two copies from the artist at a fair price. In January 1952, Arel received a letter from İzer, informing her that (yet another) acquisition committee had examined her copies, and decided to acquire them. In the letter, he asks Arel to present herself at the school with an invoice for 300 liras; the committee determined the appropriate price of the Lhote painting to be 250 liras, and the Picasso to be 50.¹¹⁴ [fig.1.17-19] These prices were in fact significantly below the standard.¹¹⁵ İzer had acquiesced to the purchase but was still driving a tough bargain. In Arel’s final letter to the ministry, in which her growing impatience and distress is evident, she describes the added injury to the insult by listing the prices recently paid by the school for other copies.¹¹⁶ She concedes that she can be paid when the funds become available, and that

¹¹³ *Arel Resim Sergisi*, exhibition brochure, French Consulate, İstanbul, October 27-December 9, 1951. SALT Research, Yusuf Taktak Archive, TAKAF227.

¹¹⁴ Letter from Zeki Faik İzer to Maide Arel, January 21, 1952. Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, İstanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture archives. No folder number.

¹¹⁵ The committee members were Nurullah Berk, Cemal Tollu, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, Sabri Berkel, Ali Avni Çelebi, Zeki Kocamemi, Cevad Dereli, Zeki Faik İzer, Şefik Bursalı and Halil Dikmen. Minutes of the acquisition committee meeting January 19, 1952, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, İstanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture archives. No folder number. The document with the minutes of the acquisition committee’s meeting from the museum archive states that Arel’s ask price was 600 liras for the Lhote, and 400 for the Picasso copy. It is stated in the same document that while the teachers on the committee all objected to the pricing of the copies, they were reminded by the director that they did not have the discretion to deliberate on the price but only to decide on whether the paintings were to be acquired. So, who determined the price remains unclear, but a safe guess would be Zeki Faik İzer himself. The members of the second committee were only slightly different, the initial committee had comprised Cemal Tollu, Nurullah Berk, Şefik Bursalı, Sabri Berkel, Halil Dikmen and Zeki Faik İzer. The three members added in 1952 had all objected or abstained from the decision, which can be interpreted as İzer trying to meddle with the voting, however, Dikmen and İzer agreed to the purchase of the paintings this time around. While Ali Avni Çelebi “reserved his opinion as to the adequateness of the copy,” Zeki Kocamemi and Cevad Dereli openly disagreed with the decision to acquire the paintings.

¹¹⁶ Eren Eyüboğlu’s copy of *La Blouse Roumaine* (1940) by Henri Matisse and Haşmet Akal’s copy of *La Grande Odalisque* (1814) by Jean Dominique Ingres both fetched 400, while Feyhaman Duran’s copy of *Le Cheval Blanc* (1898) by Paul Gauguin was bought for 750 liras, and finally, Neşet Günel’s copy of Titian’s *The Entombment of Christ* (1520) was deemed worth 900 liras.

she will agree to the sale price determined by the members of the first committee.¹¹⁷ As both of Arel's copies are now part of the collection of the State Museum of Painting and Sculpture today, and the Lhote can be seen in the inventory in 1952, it can be safely inferred that the artist obligingly agreed to the suggested price cut for the Lhote, but would only sell the Picasso copy later, for seven-fold the price she was offered by İzer.

But why were these copies being made by the artists, and acquired by the academy for the museum in the first place? In the minutes of the very last meeting about the acquisition of Arel's copies, only one of the committee members' reasoning is noted. Cemal Tollu stated that "since color prints of these masters' works are hung on the school walls, and these prints are shown to the students despite being inadequate copies, copies made directly from the originals would be more beneficial from an educational point of view."¹¹⁸ Tollu's comments make Arel's certified copies into glorified reproductions on canvas, "more adequate copies" to be viewed by art students. But was that all they were? Why had the school invested in acquiring four other copies of European paintings ranging from the 16th to the 20th century just the year before?

Part 4: A Collection of Copies: The Âsâr-ı Nakşîye Collection

In fact, commissioning and collecting copies of paintings from the European canon was the continuation of a late-Ottoman project, initiated by Halil Edhem, who had culled "a collection of decorated panels" [Elvah-ı Nakşîye] soon after he became the head of the Imperial Museum (Müze-i Hümayun) and the School of Fine Arts (Sanâyi-i Nefise Mektebi Âlisi¹¹⁹) in 1910, after the passing of his brother Osman

¹¹⁷ Undated, in response to the ministry's letter of January 28, 1952. Arel family archive. Unfortunately, the paper trail ends with a letter dated March 1953, informing Maide Arel that her copy of Picasso's painting is to be acquired for 350 liras. This letter is signed by Nijad Sirel, who became director of the Academy when İzer was dismissed from his role. Arel family archive.

¹¹⁸ Minutes of the acquisition committee meeting January 19, 1952, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, İstanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture archives. No folder number.

¹¹⁹ In the decree for its opening, the name used for the school is *Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şahane*, The Imperial School of Fine Arts, whereas official documents refer to it as Sanâyi-i Nefise Mektebi Âlisi: The Supreme School of the Fine Arts. In 1926, it was united with İnas Sanâyi-i Nefise Mektebi, The Fine Arts School for Women, which was established in 1914, and became co-ed. In 1927, the school's name was changed to Sanâyi-i Nefise Akademisi,

Hamdi. Starting as a small gallery of copies of Western painting in the Imperial Museum, Halil Edhem's *Âsâr-ı Nakşiye* collection, that he later named *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* in a booklet he prepared in 1924, would eventually form the basis of a national museum of Painting and Sculpture. Opened after the dissolution of the empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic, it would carry the culture of the copy into the lives of Turkish artists. Its beginnings as a collection of copies and the debates around its formation reveals the artistic and intellectual tensions surrounding the original and the copy among Ottoman painters and illustrates how the approach taken to incorporate European fine art through this collection into late Ottoman-early Turkish artistic practice informed an episteme of *imitative appropriation*.¹²⁰

One of Halil Edhem Bey's first initiatives after becoming the director of the Imperial Museum and the School of Fine Arts was to secure funding for starting a collection of paintings. Instead of acquiring works of living artists, European or Ottoman, as per the wishes of artists in Istanbul for an "Ottoman Luxembourg," as Adolphe Thalasso characterized it in 1906¹²¹, or focusing on the work of Orientalist painters as hinted to by his brother Osman Hamdi in the school's by-laws, Halil Edhem prioritized forming a collection of works by old masters, with a small caveat: with budgetary concerns and scarcity of such works on the market, he suggested that priority should be given to form a collection

with the French transliteration of *académie* replacing *mekteb* and its roots in Arabic and soon after became Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, the Ottoman for "fine art" completely replaced with its modern Turkish counterpart. After several more changes due to nation-wide educational reforms, the school received university standing in 1981, and is now called Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi. Throughout the dissertation, it will be referred to as the School of Fine Arts or the Fine Arts Academy, depending on the era in question.

¹²⁰ I borrow this phrase from Kader Konuk's excellent study of Auerbach's time in Turkey. Konuk, Kader. *East-West Mimesis: Auerbach in Turkey*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010: 70.

Although this is a study of this particular figure's years in İstanbul and the pedagogical reform he was part of in the sphere of literature, there are many points of commonality, as well as intersecting figures. In investigating Turkish Humanism's roots, Konuk also arrives at the figure of Ziya Gökalp, who not only is trying to establish a difference between culture and civilization, but also between imitation and cultural mimesis. It will become evident by the end of this dissertation that for the figures I study, neither distinction in Gökalp's project holds.

¹²¹ Reporting on the salons of Constantinople 1902-1904, Thalasso says: "Déjà les esprits optimistes revaient, près du Musée Impérial qui n'admet que les antiques, le création d'un Musée National Ottoman de peinture et de sculpture, qui n'existe pas encore en Turquie..." [Already optimistic minds are dreaming, near the Imperial Museum which admits only antiques, the creation of a National Ottoman Museum of painting and sculpture, which does not yet exist in Turkey...] A.M. Régis Delbeuf (Adolphe Thalasso), "Le premiere salons de Constantinople," *L'Art et les Artistes*, vol.3, April-September, 1906 (172-181):180.

of copies, for which he asked the Ottoman parliament for an additional budget.¹²² In 1911, the government finally granted him 1000 liras annually to begin forming this collection.¹²³ During his first year with the allocated budget, Halil Edhem wrote to museum directors in Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Paris and Rome, asking to help him purchase copies of works from their collections.¹²⁴ While the selection process for which particular paintings to be copied remains unclear, it has been suggested that some museums offered copies of paintings already at hand.¹²⁵ Other times, copies were commissioned from

¹²² Today, this collection is known as the Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu [Collection of Decorated Panels], as this is the name Halil Edhem used for the title of the collection catalog that he authored in 1924. Elvah-ı Nakşiye, while largely known as the collection of copies in Turkish art history, was in fact an expanded version that also included eighty-eight paintings by Ottoman and Turkish artists that were not copies (characterized in the catalog as the “Turkish Painting School”; the catalog lists 87 artists, however, thanks to art historian Gizem Tongo’s research, we now know that Helene Heliades, listed under the German School, was in fact an Ottoman painter, hence the number is 88), 46 copies, and six paintings by non-Ottoman artists. Historian Fatma Ürekli’s research in the Archeological Museums’ archives shows that the collection was initially referred to as Âsâr-ı Nakşiye [Decorated Artworks]. I will be referring to it as Âsâr-ı Nakşiye, as this was the term used at the time of the culling of the initial collection, which was a collection solely of copies. See Ürekli, Fatma. “Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi’nde Resim Müzesi” [Museum of Painting at the Academy of Fine Arts] in “*Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete*” sosyo-kültürel siyasi yansımalar: Prof. Dr. Ali İhsan Gencer Anısına. (ed. Gencer, Ali İhsan, Gülden Sarıyıldız, Fatma Ürekli, Recep Karacakaya, and Neriman Ersoy) İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2015; Ürekli, Fatma. “Eminönü’nde Bir Sanat Kurumu: Âsâr-ı Nakşiye Müzesi” [An Art Institution in Eminönü: The Âsâr-ı Nakşiye Museum], 2nd *International Symposium on Eminönü*, Eminönü Belediyesi, İstanbul, 2007: 353-360; Ürekli, Fatma. “Takdim” [Introduction], *Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu*, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi Yayınları 788 (ed. Muharrem Kaya), İstanbul, 2014: 10-17.

¹²³ Halil Edhem. *Elvahı nakşiye koleksiyonu*. 1. baskı. Sanat kitapları dizisi 1. İstanbul]: Milliyet Yayınları, 1970: 40. This budget remained in place until 1913, after which it was significantly reduced to only 170 liras, with the economic downfall brought on by the Balkan Wars. With the beginning of the First World War, the budget was reduced further, and in 1916, it was completely withdrawn, with the expenses for the museum folded into the Imperial Museum’s existing budget. 1000 Ottoman lira equaled 100.000 kuruş. According to the French Chamber of Commerce, until 1914, 100 kuruş equaled 110 Francs, hence Edhem Bey’s budget was about 110.000 Francs per year. I thank Lorans Tanatar Baruh for this information. In 1909, you could purchase an original portrait of the Duchess of Milan by Hans Holbein for 72,000 pounds. Reitlinger, Gerald. *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices, 1760-1960*, Vol. 2, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1982: 201.

¹²⁴ The museums were the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (now known as the Bode Museum), the Louvre Museum in Paris, the Prado in Madrid, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. While historian Fatma Ürekli posits that twenty-four copies were ordered in 1911, there are only twenty-two entries from the 1911 logbook that I located in the archive of the Istanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi (IRHM). This is possibly because the paintings from Rome that she mentions were never acquired, due to the Italo-Ottoman War between Italy and the Ottoman Empire that resulted in Italy’s annexing of Tripoli the same year. It would be safe to assume that this accounts for the discrepancy in numbers between Ürekli’s research into Halil Edhem’s correspondence with museum directors and the ministry and my count from the inventory logbook in the IRHM archive. The other possibility would be that she mistakenly counts two paintings that were bought in an auction in Pera, İstanbul that are not copies, a landscape by British artist Horace Hopper, and an interior by Italian artist Enrico Lusini as part of the 1911 museum orders.

¹²⁵ Ürekli, *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi’nde Resim Müzesi*: 95. Ürekli also says that the Berlin Potsdam Museum’s director took a keen interest in Halil Bey’s project, informing him that copies of all oil paintings in the Potsdam Museum were readily available, and hence can be offered to the Ottoman Empire at a lower cost and with ease. However, there are no copies from the collection of the Potsdam Museum in the Âsâr-ı Nakşiye. My request to access this correspondence preserved at the Archeological Museums’ archive was denied.

well-known copyists determined by the museum directors. The newly commissioned copies made by these designated painters were to be approved by the respective museum director as a legitimate copy, and only after such a document was obtained would the copyist be compensated.¹²⁶ Starting in late 1911, Halil Edhem also began to acquire copies made by Ottoman artists; it can be assumed that in these cases, either the artist chose the painting to be copied or offered a copy that they had already made during their travels in Europe.

The inventory logbook for the collection, which Halil Edhem must have had specially made, was kept in French. [\[fig.1.20\]](#) With a spread of two pages dedicated to each work, it is a neatly kept document where one side features a black and white photograph of the copy made (a few entries seem to not have been photographed, hence this page is sometimes left blank), and the other page has sections for the inventory number, date of entry and title of the work, the name of the artist, the *école* (French, Flemish, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, German, British), the place where the original artwork resides, its medium and dimensions, and a brief description of the subject matter, carefully handwritten by Halil Edhem. This is followed below by the name of the copyist, the price paid, the description and price of its frame if there is one, and finally, a section for observations, which Halil Edhem usually left blank. The entries in the logbook cover the years 1911-1915, from when the initial relatively generous budget was first allocated, until it trickled down to one-tenth of where it started and was eventually folded into the museum's budget, and orders came to a halt.¹²⁷ There are notes added about the whereabouts of the works as late as 1919. The first entry, dated 1910, is not a copy sent by a museum, made by an approved copyist, but a locally bought painting made by "an Italian painter of 18th century, influenced by the school of Van Dyck." It is a partial copy of Rubens's *Romulus and Remus* (1615-1616), the original of which is in the collection of the Capitoline Museum in Rome. Acquired from a "Monsieur Wiegand" for 10 Turkish Liras, Halil Edhem is careful to note the provenance to the best of his abilities; initially bought in an auction at Pera, the

¹²⁶ Halil Edhem, *Elyah-ı Nakşiye koleksiyonu* (ed. Gültekin Elibal), Milliyet Yayınları Sanat Kitapları Dizisi 1, İstanbul, 1970: 40.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

European quarters in Istanbul, the painting was framed and restored in Berlin by its former owner. Perhaps, coming across, or being offered this copy was how Halil Edhem first came to the solution of a collection of copies, as he acquired this first copy a year before the parliament's approval and budget allocation.

A close examination of the logbook that Halil Edhem kept for the collection of copies shows that he acquired copies of paintings from the 14th to 19th century, casting a wide net to include examples of European painting ranging from Flemish landscape to French history painting, with what seems to be a particular focus on the human-figure, especially portraiture, with examples from Diego Velázquez, Rembrandt van Rijn, Albrecht Dürer, Johannes Vermeer, Jan van Eyck, and Élisabeth Louise Vigée le Brun.¹²⁸ In addition to the oil paintings, there are also thirty-eight entries for “color gravures,” of European masterpieces, gifted by the director of the Pinakhotek in Munich, Willem Bode. Interestingly, there is no evidence that these photographic reproductions were ever shown publicly during Edhem's tenure. His note that these are kept in the library of the Imperial Museum suggests that he thought of the photographic copy as inferior to the oil paintings that he was acquiring. In the logbook, there are also a few other copies outside the approved copies that came from the museums in Europe; there is an entry for a battle scene, sent from the Ottoman Ministry of War, *La Prise de la tour de Malakoff* by Adolphe Yvon, a copy of the original hanging at the Versailles, made by the artist himself. Another copy, gifted by Grand Vizier Sait Halim Pasha is Charles Joshua Chaplin's *Portrait of a Lady with a Cat* (or Girl with a Cat) (date unknown) copied by Ottoman painter Galib Bey. The last entries in the logbook are of works not acquired but taken from the Union Française, when its building was vacated by the French at the onset of the First World War. These works would be returned when Istanbul was occupied by the Allies, and are crossed over in the logbook, with a note of return from 1919.¹²⁹ Part of this lot is an Osman Hamdi

¹²⁸ It can be said that as noted in André Malraux's *Museum without Walls*, these portraits no longer functioned to represent their sitter, but signified painting itself. Malraux, André. *Museum without Walls*. [1st ed. in the U.S.A.]. Malraux, André, 1901-1976. *Voices of Silence* 1. Y. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1967: 14.

¹²⁹ In addition to eleven paintings, there were also seven sculptures taken from the Union Française, not included in Halil Edhem's logbook but listed in the 1915 exhibition brochure. Interestingly, a few of these sculptures were also

painting, *La Liseuse* (1895), the single original painting by an Ottoman artist that found its way into the collection—albeit only temporarily. The only permanent original painting by an Ottoman painter that was not a copy in the collection was a gift; the portrait of Abdül Hak Hamid Bey by famous painter and patron of the arts, and chairman of the Ottoman Painters’ Society, Crown Prince Abdülmecid II, that he himself gifted to the collection in 1915. The logbook includes all the paintings listed in the first official brochure of the *Âsâr-ı Nakşiye* collection titled “Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şâhâne Mektebinde Mevcud Âsâr-ı Nakşiye ile Bazı Heyâkilin Muhtasar Fihristidir” [A Short List of Contents for the Works of Painting and Sculpture in the School of Fine Arts] that was printed in 1915 when the collection was moved to two rooms in the school for permanent display. There are also a few paintings that never made it to that exhibition, gifts that were returned, perhaps found inadequate once the copies from museums started to arrive.

It seems that the unique disposition of the *Âsâr-ı Nakşiye* collection, as a collection of copies of paintings by recognized artists from the history of European painting housed in contacted museums—reflects Halil Edhem’s particular vision more than his brother’s. Perhaps for reasons of legitimacy, in texts penned by Halil Edhem and his colleague Mehmed Vahid, who introduced the newly forming collection in the *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi* [Ottoman Painter’s Society’s newspaper], the idea to order copies if originals prove hard to obtain is obliquely ascribed to Osman Hamdi. In his 1912 article announcing the temporary painting gallery in the Imperial Museum, Vahid explains that Osman Hamdi Bey believed that it was essential for artists to see paintings and sculptures by old masters. His wish was to organize a display of such works at the school, but he passed away before realizing this goal. As original paintings by old masters of this caliber [*esatize-i kadimenin mahsul-i yed-i iktidarı olan bu tabloların asılları*] were not to be found in circulation at this moment in time, and due to the inadequacy of the allocated budget, *it was suggested* that copies would be commissioned to those with sufficient

marble renderings or smaller bronze casts of sculptures from museum collections in Europe; in other words, they were also copies. Among these were a bronze cast copy of the statue of Narcissus, originally from Pompeii, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples; a bronze cast copy of a Psyche sculpture made by a foundry in Paris (unknown original), as well as a smaller bronze cast of the *Venus de Milo* and a marble copy of Etienne-Maurice Falconet’s *Baigneuse*, both from the Louvre collection.

artistic prowess. This idea was supported by parliament member Zehrab Efendi, who appreciated the educational value of this solution, and supported the allocation of the budget. While Vahid's use of passive voice in the article obscures exactly whose idea it was to commission copies, it can be safely ascribed to Halil Edhem, as he was the director of the museum and the school at this time. Halil Edhem was not a painter like his brother Osman Hamdi, and as a museum professional with much closer ties to archeology than to the fine arts, it is possible that he saw little difference between an original and a copy, much like the way archeological artifacts were treated at the time, where plaster casts were just as significant to have in a collection, and large sums were being paid by museums with encyclopedic aspirations around the world for plaster cast copies at this time, even if debates about the superiority of originals were ongoing.¹³⁰ Moreover, reproductions of paintings were shown in museums across Europe, even to the point of testing the abilities of the audience and daring them to tell the difference, more than a decade after Halil Edhem began forming his collection.¹³¹ In a sense, Halil Edhem was no different than certain European curators, who argued for bringing *in absentia* artworks into the imagination of the audiences through facsimiles. However, there was a notable difference; while visitors to museums in Europe could balance the reception of ideas from a copy with the material information from an original and assemble a wholistic perception of the work of art in their minds, Ottoman audiences lacked the original to fill in the gaps.

¹³⁰ For a discussion of the switch from acquiring original antique sculptures rather than plaster casts in American museums such as the MFA in Boston and the MET in New York, see Wallach, Alan. "The American Cast Museum: An Episode in the History of the Institutional Definition of Art," *Exhibiting Contradiction: Essays on the Art Museum in the United States*. Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998: 38-56. For example, the MET abolished its position of the "curator of casts" as late as 1906.

Osman Hamdi seems to have attached importance to obtaining plaster cast copies for his archeological museum as well. In a 1882 correspondence between Osman Hamdi and the director of the German Museum of Antiquities, the German director offers a plaster cast of the statue of Apollo from the Bergama excavations in exchange for a stone inset in a wall from the same site. In response, Osman Hamdi requested copies of all statues from Bergama (as absurd as this exchange seems today within the context of repatriation, this was a German excavation and the Ottoman antiquities laws were not being closely enforced at this time). Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*: 109.

¹³¹ Rebecca Uchill's study of the debates on German museums' investing in and displaying facsimile reproductions in the journal *Kreiss* from the mid-1920s to the 1930s, before Walter Benjamin's famous essay on the reproducibility and the aura of an artwork features recognizable names such as Erwin Panosfky and Alexander Dorner. Rebecca Uchill. "Original und Reproduktion: Alexander Dorner and the (Re)production of Art Experience," *Future Anterior*, Volume XII, Number 2, Winter 2015: 12-37.

The by-laws of Sanâyi-i Nefîse –the first educational institution dedicated to the fine arts in the Ottoman Empire– suggest that its founding director Osman Hamdi Bey already envisioned the school’s artistic education to be supported by object-lessons through collections and exhibitions made available locally: “Progress in the fine arts cannot solely be attained by sending students to Europe for education; it is necessary to open institutions such as schools and museums, and to organize exhibitions... and only by way of these institutions and by continuing to undertake artistic activities and by attempting to portray things specific to the nature and history of the country that a Turkish art can be brought into existence.”¹³² Reflecting the modernizing ambitions of the empire, Osman Hamdi wanted to establish more institutions that would foster the newly embraced Western artistic traditions, firstly for the edification of his students, and later for the general public. The by-laws he drafted for the school also functioned as his charter for the future: “in addition to the exhibitions organized by the academy and the archeological museum, a museum dedicated to painting and sculpture, and a museum for national arts will be established. Since the collection and organization of paintings and sculptures requires a great amount of time, it will be sufficient for now to have a painting *salon* [French is used in the original text] in the school–if not by old masters- then at least by contemporary artists [dönemin sanat erbabı], and especially by those occupied with Oriental arts [Şark sanatları].”¹³³ Founded in 1882 to instruct students in painting, sculpture, architecture, and engraving, the School of Fine Arts was located right next to the newly forming archeological collection of the Imperial Museum that had only opened two years earlier.¹³⁴ The Imperial

¹³² Quoted in Ürekli, Fatma. “Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi’nde Resim Müzesi” [Museum of Painting at the Academy of Fine Arts] in “*Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete*” sosyo-kültürel siyasi yansımalar: Prof. Dr. Ali İhsan Gencer Anısına. (ed. Gencer, Ali İhsan, Gülden Sarıyıldız, Fatma Ürekli, Recep Karacakaya, and Neriman Ersoy) İstanbul: Derin Yayınları, 2015: 92-93

¹³³ Ibid. I think by “Oriental arts” what is meant here by Osman Hamdi Bey is Orientalist painting, not “Arts of the East.” Considering that he is imagining a gallery of paintings and sculptures for the School of Fine Arts, separate from a museum of “national arts,” it is unlikely that he envisioned to include works of Islamic art as they are categorized today. The school only had instruction in oil painting, drawing and sculpture, all Western modalities at this time. Knowing that he himself is a painter who is instructed and heavily influenced by French Orientalist painters, I am inclined to infer that Osman Hamdi is aiming to warm his students to painting by presenting what would be closest to a language that has visual if not epistemological affinities for Ottoman students, that is Euro-orientalist painting.

¹³⁴ In her book *The Possessors and Possessed*, art historian Wendy Shaw argues that as emulations of European institutions, the museums of the Ottoman Empire performed a cultural camouflage; while the Imperial Museum mirrored the European practice of collection and display, it justified ownership of the objects presented not through

Museum was an institution with a twofold function; it offered symbolic spaces that situated the empire as part of Europe, and also resisted the incursion of Europe into Ottoman territory.¹³⁵

The two institutions, the Imperial Museum as well as the School of Fine Arts, both initially headed by Osman Hamdi, had originated as proto-nationalist Ottoman enterprises that were modeled after European counterparts. It could be said that the museum and the school were themselves *institutional copies*; the archeological museum presented itself like the imperial museums and the school of fine arts emulated the art schools in Europe, but existing within the Ottoman episteme, these two institutions were also embodiments of a *differential modernity*.¹³⁶ Both institutions reflected the Tanzimat dilemma of operating between the East and the West, a burden attributed to the figures of Ottoman intelligentsia such as Osman Hamdi Bey, but was also inscribed structurally to these imitative institutions.¹³⁷ The curriculum

the categorization of knowledge and construction of a teleological narrative, but through possession, in other words, by stressing the empire's territorial control of the collections' origins. The Imperial Museum was also a form of resistance to Europe as it was the vessel with which to stop the move of archeological artifacts from the Ottoman Empire to European collections. Shaw, Wendy M. K.. *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire*. 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

¹³⁵ While the collections as well as the number of buildings that housed them expanded rapidly in the late 19th-century and the displays changed multiple times, the museum retained a central display that highlighted the classical tradition with Greco-Roman artifacts found on Ottoman lands. The Imperial Museum reinforced the idea of a shared heritage with the West, not through presenting a strict replica of its chronological narrative of civilizational progress, but primarily by participation in the Western practice of archeology and museology. See Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*, chapter 6.

¹³⁶ Here I employ Althusser's concept of *differential modernity* as it was used by Wendy Shaw in *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011: 9. The two institutions were reflections of the Ottoman Empire's ambiguous relation to Europe. The empire laid a claim to being part of the civilizational narrative Europe had built of Western progress; its tools, such as museums and art academies, could be used in re-organizing the past to adjust the nascent Ottoman historical self-perception. And for it to be projected into the future, a new mode of artistic production in the Western modality was to be instituted to prove its civilizational prowess to Europe and to guarantee its progress. A very straightforward but telling example of how the fine arts education operated differently would be the often repeated story of how Osman Hamdi, upon discovering that his students had found a woman to model for them in the nude, quickly dismissed the model and told the students that they would have to wait until they were sent to Europe to draw and paint from a nude model. The life classes at the Fine Arts Academy featured clothed male models. Another point is that modernizing reforms were often met with resistance, and sometimes steps were taken back. For example, when there was pressure against the reforms from conservative Islamists, the plaster casts and marble statues in the Imperial Museum had to be draped by loincloths. Aksel, Malik. "Örtülü Heykeller" [Covered Sculptures] in *Istanbul'un Ortası*, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Kültür Eserleri Dizisi 259, 2nd ed., 2000: 123-127.

¹³⁷ Osman Hamdi's letters to his father when he was an aide to Midhat Paşa in Baghdad bear witness to the dilemma common to the members of the Ottoman elite; embracing a distinctly and proudly Ottoman oriental Islamic identity while yearning for the society to be modern, rational and refined. For a brief discussion of one of these letters, see Eldem, Edhem. "Making Sense of Osman Hamdi Bey and his Paintings." *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 339-83: 353-4. For the Tanzimat figure argument, see Bozdoğan, Sibel. "Art and architecture in Modern Turkey: The Republican period," *Turkey in the Modern World*. Reşat Kasaba and Sibel Bozdoğan, ed. Cambridge History of Turkey;

of the School of Fine Arts was modeled after the classic French beaux-arts education, which was supported by the existence of the Imperial Museum, much like the relationship between the Académie des Beaux-Arts and the Louvre Museum in Paris. In Istanbul, the students at the school were trained to draw and sculpt by copying ancient sculptures or architectural features assembled from Ottoman lands. The Imperial Museum also housed a studio for the production of plaster casts (much like the *atelier des moulages* at the Louvre), as well as a photography studio, and a library. While the artistic education was bolstered by object-lessons from the archeological museum's collections of antiquity, a sense of cultural heritage and ownership was also instilled in the future artists of the empire.¹³⁸ However, unlike the Louvre, there was no existing collection of paintings in the Imperial Museum. While Ottoman sultans had invited European painters to the Ottoman court since Mehmed IV (1642-1693), and a more coherent collecting practice for oil painting had been pursued under Abdülaziz (1830-1876) and later under Abdülhamid II (1842-1918), these works were neither accessible to the public, nor to the students of fine arts.¹³⁹ For Ottoman students of fine art, the expanse of painting's European history would only become available in the flesh to those who were able to go and visit the churches and museums in Europe.

As director of both the museum and the art school, Osman Hamdi was perfectly positioned to create and mediate the empire's artistic heritage as well as shape its future. From a family well integrated into the Ottoman bureaucracy (his father, European-educated İbrahim Edhem Paşa had served as an ambassador, vizier to Abdülhamid II, minister of foreign affairs as well as minister of interior), Osman Hamdi himself had been sent to Paris by his father to study law. Choosing to become a painter instead, he trained under French orientalist Gustave Boulanger and began a life-long friendship with Jean-Léon

Cambridge: University Press, 2008: 422 and Duben, İpek Aksüğü. "Osman Hamdi ve Orientalism," [Osman Hamdi Bey and Orientalism"] *Tarih ve Toplum* 7, 41 (May 1987).

¹³⁸ The displayed antiquities were signs of administrative wars won against European archeologists; this was a narrative of protection. Rather than a chronological range, insinuating an idea of progress, the placement of objects signaled geographical expanse, from Cyprus to Gaza with Assyrian, Egyptian, Kufic, Hittite, as well as Heleno-Byzantine remains.

¹³⁹ See Zehra Güven Öztürk, *Ottoman Imperial Painting Collection Through a Document dating from 1890*, M.A. Thesis, Koç University, 2008

Gérôme.¹⁴⁰ When his father served as the general commissioner of the Ottoman Empire's delegation to the Vienna Exposition in 1873, Osman Hamdi became involved in representing the Ottoman State through the organization of objects to construct an Ottoman identity under Sultan Abdülaziz.¹⁴¹ After several bureaucratic posts in Baghdad and Istanbul, he eventually became a museum administrator, partaking in archeological expeditions as well as the legislation of new laws for the retention of archeological objects in the empire. Throughout his career as museum director and archeologist, Osman Hamdi instituted multiple laws in his attempts to stop the loss of archeological artifacts from Ottoman lands to Europe.¹⁴² As a painter, he participated in international exhibitions in Paris, Vienna, Munich and London. As the head of the School of Fine Arts, his most significant contribution to fine arts education has been his emphasis on giving prominence to the human figure in Ottoman painting, which he also foregrounded in his own artistic practice.¹⁴³ Osman Hamdi organized annual exhibitions at the school and believed in the benefit of the proliferation of exhibitions and institutions of display.¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, he

¹⁴⁰ Some sources mention that Osman Hamdi attended classes at the École des Beaux-Arts, but this remains uncertain. Most sources list Gérôme as an instructor for Osman Hamdi, however, this has been contested, as Osman Hamdi's name is not to be found among Gérôme's students. Kortun, Vasif. "Osman Hamdi Üzerine Yeni Notlar," ["New Notes on Osman Hamdi"] *Tarih ve Toplum* 41 (May 1987): 25–26. However, there is proof of correspondence between the two men in Osman Hamdi's letters. For an example, see a quote from his letter to Osman Hamdi Bey from the author's personal archive: Eldem, Edhem. "Making Sense of Osman Hamdi Bey and his Paintings," *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 339–83.

¹⁴¹ For the Ottoman participation in the Vienna exposition, see Ahmet Ersoy's excellent study. Ersoy, Ahmet. *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire*; Farnham Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015.

¹⁴² In addition to Wendy Shaw's *Possessors and Possessed*, see also Ousterhout, Robert G., Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem. *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914*. İstanbul: SALT, 2011.

¹⁴³ Çoker argues that Osman Hamdi especially hired non-Muslim instructors for painting and sculpture at the School of Fine Arts, rather than the Ottoman-Muslim fine arts instructors at the military schools so that the new generation of artists would not avoid the figure. Çoker, Adnan. ed. *Osman Hamdi ve Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*. Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi 1983 Yayını, Toplu Sergiler 8. İstanbul: Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1983: 11-16. His Orientalism has been much discussed and is not of particular relevance here. For varied opinions on his particular brand of Orientalism, see Zeynep Çelik, "Speaking back to the Orientalist Discourse," in *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, ed. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (Durham (USA): Duke University Press, 2002; Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *The American Historical Review*, Volume 107, Issue 3, 1 June 2002: 768–796 and Edhem Eldem, "How Does One Become an Orientalist? The Life and Mind of Osman Hamdi Bey, 1842-1910," in *Orientalism: Cultural Orientalism and Mentality* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2015), 2015: 33-57.

¹⁴⁴ For the most comprehensive biography on Osman Hamdi, see Cezar, Mustafa. *Sanatta Batı'ya açılış ve Osman Hamdi*. 2. ed. Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı yayını; no.1. İstanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı, 1995. For Osman Hamdi and the Academy of Fine Arts, see Çoker, Adnan. ed. *Osman Hamdi ve Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*. Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi 1983 Yayını, Toplu Sergiler 8. İstanbul:

wouldn't live to see the materialization of all of his ambitious goals; while he managed to fund and realize the expansion of the Imperial Museum twice, the multiple museums he imagined to house highlights of European as well as Ottoman painting and sculpture would not be achieved in his own life time. The project to institute a small painting gallery in the school would be taken up by his brother Halil Edhem after Osman Hamdi Bey passed, and Halil Edhem's slight deviation from the course set by Osman Hamdi would pave the way for a mimetic painting practice that would become a tenet of Turkish painting.

As mentioned earlier, Halil Edhem (1861-1938) took over his older brother's positions, both at the museum and the school after Osman Hamdi Bey passed away in 1909. Halil Bey was no stranger to the institutional legacy of Osman Hamdi; in fact, he had played a seminal role in building it. Even though he was acting as the recently appointed governor to Istanbul at the time of his brother's passing, Halil Bey had worked alongside Osman Hamdi at the Imperial Museum for most of his life. He had started as assistant to the director, his brother, in 1889, and served as deputy director between 1892 and 1909, participating in the archeological excavations as well as the management and display of the collections. Unlike his Francophone brother who was trained in the arts, Halil Bey was a man of science, and received a significant part of his higher education in German-speaking parts of Europe, in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, where he studied chemistry, natural sciences, and geology respectively.¹⁴⁵ Like Osman Hamdi, he held various positions in the Ottoman state upon his return, followed by teaching posts at various high schools and the only Ottoman institution of higher education, *Darülfünun*, before joining his brother at the museum. Historically understudied, Halil Bey was as passionate about historical preservation as his polymath brother; he was interested in Islamo-Turkish heritage, specializing in Byzantine and Islamic numismatics as well as Turkish and Arabic inscriptions. He wrote urban histories

Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1983. For the most recent study, see Eldem, Edhem. *Osman Hamdi Bey sözlüğü*. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı yayınları. Anma ve armağan kitaplar dizisi 25. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2010.

¹⁴⁵ Halil Edhem received much of his education in German; the family moved to Berlin when he was in middle school, as his father was appointed ambassador to the Second Reich. He studied chemistry and geology in Vienna Polytechnical Institute, and received his doctorate in philosophy from Bern University in 1885.

of several Ottoman cities and campaigned especially for the preservation of architectural heritage. He was a staunch supporter of the Young Turk Revolution and the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), much like his brother, and was a founding member of the *Târîh-i Osmânî Encümeni* [Ottoman History Society] that was set up by the CUP government, and temporarily headed its reincarnation Türk Tarih Kurumu [Turkish History Institute] in the Turkish Republic, staying on as an active member until the end of his life. He “played a significant role in the transition of Ottoman cultural institutions in the Turkish republic,”¹⁴⁶ overseeing the museumization of the Topkapı Palace and the re-organization of the Yıldız Palace collections. In 1917, he left his position as head of the School of Fine Arts when it separated from the Imperial Museum but remained the director of the National Museums (which had merged to include the Topkapı Palace and the Islamic Arts Museum alongside the Archeological Museum) until he became a member of the parliament in 1931, where he served for two terms, until 1935.¹⁴⁷

Halil Edhem’s account of the formation of the *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* collection penned in 1924 brushes off his very particular approach to collecting copies of European paintings; rather than originals as an evidently necessary decision that was neither unorthodox, nor objectionable. However, when word got around among Ottoman artists that a collection of copies was being formed by the newly appointed director, it fueled passionate articles that appeared in the *Ottoman Painters’ Society Journal*. The articles reveal the young artists’ ideas about the copy, the original and photographic reproduction, as well as revealing a sense of their yearning to understand the beginnings of painting in the Ottoman Empire.

Writing from Paris in 1911, Sami [Yetik], a recent graduate of the School of Fine Arts, was very excited to hear that Halil Edhem Bey had been appointed as the director of the school and the museum. He informed the reader that he was cautiously happy about the change in leadership and was hopeful about

¹⁴⁶ Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed*: 98.

¹⁴⁷ For his biography and various selected texts see: *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı: In Memoriam Halil Edhem*. Vol. no. I-II. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1947; Mayer, L. A. “In Memoriam: Halil Edhem Eldem (1861-1938).” *Ars Islamica* 6, no. 2 (1939): 198–201 and Artun, Ali (ed.) *Müzecilik Yazıları*. İletişim Yayınları. İstanbul: 2019.

the future painting gallery. The young Ottoman painter's previous articles in the journal had ranged in tone between complete awe for the European art capital, from its urban planning to the exhibitions at the Louvre, interspersed with a disgruntled comparison to the state of artistic matters back home, with vehement criticism of the art education back at his own alma mater, where he had graduated top of his class. The article is written before the official announcement of the collection of copies, but news of Halil Edhem's efforts seems to have reached the young artist in Paris when Halil Edhem visited the city to order copies of paintings from the Louvre in person. As one of the first actions for the new director, Sami finds the initiative unfortunate, as he believes that the priority should lie with finding and presenting original works already in the empire, especially by Ottoman painters. He asks:

Would we be at a loss if, instead of filling this gallery with the copies of old paintings signed by foreign copyists, the effort was made to acquire original works, even if there were to be much fewer [paintings]? Yes, if we had a museum of painting with the artworks of our artists past and present, just as in the rest of the civilized countries, or if the paintings bought from Europe during the rule of Abdülaziz, be his place in heaven, were to be collected in a research institution for those interested, we would support the initiative of a gallery to house a collection that illustrates the old *écoles*, and [we would] ask those in power, and demand for its implementation to the government or the ministry of education. However, knowing that the valuable paintings of the famed Gérard, Yvon, Gérôme, Adam, Aivazovski, Chlebowski, bought for hundreds of liras are under lock and key here and there, that not even the smallest of works by the late Ottoman artists such as Hamdi Bey [Osman Hamdi], Şevket Bey, Tefik Paşa, Hüsnü Yusuf Bey are in our Museum, when there is uncertainty about owning the uniquely beautiful works of artists such as Halil Paşa, Rıza Bey, Seyyid Bey, or the master of paintings of interiors, Şevket [Dağ], Bey, it is not comprehensible, in our opinion, to suddenly show an extreme need for copies from the Louvre Museum. [...] What has happened has happened, commissions were made, and we have wasted a few hundred liras on copies that will have no color or scent in a few years. If more copies have been ordered, we should be excused from following through. Firstly, we expect Halil Bey to venerate the predecessors, so that the successors are encouraged. Secondly, we advise that modern and original artworks are bought from European exhibitions for the gallery. It is not yet the time for the Louvre copies, that is an artistic balance to be attained in the future. Time will resolve that easily.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Sami [Sami Yetik]. "Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi İçin III," *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi*, February 16, 1911, no:9, *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi 1911-1914*, yay. haz. Y. Zihnioğlu, Kitap Yayınevi: İstanbul:87-89: 88.

In the same article, Sami also complains about Halil Edhem's decision to look for copyists not among Ottoman artists and protests his preference for European artists, adding that an official application by Selim Meşaka, an Ottoman artist living in Paris, had been ignored. In fact, Sami's complaint of the choice of foreign copyists over Ottoman artists must have touched Halil Edhem, as later that same year, copies by Ottoman artists started to enter the collection.¹⁴⁹ Writing for the same journal a year later, in the spring of 1912, museum official and the School of Fine Art's art history instructor Vahid Bey announced that while plans to construct galleries within the school to house the collection were postponed for the time being, the first batch of copies could now be seen in one of the rooms of the Imperial Museum.¹⁵⁰ He proudly

¹⁴⁹ First was a copy by a female Ottoman painter, Mihri [Müşfik] of Franz Hals's *The Gypsy Girl* (1628), followed by Ali Sami [Boyar]'s copy of Jean-Baptiste François Chardin's *L'enfant au toton (Portrait de Auguste Gabriel Godefroy)* (circa 1736) and Eugenie Derdzakian's copy of Franz Snyders's *Vorratskammer mit Diener* [Pantry with Servant] (c.1615-20), all acquired in 1911. A copy by Galib Bey of Charles Joshua Chaplin's *Portrait of a Lady with a Cat* (or Girl with a Cat) (date unknown) was gifted by Sait Halim Pasha that same year. The following year, in 1912, another copy made by Eugenie Derdzakian, Jacob Jordaens's *Satyr at the Peasant's House* (c.1620) and Ömer [or Emir?] Avni Bey's copy of Luca Giordano's *Mars et Venus* (this is possibly *Mars and Venus in Vulcan's Forge* c. 1670 from the Louvre Museum Collection, as the entry for this work is neither accompanied by an image in the inventory logbook, nor is it still in the collection, it cannot be confirmed with certainty). Some 20th century sources print this artist's name as Hüseyin Avni, and therefore assume it is Avni Lifij, but I could not confirm this, as Halil Edhem's hand-writing in the inventory logbook and Vahid's brochure refer to this artist as Ömer/Emir Avni (the uncertainty between Ömer/Emir is due to the lack of vowels in Ottoman script). I find it unlikely that this copyist is Avni Lifij, as he adamantly refused the public display of copies. Eventually, two copies by Selim Meşaka, Jacques-Louis David's *Portrait de Madame Emilie Seriziat et son Fils* (1795) and Claude Gelée [Lorraine]'s *Ulysse remet Chrysis à son père* (circa 1644) were acquired in 1913. In 1915, Hikmet Efendi's copy of *Portrait of a Man* (date unknown) by Sir Thomas Lawrence (the specific original painting could not be determined, as this is no longer in the Louvre Collection, from where it is stated to have been copied. The copy is in the IRHM collection today, however, a reverse image search on the internet did not yield any results either) Last addition was Nazmi Bey's copy of Antoine Coytel's *Démocritus* (1692). Eventually, there would be eleven copies by nine Ottoman artists in the collection. For Nazmi Bey's copy of Coytel's *Démocritus*, see Artun, Deniz. "Démocrite: Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu için Louvre'dan Bir Sipariş," [Démocrite: A Commission from the Louvre for the Elvah-ı Nakşiye Collection] *e-skop*, June 13, 2018. <https://www.e-skop.com/skopbulten/turkiye-sanat-tarihi-d%C3%A9mocrite-elvah-i-nakşiye-koleksiyonu-icin-louvre-dan-bir-siparis/3821>. Last accessed: September 2, 2020.

¹⁵⁰ Vahid. "Müze-i Hümayun'da Bir Şube-i Cedide-i Sinaat" [A New Art Branch in the Imperial Museum], *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi*, March 25, 1912, no:11, *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi 1911-1914*, yay. haz. Y. Zihnioğlu, Kitap Yayınevi: İstanbul:109. Osman Hamdi's son-in-law, Mehmed Vahid was an art history instructor both at the School of Fine Arts and the Darülfünun (Ottoman University). He not only wrote guides for the Imperial Museum but was also the author of the first introduction for the collection of copies when it was exhibited across two rooms at the academy in 1915. Although the brochure does not list him as author, the introductory text is largely the repetition of his initial article about the collection in the *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi*. Vahid translated French archeologist Salomon Reinach's *Apollo: histoire générale des art plastiques*; an illustrated art historical survey ranging from the prehistoric times to the 19th century, based on Reinach's lectures at École du Louvre. He was a francophile like Osman Hamdi and preferred a more complicated Ottoman art terminology unlike his contemporaries. For more on Mehmed Vahid, see Naipoğlu, Seçkin. *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nde Sanat Tarihi Yaklaşımı ve Vahit Bey* [The Approach to Art History at the School of Fine Arts and Vahit Bey] (doctoral thesis), Hacettepe University, 2008.

added that four of the copies were made by Ottoman artists, one of whom was a graduate of the school. Notably, one of these artists was female painter Mihri Rasim [Müşfik], who would be the first director of the Women's Academy of Fine Arts.¹⁵¹ Eventually, out of the forty-four copies in the *Âsâr-ı Nakşiye* collection, eleven would be made by Ottoman artists. [fig.1.21]

Sami's article was a rather intellectually weak objection to the collecting and commissioning of copies compared to Hüseyin Avni's passionate criticism of forming a collection of copies alongside Vahid's announcement of the opening of the temporary gallery of copies. Like Sami, Avni welcomed the idea of opening a painting exhibition for the artistic edification of the students at the school in principle. He was a firm believer in the power of seeing paintings in the flesh: "The paintings of the masters are the books of painters." However, while he appreciated the initiative, he thought that Halil Bey had chosen a wrong path:

If a painting museum is to be filled with copies, it is to the detriment of both the public and the painters. The public, as well as the novice painters, who are already devoid of the proper idea about what it is to be a painter due to the inexistence of a[n artistic] milieu, will either get the wrong idea or no idea at all about the fine arts if they are to base their opinion on these graceless, cold cadavers devoid of spirit. In fact, seeing a dead lion is not sufficient to understand what kind of animal a lion is. One has to see a live animal; its commanding pose while it sits, his imposing gaze, his slow and dignified stride as well as his sudden dart, soft but as fast as a thunderbolt, in short, the full range of characteristics of this animal to grasp the lionness of the lion.¹⁵²

Avni says that he has personally witnessed how a copy is merely the pale ghost of the original, despite the likeness, at the Louvre. An old painter, in good command of his brush, was copying the *Portrait of Marie de Medici* by [Anthony] Van Dyck, located in the Rubens Gallery. He says he would often go to this room in the museum, and stand next to or behind the painter, curiously awaiting the result. The copy was

¹⁵¹ Dağoğlu, Özlem Gülin. "Mihri Rasim and the Founding of the Women's Fine Arts Academy, İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi: a Double-edged New Social Reality," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, volume 6 issue 2 (2019): 33-54.

¹⁵² H. Avni [Lifij]. "Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nde Küşadı Musammem Galeri İçin," *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi*, April 7, 1912, no:11 republished in Lifij, Avni. *Sanat yazıları*. İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2019: 71-8.

completed in two months. He describes the result by asking the reader to imagine a large mirror placed in front of the painting; the result was “as similar to the original as a reflection in the mirror would be.”

“However,” Lifij says, “it lacked the thing that is essential in a painting; that thing that gives a painting the qualifier fine art; its spirit.” Lifij gives another example;

I saw this happen another time with the copy of the Rubens painting *Lot's Escape* [He must be referring to *Lot and His Family Leaving Sodom*, 1625]. The person who was copying this painting was so well-known for his knowledge of art that there was always a group of old, young, male and female painters and amateurs around him, listening to each of his words. I'm only mentioning these artists' work in the matter of the copy anyway, I am disregarding the copies made by atelier students, 15 year-old mademoiselles, old *messieurs* and *mesdames*. In short, this person also made something no other than the spiritless repetition of an original. The same result was achieved in the copy of [Jacob] Jordaens's (1593-1678) painting *The King Drinks* [1640]. We ask the honorable founder of the gallery [Halil Edhem Bey], so that he can have a better formed opinion about the matter, that next time they are in Paris, to first visit room 19 at the Louvre to see painting number 213, the French école's famous colorist Delacroix's (1798-1863) *Entry of the Crusaders in Constantinople* [1840], after which, to please make the effort to go then to the Versailles to examine painting number 1204 in the Crusaders room. This is a copy of the other. The comparison between these two paintings will make evident that it is a thousand times better to acquire fewer original works for a gallery rather than filling it up with many copies, and this comparison will prove how true our claim is, and excuses the boldness with which we write these lines.¹⁵³

Avni goes on to say that if a copy has any benefit, it is to those who make them, but in this matter of the gallery, the benefit of the public is in question. He gives the example of the Louvre, where in the case of missing a significant painting by an artist that is represented in the collection with many other works, there is either a copy of the artist's most famous painting, or black and white photographic reproductions. This is acceptable, as the copy is there only as a supplement to the original works that one can see. The young artist is especially concerned about the Ottoman public, whom he says are already devoid of artistic knowledge. He asks, if they were to form their opinions based on these copies, how are they to love painting? And as for artists, he posits this: “If they are in need of using paintings as a reference point when they come across an artistic issue in their own work, are they to take advice from the dead?”

¹⁵³ Ibid.

Another issue he brings up, is the matter of who makes the copies, but unlike Sami, his concern is about the artistic virtuosity of the copyist. Avni is worried that the many tricks of master colorists would escape copyists, no matter how apt they are. He reminds the readers that the basis of the Louvre Museum, King François's own collection, was formed by acquiring works from foreign lands, especially Italy, and asks: "Why can't we do the same?" Copies might only benefit the professionals as lessons in style, but how are they to benefit the public? In Paris, copies are only in the galleries of the fine arts academy. One has to make the public love painting. Once this is the case, and there is a demand for painting, then there can be such a gallery for the edification of the painters, to learn composition and color from the masters. And lastly, the artist objects to the selection of works that are copied. He asks: "Why are there Chardins or Chaplins [in this collection]? These are not masters!" He says that it will be the artists' responsibility to warn people against going to "this gallery of the dead."¹⁵⁴

With uncanny echoes of Walter Benjamin's concept of the aura from his essay *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technical Reproducibility*, Avni's text, which precedes Benjamin's by 23 years, did not elicit an immediate written response, neither from Vahid nor from Halil Edhem. Perhaps as a small consolation to Avni, a copy of a work by master colorist Delacroix or the Impressionists would never enter the collection. As for his worries about a gallery of ghost paintings giving the art students and the public the wrong idea about art, one could argue that the *Âsâr-ı Nakşiye* would not be on view long enough to have such a potent effect.¹⁵⁵

Writing in the catalog he prepared for the collection fourteen years later, in 1926, Halil Edhem repeated Vahid's words from 1912 almost exactly, obscuring the person behind the decision for the commissioning and acquisition of copies. Deducing from his chronology, the purchase of copies was

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ The gallery that opened in the school to showcase the collection in 1915 would have to move to another building together with the school only a year later. When this building was occupied by Allied Forces in 1919, the school would move again, but the paintings, which had been completely cramped together in a room with plaster casts, moved back to the Imperial Museum for storage, where the collection would remain until after the end of the occupation of the city, and the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

decided after Osman Hamdi's death. However, a page later, in a grammatically confusing sentence, Halil Edhem says that establishing a national museum with the work of national artists, and to *at least have copies made of old masters' works* was Osman Hamdi Bey's ultimate goal, until the day he died.¹⁵⁶ In this expansive catalog text for the *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* collection, Halil Edhem is especially defensive of his support for copies; to legitimize this approach, he assures the reader by giving European examples. Additionally, Halil Edhem stresses the shortcomings of the Ottoman government's financial means; he mentions collections formed by Americans for their museums in the same years with a hint of envy, as the economic strength of the American dollar, as well as the role of private enterprise in the formation of American museum collections allowed them to snatch many masterpieces from Europe. Halil Edhem recounts that Edouard Manet's 1873 painting *A Good Glass of Beer* that he had seen in the home of a German collector was later sold to the US by a Parisian dealer, as the Louvre was not able to afford it.¹⁵⁷ How could the Ottoman Empire form a collection of originals from scratch, if not even the Louvre could not afford a significant painting by one of their own? Hence, the first Ottoman painting collection would be less like an Ottoman Luxembourg or a Louvre of the Orient, but perhaps, more similar to Charles le Blanc's *Musée des Copies*, a short-lived project that opened in April 1873 and closed soon after, in December the same year.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ "Resim koleksiyonu sorunu üzerine 1910 yılı toplantı dönemi sırasında yapılan teşebbüsler Mebuslar Meclisi tarafından yerinde görülerek müze bütçesine yıllık 1000 lira ek ödenek verilmesi ve eski üstadların eserleri olup asılları ortada bulunmayan ve arasına bulunsa da pek fiatlı bulunmasından satın alınmalarına müze giderleri yetmeyen en ünlü tabloların kopyalarının ısmarlanması karar altına alındı." And "Güzel sanatlar yönetmeliğinin on dördüncü maddesinde sözü geçen resim müzesini kurmak ve milli ressamların eserleriyle beraber hiç olmazsa eski ustalardan bazılarının kopyalarını yaptırtmak hususu Hamdi Bey'in ölümüne kadar süren özlü bir emeliydi." Halil Edhem. *Elvah-ı Nakşiye koleksiyonu*. 1. baskı. Sanat kitapları dizisi 1. İstanbul]: Milliyet Yayınları, 1970: 39-41. The name of the collection becomes *Elvah-ı Nakşiye Koleksiyonu* [Collection of Decorated panels] with this catalog, which at this point was not solely comprised of copies, but also included original paintings by Ottoman and Turkish artists acquired and gifted between 1913-1926.

¹⁵⁷ Eldem, Halil Edhem. *Elvah-ı nakşiye koleksiyonu* (1970): 20. He seems to have followed the sale from the French magazine *L'Illustration*, and notes that the sale price suggested to the Louvre by a Parisian dealer was 1,800,000 Francs in 1923. (This was more than ten times Halil Edhem's yearly budget a decade before.) He wonders which American private collection or museum wall the painting is going to adorn. Today, the painting is in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

¹⁵⁸ The Museum of Copies was the project of the director of fine arts for the French government, Charles le Blanc, and backed by the minister of interior, Adolphe Thiers. Le Blanc commissioned copies—including the entire ceiling of the Sistine Chapel—from both well-known and lesser-known artists. Among the artists asked was Jean-Dominique

In 1915, the grand salon of the school and an adjacent room were re-arranged for the display of the *Âsâr-ı Nakşiye* collection. The small brochure stated all the information available about each work, including artist, copyist, title of the work (usually a descriptive title rather than the official title of the work), and the current location of the original. [fig.1.22] For the bronze sculptures it even listed the foundry where the reproductions were cast. With the addition of the artworks “borrowed” from the Union Française building, the exhibition display included a total of seventy-four artworks; there were six sculptures, nineteen paintings “by artists of recent times,” in addition to the copies acquired, which now featured “eight copies by Ottoman painters, five of which were made by graduates of the school, and two, to be proudly acknowledged, were by female Ottoman artists.”¹⁵⁹ [Fig 18] The introductory text, signed by the “Directorate,” closely follows Vahid’s announcement in the *Journal of the Society of Ottoman Painters* from 1912, with some updates on how the collection had grown since then, and perhaps, in response to the criticisms, includes a paragraph stressing the pedagogical aims of the collection, and bears the news that the aim is to expand the collection in two directions, with works from both old and new painters, with copies as well as originals:

It should be known that this exhibition is basically constituted to inform the student of the arts, the enthusiasts and those with an interest, to introduce to them what kinds of works the old masters produced, what a Rembrandt, a Watteau, a [da] Vinci is. For this reason, it is designed based on the idea of pedagogy, it is put together in such a way as appropriate for educational purposes, it is not a museum of painting. Therefore, it is only a branch of the School of Fine Arts.¹⁶⁰

Ingres, who was the head of the Académie de Rome at the time. Ingres is known to have famously replied “...now, when I make drawings, I sign them Ingres!” The brief life of the museum ended in December of 1873, less than 2 years after it had been conceived, when le Blanc was removed from his post. The copies remain at the École des Beaux-Arts. Interestingly, according to le Blanc, for the *Musée des Copies*, each artist “in performing [his] work faithfully, [put] something of himself into the task of assimilation.” Shiff, Richard. “The Original, the Imitation, the Copy, and the Spontaneous Classic: Theory and Painting in Nineteenth-Century France.” *Yale French Studies*, no. 66 (1984): 27–54. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2929861> See also Boime, Albert. “Musée des Copies,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, October 1964: 237-247.

¹⁵⁹ Directorate [Vahid]. “Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şâhâne Mektebinde Mevcud Âsâr-ı Nakşiye ile Bazı Heyâkilin Muhtasar Fihristidir,” [A Short List of Contents for the Works of Painting and Sculpture in the School of Fine Arts] Matbaa-i Amire, İstanbul, 1334 [1915].

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. “Şurası malum olmalıdır ki bu meşhur esasan talebeye ve heveskaran ile müntesibin sanaatta azam-ı üstadın ne gibi eserler vücuda getirmiş olduklarını bildirmek, bir rembrant, bir vato, bir venci’nin nasıl olduğunu tanıtmak için teşkil olunmuş bu cihetle sırf pedagoji yani terbiye ve tehzib-i şayan fikrine istinaden tertib edilmiştir, yoksa bir

When the collection of copies was first presented at the school, with the addition of the bronze and marble sculptures from the Union Française, the two rooms must have looked like the salons from any museum in Europe from a distance, except for the extremely condensed chronological and geographical presentation of a European history of art, and that most of the artworks were in fact copies. One point of confusion that can be felt in the writings of the young Ottoman painters, as well as in the efforts of Halil Edhem, and the text in the brochure, seems to be the two separate missions ascribed to this collection. Was the Âsâr-ı Nakşîye a strictly pedagogical endeavor for the edification of the fine arts students, or was it to fulfill the lack of a public display of fine arts in the Western modality in the Ottoman Empire? With these two slightly diverging functions ingrained into its formation from the beginning, the Âsâr-ı Nakşîye collection would indeed become the nucleus of the national collection of painting and sculpture.

Epistemologically, this is in fact rather fitting. The adoption of this art form, the translation of the three-dimensional world onto the canvas, was itself a mimetic act for the Ottoman Empire, one part of a larger effort to modernize by imitating. The beginnings of painting that put the copy at the center of artistic practice informed a legacy of mimetic appropriation that continued on into the early Turkish Republic. Halil Edhem's correspondence with the Ministry of Education in the month of October of 1916 shows his intent to continue collecting in the same manner; commissioning copies from European museums, accepting donations of original artworks bought by the ministry or the Istanbul municipality, and combing through works in various state offices for paintings so that works by Ottoman artists past and present become a prominent feature of the collection. However, with the onset of the war, the CUP government would first reduce the budget, and by 1916, cut it completely. While the commissioning of copies from European museums came to a complete halt at this time, the collection continued to grow

nakış müzesi değildir." The document was transcribed into the Latin alphabet by Tuba Silahtar at my request. Translation from Ottoman Turkish to English is mine.

with works by Ottoman painters through gifts, donations as well as appropriations from imperial buildings.¹⁶¹ A year after the Âsâr-ı Nakşiye collection was put on display, the school moved to a smaller building, the Cağaloğlu Lisan Mektebi [Cağaloğlu Language School], and the painting and sculpture gallery went with it. During this time, Halil Edhem prepared the by-laws for a museum that would house this collection. The legislation that passed through the parliament in 1917 reflected his expanded view for the museum and the collection; the museum would have four sections of painting: first, works by contemporary Ottoman painters, second, works by contemporary “foreign” artists, third, authentic works by old masters, and lastly copies of old master paintings.¹⁶² When the building in Cağaloğlu was occupied by Allied Forces in 1919, the school had to relocate again, this time to an even smaller space with only six rooms, so the Âsâr-ı Nakşiye collection, which had been completely cramped together with plaster casts, moved back to the Imperial Museum for storage, where it would remain from the occupation of the city until the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Halil Edhem must have written and printed the guidebook *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* in 1924 with the hopes of once again being able to show the collection, this time under the heading of a national museum, as his appeals to the new Turkish parliament to find a building for the museum was answered the same year.¹⁶³ After the tortuous back and forth about determining the best location for the museum, and numerous setbacks, both the collection and the school left the historical

¹⁶¹ Halil Edhem was instrumental in the return of paintings from the *Exhibition of War Paintings* that was shown first in Istanbul, then in Berlin and Vienna. Fifty-six works from this exhibition, as they commissioned by the state, were given to the collection by the ministry of education. For more about the exhibition, see Gizem Tongo. “Ottoman Painting and Painters during the First World War.” PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2017: Chapter V. Another addition to the collection came in the form of paintings that were given to the care of the museum when an imperial building designated as the residence of the Ottoman princes was vacated in 1921 before the Allies occupied it. Finally, paintings were acquired from the 4th *Galatasaraylılar Yurdu* exhibition in 1922. Halil Edhem, *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* (1970): 45-46.

¹⁶² Halil Edhem, *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* (1970): 50-53. The *Sınaat-ı Nefise Sergisi* law that was drafted by Halil Edhem during the CUP government in 1917 was promulgated once again by the Turkish parliament in 1926.

¹⁶³ At the time the catalog was printed the *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* collection featured 141 paintings in total, 87 paintings by “national artists”, 10 paintings by Western artists, and 44 copies. Halil Edhem announced in the catalog that the collection would be housed in the Alay Köşkü, an early 19th century kiosk built during the rule of Mahmud II, on a prominent corner of the Byzantine walls of Istanbul on the historical peninsula. Unfortunately, this plan would be aborted, and after many more failed attempts, the Princes’ Quarters of the Dolmabahçe Palace were granted to what would then be called the *Resim ve İnkilap Müzesi* [Museum of Painting and Revolution]. According to Remzi Arık the collection was exhibited in the Dolmabahçe Palace between the years 1918-1920 but this information remains unconfirmed and the dates do not comply with other accounts. Arık, Remzi Oğuz. *Türk Müzeciliğine Bir Bakış* [A Look at Turkish Museology], Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, Ankara, 1953.

peninsula and moved to the shore of the Bosphorus, respectively to the Ayan Dairesi and its neighbor, the Cemile Sultan Palace, two buildings that house the school to this day.¹⁶⁴ Poignantly, like his brother Osman Hamdi, Halil Edhem's plans to show this growing collection within the setting of a national museum unfortunately did not actualize during his tenure at the Istanbul Museums.

Nonetheless, the Museum of Painting and Sculpture would eventually open in 1937, just a little further along the shore of the Bosphorus, at the Princes' Quarters of the Dolmabahçe Palace under the directorship of painter Halil Dikmen and the strong initiative of the Fine Arts Academy's young director Burhan Toprak, with Halil Edhem's Âsâr-ı Nakşiye collection at its core.¹⁶⁵ Whether Halil Edhem had the chance to visit the museum to see the traces of his nucleus collection in the Painting and Sculpture Museum for the new nation is unknown, but unlikely.¹⁶⁶ While the Museum of Painting and Sculpture was a thoroughly nationalist institution of a republic that was now 15 years into its existence, significantly, one of its rooms was dedicated to copies, and out of the fourteen copies on display, twelve were from the Âsâr-ı Nakşiye collection. In a public statement, the young director of the Fine Arts Academy Burhan Toprak, who had spearheaded the efforts to open the museum said that in organizing the museum collection, the four categories defined in a previously drafted museum law were followed, but he made no mention of Halil Edhem's name.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Halil Edhem had insisted to have the collection follow the fine arts students. For now, it is uncertain whether the collection was only stored or was accessible to students during this time, as the school's institutional archives are not open to researchers.

¹⁶⁵ Turkish art historians mistakenly attribute the museum collection and the granting of the Dolmabahçe location to the efforts of the director of the Fine Arts Academy at the time, Burhan Toprak. Toprak had organized an exhibition titled "50 Years of Turkish Painting" at the Academy in 1936. Turkish art historians posit that it was seeing this exhibition that convinced Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to give the orders for the opening of the Painting and Sculpture Museum. See *İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi, 1937 Açılış Koleksiyonu: Serginin Sergisi = Exhibition's Exhibition: İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum, 1937 Opening Collection*. Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2009. This is a partial history with significant gaps in its narrative, mirroring other historical efforts that obscure the Ottoman beginnings of Republican institutions. Like Halil Edhem, Burhan Toprak had canvassed schools and state offices around the country to unearth paintings for this exhibition, however, most of the paintings shown in this exhibition were already in the school, as part of the Elvah-ı Nakşiye collection.

¹⁶⁶ In 1937, Halil Edhem was living in Ankara and his health had deteriorated; he passed away in early 1938. Aziz Ogan. "Halil Edhem" in *Müzecilik Yazıları* (ed. Ali Artun) İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2019: 96.

¹⁶⁷ "Resim Müzemiz," [Our Painting Museum], Interview with Burhan Toprak, *Tan Gazetesi*, October 14 1936: 7.

Yet, Toprak followed in the footsteps of Halil Edhem in another very crucial way; in the same interview, he underlines his intent to expand the collection of copies. Toprak's plan was to do so quite economically; by asking each student who was sent to Europe to bring back a copy they have made to the museum upon their return.¹⁶⁸ In another 19th century French parallelism (like the one between the *Musée des Copies* and the Âsâr-ı Nakşîye collection, Toprak's plan to have the students make copies as part of their studies abroad is much like the French Prix de Rome model.¹⁶⁹ The current inventory of the museum, today called İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi (IRHM) shows that acquiring copies of European paintings was revived as promised by Toprak in the newspaper interview in 1937. With this idea, Toprak had institutionalized the episteme of copying, essentially making it state ordained. With his initiative, he had created a lasting practice among Turkish students of the arts, who would take on the project of copying a painting during their time abroad. Whether it was acquired by the museum or not, Turkish artists would proudly list the copy they made in their curriculum vitae, well into the 1950s.¹⁷⁰ It is difficult to determine exactly how many copies Burhan Toprak received from students to add to the museum collection during his tenure at the school, however, gleaning from the current museum inventory, it can be safely assumed that at least six copies made by students of the Academy were acquired for the collection during his tenure. Cevat Dereli's copy of Honoré de Daumier's *Crispin et Scapin* (c. 1860) and Halil Dikmen's copy of Edouard Manet's *Olympia* (1863) were already displayed alongside copies commissioned by Halil Edhem when the museum first opened. Over the next few years, Hamit Görele's partial copy of Paolo Veronese's *Crucifixion* (c.1582), Hale Asaf's copy of Paul Gauguin's *Tahitian Women on the Beach* (1891), and three copies by none other than Zeki Faik İzer –the successive director

¹⁶⁸ This continued an Ottoman practice as we have seen. Successful students from the School of Fine Arts were sent abroad to further their artistic education, starting in 1889. After 1908 and the *Meşrutiyet*, more graduates were sent abroad each year. The last Ottoman students returned from Paris with the onset of WWI in 1914. This tradition was revived after the foundation of the New Republic, in 1924.

¹⁶⁹ The fourth year of Prix de Rome was explicitly dedicated to producing a copy of a masterwork suitable to be sent back to France to decorate Versailles or hang in the École des Beaux-Arts, where a study collection for students who could not go to Italy was formed.

¹⁷⁰ For example Adnan Çoker (1927-) to this day lists having copied Pieter Bruegel the Elder's painting *The Beggars* (1568) from the Louvre Museum in 1959 in his CV.

of the Academy after Toprak.¹⁷¹ In another newspaper interview, Toprak spoke of his plans to institute a strictly pedagogical room in the museum, dedicated to color reproductions. There, he also mentioned that while this would prove more difficult, his intent is to follow in the footsteps of Russian and American museums to acquire original works by contemporary foreign artists, as well as investing in original examples of classical paintings by international masters.¹⁷² This would have been much more possible during this time than when Halil Edhem had started his collection, as with the economic depression in Europe, the prices of both masterpieces and modern paintings had become attainable, as Toprak himself points out in the interview. However, for reasons yet to be uncovered, Toprak's ambitious plans to expand the collection with European originals did not actualize either.

When the Museum of Painting and Sculpture opened in 1937, one of its central rooms was dedicated to "Paintings of the Revolution." This is where the paintings of İzer, Berk and Kaptan discussed earlier were displayed, and where Atatürk stood to listen to the museum director Halil Dikmen. [fig.1.23] The Painting and Sculpture Museum would unfortunately close only a year after its opening, due to security measures taken with the onset of the Second World War; it remained so until 1951. While the additional rooms Toprak planned to open did not eventualize, he did manage to show the collection of copies and reproductions that he had helped expand during the museum's hiatus. In early 1945, Toprak organized an exhibition at the Fine Arts Academy titled "Classical European Painting Through the Ages." In a short text that reported the opening of the exhibition in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, Toprak said that they prepared this exhibition "...above all, to continue our students' interest in the masterpieces of plastic arts when it is not possible to engage with them directly, and to [have them] understand that beyond the limits of time, even though it changes shape and form, art obeys the same [rules of] beauty and harmony, and finally, to show that our curriculum is in complete alignment with art that is genuine, from Giotto to

¹⁷¹ The copies made by İzer that found their way into the museum collection are a copy of Nicolas Poussin's *The Finding of Moses* (1651), Titian's *The Entombment of Christ* (1526) and a partial copy of Vélazquez's *Portrait of the Infanta Maria Teresa* (1653).

¹⁷² Kandemir, "Türk resim ve heykel müzesi", *Cumhuriyet*, October 1, 1937:7.

this day.”¹⁷³ Underlying Toprak’s statement was a defense of modernism as a continuation of European classicism. As the director who had instilled educational reforms at the Academy by a complete overhaul of its teachers and positioned himself with the younger generation of painters whose modern works had not been received well by the general public, Toprak’s mounting of this exhibition can be seen as a strategy.¹⁷⁴ Additionally, this was another moment that the art students were cut off from the tradition of painting, as the war prevented them from furthering their studies in Europe.

The re-opening of the museum must have been on Zeki Faik İzer’s mind, when, as the new Director of the Academy after Toprak, he had encouraged Maide Arel to make copies while she was in Paris in 1950.¹⁷⁵ The inventory of the collection shows that under İzer’s direction, a new wave of acquisitions was made, including Eren Eyüboğlu’s copy of *La Blouse Roumaine* (1940) by Henri Matisse, Feyhaman Duran’s copy of *Le Cheval Blanc* (1898) by Paul Gauguin, Neşet Günel’s copy of Titian’s *The Entombment of Christ* (1520) and Haşmet Akal’s copy of Jean-Dominique Ingres’s *La Grande Odalisque* (1814), and of course, those by Maide Arel that were discussed earlier in the chapter.¹⁷⁶ Was it pre-determined, that after the fabricated scandal in the pages of the newspaper, she would have trouble selling her copies? Were her copies, which she fought very hard to place into the museum’s collection, ever exhibited there? Although it is not certain which copies were on view, when the museum re-opened in 1951, there still was a room for the copies. This room would disappear in the late 1960s, with the re-hang

¹⁷³ Toprak, Burhan. “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisinde Dün Güzel bir Sergi Açıldı,” *Cumhuriyet*, February 18, 1945: 2. “Bu sergiyi, herşeyden önce talebemizin plastik şaheserlerle doğrudan doğruya mümkün olmazsa bilvasıta alakalarını devam ettirmek ve onlara hududsuz zaman içinde san’atın biteviye şekil ve çehre değiştirmesine rağmen, daima aynı güzellik ve ahenk hududlarına itaat ettiğini anlamak ve nihayet tedrisatımızla Giotto’dan bugüne kadar gelen hilesiz san’at arasında tam bir uygunluk olduğunu göstermek gayeleriyle hazırladık.”

¹⁷⁴ Defending the deformations of modern painting as a continuation of tradition was also a similar position theorized and argued by André Lhote, the French salon Cubist, teacher and writer, whose influence on the painters in question will be delved into in the next chapter.

¹⁷⁵ It is interesting that it is Maide, and not Şemsi Arel who gets asked to make copies while in Paris. Was there gender prejudice in İzer’s asking the female painter to make copies? For the French inclination to ascribe the role of copyist to women painters as a lesser activity, see Duro, Paul. “The ‘Demoiselles à Copier’ in the Second Empire.” *Woman’s Art Journal* 7, no. 1 (1986): 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1358229>.

¹⁷⁶ For a study of Haşmet Akal’s copy, see Artun, Deniz. “Am I Obligated to Imitate You? On Copying the Grande Odalisque for the Ottoman Collection of Paintings Elvah-ı Nakşiye.” *Asiatische Studien - Études Asiatiques* 70, no. 4 (2017): 1141–1158: 1155. <https://doi.org/10.1515/asia-2016-0039>.

of the museum collection under the directorship of Nurullah Berk.¹⁷⁷ Interestingly, throughout these years, the story of Halil Edhem’s collection of copies was probably unknown to the visitors of the museum, if not also to some of the younger artists who made the copies, like Maide Arel. [fig. 1.24-25] Halil Edhem’s 1924 booklet had been in Ottoman script, and very few copies had been printed. This crucial guide, which not only catalogued the Elvah–ı Nakşıye collection, but also had a significant section that historicized the beginnings of painting in the Ottoman Empire, and offered a chronology of its first exhibitions would be transcribed in the Latin alphabet and translated into modern Turkish by art critic and author Gültekin Elibal in 1970. This late re-print also is the only record of an “Exhibition of Copies” that was organized at the Academy in 1965. Editor of the reprint Elibal lists all the copied paintings included in this exhibition. It can be inferred from this list that copies from Halil Edhem’s Âsâr-ı Nakşıye, those copies added to the museum collection during Toprak and İzer’s tenures, as well as a few later additions were shown together, and shown one last time. This would also be the one and only instance when Maide Arel’s contested Lhote and Picasso copies were certainly exhibited.¹⁷⁸

Is imitating creating, or is it mere copying? Richard Shiff argues that it is in the 19th century French discourse that imitation switched from a synonymy with invention to a synonymy with copying. Imitating nature while following certain conventions was the formula of classicism; the artist’s idealization of nature was the idiosyncratic element. Artistic invention became opposed to imitation through the theories of the Romantics against the Neoclassicists. Shiff argues that seemingly oppositional ideas are in fact closer to each other than they seem; as something completely original would also be unintelligible, innovation had to function within the interstices of the known and the unknown; hence

¹⁷⁷ Berk, Nurullah and Devrim Erbil. *Resim ve Heykel Müzesi*, Turing ve Otomobil Kulübü; İstanbul (exh. cat.). The undated museum guide he co-authored with Devrim Erbil describes each room of the museum, but this time, there is no mention of the copies. It is estimated from the writings of Devrim Erbil for other publications that the print date for this catalog should be circa 1967. Köksal, Ayşe. “Sanatın Kurumsallaşma Sürecinde İstanbul Resim ve Heykel Müzesi” [The İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum through the Process of Art’s Institutionalization], İstanbul Technical University, Ph. D. Dissertation, 2011: 150.

¹⁷⁸ Even though the museum inventory shows that a few more copies were added the collection after this date, they were never exhibited, and the last copy was acquired in 1977.

modernism is dependent on a notion of invention but as a composite of the old and the new, neither a perfect copy, nor completely original.¹⁷⁹ Within the context of the late-Ottoman and early Turkish painting, the degree of separation between the aping copy, direct quotation, imitative pastiche, compositional borrowing, inadequate reproduction or postmodern appropriation becomes harder to determine when the modernist concern for avant-garde originality in Western painting is put aside. Does the act of imitation always result in a copy? When is the original not copied but used as a source-image? Can the *culture of the copy* result in originality? Where is the line between conscious appropriation and indiscriminate imitation? Some scholars have likened the self-imposed appropriation of European culture by late Ottoman and early republican intelligentsia to Homi Bhabha's concept of colonial mimicry, but in this context, mimicry is not an anti-colonial tactic of infiltrating by maintaining a certain degree of difference, but a paradoxical self-imposed act, not always completely conscious. While artists in question might seem only capable of a belated aping of the foreign, it can be argued that their paintings are in fact original in their syncretism precisely because of the slippages allowed by the medium of painting, whether intentional or not. It is not repetition, as in Bhabha's mimicry, but the nature of representation which allows for this slippage. The ambiguous and changing attitudes of Berk and the others towards the copy are part of this process of mimicry; the assimilation of traditional French beaux-art education which saw the copy as an inimitable part of painting, as well as the switch over the years towards an internalized scorn for the copy (as well as the 'anxiety of influence' that will be delved into in the following chapters) are evidence of their syncretic modernism. Copying as part of the normativity of the European academic model was what the Ottomans set out to follow. In the European context, modernism's attack on academicism made the copy something to circumvent and embraced newly manufactured values of originality. This particular account of the *culture of the copy* puts to test the claim of Western

¹⁷⁹ See Shiff, Richard. "The Original, the Imitation, the Copy, and the Spontaneous Classic: Theory and Painting in Nineteenth-Century France." *Yale French Studies*, no. 66 (1984): 27–54. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2929861> and Shiff, Richard. "Representation, Copying and the Technique of Originality." *New Literary History*, vol. 15, no. 2, (Winter, 1984): 333-363.

civilization's universality, including modernism's impossible expectation of originality without precedent. In the act of the copy, the promise of both sides is doubly subverted; neither the project of self-imposed assimilation, nor the universal application of European culture and civilization is possible completely; however, for the artists that are the subject of this study, it resulted in syncretic originals as the following chapters will reveal.

Chapter 2: From Techne to Turkification (or the Other Way Around)

While civilization is international, culture is national.¹⁸⁰

Ziya Gökalp, 1918

“It is when we extract the art from our own soil, our monuments, our life, our pain, it is only then that we will have made art, this is what Turkish art is.”¹⁸¹

Avni Lifij, 1922

“I’ve said, I still say, and I will continue to say: We can obtain anything from the country where it made its latest evolution. Cannons, rifles, cars, trucks, even clothes and food if you will. But not art.”¹⁸²

Nazmi Ziya, 1937

“Weaker talents idealize; figures of capable imagination appropriate for themselves. But nothing is got for nothing, and self-appropriation involves the immense anxieties of indebtedness, for what strong maker desires the realization that he failed to create himself?”¹⁸³

Harold Bloom, 1973

¹⁸⁰ “Medeniyet beynelmilel olduğu halde, hars millidir.” Gökalp, Ziya. *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (1918), quoted in Berkes, Niyazi, ed., *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959: 97.

¹⁸¹ “Ne vakit sanatı kendi toprağımızdan, abidelerimizden, hayatımızdan, acılarımızdan alırsak, o vakit sanat yapmış oluruz, Türk sanatı budur.” Hüseyin Avni. “Resamlar Diyorlar ki,” *Dergâh* no:33 (August 20, 1922) quoted in Şerifoğlu, Ömer Faruk. “Avni Lifij’i Yeniden Keşfetmek,” *Avni Lifij: Çağının Yenisi*, İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2019: 42.

¹⁸² “Ben dedim, diyorum ve ve [sic] diyeceğim ki: Biz her şeyi son tekâmülünü yapmış olduğu memleketlerden alabiliriz. Yalnız san’atı değil: topları, tüfekleri, otomobilleri, kamyonları hatta isterseniz elbiseleri ve yiyecekleri bile.” Nazmi Ziya. “Resim Sergisi Hakkında,” *Cumhuriyet*, September 12, 1937: 5.

¹⁸³ Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence; a Theory of Poetry*, Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc, 1973: 5.

“Styling themselves the victims of influence –as if it were what its etymology suggests, an unstoppable astral inflow or *influenza*– they reveal much about the art that they subvert.”¹⁸⁴

Joseph Koerner, 2002

If the culture of the copy is the origin story of Ottoman easel painting and haunts the unfolding of its syncretic modernism—from its inception with the Photo-interpreter soldier-painters in the early 19th century through to the fabricated mid-20th century scandal on copying covered in the previous chapter—its course during the transition from empire to republic was marked by a growing *anxiety of influence*.¹⁸⁵ This uneasiness ran in parallel with the switch from an ambiguously Ottoman to a decidedly Turkish nationalism, which also found its reflection in the make-up of the artistic sphere.¹⁸⁶ As artists and art audiences began seeking traces of a Turkish character in painting, what was seen to be the natural –or even sought after– mark of Europe (which the art of painting itself was initially tasked to signal) came to be seen as training wheels that needed to be taken off. This chapter looks at how a group of Muslim-Turkish painters, often referred to as the “1914 generation” in local histories (as their return to the homeland from Paris was caused by the onset of the First World War), attempted to perform the local

¹⁸⁴ “A Sixteenth Century Influenza,” *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (ed. Bartrum, Giulia), Princeton University Press, Princeton; British Museum Press, London, 2003 (18-37): 33. In this article Koerner is referring to the “Dürer effect” propped by his inimitable style as well as his insistence on the trademark and the brand that his self-portraits enforced. The “Dürer effect” held sway among artists in the 16th century, ranging from the work of masterful artists who turned the Dürer *influenza* into a productive leash as well as those that followed the counterfeit model. Koerner also says in the beginning of his text: “Great art exists in a place between slavish copying, which anyway is doomed to fail, and excessive difference, which contradicts nature.”

¹⁸⁵ I borrow this term from Harold Bloom’s 1973 work about the matter of artistic influence as it pertains to poetry, also quoted in the epigraph. Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence; a Theory of Poetry*, Oxford: Oxford University Press Inc, 1973.

¹⁸⁶ For the switch from Ottoman to Turkish nationalism by the Committee of Union and Progress prior to and during WWI, see Zürcher, Erik Jan. *Turkey: A Modern History*. 3rd ed., new Ed. London; New York: IB Tauris, 2004: 127-132. On the other hand, there is the argument that behind the veil of Ottoman nationalism was a Turkish nationalism already in place since the 19th century. Selim Deringil says: “In the era of the Tanzimat and in the subsequent Hamidian period, leading statesmen had begun to think in terms of Turkism even if they couched their discourse in Ottomanist language.” See page 167 in Deringil, Selim. “The Ottoman Origins of Kemalist Nationalism: From Namık Kemal to Mustafa Kemal,” *European History Quarterly* vol:123 (1993): 165-191. However, in a very recent book, Christine M. Philliou argues that the notion of *muhalefet* in 20th century Turkish politics, which can mean both opposition and dissent, goes back to a rift between the Young Ottomans and Young Turks, hence resisting scholars’ assumptions that both groups’ desires for constitutionalism meant a complete alignment. See the introduction in Philliou, Christine M. *Turkey: A Past Against History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021: 1-19.

alchemy of converting received practices of representation into national achievements, metabolizing the *lingua franca* of easel painting into their own visual idioms, producing a syncretic modernism. Staying within the larger episteme of imitative appropriation, this chapter traces the work of these painters through the lens of influence, as it went from being perceived as a requisite measure to a necessary evil on the path to originality –a fully internalized outlook for the modern artist expected to perform the author function. The chapter traces various modes of assimilation that the artists employed, which ran in parallel with the gradual preeminence of a Muslim-Turkish artistic identity. As a new national consciousness came to the fore, so did the need for the civilizational marker of painting to become a cultural one. Ziya Gökalp’s binary distinctions were difficult for artists to adapt to painting; how were they to discern international civilization from national culture on the easel? Could aspects of painting be separated into that which is universal, and set apart from the particular? Or, could they be synthesized into an aesthetic whole? How were the aesthetic methods of the West to be integrated into the local? Anxious were the artists who both acknowledged their indebtedness to a thoroughly European training and sought to overcome its influence to create paintings that were Turkish. Problems of synthesis –formal, theoretical, as well as thematic– were to occupy the minds of painters that came of age during the end of empire and the rise of the nation state.

The artists that are today referred to as the “1914 generation,” or sometimes as the “Çallı generation” in reference to their best-known member İbrahim [Çallı] (1882-1960), included Mehmed Sami [Yetik] (1878-1945), Mehmed Ruhi [Arel] (1880-1931), Ali Sami [Boyar] (1880-1967), Feyhaman [Duran] (1886-1970), Hüseyin Avni [Lifij] (1889-1927), Nazmi Ziya [Duran] (1881-1937), Hikmet [Onat] (1882-1977) and Namık İsmail [Yeğenoğlu] (1890-1935). They are referred to as such not due to a unifying stylistic alliance or because they were a self-proclaimed artistic group, but because they had all gone from Istanbul to Paris to further their artistic studies in the 1910s (save for Hüseyin Avni, who went a little earlier than the others, in 1909) and returned to the empire before the onset of the First World War in 1914. In fact, not everybody in this grouping got along, there were artistic differences as well as

bureaucratic rifts, as the chapter will reveal. On the other hand, it is rather apt that the group's name refers to a moment in time; a significant historical marker recognizable across the East/West or center/periphery divide that continues to split the discipline of art history. The date stamp not only refers to a point in a personal timeline for these painters' sojourns abroad but also marks the beginning of the event that decisively ended empires and confirmed the unfolding eminence of nation-states. The painters in question were shaped as much by their common artistic education as they were by the historical events that determined the course of their lives and the political developments that in turn dictated the shape of their careers, creating opportunities as well as complicated positionalities. The later labeling of the 1914 generation as "Impressionists" and their ensuing reputation for "belatedness" is also addressed in this chapter. However, instead of the formalist "Impressionist" misnomer which reduces painting to a matter of technique, another term, the *juste-milieu* is suggested, still recognizably under French influence, but a descriptor of a middle-of-the-ground attitude that would come to characterize Turkish painters, and of course, act as evidence of their syncretic modernism.

Recently, some attention has been given to the artistic predicament of the 1914 generation artists as transitional figures between the end of an empire and the emergence of the nation-state in retrospective solo shows or thematic exhibitions in Istanbul.¹⁸⁷ However, a critical analysis of their historical position and deliberation on the formal characteristics of their collective output is scarce, if any. As Muslim Turk male artists, they enjoyed various powerful positions upon their return to the empire, precisely because

¹⁸⁷ The Sakıp Sabancı Museum has organized thoroughly researched monographic loan exhibitions in recent years for Avni Lifiş and Feyhaman Duran, with richly illustrated catalogs, namely, *Avni Lifiş: The Modern of His Time* (October 14, 2019-January 12, 2020) and *Feyhaman Duran-Between Two Worlds* (January 11-August 13, 2017). However, monographic studies and exhibitions do not acknowledge the hegemonic power of these artists as a group of bureaucrats, and their influence in the way art and its institutions were shaped during the first decades of the Republic. Most recently, the Sabancı collection, rich in paintings by the 1914 generation, was shown in a temporary exhibition titled "From the Reformation to the Republic: Master Artists, Artist Students" (2021). The exhibition *Üryan, Çıplak, Nü: Türk Resminde Bir Modernleşme Öyküsü* (Bare, Naked, Nude: A Story of Modernization in Turkish Painting) (November 25, 2015-February 7, 2016) at Pera Museum, curated by art historian Ahu Antmen was revealing in its scrutiny of the notion of the nude in late-Ottoman and early Republican painting, and its stress on the ontological difference of the nude within this context was significant. However, with the extensive time span it handled, it cast too large a net for a close deliberation on the work of the 1914 generation. (It should also be noted that it failed to acknowledge a precursor exhibition organized by gallerist Yahşi Baraz in 1981, titled *Türk Resminde Çıplak* [The Nude in Turkish Painting].)

this coincided with the onset of the Great War. Their artistic growth also overlapped with the ongoing expansion of the Muslim bourgeoisie. Both were buoyed by the rise in nationalist sentiment that guided the second constitutional era of the Ottoman Empire (1908-1919), which was ushered by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). The CUP, also often referred to in short as “the Unionists” by historians, was a secret-society of young military officers from the Ottoman Balkans that turned into the political vessel of the Young Turk Revolution, which had re-instated constitutional rule in Ottoman governance in 1908 (the first constitutional period had been short lived, between 1876 and 1878). However, the environment of hope and liberation that ensued after the CUP put an end to the oppressive Hamidian years quickly turned tumultuous with power clashes, and the introduction of martial law after a counter-revolutionary coup attempt in 1909 re-introduced a restrictive rule. As a result, Abdülhamid II was deposed, and his brother, Mehmed V was made sultan by the national assembly. The city that the 1914 generation returned to with the onset of the war was marked by the transformation of inter-confessional relations for the worse and continuing shifts in the makeup of the city’s population. But Istanbul’s cultural life remained active despite the Italo-Ottoman War in 1911, followed by the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, and even the Great War that ensued. The city’s occupation by British, French and troops representing the Allies after WWI¹⁸⁸ created a politically tumultuous and economically dire situation; however, it instigated a demographically diverse, socially boisterous and hence artistically stimulating environment for these young artists to make and exhibit their work.¹⁸⁹ This uncertain period, known as the *Mütareke*

¹⁸⁸ The Ottoman participation in WW1 ended with the signing of the Armistice of Moudros between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies of WW1, namely, Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Japan and the US. British, French and Italian troops controlled different zones of the city in the name of the Allied administration that was set up. Istanbul remained under occupation until the signing of the peace Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, which ended the conflict with the Allies following the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923).

¹⁸⁹ The cosmopolitanism of post-armistice Istanbul is vividly described in King, Charles. *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul*. First edition. New York: WWNorton and Company, 2014. For a description of this period as a roaring time and its continuation into the republican years in Istanbul, see Woodall, Carole. “Decadent Nights: A Cocaine-Filled Reading of 1920s Post-Ottoman Istanbul,” *Mediterranean Encounters in the City: Frameworks of Mediation between East and West, North and South* (eds. Michela Ardizzoni and Valerio Ferme); Lexington Press, 2015: 17-36. For nightlife and its visual regimes in the late Ottoman Empire, especially in its European quarter of Beyoğlu, where the 1914 artists also exhibited and socialized, see: Wishnitzer, Avner. “Eyes in the Dark: Nightlife and Visual Regimes in Late Ottoman Istanbul.” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 37, no. 2 (2017): 245–61.

years (the Armistice period of 1918-23) had resulted in an unexpected, culturally cosmopolitan environment; the onslaught of refugees from the aforementioned wars, the Bolshevik Revolution, and the influx of personnel from Entente countries as well as international aid organizations all rubbed shoulders in the city. Despite the devastations of consecutive wars, a crumbling empire with uncertain prospects, and dramatic demographic changes, the 1914 generation artists found financial support, opportunities for showing their work, and professional stability through teaching or administrative positions granted to them during years of unprecedented political ambiguity, all the while receiving the full attention of the remaining members of Istanbul's increasingly nationalistically inclined, often Western-educated Turkish-Muslim intelligentsia.

Some of the artists of the 1914 generation had first come together when they were still students at the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul, but where they all found each other was in fact the painting ateliers in Paris. [fig. 2.1] Other alliances were formed or strengthened under the *Journal of the Ottoman Society of Painters*, in which issues relating to painters and painting, its exhibition, evaluation and direction had been taken up. This is where the fervent arguments made by Hüseyin Avni and Mehmed Sami on Halil Edhem's collection of copies discussed in the previous chapter took place.¹⁹⁰ This journal was also where the identity of the Muslim Ottoman artist (fusing *millet* and *ümmet*, amidst the blurry waters of pre-republic nationalism¹⁹¹) was first discussed and distinguished, and matters of artistic responsibility in reflecting a national consciousness had first come to the fore.¹⁹² While the journal ceased its activities in

¹⁹⁰ While the foundational document of the Society of Ottoman Painters is not extant today, it is known that at its inception, the members included Mehmed Ruhi Arel, Mehmed Sami Yetik, Şevket Dağ, Hikmet Onat and İbrahim Çalli. Feyhaman Duran, Hüseyin Avni Lifij and Müfide Kadri joined soon after.

¹⁹¹ This is an interesting point that needs to be analyzed further. Ziya Gökalp uses the term *ümmet* (religious community) in many of his writings. There are traces of this fluidity in the articles in the Ottoman Painter's journal. Selim Deringil points out that for the earlier figure of Namık Kemal, the two words were interchangeable. Deringil, Selim. "The Ottoman Origins of Kemalist Nationalism: From Namık Kemal to Mustafa Kemal," *European History Quarterly* vol:123 (1993): 165-191.

¹⁹² From the initial statement of purpose in the first issue the journal signals that it is a professional publication geared towards the Ottoman painter. See "Maksadımız," *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi*, January 7, 1911, no:1, *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi 1911-1914*, ed. Y. Zihnioglu, Kitap Yayınevi: İstanbul: 2. By 1914, the last year of its publication, there is a noticeable increase in articles referring to a need of fine arts to reflect a national consciousness, more clearly formulated as a Muslim-Turkish identity, especially penned by Muallim (teacher) Vahyi (Ölmez) (1878-1957) and Galib Bahtiyar (Göker). See: Muallim Vahyi. "Sanatkarlarımızın Yapacakları" [What Our

1914, the Society of Ottoman Painters continued to act as an umbrella for artists from various generations, with an increase in active members when the painters sent to Paris as students returned home with the onset of the war. Meanwhile, Halil Edhem, who had taken over his brother Osman Hamdi's duties, heading both the Imperial Museum and the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul, had laid the groundwork for these artists –those whom his brother had worked hard to send abroad before his passing– to exhibit their work publicly upon their return, preparing a law for exhibitions, which was promulgated in 1916.¹⁹³

This resulted in the organization of the *Galatasaraylılar Yurdu Resim Sergisi* [Galatasaray Alumni Club Painting Exhibition] the same year, initiating what would become the annual Istanbul salon, which had its unlikely beginning during the middle of the war. As European-educated Muslim-Turkish artists, the 1914 generation, who had matured during the artistically opportune but politically chaotic last years of the Second Constitutional era of the Ottoman Empire, came to be directly associated with the Galatasaray exhibitions. These exhibitions and the 1914 painters mutually defined each other: it is the attention paid to the Galatasaray exhibitions and the discussions that were generated through them that allowed the 1914 generation artists to test their ideas, to find their individual voices as well as recognize collective interests, and establish their artistic personas. In turn, it was primarily through the work of the 1914 generation that the exhibitions became popular, first among the intelligentsia, and later embraced by the growing Muslim population of Istanbul at-large, after some initial reluctance. Two salons were organized in 1916 and 1917, with more than a hundred paintings submitted each year by civilian as well as soldier-painters, featuring both male and female artists, of Muslim as well as non-Muslim denominations. These war-time exhibitions paved the way for the *Türk Ressamları Sergisi / Exposition*

Artists Will Achieve], April 1, 1914 no:15 in *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi 1911-1914*, yay. haz. Y. Zihnioğlu, Kitap Yayınevi: İstanbul: 200-203 and Galib Bahriyar, “Sanayi-i Nefise'nin Milliyet Nokta-i Nazarından Tetkiki” [An Analysis of the Fine Arts through the Aspect of Nationality] and Muallim Vahyi, “Milliyete Doğru” [Towards Nationality] both in issue no:18 July 1, 1914 in *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi 1911-1914*, ed. Y. Zihnioğlu, Kitap Yayınevi: İstanbul: 297-298 and 308-313.

¹⁹³ An exhibition law drafted by Halil Edhem and Vahid was proposed in 1916 and passed by minister Şükrü Bey in 1917. It was published in the official newspaper as “Guidelines for the Fine Arts Exhibition” in the official newspaper on April 28, 1917. Gizem Tongo. “Ottoman Painting and Painters during the First World War.” PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2017: 167-170.

des Artistes Turcs [Exhibition of Turkish Artists]—summer exhibitions that served as the official salon beginning in 1919, organized by the Society of Ottoman Painters, which itself would be re-named as the Society of Turkish Painters in 1921. The location of this summer salon was the painting ateliers of the Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânîsi, the Francophone imperial high school in the Europeanized Pera district in Istanbul.¹⁹⁴ As they initially took place in the temporary alumni club and later in the school building of the Galatasaray lycée—a symbolic space that had embodied the Ottoman efforts of modernization through Westernization since the middle of the 19th century—these exhibitions are today referred to as the *Galatasaray Sergileri* [Galatasaray Exhibitions] *in toto*.¹⁹⁵

The cartoons published in the twice-weekly satirical magazine *Akbaba* capture the uneasy but curious, and often humorous nature of the general public’s encounters with painting at the Galatasaray salons, with the addition of what one can only assume is a degree of exaggeration for comic effect. They simultaneously register the anxieties and shortcomings of a public unfamiliar with this artistic medium.

[fig. 2.2-4] Superstitious concerns of representation in a dominantly Muslim population are captured in an old man’s words who says: “and they used to say where there are pictures, there cannot be any angels,” complimenting two young ladies at the exhibition who are attentively examining a full-length portrait.

¹⁹⁴ Also known as the Galatasaray Lycée, the high school was a product of the Westernizing educational reforms undertaken during the Tanzimat era (1839-1876). It was initially established to educate future high-ranking Ottoman statesmen from all *millet*s—an unprecedented approach—as an Ottoman-French collaboration. In accordance with the Reform Edict published on February 28, 1856, the Empire had begun to send students to Europe and *Mekteb-i Osmâni* [Ottoman School] opened in Paris in 1857 that taught foreign languages to Ottoman students abroad and offered military officers and future diplomats an education based on the French system. However, this school was closed in 1864. Instead, the idea of opening a new Western-style school in Istanbul to educate more students at less cost came to the fore, and the *Galatarasaray Mekteb-i Sultânîsi*, which taught students in both Turkish and French, was established. Located in the Beyoğlu district, the school molded its students into pro-Western, progressive, and Francophile elites, who dominantly took up high-ranking positions in state offices. As it offered painting and drawing classes, it also played a role in encouraging many Ottomans, and later Turkish students in becoming painters.

¹⁹⁵ The first two exhibitions in 1916 and 1917 were somewhat less official (even though there were awards given by the Ministry of Education, which acquired the awarded paintings and donated them to Halil Edhem’s growing *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* Collection) and were called “Galatasaraylılar Yurdu Resim Sergisi” [Galatasaray Alumni Club Painting Exhibition] as the building where the exhibitions took place, Societa Operaia was used as the social club for the school’s alumni. (The building originally belonged to the Italian Workers’ Association. It was taken over when nationals of Entente Powers left the empire with the onset of the war and used as the Galatasaray Alumni Club during WWI.) From 1919 onwards, these summer exhibitions took on the title *Exposition de peintures de la Société des Artistes Turcs* and were moved to the high school building itself, just further up the main thoroughfare Rue de Pera.

[fig. 2.2] In another cartoon, a similar superstition is strategically employed by a mother in her misguided attempt to discipline her child; when the toddler misinterprets the bust she is looking at as a person that turned into stone, the mother takes advantage of the child's first encounter with figurative sculpture. She scares the toddler into obedience by suggesting that unless she wants to share the fate of the sculpture and turn into stone herself, she should listen to her elders. [fig. 2.3] Other instances mock the public's limited knowledge about art and lack of familiarity with exhibitions; finding themselves in front of representations of fruit rather than real fruit, two men express their disappointment. In those days, unlike today, the word "sergi"¹⁹⁶ [exhibition] in common parlance was used to refer to fruit displays in markets, not to displays of paintings. [fig. 2.2] The word becomes a double entendre when one considers that these exhibitions heavily featured still-lives of fruit, a genre that certain visitors seemed to find "rather dull" compared to a *sergi* of the edible kind. The humor magazine also not so gently highlights the unfamiliarity of the visitors with other genres of painting, as well as their lack of art historical knowledge. In one instance of unfortunate namedropping, a young woman confidently attributes a portrait to Rembrandt, but when asked how she came to such a conclusion, her answer is that the clothes worn by the sitter are so out of fashion that it must be so. The encounter with the nude was of course not to be missed by the humor magazine: *Akbaba* depicts two men in front of a female nude, who treat the painting almost as an ad for a call girl; it is intentionally uncertain if the lack of her telephone number is cause for disappointment for the two men, or whether they are pointing this out as a matter of castigating the artist. [fig. 2.4] These exhibitions –despite the cultural gap between the intelligentsia and the general public that became blatantly evident through them, providing *Akbaba* and similar humor magazines with ample material– played a significant role in gradually easing the public into painting, and introducing the habit of exhibition-going within the Muslim Turkish community. The Galatasaray salons also established the

¹⁹⁶ "Sergi" comes from the Turkish root of *seri* or *serim*, which refers to the piece of silk on which grapes are spread for filtering in the making of wine, or *serü*, which refers to the piece of wood on which objects are put/displayed in nomad tents. Nişanyan, Sevan. *Nişanyan Sözlük: Çağdaş Türkçenin Etimolojisi*, Liber Plus Yayınları: İstanbul, 2018.

1914 generation as the central actors who, in turn, fine-tuned their preferred subject matter and found their recognizable styles through these exhibitions. Beginning with the first iteration of the salon, traces of each artist's specific stylistic approach and thematic interests could be gleaned. [fig. 2.5] Visitors quickly came to expect seeing portraits by Feyhaman, mosque interiors by Şevket [fig. 2.8], female figures (and later nudes) by İbrahim and Namık İsmail [fig. 2.6-7], light-infused local landscapes by Nazmi Ziya, soldiers or villagers by Mehmed Sami, domestic scenes by Mehmed Ruhi, the Bosphorus with its boats and barges by Hikmet [fig. 2.10], and a palette of purples and oranges in Hüseyin Avni's symbolist landscapes and large-scale history paintings at these exhibitions.

This chapter casts a glance at the formative years of the 1914 generation in Istanbul and Paris, takes a close look at their artistic output during the first decade of the Galatasaray exhibitions, and deliberates on select reactions to their output and the debates they engendered among artists on influence and identity. It attempts to discern the artistic challenges of the 1914 generation as well as deliberating on their position within the larger framework of political and societal shifts during this period, with the aim of resisting the commonly accepted characterizations of this generation as friendly naturalists/belated impressionists/romantic symbolists. On one side, their trajectories test the universalism of the French artistic traditions they adopted and adapted, complicating art historical notions of influence and originality. On the other hand, their predicament introduces the locally inflected challenge of how theories of national identity were to materialize into forms on canvas without denying the artists' formative years 'under foreign influence' or forsaking their artistic individuality –a profound ambivalence that would continue to haunt generations of Turkish artists to come.

Part 1: From Istanbul to Paris

Both artistically and socially, the 1914 generation was a mixed group of artists who were brought together by circumstance. With the exception of Feyhaman and Hüseyin Avni, who were not formally trained, and Namık İsmail, whose artistic training was limited to the classes he took from the art teachers

at the Imperial lycée, Galatasaray,¹⁹⁷ the 1914 generation artists had graduated from the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul during the tenure of Osman Hamdi Bey. Later, they all went to Paris with the aim of taking classes at what they saw as the Ottoman art school's much older and more famous French counterpart, the *École des Beaux-Arts*. Ali Sami, Hikmet, Mehmed Sami and Mehmed Ruhi were career soldiers who had encountered easel painting during their military training,¹⁹⁸ while the rest of the 1914 generation comprised civilians. Namık İsmail, Hüseyin Avni and Feyhaman had attended schools in the capital of the empire that taught in French, and their fluency in the language presumably made their adaptation to Paris much easier, unlike the culture-shock of someone like İbrahim. From the small town of Çal in Anatolia and having rather haphazardly found his way to the art school in Istanbul in the first place, İbrahim is said to have never learned French despite spending three years there.¹⁹⁹

İbrahim, Mehmed Ruhi and Ali Sami were the first winners of the *concours* established by Osman Hamdi and funded by the CUP, the Unionists who had now formed a government, and they arrived in Paris in 1910; Hikmet followed in their footsteps a year later, as the winner of the second *concours*. They were on the dime of the Ottoman state,²⁰⁰ whereas Feyhaman, Mehmed Sami and Hüseyin

¹⁹⁷ These were Viçen [Arslanyan] and Şevket Bey at the high school, with additional private lessons from a French painter he names as Andres. Namık İsmail. "Sanayi-i Nefise Akademisi Müdür Namık İsmail Bey'le Mülakat" [An Interview with the Director of the School of Fine Arts], *Meşale* no:1, July 1, 1928: 8-9.

¹⁹⁸ Mehmed Ruhi and Ali Sami both graduated from the Naval Academy and subsequently entered the School of Fine Arts in 1900 and 1902 respectively. Hikmet had graduated from the Heybeliada Naval War Academy in 1903, entering the Fine Arts Academy in 1905. Mehmed Ruhi and Hikmet had been among the founding members of the Ottoman Society of Painters in 1908. Mehmed Sami was a graduate of the War Academy (1898) and entered the Academy of Fine Arts in 1900. He fought in the Balkan War, and fell captive in Bulgaria, spending his time there with Bulgarian painters. He remained a soldier throughout his career and taught painting at various military schools.

¹⁹⁹ In later years, İbrahim would become the most famous and popular painter of this generation, and after he took on the last name Çallı (meaning "from Çal"), his last name was often used to refer to the whole 1914 generation as the "Çallı generation." The speculation about his linguistic abilities is not true (his friendship with artists such as Alexis Gritchenko were carried out in French, as the chapter will later reveal) but attest to the strength of the myth around the artist for being "a child of Anatolia."

²⁰⁰ The first *concours* was established right after the transition to the Second Constitutional Monarchy (1908). İbrahim was the winner in 1909, Hikmet in 1910. As they were sent by the Ministry of Education, they were expected to teach art upon their return. Both İbrahim and Hikmet were assigned to the School of Fine Arts. This model would later be embraced by the republic and its scope would widen, as the numbers of schools, hence the need for teachers, dramatically increased. For later students, the positions were not as high-ranking as İbrahim and Hikmet's, they were either hired as assistants at the School of Fine Arts or deployed in high schools or middle schools. The state study-abroad bursary model for art teachers continued well into the 1960s.

Avni were supported privately by patrons.²⁰¹ Nazmi Ziya, later known as “the painter of light,”²⁰² would have never been the recipient of the concours prize to study abroad; he had hardly graduated from the art school in Istanbul. His love for *plein-air* painting, combined with his interest in impressionistic mark-making that he had discovered in European publications, using color rather than line to delineate objects, figures, and views, infuriated his strictly academic teachers, Osman Hamdi, the French-born Polish painter Joseph Warnia-Zarzecki (1850-?) and Italian Salvatore Valeri (1856-1946), who went as far as failing him for a year to show their discontent. Nazmi Ziya’s real teacher had been the *plein-airist* [Hoca] Ali Rıza Bey, who tutored him privately.²⁰³ Namık İsmail and Nazmi Ziya came from well-to-do families, who funded their sons’ time in Paris (though in the case of Namık İsmail, he had initially been sent to France to study agriculture, plans he quickly deserted once he got there, much like Osman Hamdi, who had been sent there some fifty years before Namık İsmail to study law).

The 1914 artists did not remember their time at the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul fondly, especially from the comparative viewpoint allowed by their time at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris that followed immediately after.²⁰⁴ Their descriptions paint the picture of a strict and rather stale program in Istanbul that they were glad to leave behind. Unlike the French school, where in addition to the mandatory classes that eager art students crowded into, there were ateliers for independent work from a live model as well as yearly competitions and prizes to encourage the students, the Sanayi-i Nefise

²⁰¹ Feyhaman was supported by Abbas Halim Paşa (brother of Sait Halim, who had donated one of his copies to the Asar-ı Nakşiye collection), Sami was supported by Mahmud Şevket Paşa. The patron of Hüseyin Avni was Crown Prince Abdülmecid Efendi (upon the request and introduction of Osman Hamdi Bey), who would later also become his friend.

²⁰² This is how a retrospective exhibition of Nazmi Ziya referred to the artist in its title. *Işığın Ressamı: Nazmi Ziya Güran* [The painter of light: Nazmi Ziya Güran,” Rezan Has Museum, İstanbul, February 18, 2012-April 17, 2012, İstanbul. For a discussion of “light” as it relates to Nazmi Ziya and the Turkish landscape tradition, see: Antmen, Ahu. "Nazmi Ziya Güran and Turkish Impressionism", *Globalizing Impressionism: Reception, Translation, and Transnationalism*, ed. Alexis Clark, Frances Fowle (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020) (unpaginated).

²⁰³ Bedri Rahmi. *Nazmi Ziya*, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı; İstanbul, 1937: 7-10.

²⁰⁴ In a series of letters sent to the Journal of the Ottoman Painters’ Society, M. Sami pointed to the shortcomings of the art school in Istanbul, often in comparison to what he saw as ample encouragement and financial support present for art students at the school in Paris. See: “Esquisse ve Ehemmiyeti – Müsabakaları” [The Sketch and its Significance- Competitions]; no:6, 55-57; “Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi için I-II-III-IV-V [For the School of Fine Arts]; no:8,69-70; no:9, 77-78; no:10, 87-88; no:14,193-195; no:15, 228-229 all in *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi 1911-1914*, ed. Y. Zihniöglü, Kitap Yayınevi: İstanbul.

Mektebi had a strict 6-year system, with an exam after the end of each year to pass to the following grade, and only a handful of students. The schedule was as follows: for the first two years, the aspiring artists would learn to draw with decorative objects as their models. Third and fourth years were dedicated to academic studies from statues and busts –plaster casts or ancient sculpture from the collections of the archaeological museum– by charcoal or similar materials. The last two years were when color was finally introduced to the students, and oil painting was taught. But even oil paintings were largely done by observing plaster casts and statues, there were no regular life classes on offer.²⁰⁵

Hikmet’s account touches on the somewhat daring nature of being an art student at the time in Istanbul, and allows for a few more details to emerge:

Our teachers were Salvatore Valeri and Warnia Zarzecki. Not Warnia, but Valeri was a good teacher, we greatly benefited from him. Regarding the status of the School of Fine Arts during the years we were studying there, I have to say that painting in that period was a very difficult undertaking. There were no male or female nude models; even the ugliest male models would not want to undress. People accused our school of immorality and irreligion because it taught painting and sculpture. We were told that some time before we signed up at the school, a few bigots had raided it. They tied loincloths to the waists of casts of ancient statues and broke some others. You will understand the difficulty of wanting to paint and sculpt in such an environment. Our models were a bunch of bearded or mustachioed porters who wore turbans. We could only do portraits and busts.²⁰⁶

As implied by Hikmet’s account, the very first life-classes were held at the school during this generation’s time there, upon their insistence. In 1906, a year after Hikmet had signed up at the school, a group of students (Ali Sami, Mehmed Ruhi and Nazmi Ziya) protested the lack of this essential element of art education and demanded that Osman Hamdi let them have life classes. They managed to convince him to have a male model brought to the school but finding someone to pose was another matter unto itself. Nazmi Ziya, who also dabbled in the traditional Turkish sport of oil-wrestling, arranged for a fellow wrestler to pose for them.²⁰⁷ A photograph of student Ali Cemal [Ben’li], a contemporary of the

²⁰⁵ Boyar, Ali Sami. “Bizde Resim” in *Ressam Ali Sami Boyar* (ed. Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu), İsmail Akgün Matbaası; İstanbul (1959): 72.

²⁰⁶ Berk, Nurullah, Hüseyin Gezer. *50 Yılın Türk Resim ve Heykeli* (İş Bankası Yayınları, 1973): 18.

²⁰⁷ According to Ali Sami, until 1906, students only drew and painted figures from ancient statues. Boyar, Ali Sami. “Bizde Resim” in *Ressam Ali Sami Boyar* (ed. Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu), İsmail Akgün Matbaası; İstanbul (1959): 72.

1914 artists, in the school's painting studio next to a male model documents one of these moments. [fig. 2.11] Two works from the collection of the State Museum of Painting and Sculpture in Istanbul further confirm this rare instance of a life class captured in the photograph. [fig. 2.12-13] These are two *academies* –the name of the study from the model that fed into the later term with the pejorative connotation, *academic*– an undated male nude and another partial nude with loincloth dated to 1910, both oil on canvas by Hikmet. The model posing in the photograph seems to be the same model depicted in one of Hikmet's studies [fig. 2.12]; it also seems that this study by Hikmet is the same painting that hangs behind Ali Cemal in the photograph. [fig. 2.11] The polished finish in these oil sketches testifies to the dogmatically classical bent in Valeri's instruction and allows us to trace how this initial rigid training that the 1914 generation retroactively call the "Italian school" or the "Valeri method" transformed after the time the 1914 artists spent in Paris. Painting from a nude model rather than a three-dimensional object must be what Ali Sami referred to as "their own methods" when he said: "As our teacher Valeri knew well, the system of the Italian school was completely outmoded in Europe. If we weren't treated as complete novices in Paris, this was due to the work method that we adopted ourselves at the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul; it was not easy to leave the Valeri method behind and adopt the French technique."²⁰⁸ This rare occasion of the life-class and the insistence of the students to paint from the model is proudly told and retold by members of the 1914 generation. In another account the "Valeri method" or "Italian school" that Ali Sami mentions was further clarified by Hikmet, as recounted to his student Cemal Tollu years later:

... Our teacher Valeri was someone who over-valued detail. He did not care much about color harmony or about the painting as a whole. Of course, at the time, we admired him very much, all the students were enamored by his way of working, and we would wait for him to touch our paintings with his brush. When we went to Paris, and came across great paintings, old and new, in museums and exhibitions, we were very surprised. Some of them were in line with the opinions we had developed until then, but some of them seemed totally contrary to it... On the other hand, when

²⁰⁸ "Hocamız Valeri'nin bildiği gibi İtalya ekolü sistemi, Avrupa'da tamamen modası geçmiş bir sistem idi. İstanbul Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'nde, kendi kurduğumuz çalışma tarzı ile vakıa, Paris'de tamamen kör acemi kalmadıysa da, ilk öğrendiğimiz Valeri metodunu bırakıp da Fransız tekniğini adapte etmemiz pek kolay olmadı." Boyar, Ali Sami. "Bizde Resim" (based on a speech given in 1945 at the Şişli People's House), *Ali Sami Boyar* (ed. Şehsuvaroğlu, Bedi N.) İsmail Akgün Matbaası, İstanbul, 1959: 73.

[Fernand] Cormon saw our work in the studio, he advised us to leave behind the way we worked in Istanbul and to pay attention to the whole model, to composition, to the movement and harmony of color. Even though Cormon was a moderate painter himself, he was a very good teacher. Every time he came to the atelier, he would also look at the paintings we had made outdoors and give us good feedback.²⁰⁹

Once in Paris, the young Ottoman artists were finally able to do what they desired the most: attend life classes with models fully in the nude, drawing and painting them as they pleased. [fig. 2.14-15] This was also the first time they were able to draw and paint female nudes. In Istanbul, Osman Hamdi had found this too risqué; he had unconvincingly asked his eager students to patiently wait for their travel abroad and to make do with the statues from the collections of the Imperial Museum or the occasional male model for the time being. (Their secret attempts at having a female model pose for them at the school, even though she was fully clothed, had been quickly rebuffed by Osman Hamdi.)²¹⁰ The recent graduates of the art school in Istanbul who had won the *concours* and carried with them an official letter from the Ottoman Ministry of Education could immediately start observing classes at the *École des Beaux-Arts* as “*élèves aspirants*;” their specific destination there was Fernand Cormon’s (1845-1924) atelier.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ “...Hocamız Valeri çok fazla teferrüata önem veren, renk ahengine ve resmin bütününe pek aldırış etmeyen bir zattı. Tabii o zaman kendisini pek beğenir, çalışma tarzına bütün öğrenciler hayran olur, resmimize bir iki fırça vursun diye bekler dururduk. Paris’e gidip de müzelerde, sergilerde, eski ve yeni büyük sanat eserleriyle karşılaşınca pek şaşaladık. Bunlardan bazıları, şimdiye kadar edindiğimiz kanaatlere uyuyordu ama, bazıları da büsbütün aykırı geliyordu [...] Öte yandan Cormon atelyede çalışmalarımızı gördüğü zaman, İstanbul’da iken çalıştığımız yolu bırakarak daha fazla modelin bütününe, kompozisyona, renginin ahengine ve hareketine dikkat etmemizi söylediler. Cormon orta derecede bir ressam olmasına rağmen çok iyi bir hoca idi. Atelyeye her gelişinde, dışarıda yapılan resimlerimizi de görür güzel eleştiriler yapardı.” Cezar, Mustafa. *Güzel Sanatlar Eğitiminde 100 Yıl*, Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Yayınları: İstanbul (1983): 19-20.

²¹⁰ Hikmet continues to relay their attempt at painting from a female model: “One day, we were tired of painting porters, and we decided to find a female model, albeit dressed. We found a gypsy girl from the neighborhood, arranged her in a dance pose and had just begun to paint when director Osman Hamdi Bey summoned us and shouted: ‘Boys, are you crazy? Where do you think you are? This is Turkey, such things are not tolerated. Immediately have that gypsy leave. I hope you will soon go to Europe, you will paint plenty of women and female nudes there!’ And indeed, soon after we were able to go to Europe.” Berk, Nurullah, Hüseyin Gezer. *50 Yılın Türk Resim ve Heykeli* (İş Bankası Yayınları, 1973): 18. “Bir gün geldi ki hamal resmi yapmaktan bıktık, giyimli de olsa bir kadın model bulmaya karar verdik. Çingene mahallesinden getirttiğimiz bir kıza oyun oynar poz verdiğimizden sonra henüz çalışmaya başlamıştık ki müdür Osman Hamdi Bey bizi çağırttı: ‘Siz deli misiniz çocuklar, nerede sanıyorsunuz kendinizi?’ diye bağırdı. ‘Burası Türkiye böyle şeyleri kaldırmaz. Hemen kovunuz o çingeneyi. Yakında inşallah Avrupa’ya gideceksiniz, orada bol bol kadın, çıplak kadın resmi yaparsınız!’ Gerçekten de az sonra Avrupa yolu bize açıldı.”

²¹¹ The first one to go was Hüseyin Avni. It is unclear who directed him to Cormon’s atelier specifically. Osman Hamdi had earlier made Cormon’s acquaintance in Istanbul, it is likely that this is how Cormon’s atelier became the

While virtually an unknown name today, at the time Fernand Cormon (1845-1924) was an established artist, a well-regarded teacher, and an insider in the French Academy. The winner of the second ever *Prix du Salon* in 1875 and member of the Institute of Beaux-Arts as well as the Légion d'Honneur since 1880, Cormon had also successfully established his own school, *Atelier Cormon*, before he was given an atelier to his name at the École. His large-scale painting *Cain flying before Jehovah's Curse* (1880) – a grand history painting washed in the coarse light of the desert sun, depicting a rather gory biblical scene in imagined anthropological detail – hung at the pride of place in the *Salle no:1* of the Musée Luxembourg. [fig. 2.16-17] Cormon in the 1910s was as prestigious a teacher as one could imagine for the Ottoman student of the arts.²¹² While Hüseyin Avni, İbrahim, Ruhi, Hikmet and Ali Sami started observing Cormon's classes immediately upon their arrival in Paris, other Ottoman students, who were neither recipients of a prize nor had special reference letters, needed a local letter of reference before they could even observe the classes at Cormon's atelier.²¹³ Additionally, both the scholarship students and those with private patrons had to take the École's exam if they wanted to become official students, which

destination for the Ottoman painters. Ayşenur Güler recounts that for İbrahim, who went a year later in 1910, it was the director of the École, Léon Bonnat, who put him in Cormon's atelier. [Toker, Metin. "Emekliye Ayrılan Çallının Hayatı," *Cumhuriyet*, July 13, 1947: 2.] Whether they were official students or remained observers, all the 1914 artists except for Mehmed Sami (who never attended the École) cite Fernand Cormon as their teacher.

²¹² Cormon had initially set up his own *atelier libre*, which was also popular and sought-after by French artists. Even though the goal of the atelier was to have students exhibit at the official salon, he also had students such as Vincent Van Gogh and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. Boime, Albert. "We Don't Want to Set the World on Fire, We Just Want to Start a Flame in Your Heart," *Art Pompier: Anti-Impressionism: 19th Century French Salon Painting*. (eds. Pivar, Stuart and Albert Boime) Hempstead, Long Island, NY: Hofstra University, 1974. (unpaginated)

²¹³ As the first one to go to Paris, Hüseyin Avni, who was supported by the Crown Prince, had directly made it to Cormon's atelier. It is highly likely that he carried a reference letter from Osman Hamdi. Hüseyin Avni had been introduced to Osman Hamdi by French architect Henri Prost (who, decades later, would devise a new city-plan for Istanbul). After seeing Hüseyin Avni's work, Osman Hamdi had advised him to directly go to Paris and personally helped make it happen by arranging the Crown Prince Abdülmecit to support him. Albeit the potential for exaggeration, in Hüseyin Avni's account, Osman Hamdi admitted not having achieved his goal with the art school under the Hamidian regime and advised him to skip it completely. He found Hüseyin Avni's work developed enough to directly go to the École. Lifij, Avni. "Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebinde Noksanlar," *Tanin*, March 7, 1925 reprinted in *Avni Lifij-Yazılar*: 178-184. In addition to Cormon, Lifij was also the student of Octave Denis Victor Guillonnet (a student of Cormon, who possibly stood in for his teacher for some of his classes), whose color-palette guided that of Hüseyin Avni in later years. See letter from Guillonnet to Hüseyin Avni, describing his color mixes in detail reproduced in the same book: 24-25. The bulk of the artist's archive, including this letter, remains with his family members, Ayten-Şazi Sirel. Some of his correspondence can also be found in the Mery collection, Ahmet Mery archive.

they needed to prepare for, so all Ottoman art students –like most other foreign aspiring artists in Paris in the aughts– found themselves at the same destination, Académie Julian.²¹⁴

Initially set up to train students to enter the École, Académie Julian had quickly become an establishment in its own right, and even a rival to the official school. It had branches across Paris, teaching drawing, painting and sculpture to men and women alike, in the 5th, 6th and 8th *arrondissements* in addition to its original location at the Passages des Panoramas. It was *the* place that could provide the letter required for observing classes at the École, and also ensure that the Ottoman students of painting received the training necessary to pass its entry exam. Historian of French art pedagogy Albert Boime curtly describes Académie Julian as “a private enterprise founded in 1868 to exploit for personal profit the climate of art reform.”²¹⁵ Since its inception by Rodolphe Julian, the Julian ateliers had been a successful financial enterprise as well as an almost guaranteed gateway to the École des Beaux-Arts, not only for foreign students, but also for the French.²¹⁶ Though Rodolphe Julian had passed away shortly before the arrival of the 1914 generation in Paris, Académie Julian was still going strong, with a roster of teachers that also taught at the École and were well-integrated into the Institute system. The 1914 generation

²¹⁴ Feyhaman and Nazmi failed these exams on the first try and had to take them again later. Even İbrahim, who was one of the winners of the *concours* back home, did not trust his drawing skills and cheated to pass the entrance exam by submitting a drawing Hüseyin Avni made for him. This was discovered by scholar Ayşenur Güler, during her research for the monographic dissertation she wrote on Çallı. See Güler, Ayşenur. “İbrahim Çallı” Mimar Sinan University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Art History, PhD dissertation, 2014: 22-23.

²¹⁵ Boime, Albert. “The Teaching of Fine Arts and the Avant-Garde in France during the Second Half of the Nineteenth-Century,” *Arts magazine* vol.60 no:4, 1985 (46-57): 54.

²¹⁶ Catherine Ferrer has published extensively on the Académie Julian and its founder Rodolphe Julian, starting with “New Light on the Académie Julian and its Founder, Rodolphe Julian,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 126 (1984), 212. See also: Fehrer, Catherine. *The Julian Academy, Paris, 1868-1939: Spring Exhibition, 1989*. New York, N.Y. (21 E. 84th St., New York): Shepherd Gallery, 1989. There are more recent studies on female students and students from other countries at the Académie Julian, including Poland, Brazil, in addition to the United Kingdom and the US. See: Weisberg, Gabriel P., Jane R. Becker, “Overcoming All Obstacles: The Women of the Académie Julian.” (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Dahesh Museum, and Dixon Gallery and Gardens; 1999) EBook; Corinth, Lovis (translated by Beatrice Pages). “Un étudiant allemand à Paris à l’Académie Julian (1884-1887),” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 97 (1981): 223-224; Zgómiak, Marek. “Polish students at the Académie Julian until 1919,” *RIHA Journal* no:50, August 2012; Simioni, Ana Paula Cavalcanti. “Le voyage à Paris: L’Académie Julian et la formation des artistes peintres brésiliennes vers 1900,” *Cahiers du Brésil Contemporain* 57/58-59/60 (2004-2005): 261-281. The most comprehensive work on foreign students at the Académie Julian to my knowledge is the book-length study on late Ottoman and Turkish Muslim students there: Artun, Deniz. *Paris’ten modernlik tercümeleri: Académie Julian’da imparatorluk ve cumhuriyet öğrencileri*. [Translations of Modernity from Paris: The students of the Empire and the Republic at Académie Julian] Sanathayat dizisi; 11. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2007.

followed in the footsteps of earlier graduates of the Ottoman School of Fine Arts before them, and signed up for classes at Academie Julian, which had various ateliers run by well-known painters.²¹⁷ During the years that they were in Paris (1909-14), the most popular one was the joint-atelier run by Jean-Paul Laurens, described as “the last great history painter,” (who had also taught at the École, and whose painting also hung in the first room of the Musée Luxembourg at this time, along with Cormon’s) and the Orientalist painter Benjamin Constant.²¹⁸ If successful at the entrance exam after attending Académie Julian, they would all officially sign up for Fernand Cormon’s atelier at the Beaux-Arts afterwards. The choice of these particular teachers at the *atelier libre* as well as at the École must have been not necessarily due to their fame as artists but as established figures within the official world of French art as well as for their reputations as well-connected teachers (or perhaps, they were known as the teachers who were friendly towards foreign students). Jean-Paul Laurens at the Académie Julian and Fernand Cormon at the École were competitive proponents of academic painting known for successfully preparing their students for the Prix de Rome and helping exhibit their work in the official French salon. (The Ottoman students must have been even more assured that they were in the right place when their beloved teacher Cormon was decorated as the Commander of the Légion of Honor in 1913.) Unlike the other independent

²¹⁷ Deniz Artun’s study evinces the change in the study-abroad model in the Ottoman Empire, gradually shifting from students following classes at the official French academy to a much looser attendance at artists’ private studios. Artun draws a parallel between the first diplomatic envoys sent to Paris in the post-Tanzimat era and these students of the arts that all had the mission of translating the Occident to the Orient. Based on the registration notebooks at Académie Julian, Artun identified that the first Muslim-Turkish students to go there were Galib and Vedad, graduates of the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul, who went in 1892 and 1893 respectively. (Galib remained in Paris but sent work to the Galatasaray exhibitions and hosted the Turkish students in Paris while Vedad returned to the empire and became a renowned architect, one of the leading figures of the First Turkish National Architectural Movement; he is known today as Vedat Tek.) As they were sent during the authoritarian reign of Abdülhamid II, a time known mostly when exchanges with Europe halted—or due to Abdülhamid’s close relation with the Kaiser, shifting to Germany rather than France—Artun argues that this might signal a professionalization of the arts field as where the students were sent was decided by the School of Fine Arts and not the palace. Unfortunately, Artun’s study does not include Armenian Ottoman artists who also attended Académie Julian in the same period. Ali Sami only attended Académie Julian, Artun posits that this is possibly due to his age. As he was older than 30, he wasn’t allowed to officially become a student at the École des Beaux-Arts. (At times, the École also stopped admitting foreign students.) At Julian, Artun traced the names of these artists also taking classes from other instructors; Namık and Feyhaman attended the ateliers of François Schlommer and Jean Paul Gervais, whereas Nazmi took classes from Marcel André Baschet and Henri Royer.

²¹⁸ It seems that Benjamin Constant was not a favorite. Sami calls him a “Chaplin copyist huckster,” in what can only be a response to Halil Edhem’s contact with Constant in Paris. Sami, “Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi için III [For the School of Fine Arts], *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi* no:10 *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi 1911-1914*, ed. Y. Zihnioglu, Kitap Yayınevi: İstanbul: 88.

ateliers that operated in Paris at the time, such as Académie de la Grande Chaumière (est. 1904-), Académie Colarossi (1870-1930), or the short-lived Académie Matisse (1907-1911), all of which are cast as having provided an alternative to the École des Beaux-Arts's strict and conservative training, Académie Julian was completely aligned with the École at this time.²¹⁹ Moreover, Julian's *atelier libre* teacher Laurens was an even stricter advocate of the classical *fini* than the École's Cormon, who was more tolerant of loose brushwork.²²⁰ This is not as surprising as it seems. As Albert Boime has illustrated, in contrast to conventional histories that pit the avant-garde artists against a stultifying French academy, it was the École that had first employed the concept of the "effet" –that summary attitude to representation, which resulted in the fashionable aesthetics of the sketch popularized by the Romantics that would be taken further by the Impressionists. Boime concludes that such École des Beaux Arts teachings as the *effet* only later "became a catchword for avant-garde thinkers through the rest of the century who identified it with subjective responses to fugitive phenomena."²²¹ While the education at the École des Beaux Arts gradually became more liberal, in her study of Ottoman and Turkish students at the Académie Julian Deniz Artun argues that the unchanged, stable education may have been a preference rather than a deterrent for many foreign students who found themselves in Paris at the beginning of the 20th century. This was certainly the case for the 1914 generation. (Most of the first wave of students sent by the

²¹⁹ Still, they all offered life classes, and we know from notes on drawings by Mehmed Sami that he also attended classes at the Grand Chaumière, specifically the night classes, as the drawing contains the note "Paris Grand Chaumière *cours de soir*." See the drawing by Sami dated 1911 in *Sami Yetik – Türk Ressamları Dizisi 6* (ed. Kaya Özsezgin), Yapı Kredi Yayınları; İstanbul, 1997: 64.

²²⁰ According to Artun, there was a sense of Impressionism in Cormon's atelier. Artun, Deniz. *Paris'ten modernlik tercümeleri* (2007): 171. Albert Boime also testifies to Cormon's approval of the *en-plein-air* working method. Toulouse-Lautrec's account that "his teacher Cormon took his pupils out on sketching trips and encouraged landscape painting." supports this claim. See *Unpublished correspondence of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec*, ed. Lucien Goldschmidt and Herbert Schimmel with intro, and notes by Jean Adhémar and Theodore Reff (London, 1969): 73 referenced in Boime, Albert. "II. The Curriculum of the Private Ateliers: Practice." in *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. Yale University Press, 2018: 84–85.

²²¹ To compete with the industrial threat of rival England instigated by the world fairs, reforms were introduced in France during the Second Empire and continued in the Third Republic to educate and employ more artisans quickly, democratizing art education. "L'effet" emerged out of trading exact copying for a summary sketch, which captured the main idea but did not scrutinize details. Boime illustrates the links between art and industry, and highlights overlaps between artistic education and its effect on the avant-garde's embrace of simplification and abbreviation. Boime, Albert. "The Teaching of Fine Arts and the Avant-Garde in France during the Second Half of the Nineteenth-Century," *Arts Magazine* vol.60 no:4 (1985): 46-57.

Turkish Republic a decade later would also initially knock on the door of Académie Julian, but as it will be demonstrated in the following chapter, they quickly lost interest in its teaching style, and looked for other venues.) Between the life-classes at the Académie Julian and Cormon's atelier at the École, the 1914 generation experienced a training that heavily relied on life-drawing, both as an intellectual endeavor and as a way of perceiving the world. The exercise of the sketch was still a significant stage of academic procedure and professional discipline. But this system now allowed a more dynamic approach, embracing the more summary mark-making of *effet* without sacrificing rigor.

Hikmet's drawings of classical statues from Cormon's atelier (sold recently in auction in 2020 and 2021)²²² show that this Beaux-Arts professor's instruction was not necessarily less rigid than the classes in Istanbul or at the Académie Julian—at least anatomically. The presence of plaster casts in the atelier evinced by Hikmet's drawings indicate that the Beaux-Arts training at this point in time was nothing short of classical. [Fig. 2.18-19] But in addition to drawing from plaster casts, Cormon's atelier offered the life-classes that were sought by the Ottoman painters. The notes that Hüseyin Avni took of his first day in Cormon's atelier on the sketch he made that day describe the friendly but hierarchical atmosphere in the atelier and evince how important the master's comments and corrections were to his students. [Fig. 2.20] The anecdote dates the drawing to 1909, when Hüseyin Avni was the only Ottoman student in Cormon's atelier. More experienced students in the class sent the newcomer Hüseyin Avni to run an errand for them, an instance of gentle turn-of-the-century hazing. When he got back, Cormon was there, and Hüseyin Avni was introduced to him. He described how he received his first correction from the master as follows:

There was no more whistling or singing. When he approached me, he asked my name, to which I responded.

- You are Turkish, aren't you?
- Yes monsieur.
- Sent by Hamdi Bey?
- Yes monsieur.

²²² “Değerli Tablolar, Antikalar, Sanatsal ve Dekoratif Eserler” Artam Antik A.Ş. Auction no: 362, lots 46 and 48, (2021) and “Çağdaş ve Klasik Tablolar” Artam Antik A.Ş. Auction no:352, lots 94, 95 (2020).

- I know Hamdi Bey well, I made his acquaintance in Istanbul. He is a very polite individual, isn't he?

-Yes monsieur, he is very kind.

Then, Cormon corrected this drawing. He drew line C to show that the right arm should be away from the body. But when I was drawing, the model had his arm next to his body. Then he drew line E. Then line B, and he drew two lines down the straight leg. He advised me to pay a little more attention, and then turned over to the other students. They gave my chair to him. He sat down and looked at the pictures they had made outdoors. He critiqued them, and then talked about this and that for about 15-20 minutes. He told us a short, very short story. And finally, he left.²²³

Hüseyin Avni's slight protest of his teacher's corrections are noteworthy. Rather than illustrating how the arm or the leg actually looked from the angle at which Hüseyin Avni had placed his easel, the lines Cormon had drawn show how the outer lines that delineate the figure ought to be organized in the space of the drawing. It could be inferred from this anecdote that a degree of classical idealism still informed Cormon's teaching. However, as Hikmet's account cited earlier confirms, Cormon traded the Turkish students' strict practice of copying what they saw down to its most minute detail for the bigger artistic concerns of overall effect, such as composition, color and surface, encouraging them to also paint outdoors. Drawing as a way of perceiving the world had expanded beyond objects in the atelier, and the *plein-air* method, introduced by the Impressionists, was now encouraged by the professors at the École. Even if unconventionality or personal idiosyncrasy might not have been the central aim at this time, it was at least tolerated. Both Hüseyin Avni and Hikmet's accounts indicate that Cormon valued the students' work made outside the atelier. While observation from life was still negated by a degree of classical idealism as his corrections to Hüseyin Avni's drawing suggest, the careful finish was no longer seen as a requisite, perhaps even discouraged as an impediment to spontaneity. Being able to find the guiding lines and colors in the outside world had become part of an academic student's toolkit in the 1910s.

Hüseyin Avni was soon after joined by other 1914ers at Cormon's atelier. While a certain sense of pride is detectable in Ali Sami's description of their first days there, the overarching sentiment is the

²²³ Note on drawing by Hüseyin Avni Lifij. Collection of the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Museum of Painting and Sculpture. Inventory no: 2103/8405. Transliterated into Turkish from Ottoman in the catalog *Avni Lifij: Çağının Yenisi* (Sakıp Sabancı Museum; İstanbul), 2019: 110.

Ottoman painter's sense of humility in the face of French tradition, and the desire to receive a mark of approval from its authority:

We were six Turkish students at the atelier of Professor Cormon. Since five of us did not speak any French, we did not understand what he said to us when we were introduced to him. Avni later told us that he had said: 'We made men out of the Japanese, let's do the same with the Turks too.' In Europe, if a foreigner does not speak the language of the country, the public considers him ignorant in every field. Initially, our lack of language skills had the same effect on the teacher. But once we sat by our easels, the treatment quickly changed. Even though the 150 students in the atelier had come from all sides of France, with awards and fellowships, we had proved ourselves in the end of the year exhibition. Not much later than that, we also got a grasp on French. Both the students and the teacher interpreted the success we had as a national skill.²²⁴

The Ottoman art students in Paris had been drawn to the city because they were admirers of French academic painting. This is what they had traveled there to master; for them, as Ali Sami's proud statement about their performance in the year-end exhibition confirms, the greatest honor was to have a painting accepted to the official salon, not the *Salon des Indépendents*.²²⁵ At this time, as much as it is described as the center of avant-garde modernism in modernist art histories, Paris was also the central hub for the diffusion of official French art. What the Ottoman students sought in Paris was not the avant-garde modernism of Picasso, Matisse and Braque in Montmartre or the work of the émigré artists in Montparnasse such as Modigliani, Foujita or Chagall that came to be known as the *École de Paris*. The 1914 generation artists were all there to master French painting as it was taught at the École, exhibited at the Salon Carré at the Louvre, and in the galleries in central Saint-Germain des Prés. For most students coming from the peripheries, especially the dedicated Ottoman Muslim painters, the reason of their sojourn in Paris was not avant-gardist artistic liberation, but a complete submergence in European tradition. They did not hold bourgeois culture in contempt like their contemporaries in the avant-garde, neither did they suffer from the ills of modern life yet. In contrast, they were experiencing it fully and freely for the first time and enjoying it; their first reaction was one of appreciation for what the city and its

²²⁴ Boyar, Ali Sami. "Bizde Resim" (based on speech given in 1945 at the Şişli People's House), *Ali Sami Boyar* (ed. Şehsuvaroğlu, Bedi N.) İsmail Akgün Matbaası, İstanbul, 1959: 72-73.

²²⁵ Artun, *Paris'ten modernlik tercümelere* (2007): 113-114.

museums had to offer. Paris was a European capital with features that they wished for Istanbul, such as parks, grand boulevards, an underground system, bars and cafés, and most significantly, museums and galleries. (For Namık İsmail, even the time spent in the atelier was a waste, he preferred roaming around the city to painting.) In a letter sent to the Ottoman Painters Society's Journal, Mehmed Sami described his awe for the organization of the city. In another, he admiringly talked about artistic patronage through the example of the donation of the private Chauchard collection to the Louvre, and Istanbul's desperate need for a similar museum.²²⁶ The 1914 generation artists were there to learn first-hand from the masters of (an albeit changing) academic tradition that up until then they had admired from a distance. For them, the relevant contemporary art was French salon painting, confirmed by what they saw in museums and select galleries. The disregard of these art students for what is art historically considered more avant-garde practices today was not an indication that they were suffering from a time-lag, or that their leanings were formally conservative. The Ottoman art students were already experiencing a freer approach to life as well as to painting. Unlike what has been suggested by Turkish art historians for decades, the 1914 generation's choice to attend Cormon's classes and the subsequent stylistic choices they made back in Istanbul was not due to a lack of awareness of alternative approaches to art, but a lack of interest in "unserious business."²²⁷ Even Nazmi Ziya, who was an impressionist at heart since his student years, and had already challenged his teachers' training in Istanbul, wanted to see how academic painting was taught in Paris.²²⁸

²²⁶ Sami, "Louvre'da Chauchard Koleksiyonu-Bizim Müzeye İhtiyacımız" [The Chauchard Collection at the Louvre - Our Need for a Museum], *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi* no:4; Mektup - Meissonier ve Louvre'daki Asarı [Meissonier and his Work of Art at the Louvre] *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi* no:5 both in *Osmanlı Ressamlar Cemiyeti Gazetesi 1911-1914*, ed. Y. Zihniöğlü, Kitap Yayınevi: İstanbul: 37-38 and 44-45.

²²⁷ Boyar, Ali Sami. "Yeni Resmin İç Yüzü" [The True Face of New Painting], *Cumhuriyet*, December 24, 1931: 4.

²²⁸ "Onda açık havaya, ağaçlara, bulutlara karşı büyük bir sevgi sezen Cormonn [sic] ilk zamanlarda kendisine en büyük hocanın tabiat olduğunu, korkusuzda tabiate dönmesini ve açık havada çalışmasını tavsiye etmişti. Fakat o zaman Paris'in en gözde bir hocası olan Cormonn'un atölyesinde olup bitenleri öğrenmeye azmetmiş olan Nazmi Ziya Cormonn'a devamda ısrar etmişti." [In the beginning, sensing in him a great love for the open air, trees, and clouds, Cormonn [sic] told him that nature was the greatest teacher, advised him to return to nature and work *en-plein-air* without any reservations. However, Nazmi Ziya, who was determined to learn what was going on in the atelier of Cormonn, who was the most favorite teacher in Paris at that time, insisted on continuing with him.] Bedri Rahmi, *Nazmi Ziya*, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı; İstanbul, 1937: 9.

Ali Sami, perhaps the most conservative among them, describes how he perceived the *Salon des Indépendents* during his years there. While his opinions might not wholly reflect the views of his fellow 1914 artists, it sheds light on how a typical Ottoman art student viewed alternative approaches to painting at this time:

In 1910, when we entered the Paris École des Beaux Arts to study painting, a new [kind of] painting that they called ‘modern’ had only been invented two or three years prior. At that time, as it is now, for those serious types who do not immediately get caught up in everything they hear of just because it is a novelty, this movement was a subject of entertainment. These [people] had formed a society under the name ‘Independents’ and were organizing exhibitions in canvas tents they built on the Champs-Élysée. They signed up everyone that happened to pass by as a member to this society, and immediately accepted everything brought to them in the name of painting and exhibited it. Doormen, coachmen, workers, servants, cooks, they had all become painters.²²⁹

Ali Sami found modernist enterprises undisciplined and thought these experiments to be a type of charlatanism, words that he would repeat in newspapers when a decade later, he was scandalized to see that the next generation of Turkish students were experimenting with modernist deformation. Texts by Namık İsmail and Hüseyin Avni penned in the 1920s also testify to their awareness of non-academic approaches to painting (and for Namık İsmail, the experience was not limited to Paris but also expanded to Munich, where he was stuck for a year in 1918 due to road closures caused by WWI).²³⁰ While they demonstrate a better grasp of modernist enterprises than Ali Sami’s strict refusal of anything modern, and

²²⁹ Ali Sami, “Resim, Ressamlık ve Akademi Münakaşası: Ali Sami Beyin Cevabı,” *Cumhuriyet*, December 24, 1931: 4. “1910 senesinde resim tahsil etmek üzere Paris Güzel San’atlar mektebine girdiğimiz zaman ‘art modern’ dedikleri yeni resim icat edileli henüz iki üç sene olmuştu. Şimdi olduğu gibi o zaman da ciddi düşünen ve her işittiği şeye yenilik diye derhal kapılmayan kimselere bu cereyan bir nevi eğlence mevzuu olmuştu. Bunlar ‘Les Independents’ müstakiller namı altında bir cemiyet yaparak Şanzalize üzerinde kurdukları bezden barakalar içinde sergilerini yapıyorlar, rasgeleni cemiyete aza kaydediyorlar, resim namına her kim ne götürse derhal kabul ederek teşhir ediyorlardı. Kapıcılar, arabacılar, ameleler, uşaklar, aşçılar, hepsi ressam olmuştu.”

²³⁰ Ali Sami’s contemporaries showed a more open mind towards new approaches to painting in later years, at least in the theory if not in their own practice. Namık İsmail wrote about the Futurists in 1921. Namık İsmail, “Sanat Musahabesi: Klasik, Fütürist ve Primitif Ressamlar Hakkında Bazı Fikirler,” *Yarın* no:1, October 13, 1921: 3-5. In his texts Hüseyin Avni accurately described Cubism, citing Cézanne, Seurat, Picasso, and Matisse among masters. He made a call for appreciating contemporary painting that reflects the needs of contemporary life, in a series of three articles titled “Muasır Ressamlık ve Nazariyeleri” [Contemporary Painting and its Characteristics] and published in *Türk Yurdu* magazine in the February, March and May issues of 1927, possibly motivated by his visit to Paris to see the *Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels modernes* in 1925. See Lifij, Avni. *Sanat yazıları*. İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2019: 303-330.

signal a much less dismissive attitude, even appreciation towards non-academic painting, they deliberately did not choose this path for themselves. Their personal interest during this first time abroad was in nothing other than learning the “classical” French way.²³¹ Later, when they became instructors and art administrators, they continued to teach and advocate for this particular understanding of classical training as the solid ground necessary from which artists could launch. In an interview years later when he was the director of the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul, Namık İsmail clarified his view on the matter:

I am of the opinion that art is alive, much like a living thing. And like every living thing, it is constantly changing and developing. In theory, I am friendly towards new art, but unfortunately, my own means of expression, my artistic education is old; hence I myself am in the opposite camp. On the other hand, I do not believe that new art can be made here, not until we are able to establish a classical art.²³²

This does not mean that the 1914 generation resisted new ideas, or adamantly refused change. In fact, what they encountered in the ateliers they attended in Paris was already very different than what they had learned back home. Unlike an eternal truth that the 1914 artists assumed it to be, what they learned at school and saw across Paris, and interpreted as “classical” was governed by the specificities of their time and place: Namık İsmail’s “classical art” was a combination of what was taught at the École in the mid-1910s in France under the aegis of “academic painting,” in addition to a selective narrative of the tradition of Western painting, as evinced by what hung on the walls of museums of Paris, which, not surprisingly, prioritized the French canon. Academic painting at this time in Paris had been inflected by the Romantics, loosened further by democratizing educational reforms that prioritized the *esquisse*, and marked by the impasto of the Impressionists. What Boime calls “the aesthetics of the sketch” had entered the visual vocabulary of the French academy since the Romantics began experimenting with different effects

²³¹ Among them, only İbrahim experimented with a more modernist approach to painting; but this would happen a few years after his return to Istanbul, upon meeting Ukrainian Alexis Gritchenko (more on this later).

²³² Namık İsmail. “Sanayi-i Nefise Akademisi Müdür Namık İsmail Bey’le Mülakat” [An Interview with the Director of the School of Fine Arts], *Meşale* no:2, July 15, 1928: 9. “Sanatın bir zî-hayat gibi yaşadığını ve her yaşayan gibi daima tebdil ve inkişaf ettiğini kabul ettiğim için kendi hesabıma fikren tamamıyla yeni yeni sanata dost olmakla beraber maalesef ifade vasıtam, sanat terbiyem eski olduğu için mukabil karargahta bulunmaktayım. Mamafih bizde klasik sanat vücut bulmadıkça yeni sanatın tesis edebileceğine kani değilim.” This interview was transcribed from Ottoman to Turkish by Halime Zorlu upon my request.

afforded by paint in the early 19th century.²³³ This painterly attitude purported by the Romantics had become part of academic training in the second half of the 19th century after a series of reforms, and freer styles were further enforced and popularized after the institutional acceptance of the Impressionists before the turn of the century. The French Academy, as well as the Musée Luxembourg had left behind the dogmatic singularity of Classicism (as in 17th-18th century French Neo-Classicism), and reflected a range of approaches to painting, both independent and academic. The difference between the avant-gardists and the academics had never been an insurmountable gap. Since the July Monarchy, there were artists who aimed for a middle ground between technical freedom and tradition, between Romanticism and Neo-Classicism, who were dubbed the “*juste milieu*.” Even though he is not so labeled, Cormon’s work and teaching fits into Boime’s definition of the “Third Republic *juste milieu*” artists of the 1880s, who, like their predecessors, were not vanguardists in any sense, but professional insiders who sought to forge a stylistic reconciliation between the Impressionists and the “pompiers.” These artists sought a middle ground between painterly freedom and academic principles of neo-classical construction and composition. Neither sacrificing their place in the academy, nor striving for path-breaking radicalism, neither completely giving up technical draughtsmanship, nor completely subscribing to a dogmatic rigidity, the *juste milieu* artists were still somewhat modern, and enjoyed commercial success. In this sense, Cormon was a typical fin-de-siecle *juste-milieu* artist, and seen in this light, his advice to Hikmet about overall effect and composition becomes clear. (This vein of following a middle-of-the-road teacher who embraced a “tamed” modern style would be echoed in the next generation’s embrace of André Lhote). By this moment, the visual characteristics of plein-air painting practices ushered in by the Impressionists, loose rendering technique, optical attention to changes in light, atmospheric effects and paint application

²³³ Albert Boime says that “Disappearance of the *fini* continued deep into the century [19th], it was undermined by innovators who avoided excessive smoothness and detail out of preference for the unity of pictorial effect.” He pinpoints that this went hand in hand with changing notions of originality with the influence of the Romantic *facture* visible since the 1820s. Boime, Albert. *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986: Chapter 1: The Crystallization of French Official Art (unpaginated online access) See also by Boime, “The Teaching Reforms of 1863 and the Origins of Modernism in France,” *Art Quarterly*, Autumn 1977: 1-39 and “The Teaching of the Fine Arts and the Avant-Garde in France in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century,” *Arts magazine*, 1985 vol.60 no:4: 46-57.

that created tactile surfaces (if not its sun-drenched color palette) had seeped into the École's ateliers and become part of academic training and the French canon through figures such as Cormon, to whom the artists of the 1914 generation looked up. The techniques that they learned in Cormon's atelier (later referred to by some as a belated Impressionism) were completely new to them. If they had any doubts, Cormon's encouragement of looser techniques and attention to *effet* must have been confirmed in what they saw in the museums of Paris: by the 1910s, the Impressionists had become paragons alongside other masters. With Gustave Caillebotte's bequest, work by Impressionist masters had entered the Musée de Luxembourg in 1897. Four of Claude Monet's *Cathedrals* (1892-94) could be admired on the museum's walls after 1911, which the young Ottoman painters surely visited.²³⁴

A close examination of the 1914 artists' work before going to Paris, and what came immediately after, shows a significant disappearance of the classical *fini*, that hyper smoothness and excessive attention to detail à la Ingres that had been promoted by Valeri and Warnia-Zarzecki, and evinced by Osman Hamdi's own artistic work. While this was what the Ottoman artists had learned as the "academic style" at the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul at the turn of the century, the dogmatic practice of the *fini* had long been relaxed in Paris. The shift from Valeri's *fini* to Cormon's encouragement of controlled daubs can be seen in a comparison of Mehmed Ruhi's work for the graduation exam that won him the *concours* in Istanbul, as contrasted to a painting of his son he made in the hotel room where he resided with his family during their time in Paris. [fig. 2.23-25] With its careful treatment of observed detail, Mehmed Ruhi uses paint as an illusory device for accurate three-dimensional representation in his *concours* work. [fig. 2.23] The 1909 painting is a testament to the eager art student's mastery of pictorial verisimilitude. The precision in the representation is not only visible in the anatomy of the figure standing in the classical *contrapposto* position but also for other objects in the composition. The patterns of the carpet on the platform the model is standing on, or the drapery of the fabric on the half column are not only references

²³⁴ Clark, Alexis. "Making an Art-Historical Empire: French Histories of Impressionism in Translation," *Globalizing Impressionism: Reception, Translation, and Transnationalism* (eds. Clark, Alexis, Frances Fowle), New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020. Unpaginated (ebook).

to tropes in classical painting but are testaments to the art student's technical prowess. The accurate depiction of the details is just as important as the anatomy of the model. But the rest of the painting is simply left blank; there is no concern for overall composition, narrative ability or invention in the concours work. The painting of the reclining young boy Mehmed Ruhi made during his Paris years (c. 1910-14) [fig. 2.24], on the other hand, though executed indoors, is atmospheric. It does not hide that the image is made up of paint on canvas. Using light as an expressive device rather than a tool for illusory objectivity, the artist makes the details subordinate to a general treatment, as in the memory of a cursory glance. It shows the artist's son as Mehmed Ruhi chose to capture this particular likeness of him at that moment in time, while also communicating a certain casual mood. Both the figure and the details of the objects around him are treated equally. The light and atmosphere are rendered in tonal values. The rich impasto of paint creates not only a visual but also a tactile experience.

Another figural study from a 1913 life class in Paris [fig. 2.25] confirms this new approach to the model. The stylistic changes are stark: Mehmed Ruhi has left behind the controlled neo-classicism and its pictorial verisimilitude learned in Istanbul for a loosely rendered overall effect and complementary color in Paris, without sacrificing his academic rigor. Three more nude studies in oil from this early period in the 1914 generation's years abroad, by Feyhaman, Namık İsmail, and Hikmet show a similar palette of colors, an interest in Romantic *facture*, and larger atmospheric effects. [fig. 2.26-28] While these studies show that the artists are not sacrificing correspondence between the image and the observed subject completely, still registering the proper anatomy of the sitters, a keener interest in the abbreviated *effet* has transformed their approach to painting. The hyper-focus on details and the diffuse light characteristic of classical training in the concours painting by Mehmed Ruhi or the precision in Hikmet's partial nudes from Istanbul are replaced by fuzzy contours, dramatic shadows, and a general painterly approach. What the Ottoman painters learned and embraced in Paris was an academic approach to painting that had softened into Cormon's *juste-milieu* compromise. A loosening of the brushstroke, a willingness to let the texture of paint take precedence, an embrace of lighter colors and reduced detail in the depiction of

objects and figures, and a general disappearance of contours could all be seen in the 1914 generation artists' work. They enjoyed this new freedom, but never completely gave up on the technical draughtsmanship they had internalized; this would remain as their anchor to what they deemed the classical. Theirs was neither an affiliation with a particular school, nor a subscription to an art movement and its ideology, nor a strict adoption of a style, but rather, an expansion of artistic vocabulary to embrace a particular early-twentieth century middle-of-the-road Parisian painterly attitude.

This loosening of the brushstroke seen in all 1914 generation artists' work is interpreted as evidence of a belated Impressionism. By looking at Nazmi Ziya's many landscapes, or Hüseyin Avni's *ebauches*, Feyhaman's portraits, or Hikmet's piers and boats, one can be easily convinced that the 1914 generation painters were indeed simply Turkish Impressionists. However, as this chapter intends to illustrate, "Impressionism" is not a sufficient signifier to describe the predicament or the output of these artists on its own. Some of the painters among the 1914 generation themselves adamantly resisted the label during their lifetimes. Ali Sami's comments on the matter reveal that traces of Impressionism in the technical application of paint was in fact credited to the French academic arts education, a testament to the elusiveness of formalism: "...it was suggested that our generation brought from Paris Impressionism, whereas the generation that came after (1928) brought modern art. This view is false. We did not bring from Paris an art called Impressionism. Our generation did, or indeed tried to, bring classical and academic art to the homeland."²³⁵ The framework of belatedness of the non-Western artist and the various expiatory qualifiers for their emulations that followed certainly make "Turkish Impressionism" a shorthand that can be visually confirmed for the 1914 generation, which, as will be illustrated later in the chapter, did indeed stick. However, recognizing the formal similarities and characterizing the work of these artists as "impressionist" would be taking Gökalp's binary model of culture versus civilization at

²³⁵ "... bizim neslin memlekete Empresyonadı getirdiği, bizden sonraki neslin de (1928) Paris'ten modern san'atı getirdiği yazılmıştı. Bu bir yanlış görüştür. Biz Paris'ten Empresyonizm diye bir san'atı getirmediğimiz. Bizim nesil vatana, klasik ve Akademik resim san'atını getirdi veya getirmeye çalıştı. Ali Sami Boyar, "Bizde Resim" quoted in Şehsuvaroğlu, Bedii N. *Ressam Ali Sami Boyar* (İsmail Akgün Matbaası, İstanbul, 1959): 73.

face-value and accepting that learning and adopting a technique would be sufficient, as long as this international language was combined with national culture, making it a happy synthesis. This dissertation intends to illustrate that the modernism that came to define the work of these artists refused such easy translocation, hence its argument for syncretism. Just as an artistic movement could not be applied elsewhere in toto without its discursive support structure and contextual underpinnings, nor could its emulators fully remove themselves from the process. Such simplistic labeling would also require one to ignore the many other facets of the practice of these individual artists, who, moving in and out of artistic spheres of influence, not only experimented with different styles throughout their careers while negotiating their own individual artistic trajectories, but also attempted to chart an artistic way forward for a new nation.

Part 2: From Paris to Istanbul

When the 1914 generation painters returned from Paris, they brought their energy and freshly loosened painterly attitude with them to Istanbul, and soon after, they took center-stage in organizing the Galatasaray salons and exhibiting their work. They would also all eventually get placed in government posts in cultural administration or begin teaching painting or drawing in schools across Istanbul. But the city to which they returned was not the same place they had left. The Young Turk Revolution, which had forced Abdülhamid II to restore the 1876 constitution and a multi-party parliament, resulted in a politically tumultuous period. By 1914, the promises of the revolution had turned into disappointments. After the re-institution of the constitutional government in 1908, the Unionists, a faction of the Young Turk movement made up of young and educated military officers mostly based in Rumelia, had initially chosen to keep operating as a secret society. The Young Turk revolution left the existing cabinet and grand vizier in place. Even though they established a political party that operated in parallel to the committee, called the Union and Progress Party in 1909, the CUP did not fully enter politics, continuing its clandestine work through the committee, exerting significant political power and deepening its aim of somehow preserving the Ottoman Empire while radically transforming its establishment from within (the

two, the committee and the official party would merge in 1913). The Unionists established CUP branches across the provinces of the empire, where they enlisted dominantly Muslim and Turkish professionals. Soon after the introduction of the constitution came the insurrection of 1909 –supported by both liberal and Islamic factions, it called for the re-institution of Sharia law and monarchic rule. This insurrection, or counter-coup, was violently suppressed by the Ottoman military, with the help of Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). While constitutional monarchy was maintained after the failed 1909 counter coup, the parliament was not politically stable for long; power struggles continued between liberals, figures from the former regime, the CUP and its offshoots. Governments were elected and just as quickly dissolved, as demands for radical intervention increased with the empire’s loss of territory. The empire shrank: first in the Italo-Ottoman War (1911-12, through which they lost Tripoli), followed by significant losses in Rumelia, the lands under Ottoman control in the Balkans. The defeat in Tripoli had in turn fueled the regional nationalisms that resulted in the Balkan Wars (1912-13), causing waves of Balkan Muslim Turks to leave their homes and emigrate into the shrinking enclave of the empire. The preeminence of ethno-confessional identities in these struggles for independence (especially between Christians and Muslims) and the European colonial expansion projects that were pressing on the territories of the weakened Ottoman Empire had made the universalism of Ottomanism non-viable. The cultural elite threw its support towards the veneration of Muslim Turks, the civilian victims of these wars who were forced to move out of their homes in Thrace, emigrating to Istanbul and its environs, as well as to Anatolia.²³⁶ The CUP’s military background and connection to the Balkans (the Young Turk movement had started in Salonica, supported by CUP’s young military officers from the Balkan provinces), its stress on inventing a new Turkish nationalism, and its aims to preserve territorial integrity through centralized control, allowed them to consolidate their power. The Unionists turned dictatorial, quashing all opposition. The Unionist triumvirate of Enver, Talat and Cemal Pashas introduced a one-party state in

²³⁶ Philliou, Christine M. *Turkey* (2021): 65. Also see Ginio, Eyal. “Mobilizing the Ottoman Nation during the Balkan Wars (1912–1913): Awakening from the Ottoman Dream.” *War in History* 12, no. 2 (2005): 156–77.

1913. They imposed martial law in 1913, which would continue to be in place until the end of WWI.²³⁷ Turkish nationalism was adopted as an official ideology the same year, and the economic program that followed in 1914 pushed many non-Muslim businessmen out of the empire.²³⁸ Those who did not leave were either forced to leave or were subjected to direct violence, resulting in pogroms across Anatolia against various Christian communities, and eventually, the Armenian genocide in 1915.²³⁹

The return of the 1914 generation hence overlapped with the gradual departure of many of the non-Muslim artists and art enthusiasts who had supported the city's artistic life until then. A comparison between the rosters of the second Pera salon in 1903 and the second Galatasaray exhibition in 1917 shows the stark transformation of the artistic population participating in these important art exhibitions. [fig. 2.29-30] At the beginning of this fourteen-year window,²⁴⁰ the architecture instructor of the School of Fine Arts, Alexandre Vallauray, together with editor of the local French-language *Stamboul* newspaper, Régis Delbeuf, had organized the Pera salons for a few consecutive years at the turn of the century (*Exposition des Artistes de Constantinople* in 1902, 1903 and 1905).²⁴¹ Muslim-Turkish painters showing their work at the Pera salons such as Ahmed Ali, Halil Paşa, Şevket Bey and Osman Hamdi had always been in the minority; at most, they comprised about one third of the artists showing paintings, sculptures,

²³⁷ I base my account of the period between 1908-1918 largely on Erik J. Zürcher's *Turkey: A Modern History* (2009): chapter 8, and Christine M. Philiou, who narrates this time through the eyes of an opposition figure, the writer Refik Halid [Karay] (1888-1965). Philiou, Christine M. *Turkey* (2021): chapters 2 and 3.

²³⁸ Toprak, Zafer. *Türkiye'de 'Milli İktisat', 1908-1918*, Ankara: Yurt Yayınları (1982).

²³⁹ See for example: Suny, Ronald Grigor, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman M. Naimark (eds.). *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

²⁴⁰ For the former unjuried Pera exhibitions, often referred to as the "Pera Salons" and organized between the years 1901-1903, which could be seen as the precursor to the GS exhibitions, see Sinanlar Uslu, Seza. "Pera'da Resim Üretim Ortamı 1844-1916," Ph.D. dissertation, Istanbul Technical University, 2008 and Sinanlar Uslu, Seza. *Pera Ressamları-Pera Sergileri: 1845-1916*, (exh. cat.), Istanbul: Norgunk, 2010. For even earlier Istanbul exhibitions, which took place in the 1880s, see Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*, University of California Press; Oakland (2015): chapter 4: "Istanbul's Art Exhibitions." Roberts also discusses how these exhibitions were perceived differently, either as Ottoman events or European ventures, depending on the affiliation of the art critic writing about them.

²⁴¹ See chapter 4 "Naissance d'une critique d'art française en Turquie" in Du Crest, Xavier. *De Paris à Istanbul, 1851-1949: un siècle de relations artistiques entre la France et la Turquie*. Sciences de l'histoire. Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2009 and Sinanlar Uslu, Seza. *Pera Ressamları-Pera Sergileri: 1845-1916* (exh. cat.), Istanbul: Norgunk, 2010.

and engravings at these events.²⁴² Only a decade and a half later, Muslim Turks were to be in the overwhelming majority at the Galatasaray salons. This complete reversal prevailed in ensuing Galatasaray salons in Istanbul. After the foundation of the republic, and the development of Ankara as capital, Muslim Turks also dominated the salons organized in Ankara. Out of the thirty-seven artists exhibiting at the Galatasaray salon in 1917, only fifteen were non-Muslim. This significant demographic shift both testified to the expanding popularity of painting within the Muslim-Turkish community and to the decreasing presence of the non-Muslim artist in the Turkish art scene.

In fact, the make-up of Istanbul's cultural sphere had begun to change significantly even earlier. Space and opportunity had already decreased for Ottoman-Armenians even before the onset of WWI, which led to numerous Armenian artists not returning from their studies abroad and deciding to emigrate from the late 19th century onwards.²⁴³ By 1915, concern had transformed into outright fear; deportations and killings across Anatolia today known as the Armenian Genocide led Armenian artists to flee

²⁴² For example, at the second Pera salon in 1902, eleven out of the thirty-three exhibiting artists were Muslim Turks. *Deuxième Exposition des artistes de Constantinople*. Salon 1902. Catalogue. (Exhibition brochure), 1902, İBB Atatürk Library, Digital Collections.

²⁴³ The "Armenian Question" dates to the mid-19th century and had already resulted in mass violence with the Hamidian massacres (1894-96), with hundreds of thousands of civilian casualties in Istanbul and Anatolia. Hence, the artistic brain-drain had already started before the 1915 Armenian genocide. A close look at the individual entries in Garo Kürkman's two-volume compendium of Ottoman-Armenian painters shows that numerous artists who were trained as painters in Istanbul and Paris in the late 19th and early 20th century later emigrated to France or moved onto the US. A few stayed in or returned to the Middle East but avoided war time and post-armistice Ottoman Empire and later Turkey, settling in countries under European mandate at the time, such as Egypt, Lebanon or Syria. Kürkman, Garo. *Armenian painters in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1923*. Teşvikiye, İstanbul: Matüsalem Uzmanlık ve Yayıncılık, 2004.

I find it important to list the names here gleaned from Kürkman, even though their artistic practice deserves much closer attention: Hrant Kazandjian, Levon Serope Kurkdjian, Wartan Mahokian, Hrand and Vahram Manavian, Hovsep Ohannes Pouchman (Puşmanyanyan), Rafael Mardiros Şişmanyanyan (Chichmanian), Zakaria Zakaryan, Araene Chabanian, Yervant Demirdijian, Sarkis Diranian, Harutrun Harri Dirit, Sarkis Erganian, Harutyun Galentz, Sarkis Haçaduryan (Katchadourian), Vahan Hovivian. (Of course, there is also Arshile Gorky (born Vostanik Manoug Adoian), who was orphaned on Ottoman lands when he was very young, and became an artist later, when he was living in the US.) Scholar Vazken Khatchig Davidian has published extensively on Ottoman Armenian painters overlooked in Ottoman art history. See for example Davidian, Vazken Khatchig. "Portrait of an Ottoman Armenian Artist of Constantinople. Rereading Teotig's Biography of Simon Hagopian." *Études Arméniennes Contemporaines*, no. 4 (December 15, 2014): 11–54; "Reframing Ottoman Art Histories: Bringing Silenced Voices Back into the Picture," *Études Arméniennes Contemporaines* (2015): 7-17; "Image of an Atrocity: Ivan (Hovhannes) Aivazovsky's Massacre of the Armenians in Trebizond 1895," *Études Arméniennes Contemporaines*, no. 11 (October 15, 2018): 40–73 and "Imagining Ottoman Armenia: Realism and Allegory in Garabed Nishanian's Provincial Wedding in Moush and Late Ottoman Art Criticism," *Études Arméniennes Contemporaines* (2015): 155-225.

execution or forced migration. Among them was painter Panos Terlemezian, who left Istanbul for Eastern Anatolia to take on an active role in the Armenian resistance movement.²⁴⁴ Many other non-Muslim Ottoman painters had left the city and the empire when the conscription laws changed such that the Ottoman military could conscript residents of Istanbul, including non-Muslims.²⁴⁵ Another significant factor in depleting the Istanbul art world in the late 19th and early 20th century was the departure of the members of the diplomatic corps of the Allied Countries and their families, who had dabbled in and supported easel painting in the empire.²⁴⁶

The Great War also affected artistic education. The Istanbul School of Fine Arts suffered significantly; it had to change locations multiple times, as the temporary buildings it settled in throughout the war were taken over by Allied Forces during the city's occupation after the armistice. Even more significantly, the school's two main instructors for drawing and painting respectively, the French-born Pole Warnia-Zarzecki, and the Italian Valeri, having been at the School of Fine Arts since its inception in 1883, both left the empire in the initial years of WWI.²⁴⁷ The Levantine architect Alexandre Vallaury, the

²⁴⁴ Panos Terlemezian left the empire and joined the Armenian independence movement. He had initially been exiled during the reign of Abdülhamid II but had returned to Istanbul during the constitutional era, before the CUP government officially adopted Turkish nationalism. He briefly came back again after the armistice in the early 1920s and showed his work but left again before the proclamation of the Republic. For Terlemezian see: Tongo, Gizem. "Artist and Revolutionary: Panos Terlemezian as an Ottoman Armenian Painter." *Études Arméniennes Contemporaines* 6, 2015: 111-153.

²⁴⁵ For World War I, conscription for the Ottoman armies expanded to all eligible men between the ages of 20 and 45. In her dissertation, Seza Sinanlar Uslu argues that this change in conscription law was the reason for many artists to leave the empire right before and during the war. (There was one channel through which the movement was in the opposite direction; numerous Russian artists fleeing the Bolshevik Revolution [1917-1923] temporarily or permanently made Istanbul their home in the 1920s, such as the aforementioned Ukrainian painter Alexis Gritchenko.)

²⁴⁶ Mary Roberts establishes that some members of the diplomatic corps played a key role in earlier Istanbul exhibitions: *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture*, University of California Press; Oakland (2015): chapter 4: "Istanbul's Art Exhibitions."

²⁴⁷ Turkish art historians Zeynep İnankur and Semra Germaner mention that Valeri "left his position" in 1913 and returned to Italy "during WWI." Germaner, Semra and Zeynep İnankur. *Orientalism and Turkey*, İstanbul: The Turkish Cultural Services Foundation (1989): 153. It could be the case that Zarzecki was forced to leave the empire due to the war as a French national, or perhaps, he was forced to retire to make his teaching position available for Turkish students who had returned from Paris. (Earlier, Valeri had been dismissed from the school after the Tripoli War for being Italian, then an official enemy, but later he had been allowed to return to his position. Italians working for the empire, as nationals of the Entente Powers were again forced to retire during WWI.) While the reasons for Zarzecki's retirement or his whereabouts afterwards remain unclear, more recent scholarship than İnankur and Germaner's makes Valeri's departure clearer. Valeri's wife was an Armenian named Maria Lekeciyan, which potentially points to the Armenian genocide in 1915 as Valeri's reason for leaving the empire for Italy the same

instructor for architecture and co-organizer of the Pera Salons, had retired in 1908. The sculpture instructor, Ottoman-Armenian sculptor Yervant Osgan Efendi (b.1855) passed away in 1914, all of which left the school without any seasoned instructors during the war years. The gaps, however, meant that there were many positions that became available to the 1914 generation upon their return to the empire. Most significantly, the main roles for instructing painting and drawing were assigned to two 1914-generation artists shortly after their return to Istanbul; İbrahim took Valeri's position in 1914, and Hikmet filled Zarzecki's in 1915. They were each still in their early-30s. Ali Sami, who quit the military in 1914, was first appointed to be the director of the newly opened School of Fine Arts for Women. After leaving this position to the co-founder Mihri [Müşfik], he became the director of the Naval Museum that same year. Hüseyin Avni and Mehmed Ruhi had begun teaching art at high school level upon their return; Hüseyin Avni was first at the İstanbul Sultanisi [Istanbul High School], and later at the Kandilli High School for Girls, whereas Mehmed Ruhi taught perspective at the Naval War Academy, the Kabataş High School and later, the Çapa Teachers' School for Women.

As state employees, İbrahim, Hikmet, Ali Sami, Mehmed Ruhi and Hüseyin Avni were exempt from conscription and so they did not directly join the war effort. Other 1914 artists, such as Mehmed Sami, who was originally trained as a soldier, were conscripted, and had direct war experience. Mehmed Sami, who had returned from Paris a bit earlier than others, had become a prisoner of war during the Balkan Wars when the city where he was stationed, Edirne, was captured by Bulgarians in 1913. He was deployed again during WWI and would later admit that these war experiences informed most of his later paintings.²⁴⁸ Namık İsmail spent two years on the Caucasian front (1914-1916), witnessing and suffering through tough conditions during battle. He lost a close friend and was discharged from the army after catching typhus; seeing the poorly managed war effort would turn him into “an ambivalent patriot,”

year. Kahraman, Alev. "Ressam Salvatore Valeri ve sanatı" [Painter Salvatore Valeri and his Art], Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü M.A. Thesis (2005): 40.

²⁴⁸ Captured together with Sami was his friend and fellow soldier-painter Mehmet Ali (Laga) (1878- 1947). Taken as prisoners to Bulgaria for a year, the artists met Anton Mitov, the painter and director of Academy of Fine Arts of Bulgaria at that time.

which would be reflected in his paintings.²⁴⁹ Feyhaman, deployed at the *Sargıhane* in Istanbul, an infirmary unit for bandaging, depicted those injured in the war for the *Harb Mecmuası* [War Magazine]. Mehmed Ruhi made drawings for postcards that venerated the Turkish soldier, in addition to the large-scale paintings referring to the war that he would make in later years. Even though İbrahim did not serve in the war as a soldier as he was the only painting instructor at the School of Fine Arts, he joined an early CUP propaganda effort and visited the Gallipoli front in 1915.²⁵⁰ The sketches he made there would become the basis of the war-themed paintings he showed in the first two iterations of the Galatasaray salons.

There was one other significant way in which the war played a role in shaping the 1914 artists' work while also further altering the dynamics of the art scene in Istanbul at-large. Celal Esad [Arseven], an artist and bureaucrat (as well as eventual author of the first comprehensive volume on Turkish art) was the mayor of Istanbul's Kadıköy district at the time, and suggested organizing a traveling painting exhibition for the CUP government to support. The aim was to represent the empire not only as a military power but also to show to the Central Powers that the Ottoman Empire was a civilized equal to its European allies. Celal Esad's suggestion was taken up by the Ministry of War. As expected, the ministry's involvement meant the inclusion, or even, encouragement of military subject matter, which quickly transformed Celal Esad's exhibition project into a war propaganda effort despite the fact that the target audience was more external than internal. Though there were multiple generations of still active

²⁴⁹ This is how Gizem Tongo characterizes Namık İsmail, in her detailed study of his war-time experiences and ensuing artistic output as well as its changing reception in "An Ambivalent Patriot: Namık İsmail, The first World War and the Politics of Remembrance in Turkey," *Painting, Memory, and the First World War* (eds. Margaret Hutchinson and Steven Trout), Alabama: The University of Alabama Press (2020): 85-102.

²⁵⁰ The Gallipoli trip was an internal affair, a group of about 30 intellectuals –writers, musicians and painters– were asked to visit the Gallipoli Front in order to capture and pass on their own emotions to the public. This was the only Ottoman military victory during WWI, which significantly stopped French and British troops from entering the straits to take over Istanbul. Rather than venerating people of rank, the intelligentsia on the trip were briefed to communicate to the public the effort of the Turkish soldiers and the talent of the nation. In fact, two painters had been part of this trip, İbrahim and Nazmi Ziya. Gizem Tongo. "Ottoman Painting and Painters during the First World War." PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2017: 146-150. While there are known oil sketches by İbrahim that led to large-scale paintings, Nazmi Ziya seems not to have made use of this trip for his later work, he was also the only 1914er who did not participate in the *Exhibition of War Paintings* in 1918.

Ottoman soldier-painters, and some of the 1914 painters came from military backgrounds themselves, there weren't many existing paintings that took on the the current war as subject matter. In 1917, an atelier was set up in the central district of Şişli in Istanbul, paid for by the Ministry of War, complete with trenches, military props such as a cannon as well as soldiers made available to pose as models. Paints and canvases, which were difficult to afford and obtain during the war years, were also provided. The artists invited to work in this atelier on new commissions were İbrahim, Namık İsmail, Hikmet, Mehmed Sami, Ali Sami, Mehmed Ruhi, all from the 1914 generation, with the addition of Ali Cemal [Ben'im]. The works made in the Şişli studio focused on the 'Mehmetçik,' the Turkish foot soldier, whose range of experiences from charging ahead on the battlefield, to daily life in the trenches, to the terrors of war such as night attacks, were depicted in surprising frankness. These were large-scale paintings in earthy colors; the works were naturalistic and painterly, neither carrying the precision of neo-classical history paintings, nor the staged quality of Soviet Realism that would come to characterize the formal language of propaganda. [fig. #2.31-33] The exhibition was first shown Istanbul in early 1918 and later shipped to Vienna, where it was shown under the title "Austellung von Bildern Türkischer Maler" [Exhibition of Pictures by Turkish Painters] in the Banqueting Hall of the Royal Imperial University the same year.²⁵¹ [fig. 2.34] All of the 1914 painters except for Nazmi Ziya took part in this significant propaganda effort in one way or another. Feyhaman and Hüseyin Avni, though not invited to the Şişli atelier, voluntarily contributed to the exhibition with newly made war-related paintings.

Even if the cultural sphere of Istanbul had managed to remain relatively ideologically insulated until then, this exhibition, envisioned by Celal and underwritten by the CUP stimulated even the civilian

²⁵¹ While the exhibition was planned to tour to other main cities of the Central Powers, the war took a turn for the worse with the Allied Powers' Hundred Days Offensive in the summer of 1918. The Berlin leg and subsequent cities on the agenda were cancelled. When the Bulgarian front collapsed and an armistice was quickly signed between Bulgaria and the Allied Powers in September 1918, the passageways closed for the return of the paintings to the empire. Celal Esad and Namık İsmail got stuck in Vienna together with the paintings. It would take more than a year for them to return to Istanbul. Namık İsmail used this time to go to Berlin and take painting classes. For a social recounting of this time, see Arseven's memoir: Arseven, Celâl Esad. *Sanat ve siyaset hatıralarım*. 1st ed. Anı dizisi (İstanbul: İletişim), 1993: 126-135.

artists in the group to create works with war-themes. Eventually, non-war related works were also included in the selection for the exhibition; and hence, two women artists, Harika [Sirel, later Lifij] and a Ruşen Zamir Hanım were also able to participate in the exhibition.²⁵² This exhibition was a notable instance of painting's direct instrumentalization by the CUP government for propaganda reasons, but perhaps more significantly, it was the first time non-Muslim artists or contributors had been excluded from an exhibition that was organized by the empire. Non-Muslim artists, especially painters, had long represented the empire abroad in international exhibitions, beginning with the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris. This had continued until as recently as 1913, when Panos Terlemezian was honored with medals at the *XI. International Art Exhibition* in Munich. The omission of non-Muslim Ottoman artists from this government-backed atelier in Şişli and the ensuing exhibitions confirmed what had already been clear to the non-Muslim artists: they were no longer favored to represent the empire.

Just a year later, when the third Galatasaray salon was organized in the summer of 1919, it was no longer called the subtly inclusive *Galatasaraylılar Yurdu Resim Sergisi* [Galatasaray Alumni Club Painting Exhibition], but the blatantly ethno-national *Türk Ressamları Sergisi* [The Exhibition of Turkish Artists]. The change was not only in title; in fact, many of the Armenian, Rum and Levantine names that were on the roster of the first two exhibitions completely disappeared from the list of exhibitors in 1919.²⁵³ The first two war-time salons organized by the Ottoman Painters Society in the alumni club had been more civically oriented, and both Muslim and non-Muslim artists were still showing their work together. These initial exhibitions had showcased work by a select group of painters who could remain in Istanbul during the war. The official salons organized after 1919, however, bear the mark of nationalist ideology entering this annual event, and even though the diversity of the participants slightly picked up in

²⁵² In addition, there were works by other soldier painters, Cevat Bey, İsmail Hakkı Bey, Mehmed Ali Laga, and Tahsin Bey. Also included under “the others” category were paintings by well-known civilian artists from older generations, such as Prince Abdülmecid Efendi, Ömer Adil Bey, Şevket Bey, Süleyman Seyyid Bey. For more on this exhibition as well as some reviews from the Austrian press see Gören, Ahmet Kamil. *Türk resim sanatında Şişli Atölyesi ve Viyana sergisi*. (exh. cat.) Resim ve Heykel Müzeleri Derneği, Şişli Belediyesi; Beyoğlu, İstanbul, 1997.

²⁵³ For these demographic analyses I use the exhibition catalog *Resim Tarihimizden: Galatasaray Sergileri* (2003), which lists all the participants in these salons from 1916 to 1951, based on the exhibition brochures.

later years, they would never be the same. While some names like that of the painting instructor at the Galatasaray lycée, Armenian-Ottoman Viçen Arslanyan, would return to the roster in later years, many others would not.²⁵⁴ In addition to the fraught ethno-confessional politics of the CUP already leading to the war, the *Exhibition of War Paintings* had established a divide between Muslim-Turk painters who were seen fit to represent the empire as it currently stood, and those non-Muslim Ottomans who weren't. Soon after, the name of the Ottoman Painters Society would also undergo a similar change; it was reformulated as the Society of Turkish Painters in 1921. The founding members of this new iteration of the society comprised recognizable names: İbrahim, Hikmet, Feyhaman, Mehmed Sami and their elder Şevket, from the Galatasaray lycée.

Feyhaman's group portrait [\[fig. 2.35\]](#) featuring the five painters mentioned above, painted in 1921 and exhibited at the Galatasaray salon that summer, memorializes the newly Turkish (and Muslim) society, yet they might have yearned to evoke a simpler community –the same year, the same group had also banded together to replicate in Istanbul the “académie libre” model they had experienced first-hand during their years in Paris at Académie Julian. They called it “Resim Okulu” [Painting School], and it

²⁵⁴ Admittedly, the Galatasaray salons were not the cosmopolitan events the Pera salons organized at the turn of the century or earlier exhibitions of painting in Istanbul used to be, and as shown above, this demographic shift was a reflection of events larger than the art world. While these salons were not the singular art event of the year as artists like Terlemezian also presented their work in self-organized small scale solo shows, especially in the years of occupation after the armistice, the Galatasaray exhibitions were significant undertakings. Non-Muslim names began to re-appear on the list of participants as early as 1920, but as to be expected, in much smaller numbers. Here is a list of non-Muslim artists who participated in the Galatasaray exhibitions until 1951, gleaned from the exhibitor lists: [Viçen] Arslanyan Efendi (1920-2, 1928-31), Harilaous Ksantopoulos [or sometimes spelled as Xsantopoulos] Efendi (1921-22, 1926, 1931-33, 1935-39, 1938, 1946, 1949, 1951), Madam Mari (sculpture, 1927-8), Roza Hanım (sculpture, 1927), Rita Azaryan Hanım (1928), Yorkiyef Efendi (1928), Makurin Efendi (1929), Boşnakyan Hanım (1929), N. Kalmikof Efendi (1930, 1934-1938), [Nikolai] Perof Efendi (1931, 1933-decoration, 1935, 1937, 1939-41, 1943-46 painting), Mayda Hanım (1930-31), Safief Efendi (1931), Madam Barry (1932, sculpture), Mademoiselle Denardu (1934), Faris Ferid (1934-5), Sefcroft Efendi (1934), Blinkski Efendi (1934, sculpture), Monik Gondrof (1935), Seferov (1935), Edda Sperco (1937-38), Gretta Sperco (1937-39), İsga (1937), Anahit Apgaryan (1938), Edith Antscher (1938, 1940) Viktorya Siryan (1938-39), O. Bark (1939), K. Sim (1939, 1941), Bayan Silki (1939), A. Perova (1939-41, 1946-47), B. Burla (1940), Sami Lim (1943, 1945), Binenbaum Lazar (1945), Jozef İskender (1945, 1947), Jenya Fendrikoff (1946), Lidya Marçık (1946). This list is revealing in that another decrease in non-Muslim names coincides with the propagation of “Varlık Vergisi,” the discriminatory tax law on wealth passed in 1942, which targeted the non-Muslim bourgeoisie, resulting in many small businesses changing hands from non-Muslims to Muslims. Kirişçi, Kemal. “Migration and Turkey,” *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 4 (ed. Kasaba, Reşat) Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008: 182-183.

lasted only a year.²⁵⁵ Today Feyhaman's painting of the new society members, known as *Ressamlar Grubu* [Group of Painters]²⁵⁶ serves to canonize the now empowered 1914 generation. The painting's naturalism combined with its moderately loose or "painterly" brushwork that nonetheless retains a commitment to verisimilitude comes closest to illustrating the stylistic common denominator for the group.

In her reading of this painting, Shaw interprets it as an unsophisticated illustration with a direct correspondence between image and meaning, a portrait that does not do more than subtly hinting at the individual characters of its sitters: "the thoughtful calm of Mehmed Sami; the dynamism of İbrahim; Feyhaman's own shyness as he peeks out from behind the satisfied, bourgeois Şevket; and the bewilderment of Hikmet."²⁵⁷ While a faithful depiction of the individuals is definitely at the forefront of the group portrait, and as such it lacks the allegorical heft of an artistic self-portrait such as Courbet's *The Artist's Studio, a real allegory summing up seven years of my artistic and moral life* (1854-55), which reveals the artist's influences and tendencies as well as key figures in the mid-19th century French artistic sphere, there is still more that can be gleaned from what is in this seemingly simple work. Feyhaman's group portrait is perhaps more comparable to Henri Fantin-Latour's *A Studio at Les Batignolles* (1870) which depicts the unofficial "école de Manet," the artist surrounded by his followers.

When read as a foreshadowing of the dynamics of the Turkish art world, the implications of what is depicted in *Group of Painters* takes on significance as much for what is absent from the painting as

²⁵⁵ This school was very short-lived. After its closure, another school opened in the same building, the Osmanbey Printing House in Çemberlitaş, this time called "Serbest Resim Atölyesi" [The Free Painting Atelier], set up by Mehmed Ruhi. Halil Edhem, *Elvah-ı Nakşiye koleksiyonu* (ed. Gültekin Elibal), Milliyet Yayınları Sanat Kitapları Dizisi 1, İstanbul, 1970: 49. The "serbest" in the title is most likely derived from the French "libre" as it was used to describe the *académie libre* model, which included the likes of Académie Julian. In later years (after 1924), Mehmed Ruhi also sporadically taught perspective at the School of Fine Arts, but due to differences of opinion about art education, he returned to teaching aspiring soldier-painters at various military high schools.

²⁵⁶ It is very likely that this painting is the one titled "Sanatkâr Dostlar" [Artist Friends] in the brochure of the 1921 Galatasaray exhibition. Even though it has generally been referred to as *Ressamlar Grubu* in the literature, and logged as such in the inventory of the MSGSÜ İstanbul Painting and Sculpture Museum, the original title of the work is *Artist Friends*. I use *Group of Painters* to avoid confusion.

²⁵⁷ Shaw, *Ottoman Painting* (2011): 132.

what is in it. Although it is uncertain whether the group portrait marks the establishment of the Turkish Society of Painters or the Painting School, as a large painting with multiple figures, it is notable firstly for venerating a cultural alliance of male-only figures. *Group of Painters* or *Artist Friends* features a fraternity of artists. These are actors who will not only come to dominate the artistic milieu but also shape art pedagogy and influence fine arts policy especially after the founding of the republic, only two years after this group portrait was painted. Only a decade before, one of the founding members of the Ottoman Society of Painters had been a woman artist, Müfide Kadri (whose career was cut short by her untimely death from tuberculosis in 1912). At the time of this painting, another woman artist, Müfide Kadri's contemporary, Mihri Rasim was the head teacher at the İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi [Women's School of Fine Arts] which had opened in 1914. Upon Mihri's recommendation, this is where Feyhaman had also started teaching recently. Strangely, Feyhaman seems not to have returned the favor; Mihri was neither part of the newly founded Society of Turkish Painters, nor invited to teach at the Free Painting Atelier.²⁵⁸ The painting reflects the boys-club nature of the emerging 1914 generation at large, signaling the future all-male artworld. When the two art schools merged in 1927, Mihri, who had been effectively running the Women's School, was not even offered a teaching position. In fact, no women artist would come to have a permanent atelier in the co-ed school until the 1970s.²⁵⁹ Even though the Galatasaray exhibitions featured work by women, the female artists always remained contributors, never part of the organizers or the jury. Two artists from the 1914 group, Feyhaman and Hüseyin Avni, later married two of these women artists, Güzin [Duran] and Harika [Sirel/Lifij]. However, like Mihri, neither Güzin nor Harika would ever be part of these organizational bodies, nor would they get to attain the same income or the

²⁵⁸ After taking on her role at the İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi, Mihri Rasim had brief episodes of living in Italy in 1919 and again in 1923, but a close look at her biography suggests that she was in Istanbul in 1921, when the group portrait in question was painted. She returned to Turkey soon after the foundation of the republic. When the two schools became co-ed in 1927, she was in Istanbul. She left again in 1938 and emigrated to the US. See Dağoğlu, Özlem Gülin. "Mihri Rasim and the Founding of the Women's Fine Arts Academy, İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi: a Double-edged New Social Reality," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, Volume 6, Number 2, Fall 2019: 33-54 and Köksal, Duygu, and Anastasia Falierou. *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives. A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives*, (Brill, Leiden/Boston), 2013: 157-167.

²⁵⁹ This would be painter Neş'e Erdok (1940-) in 1972. Dağoğlu, Özlem Gülin. "Mihri Rasim and the Founding of the Women's Fine Arts Academy" (2019): 53.

prestige of the teaching positions their husbands enjoyed.²⁶⁰ The group portrait also designates a group within a group, in that it also marks artistic and bureaucratic differences among the 1914 generation artists. In 1921, Hüseyin Avni, who always stood at arm's length from the other 1914 artists, had already stopped showing at the Galatasaray salons. At the time he was working on a fresco commission in the Bağlarbaşı chalet of his friend and patron Crown Prince Abdülmecit. He had emerged as an avid art writer penning both instructive articles and exhibition reviews in mainstream publications.²⁶¹ Ali Sami on the other hand, after brief stints as director at the Women's (1914) and later men's School of Fine Art (1921) had settled as a museum professional.²⁶² In later years Ali Sami's articles made newspaper headlines with his attacks against the professional failings of the painters in this smaller group. In later decades, he would criticize how the school was run by these artists. Hüseyin Avni and Ali Sami, who shared more conservative artistic leanings, would come together as a 'rival' society in 1923, though this would also be short-lived.²⁶³ On the other hand, Nazmi Ziya and Namık İsmail, though not pictured in the portrait, were close to painters in Feyhaman's group portrait. Even though they would remain active as painters, these two had chosen more administrative careers. By 1921, Namık İsmail was the associate director of the School of Fine Arts, whereas Nazmi Ziya was its director (1918-1921 and again in 1925-27).²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ As mentioned before, İbrahim and Hikmet had been given the two major teaching positions at the School of Fine arts. Feyhaman began teaching painting at the Women's School of Fine Arts in 1919, and when the schools were joined, he was appointed as the drawing instructor. In 1933, Feyhaman was given his own atelier, where he taught until his retirement in 1951. At this point, Şevket Bey (who had also been one of the founders of the Ottoman Painter's Society) was teaching at the Dar-ül Muallimin [Teachers' College], and Mehmed Sami was the art teacher at the prestigious Kuleli Military Academy.

²⁶¹ Hüseyin Avni's writing would continue into the early republic, with fearless critical op-eds on commissions of public monuments. Hüseyin Avni would begin to teach at the School of Fine Arts in 1923 and would soon after become the head of the Decorative Arts department. He was also an artistic confidante to Mustafa Kemal, writing him private reports on the Galatasaray salons. Letter from Avni Lifij to Mustafa Kemal in *Avni Lifij-Yazıları* (2019): 51-53.

²⁶² After serving as the director of the Naval Museum, he would become the director of the Hagia Sophia after its designation as a museum.

²⁶³ This 'rival' society was formed by [Hoca] Ali Rıza, [Bahriyeli] İsmail Hakkı Bey, Hüseyin Avni [Lifij], Ali Sami [Boyar] and İhsan Ahmed Bey, it closed after organizing only one exhibition in collaboration with Mehmed Ruhi's Serbest Resim Atölyesi in Ankara in 1924. For its by-laws, see: *Avni Lifij- Sanat Yazıları* (2019): 345-350.

²⁶⁴ He had also previously served as the head of the Fine Arts Committee for the Ministry of Education. After a hiatus of more government-funded European travel, Namık İsmail would become the director of the school in 1927.

The modern but somewhat restrained sartorial choices of the figures in the group portrait reveal these painters as men of letters more than as artists; other than Mehmed Sami's signature style foulard-scarf necktie, there are no strong signs of bohemianism; the five mustachioed men could be representation of any bourgeois profession. There is nothing in this painting, other than its title, that suggests that these figures are artists; none of them are wearing aprons that were the typical attire for painters at the time, nor are there any traces of paint on their hands. This absence perhaps also confirms their primary self-identification as civil servants, rather than as artists. Furthermore, the plain background of the portrait is strikingly non-referential for a group of painters; the figures are gathered in a non-defined space rather than being grounded in an atelier, surrounded by easels and drawings, or even, in the presence of a model, nor are they located in an office or study with books, props or catalogs.

One cannot help but notice the peculiarity of an empty wall in a group portrait of painters, posing as the founding members of an artists' society. The blankness of this wall can be taken as a sign of the indeterminacy surrounding what kind of painting should be on the wall in 1921. Is it academic sketches, finished paintings, or works referencing other visual traditions, such as calligraphy (in which Feyhaman was formally trained, and remained a life-long practitioner)? What kind of painting was to define this group? Did they champion a particular approach to artistic creation, or to artistic pedagogy? If Feyhaman chose not to put a work by one of their own in the background to avoid preferentiality, was there not a historical or aspirational figure, whose work could give a hint of their artistic position, as in Courbet's turning away from academic painting for Realism in his allegorical painting? Is the emptiness of the wall to signify that these artists felt they had no artistic tradition on which to build, nor a solid academic ground to launch from or to revolt against? Were they to create a new tradition, without forerunners, yet to be determined, and hence the wall was yet to be filled? Perhaps, the neutrality of the background is a strategic choice not to regret early commitments made in paint, that would prove too permanent in their rapidly transforming, politically unsteady, and aesthetically undetermined context.

The group portrait was painted in occupied Istanbul in the spring of 1921. The government had been dissolved and the Treaty of Sèvres had effectively partitioned the Ottoman Empire just the year before. The CUP had been abolished, but many underground movements were active in Istanbul. The Allied Powers had exiled 150 political figures to Malta. Among them was Ziya Gökalp, the ideologue of Turkism (and a known proponent of the Galatasaray exhibitions, who had given ample space and dedicated expensive photographic reproduction to them in the publication he edited, *Yeni Mecmu'a*). By 1921, the Turkish struggle for Independence active in Anatolia had gained legitimacy with a new national assembly in Ankara. Under the circumstances, it is notable that Feyhaman spent his rare and expensive paints and canvas on a large-scale painting of himself and his colleagues.²⁶⁵ The completely apolitical subject matter can be seen as a reflection of the artist's civilian aspirations for painting, a testament to the resilience of artistic endeavor, or it can be interpreted as cautiously strategic in veiling the group's political leanings in this period of uncertain political authority. Certainly, there are no hints about their personal political affiliations (according to Mehmed Sami, by 1920, they were all Kemalists),²⁶⁶ other than having embraced a national identification, signaled by the designatory change in their society's

²⁶⁵ The Ottoman Empire signed the Armistice of Mudros on October 31, 1918, giving up control of its Arab lands, disbanding its army, agreeing to the military occupation of the straits, ceding complete control of the railway and telegraph lines, and most significantly, allowing the Entente Powers the right to occupy remaining Ottoman lands if they perceived their security to be under threat. This resulted initially in what some historians refer to as the *de jure* occupation of Istanbul in 1919, with 50,000 Entente troops in the city. British troops controlled Pera, Galata, and Şişli, the French controlled the old city and the western suburbs, and the Italians Scutari, or the Asian shores of Üsküdar. Sultan Vahdettin, also known as Mehmed VI, who succeeded to the throne in 1918 after the death of Mehmed V, only months before the end of the war, held an anti-nationalist, anti-Unionist, and pro-British line. After the military defeat, the CUP, with its three notorious leaders on the run, had gone underground to organize a resistance movement in Anatolia. There was a clear rift between Istanbul and the independence movement in Anatolia, which was gaining momentum, formally represented by an assembly in Ankara. The city was also overrun by at least 65,000 Rum, Russian, Muslim and Armenian refugees. The city's *de facto* occupation by the British followed in 1920. The Ottoman Empire effectively became a rump state with the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), through which the remaining Ottoman lands in Thrace and Anatolia were partitioned to Greece and Italy, with an Armenian state in eastern Anatolia. France and Britain established mandates in Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq. The nationalists' efforts to claim disputed lands in Anatolia turned into a full-on independence war when Greek armies decided to enforce the treaty through military means in 1920. Zürcher, Erik Jan. *Turkey: A Modern History*. 3rd ed., new Ed. London; New York: IBTauris, 2004: 133-152. Also see: Criss, Bilge. *İşgal altında İstanbul*. 2. baskı. Tarih-politika dizisi 5. Cağaloğlu, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1994.

²⁶⁶ Ukrainian Alexis Gritchenko quotes Mehmed Sami Bey in his diary entry of October 17, 1920, describing a visit to his house with İbrahim Çallı: "İşin aslını sorarsanız, hepimiz Kemalistiz..." [The truth of the matter is, we are all Kemalists.] Gritchenko, Alexis. *Istanbul'da İki Yıl 1919-1921: Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*. Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2020: 198.

name, from Ottoman to Turkish. Curiously, Feyhaman portrays himself and his friends with no reference to their roles as artists or bureaucrats in the most significant institutions of art and education in the capital of the crumbling empire. The only sign of their chosen vocation as painters is in the title of the work, *Painter Friends*. Seen in this light, the portrait takes on an anxious air. This is a group of men, posing to assert themselves, without much to hold on to besides each other.

Though the context of 1921 was politically and socially uncertain for the Muslim-Turks living in occupied Istanbul, soon, Feyhaman's portrait would speak of another absence. The Ottoman-Armenian painter Terlemezian, not pictured in the painting, left Istanbul never to return, as the Turkish struggle for independence succeeded, and the the occupation of Istanbul ended, with Allied forces withdrawing their troops. The 1914 generation painters, as Muslim Turks, would get to continue to paint views of Istanbul and capture the light on the Bosphorus from the various hills of the city, unlike the Armenian Ottoman Terlemezian. [fig. 2.36-37] Terlemezian had gone through a similar stylistic switch from an academically trained realism to a looser naturalism after spending time in Paris between 1907-1910.²⁶⁷ There is an uncanny resemblance between Terlemezian's Bosphorus landscape which represented the Ottoman Empire at the Munich exhibition in 1913, featuring a view of Rumeli Hisarı, the medieval fortress built by Sultan Mehmed II, and the Bosphorus views Şevket (from Feyhaman's group portrait) would paint over the years. [fig. 2.38-2.40] Şevket had participated in the very same exhibition alongside Terlemezian, just before the Great War broke out. Eventually, the 1914 generation artists became the equivalent of the Young Turks in politics, replacing their cosmopolitan teachers at the academy as well as their Rum, Levantine and Armenian peers in exhibitions in Istanbul or representing Turkey abroad. As in politics,

²⁶⁷ Terlemezian had received his academic training in Russia, also frequented Académie Julian a few years before the 1914 generation between 1899-1904 (his teachers there were also Benjamin Constant and Jean-Paul Laurens), where his technical prowess was strengthened. His work was quickly accepted to the *Société des artistes français*, showing in their annual salon in 1901 and again in 1910. But Gizem Tongo observes that during his second time in Paris between 1907 and 1910, right before İbrahim, Hüseyin Avni, Hikmet, Ali Sami, Feyhaman, Namık İsmail and Ali Sami, Terlemezian also underwent stylistic change, very similar to that of the 1914 generation. See Tongo, Gizem. "Artist and Revolutionary: Panos Terlemezian as an Ottoman Armenian Painter." *Études Arméniennes Contemporaines*, 2015.

they also excluded their female counterparts from administrative roles, filling all artistic positions of power themselves. On the other hand, their unique status as Paris-educated Muslim-Turkish male painters did not make the task of articulating the emerging nation's artistic vocabulary as well as expanding their own personal idioms any easier.

Part 3: The Anxiety of Influence

The artistic sphere as well as the country at-large was slowly but surely Turkifying, but painting did not become Turkish overnight. In a review of the *Exhibition of Pictures by Turkish Painters* in Vienna, Austrian journalist Joseph Bernhard proclaimed in the *Österreichs Illustrierte Zeitung* in May of 1918: "Turkish art is still in its infancy, characterized partly by German, and partly by French influences."²⁶⁸ The statement foreshadowed the upcoming years of European reaction to the work of Turkish painters, which was always tinged with disappointment for its failure to meet the Orientalist expectations of these reviewers, who were hoping to detect traces of a Turkish national essence –whatever that might entail. But this overarching sentiment of the European beholder also echoed the concerns that the 1914 generation artists were themselves feeling. When the first Galatasaray salon opened in Istanbul in 1916, two years before Bernhard's comments, Hüseyin Avni had made a similar point. Writing for the French-language *Hilal* printed in Istanbul, perhaps in an attempt to respond to the expectations of the Francophone reader of this local newspaper, he had said:

It is undeniable that these paintings do not yet have a precise national character. But we must not forget that their creators, with one or two exceptions, are still young. That being the case, we can hope that our aesthetes will one day free themselves from the Western influence they have suffered and give us original works with the stamp of this corner of the earth where they spend their days.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ Bernhard, Joseph. "Türkische Maler in Wien," *Österreichs Illustrierte Zeitung*, May 26, 1918: 601 quoted in Tongo, Gizem. "'Civilisation and Competence': Displaying Ottoman War Paintings to Their Allies." In *The Great War in the Middle East*. Routledge (2019): 287.

²⁶⁹ Hüseyin Avni. "L'exposition de peinture du 'Galata-Seraïlilar Yourdou,'" *Hilal*, no:418, July 26, 1916 reprinted and translated to Turkish in *Avni Lifi Yazıları* (ed. Şerifoğlu): 89-94. "Il est indéniable que ces tableaux n'ont pas encore du caractère national précis. Mais il ne faut pas oublier que leurs créateurs sauf un ou deux exceptions, sont encore jeunes. Cela étant on peut espérer que nos esthètes s'affranchiront, un jour, de l'influence d'Occident qu'ils

As Hüseyin Avni says, while it was undeniable that Turkish artists, including himself, were under the influence of their Western counterparts, finding an “original” Turkish way strictly devoid of influence would not be the only way out of this predicament. While the tone of his review has the pretensions of a disinterested observer, as a participating artist of the salon he reviewed, and as a member of the 1914 generation himself, he was very much in the same boat as the young artists he haughtily described.

One can see his attempt to address this issue in his own work a year later. Submitted to and shown at the *Exhibition of Turkish Paintings* in Vienna, Hüseyin Avni’s painting *Allegory of War* (1917) can be seen as a resourceful response and a first step: it is an artistic conversation with predecessors, while responding and adapting to contemporary concerns. *Allegory of War* (1917) [fig. 2.41] both productively engages with the work of an adopted master—in this case French Romantic Eugène Delacroix—and subtly subverts the strategies the 19th century painter employed. (As mentioned in the previous chapter, writing for the *Ottoman Painters Journal* from Paris, Hüseyin Avni had several years ago claimed that Delacroix was *the* artist who proved that copies of paintings always fell short of replacing the real thing; they were inefficient; Delacroix could not be copied, even by the most masterful paintbrush.) While it is not a copy by any means, Hüseyin Avni’s *Allegory of War* holds a historical mirror-image to the narrative of the “Terrible Turk” Delacroix had represented almost a hundred years earlier. *Allegory of War* cleverly engages with two different paintings by the master of French Romantic art; the more direct reference is to his battle scene *The Massacre at Chios* (1824) [fig. 2.42], in which Delacroix famously illustrates war-time horror inflicted on the Greek civilians on the island of Chios, by none other than the Ottomans. The brute warrior-nation is personified in the mustachioed and turbaned equestrian figure on the right corner of the painting as he drags a naked female captive behind his horse,

ont subie et nous donneront des œuvres originales avant le cachet de ce coin de la terre où ils on va le jour. (My English translation is based on the original text in French.)

simultaneously slaying her partner with his sword, while trampling on another. The painting is as much a depiction of the devastations of war as it is a foil for painting and exhibiting nudes, both of supple white women and the exoticized darker and muscular body of a Greek man. The pyramidal composition of the figures on the left of the *Chios* painting, which Delacroix himself had modeled after Théodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1818-19), is replicated in the pyramidal composition of Hüseyin Avni's three figures in his *Allegory of War*.

A similar kind of psychosexual innuendo prevails in another large-scale historical painting by Delacroix that Hüseyin Avni seems to have taken as a source for his painting; *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827). [fig. 2.43] While his *Allegory of War* [fig. 2.44] repeats the triangular composition of Delacroix's *Chios* painting to the letter, the painting is also governed by a diagonal line dividing the space into two, similar to the diagonal defining the outline of Sardanapalus's bed. The outer line of the triangular figural grouping on the left similarly divides Hüseyin Avni's canvas into two, foregrounding the three war victims in this Ottoman allegory, as Delacroix did with the Greek villagers in his. The scorching color scheme of Hüseyin Avni's painting with its blood reds, expanding the crimson of the battle-scene set against an ochre sky in an all-over effect, highlighting the flames of the fires on the battlefield as well as the shades of the apocalyptic sunset, presents a palette seemingly extracted from the creases of the bed cover of the Assyrian anti-hero in Delacroix's *Sardanapalus*. The contorted figures of the victims in Hüseyin Avni's painting mirror the female possessions with whom the Oriental despot desires to die. On the other hand, the central head-scarfed figure of the elder woman in *Allegory* is almost a direct replica of the Chios woman from the bust up; the same expression of desperation marks the face of the two women with sunken cheeks.

While there is no merciless figure of victory in Hüseyin Avni's painting, the clever inversion of the warrior Turk into the victim of war comes in a much more covert form. Hüseyin Avni subverts Delacroix's narrative, but he cannot outright suggest that Turks are defeated victims of battle –after all his painting is a submission to a propaganda exhibition. Defeat for the Turks is only lightly suggested: on the

right side of the canvas, the burning house on the hillside is unmistakably Ottoman for the discerning eye. The architectural features of the stone building with its wooden studs that hold its roof is a typical example of the vernacular Ottoman house. This suggestion is shrouded further as the painting is presented as an *allegory* of war; Hüseyin Avni dexterously performs the challenging task of making a war painting without presenting the Ottomans as either victorious or defeated, in a conflict that was clearly favoring the Allies at the time the artist was painting in 1917. If Delacroix's Chios painting was the attempt of a young artist to engage with history painting under the guiding light of a master like Gericault, eventually to make a name for himself, and his *Sardanapalus* a few years later an instance of a Western subject identifying with an Oriental sexual fantasy of defeat as Linda Nochlin suggests,²⁷⁰ Hüseyin Avni did the former in the *Allegory of War*, while subverting the latter. As a painter from the Orient, he transformed the "terrible Turk" from his warrior stamp while condemning the act of war by showing its unpalatable reality, all the while playfully using the tools at his disposal to carve out a place for himself within a now thereby global tradition of modern painting. As a young Ottoman artist, through the *Allegory of War* he was also able to display his newly found dexterity in painting nude figures, not one, but four of them, as victims of battle. But for Joseph Bernhard from the *Österreichs Illustrierte Zeitung*, like so many other Europeans who would echo his words in the decades to come, it was much easier to categorize this kind of visual affinity as "influence," rather than a set of careful and clever referential strategies the Ottoman artist employed in his artifice.

Of course, this was not always the case. Two years earlier in 1916, when the first Galatasaray salon opened to great fanfare, there were works that did not treat the matter of originality and artistic influence with as much tact. There were less sophisticated borrowings, as well as a less informed audience, easier to please than their European counterparts. Still, in most cases of imitative appropriation, the paintings revealed much more than was perhaps intended. Feyhaman's submission to the first

²⁷⁰ Nochlin, Linda. "The Imaginary Orient", *The Politics of Vision: Essays on Nineteenth-Century Art and Society*. New York: Routledge, 2019: 41-44.

Galatasaray salon, a portrait of Doctor Akil Muhtar, though it was a loving portrait of the artist's patron, is one such example, acting as much more than a simple act of veneration modeled after the work of another French master. [fig. 2.45] Feyhaman's painting shows the doctor at work, behind a counter with various medical instruments and a rabbit, on which it seems the doctor is about to operate. He is wearing an apron over his shirt and bowtie and is depicted with the same casual treatment of paint as the shimmering glass bottles that surround him. The bottles, the medical instruments and the rabbit are all references to the Geneva-trained doctor's field of expertise, pharmacodynamics, studying the effects of various drugs on animals. The sympathetic middle-aged Akil Muhtar is directly gazing at the viewer, who is placed in the position of a colleague or a student-assistant across the counter from him. The sketchy hand holding another rabbit on the lower left corner of the painting, suggests that this figure who remains outside the picture plane is facing the doctor. Through the depiction of the partial limb, Feyhaman positions the audience in the space of the protagonist, right across from the doctor. The protrusion of this sketchy hand and the hardly discernable white smudge suggesting a second rabbit that this hand is holding are somewhat surprising, but they are not as dislocating as the impossible mirror-reflections of a perceptual after-image.

This device of putting the audience in the position of the person in eye-contact with the central figure, as well as the shimmering objects that surround the subject are reminiscent of Manet's famous *Bar at Folies-Bergère* (1882), in which the presence of the figure outside the painting is suggested through his reflection in the mirror, who meets the gaze of the female bartender, suggesting a different kind of exchange between the central figure in the painting and the one that remains just outside of it.²⁷¹

[fig. 2.46] However, in the Muhtar Akil portrait there is no mirror behind the figure to tell us what would be in the doctor's view, as the only reflective surface of the glass cabinet behind him is partially obstructed by his head. While Feyhaman masterfully expands on this strategy of suggesting a participant-

²⁷¹ There have been some interpretations that argue that the point of view of the beholder is that of a third character, witnessing this exchange while passing by, which explains away the perspectival criticisms directed at Manet at the time of the painting's exhibition.

beholder with the protruding hand holding the second rabbit, his device does not perform the same kind of provocative suggestion in Manet's painting. Feyhaman's selection of this particular work by Manet after which he modelled his own patron's portrait remains a curious choice rather than a cleverly thought-out subversive gesture, or even, an apt adaptation to reveal Istanbul's very own café-concert life. While it may not be a sophisticated strategic move as in Hüseyin Avni's allegory, Feyhaman's appropriation becomes a historical document; both revealing the ambitions of young Feyhaman, aspiring portraitist modeling himself after Manet, and for its subject-matter, in depicting a character from the Unionist Ottoman intelligentsia.

And in this, Feyhaman's work is revealing of a different sociological landscape. There is no double-image reflecting two different worlds, the real and the imaginary, or two different states of mind, as has been suggested for Manet's painting.²⁷² The person depicted is in full control. Nor is he detached, vulnerable, or confined behind a counter; as a male member of the European-educated Muslim-Turkish Ottoman elite, professionals such as Dr. Akil Muhtar was as socially mobile, politically favored and well-connected as one could be. The renowned doctor, who taught at the imperial university, and was also an avid supporter of the arts, would later become a lawmaker in the Turkish parliament after the foundation of the republic. Thus, Feyhaman's portrait of the doctor-cum-ethics theorist (who in his writings speculated on what it meant to lead a virtuous life) shows the young artist's understanding of the visual devices used by the French master, but does not make particular use of the appropriation. In its cautious and controlled approach to its subject, an exemplary protagonist of late Ottoman Westernization, it significantly diverges from Manet's unfolding of a socio-drama during a variety show afforded by modern life in Paris. Dr. Akil Muhtar's portrait serves as a portrait of Unionist-supported technological

²⁷² Clark, T. J. *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984: 239-258. Boime, Albert. *Manet's A Bar at the Folies-Bergère as an Allegory of Nostalgia. Textual Intersections*. Brill, 2009: 119-139.

and pedagogical modernization rather than a reflection of modern urban life as is the case in Manet's painting.

While their paintings vary in their sophistication, Hüseyin Avni and the other 1914 artists were self-conscious about their unique predicament as Muslim-Turkish artists influenced by French artistic training and subsumed within the greater European tradition of painting from the outset. In his review of the second Galatasaray salon, Nazmi Ziya attempted to cast the matter of influence in a positive light, rather than as the long and daunting shadow of European masters that Hüseyin Avni had made it out to be. For Nazmi Ziya, the Ottoman painters had been able to skip over the dark days of the Middle Ages thanks to their European teachers:

... since it is obligatory to examine the highest works of art regardless of nationality and gender, in painting, as in every [branch of] fine art, our painters liked the different styles of great teachers from all corners of Europe and took lessons from them. For this reason, for us, art started from the point to which it had [already] risen in Europe. It is no longer bound to the themes of the church as it had been in the Middle Ages; painting [since] has followed various paths in Europe. For this reason, in our exhibition, there are examples from almost every school [of painting]. There are Realists and Romantics as well as Impressionists and Allegorists.

Whichever of these various approaches touches the soul of the majority and [addresses] the most important issues of the nation, painting will undoubtedly advance in that field. Only through time will we be able to understand this.²⁷³

Nazmi Ziya echoed Hüseyin Avni's measured call for tolerance in his review of the 1917 salon a year later; as young artists, they needed time to find their own ways. He also shared Hüseyin Avni's views on the role ascribed to their profession; for both artists, painting was to perform a national function.

²⁷³ Nazmi Ziya. "Resim Sanâyi'-i nefise," *Yeni Mecmu'a*, August 30, 1917: 150-151. (Transcribed from Arabic to Latin alphabet at my request by Halime Zorlu.) "Bir de her bedii sanatta olduğu gibi resimde dahi sanatın en yüksek eserlerini milliyet ve cinsiyet gözetmeyerek tetkik mecburî olduğundan ressamlarımızın her biri Avrupa'nın her köşesinden yetişmiş büyük hocaların muhtelif tarzlarını beğenmişler ve onlardan ders almışlardır. Bu sebeple bizde sanat Avrupa'da yükseldiği noktadan başlamıştır. Avrupa'da ise resim kurûn-ı vustâda olduğu gibi yalnız kilise mevzularına münhasır olmadığından pek muhtelif vadide ilerlemiştir. Bunun için sergimizde her mektepten az çok numune mevcuttur. Empresyonistler, Alegoristler olduğu gibi Hakikiyyun ve Fantezistler de vardır.

Bu muhtelif meslekler arasında hangisi milletin ekseriyet-i azimesinin ruhuna temas edecek olursa şüphesiz resim o vadide ilerleyecektir. Bunu da ancak zamanla anlamak kâbil olacaktır."

But for Nazmi Ziya this was not something on the horizon, to be attained in the following years, for him a Turkish school of painting had already been born, after all, the paintings had been made by Turkish hands. But Nazmi Ziya is somewhat ambivalent, he knows that discursive work has to be done before these works can be recognized as “Turkish,” hinting that it is the viewers who will decide which type of works become “national.” On the other hand, he admitted that the new Galatasaray exhibitions, which he described as “a consistent salon with a national aim” did not yet reflect its full range. Nazmi Ziya thought the mere existence of this national school was already an achievement to be celebrated, and a sufficient enough answer to those skeptics who claimed that the benefits of sending students abroad were yet to be seen. Considering the relationship of the fine arts and civilization, having presented their work in exhibitions both abroad and within the empire, the artists were to be commended for the level achieved in such a short period, Nazmi Ziya reasoned. His somewhat defensive tone suggests that there were at the least some nativists who saw the investment of the Ottoman state in European education abroad a waste of precious resources.

While Nazmi Ziya did not refrain from admitting that as artists they were yet to find a language palatable to the local public, for him, this didn’t necessarily require a complete rejection of artistic approaches they learned abroad, nor did they need to hurry to find their own voices. In the article, he pragmatically charted three possible pathways for Turkish artists; one suggests complete artistic license, the other an amenable supply-and-demand scenario, and the other, a synthesis of the two: “a song that finds its way to the heart of the people.” He assures the readers and the artists that the right tone will make itself apparent if they keep their ears open; the artistic ambitions of the well-intentioned young painters and the needs of the nation will meet somewhere in the middle (like the *juste-milieu*). For Nazmi Ziya it was clear that one way or the other, a national path for painting would be found:

Until now, painters have advanced through their own explorations, relied on their own souls, and it is only the second time that they appear in public. It will take some time for them to get to know the spirit of the people and understand what they want, or they will have to invent their own means to express their feelings. Or they might

sing directly to the soul of the nation. It is only then that painting will have found a local and national path and followed its goal.²⁷⁴

While the issue of European influence pervaded the discussions and was increasingly seen as a negative force, there were other directions through which artistic influence was seen as cross-pollinating. Among the images of paintings “worthy of praise” that accompanied Nazmi Ziya’s somewhat circumspect review, was the work of fellow painter Namık İsmail’s *Tefekkür* [Contemplation] (1917) [fig. 2.47]. Here, the formation of a Turkish school of painting that Nazmi Ziya signaled is evinced by the artistic conversation that Namık İsmail initiates with the work of an elder. Rather than bearing traces of European influence, in *Contemplation*, Namık İsmail is indeed “contemplating” the work of an Ottoman master, Halil Pasha, who had that very same year become the new director of the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul –though his tenure there would be brief. While it would not have been exhibited in public locally when it was made, as it featured a Muslim female figure in a domestic setting, Namık İsmail must have seen Halil Pasha’s intimate painting titled *Reclining Woman* (1896) in private. [fig. 2.48] *Reclining Woman* is a painting in clear dialogue with the long-standing European tradition of the reclining nude; however, similar to Osman Hamdi, who often featured female members of his family in his paintings, Halil Pasha depicts his wife fully clothed. But unlike Osman Hamdi’s highly orchestrated mash-ups that combined disparate historical elements for an ‘authentic’ oriental effect, Halil Pasha’s *Reclining Woman* depicts a late-19th century woman of the Ottoman haute-bourgeoisie within a Westernized interior; she reclines not on a divan but a European couch, with an Asian fan and a framed landscape print hung on floral wallpaper. She is wearing a ruffled pink dress with long sleeves, fashionable yet modest. However, her flowing hair and the slippers casually cast aside are daring; Halil Pasha has chosen to portray his

²⁷⁴ Ibid: “Ressamlar şimdiye kadar kendi aradıklarına, ruhlarına göre yürümüşlerdir, ve henüz ikinci defadır ki halk arasında görünüyorlar. Biraz vakit geçmesi lazımdır ki halkın ruhunu tanısinlar ve istedikleri şeyi anlasınlar da ya kendi hissiyatlarını anlatmak için vasıtalar icat etsinler yahut doğrudan doğruya milletin ruhuna terennüm etsinler. İşte o zaman resim mahallî ve millî bir yol bulmuş ve bir gaye takip etmiş olur.”

young wife in an unusually intimate moment of daydreaming.²⁷⁵ While her eyes do not directly meet those of the beholder, they are not averted as would be expected of an Ottoman woman of high moral standards; rather, they allude to interiority.

If Manet had modeled his *Olympia* (1863) after Goya's *La maja desnuda* (c.1797-1800) (the nudity of which got Goya in trouble –he was only able to escape the inquisition by confessing to having emulated Velazquez), Halil Pasha's *Reclining Woman* (1896) would have been alluded to Goya's clothed version, *La maja vestida* (c.1803). It could have also been a response to the many paintings of odalisques he must have seen during his student years in Paris while training under Jean-Léon Gérôme. Namık İsmail joins in the conversation with his *Contemplation* and offers an update to Halil Pasha's response. His fully clothed reclining woman is a painting of one of his two sisters, Münire or Ulviye. The octagonal mother-of-pearl inlay coffee table, the blue-dotted fabric thrown across the divan, the calligraphic panels hanging on the walls, the oil lamps and the copper bowl featured in the painting match the Ukrainian painter Alexis Gritchenko's description of a corner of the *haremlük* (the women's quarters) in Namık İsmail's family mansion in Beşiktaş.²⁷⁶ Made about two decades after Halil Pasha's painting, the composition of Namık İsmail painting replicates the same shallow space that frames the female protagonist. The couch is parallel to the picture plane, the sitter, again fashionably dressed *alafranga* (in the European style) reclines on a divan, which is flanked on the lower right by a coffee table, and by a panel hanging on the wall of the upper left corner. Here, while the elements of interior design are a more oriental mix with the calligraphic panel, the Chinese vase, and the Turkish coffee served on the low side table with cushions thrown across the floor for seating, we are again in a wealthy Ottoman interior. But

²⁷⁵ Halil Pasha had married Aliye, writer Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem's sister in the early 1900s, she was twenty-six years younger than the artist. Art historian Ahu Antmen argues that since nudity cannot be fully on display here due to social mores, it is insinuated through the naked feet of the sitter. She argues that this is where the energies of the female nude are localized in Halil Pasha's painting. Antmen, Ahu. "Geleneksel ve modern, mahrem ve namahrem: Halil Paşa'nın "Uzanan kadın"ı ve örtülü çıplaklık" [The traditional and the modern, the private and the public: the subtle nudity of Halil Pasha's "Reclining woman"], *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* no:0 (19), 2007: 1-14.

²⁷⁶ Gritchenko, Alexis. "September 6, 1920" in *İstanbul'da İki Yıl 1919-1921: Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*. Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2020: 146-147.

unlike Halil Pasha's painting, Namık İsmail places a bookcase on the same level as the sitter's head. This is filled to the brim with leatherbound publications, perhaps a nod to the sister's reading habits. Namık İsmail's reclining woman is slightly more chaste than Halil Pasha's as she is still wearing her slippers, but the see-through stockings are revealing to a degree. While she is wearing a headscarf, it is not hiding her hair, this is another *à la mode* accessory, wrapped around, in an almost flapper style, revealing her modern haircut. She is also holding the viewer's gaze directly and casually; with an expression that can only be ascribed to *ennui*.

Though Westernized in outlook, the women in both paintings are constricted; both literally within the societal confines and formally within the space of the canvas. While Halil depicts his wife as rather content within her comfortable yet limited environs, Namık İsmail's sister seems as if she cannot wait to go out and assume the freedoms she has been promised.²⁷⁷ Unlike Halil Pasha's private painting, Namık İsmail's somber large-scale clothed reclining figure would be immediately exhibited and stay in the public eye; it was awarded a prize at the Galatasaray salon when it was first shown, and was later acquired for Halil Edhem's museum collection. Only a few years later, in 1922, Namık İsmail would be the first Muslim-Turkish artist to exhibit a female nude in public, again at the annual Galatasaray salon.

At the time when Gritchenko visited the artist's house in the fall of 1920, Namık İsmail's artistic practice had been further transformed by an involuntary year he had spent in Berlin. Namık İsmail had been sent to Vienna with Celal Esad, the commissioner of the *Exhibition of Pictures by Turkish Painters*, to aid with the undertaking. The armistice between Bulgaria and the Allied Powers was announced before

²⁷⁷ 1917, the year Namık İsmail painted *Contemplation* was a confusing year for women's liberation. The new Ottoman Civil Code had been a compromise, while women could work without wearing the veil in government offices, the segregation of the sexes was still widely enforced. Polygamy was not only not outlawed as expected, but became officialized with this civil code; it would remain so until 1926. See: Kandiyoti, Deniz. "Women and the Turkish State Politic," *Woman, Nation, State*. (eds. Yuval-Davis, Nira, Floya Anthias, and Jo Campling); Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan, 1989: 126-149. Police intervened in skirt lengths, and the thickness of the *çarşaf*, the niqab that was seen worn on the streets ranged from complete covering in black to almost transparent fashion statements. A British officer's words in 1920: "the black garbed Turkish women in veils of various efficacy, some dutifully quite opaque, others the merest apology of a whisp [sic] or possibly non-existent..." See King, Charles. *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul*. First edition. New York: WW Norton and Company, 2014: 50-51.

the touring exhibition could be taken to its next leg in Berlin, and the two organizers got stuck in Europe when the railway back to the empire through Sofia was temporarily suspended. Namık İsmail decided to spend this period in Berlin and joined the atelier of a former student of Académie Julian like himself, Lovis Corinth. Corinth was the head of the Berlin Secessionists at the time, practicing a blend of German Impressionism and Expressionism. In the Ukrainian Gritchenko opinion, this exposure to German ideas was “regrettable.”²⁷⁸ Gritchenko’s entries in the diary he kept during his years as a refugee in Istanbul describe the Turkish artists he befriended, Namık İsmail and İbrahim Çallı, as both under German influence. For Gritchenko, it is surprising that someone whose house demonstrates such aesthetic taste (Namık İsmail) is able to make these works in which he sees “a third-rate Europe, a bad Germanism that has nothing in common with the powerful art of the Byzantine Empire, nor with the wisdom or authentic life of the Orient, nothing of its longing for nature or contemplation that Europe fails to understand.”²⁷⁹ Yet even when Gritchenko derides Namık İsmail’s portraits as naturalist, images that fully correspond to their sitters, he also criticized the typically German greens and yellows –which are for Gritchenko “a total Munich.”²⁸⁰

A Byzantinist by training, Gritchenko did not have much tolerance for things that did not fit into his Orientalist vision of Istanbul. He detested Pera, as it was a modern and European neighborhood, and loved *Suriçi*, the walled-in old city center with its narrow, tortuous streets, Ottoman mosques and Byzantine churches, surrounded by Constantine’s walls. He was as disappointed by the Europeanizing tendencies at the urban scale as he was by the infiltration of European artistic traditions into the work of Turkish painters. After a visit to İbrahim’s studio, he wrote in his journal that “It was frustrating and humiliating to see that the Turks had received their artistic education from third-class French painters and

²⁷⁸ Gritchenko, Alexis. *İstanbul’da İki Yıl 1919-1921: Bir Ressamın Günlüğü*, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları (2020): 148-150. Gritchenko’s diary notes from Istanbul were published in Paris as an illustrated edition by Éditions Quatre Vents in French in 1930. The original title was “Deux Ans à Constantinople-Journal d’un peintre.”

²⁷⁹ Ibid: 149.

²⁸⁰ Ibid: 150.

especially German painters. The same goes for us Slavs.”²⁸¹ Before coming to Istanbul, Gritchenko had opened an exhibition with fellow artist Alexander Shevchenko in 1919 titled *Dynamo-color and Tectonic Primitivism*. The manifesto they published in the catalog of the exhibition, titled “Dynamo-color: Painting, not Applied Art” argued that while nature, reality and life were the building blocks of their art, tectonics, color, texture and execution made it painting.²⁸² It was informed by Cubism and Futurism, but in Gritchenko’s view their work went beyond these movements. His interest in the interaction of color planes governed the watercolor sketches he made in the mosques, coffeehouses of Istanbul and the quays and shores of its surrounding islands during his involuntary two-year stay in the city. While he had not been able to talk Namık İsmail out of his German ways, Gritchenko’s influence on Çallı was tangible. Having invited Gritchenko to move into his family home, Çallı took the refugee artist to coffeehouses, to both fine arts schools (for men and for women), and the studios of various artists friends. Wherever he took Gritchenko, İbrahim set up artistic debates, in which discussions revolved around the Ukrainian’s chosen modern style versus academic painting. In these conversations with the members of the “Ottoman Montparnasse” Gritchenko’s term for these admirers of Jean-Paul Laurens, “the premier French painter” for the 1914 generation. Gritchenko records in his diary how he tried to veer them towards his sense of primitivism. Gritchenko tirelessly attempted to interest them in the folk pictures he saw in Istanbul’s coffeehouses, the decorations on Ottoman tombstones, or the miniatures that he got to observe in manuscripts on special visits to the Evkaf-ı İslâmiye Müzesi [Museum of Islamic Foundations]. Ayşenur Güler, who studied the artistic friendship between Gritchenko and Çallı, points out that it was Gritchenko who “was gently introducing the shock of the new” to the 1914 generation painters.²⁸³

²⁸¹ Ibid.: 130.

²⁸² Susak, Vita. “Alexis Gritchenko: Greetings to you, Istanbul!,” *Alexis Gritchenko: The Constantinople Years*. First edition. İstanbul, Turkey: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2020 (exh. cat): 35-68.

²⁸³ Güler, Ayşenur, “In Pursuit of Alexis Gritchenko’s Years in Istanbul,” *Alexis Gritchenko: The Constantinople Years*. First edition. İstanbul, Turkey: Vehbi Koç Vakfı, 2020 (exh. cat): 159. Güler argues that Ukrainian painter Alexis Gritchenko’s years in Istanbul was a turning point for Turkish art history. While this may be too large a claim, his brief time in the Istanbul art circles should not be underestimated. Looking for a strict point of entry for modern art is rather unproductive, as a visit by a singular figure would not be enough to convert all artists into a new way of artmaking anywhere. Additionally, Istanbul’s history is replete with visiting Western artists. One such example from the moderns would be Paul Signac, who had visited Istanbul at the turn of the century and forged

Most artists and critics were puzzled by Gritchenko's admiration of the regional artistic output that they were so inclined to belittle. Çallı on the other hand, was intrigued. He asked Gritchenko to stay in Istanbul for longer and tried in vain to convince him to open an exhibition, so that local artists could learn more from him. Çallı had locked into Gritchenko's orbit and even started to see his own work through the Ukrainian modernist's eyes, as Gritchenko described in his diary entry: "I find your understanding of art more and more appealing. This is not art..." he said, pointing at his own artworks with a discontented gesture. "These are badly made." He had hung my watercolors on top of a white paper. I asked teasingly: "What is this then?" –"This is the great Russian painter, Gritchenko."²⁸⁴ On his tours of Istanbul with Gritchenko, Çallı also made a series of paintings of whirling dervishes and petition writers, under Gritchenko's heavy influence, both in subject matter and style. [fig. 2.49-50] When he first showed them at the Galatasaray salon in 1921, soon after the Ukrainian's departure for Paris, they were met with mixed reviews. Though he had complained to Gritchenko of having tired of making portraits for Istanbul's Muslim bourgeoisie to support his family, by the next Galatasaray salon, Çallı had returned to this very practice of painting naturalistic renditions of Istanbul's modern and Europeanized inhabitants. As Wendy Shaw has detected, the whirling dervishes rendered in flat modernist simplicity would only appear in the backdrop as decorations on a panel in his painting from 1927, though it is hard to say this was an outright rejection of modernism and Orientalism by Çallı, as she argues.²⁸⁵ Years later, his students would see this period as their teacher Çallı's most interesting and include his work among their own in exhibitions they organized.²⁸⁶ Enough time had passed by the 1970s that influence could be cast as a positive force again. Take, for example, the writing of his student Nurullah Berk, who characterized this moment in Çallı's career as:

"a token of [his] mature disposition and broad-minded understanding. He was willing to leave aside a point of view, a way of working that he had become

relationships with artists. However, Gritchenko's effect on key members of the 1914 generation is nevertheless significant and revealing.

²⁸⁴ Gritchenko, *İstanbul'da İki Yıl* (2020): 153.

²⁸⁵ Shaw, *Ottoman Painting*: 132.

²⁸⁶ Güler, Ayşenur. "In Pursuit of Alexis Gritchenko's Years in Istanbul," (2020): 174.

accustomed to over the years, one that had established his [artistic] personality. Welcoming the *influence* of a foreign painter who offered him new horizons and changing his style for an extended period of time was an intriguing display of his humility.”²⁸⁷ [emphasis added]

Although his students would praise him years later, at the time, Çallı must have been disappointed with the reaction to his attempt at trying something new. His venture out of the world of naturalistic verisimilitude was willingly cut short, but the following year, he would criticize the Galatasaray salon and blame himself and his fellow artists for not having improved in the least since they had returned from Paris. He said: “The exhibition is not good. Since we are working with an art that has no tradition, we are especially obliged to search, to gather. We are still the same as when we first got back from Paris. We haven’t taken a step further. We are not looking, we are not looking.”²⁸⁸ In response to the same questionnaire that addressed this artistic impasse, Hüseyin Avni pointed a way out that was not dissimilar to Gritchenko’s call for primitivism, at least in principle. Although Hüseyin Avni also called for an engagement with local and historical sources, he and Gritchenko would have likely disagreed on the formal application of these interests. Hüseyin Avni said a Turkish art would only be possible after an analysis of the art of the past. He was ever more pessimistic than Çallı, in that he stated that as things currently stood, “there was not even one painting that was national.”²⁸⁹

By 1922, the matter of “influence” that had initially been voiced as light criticism by artists themselves during the war years had become skewed enough to be seen as the sole impediment against creating paintings of a national character. The city’s five-year occupation not only engraved a deeper sense of nationalist fervor in the artists and audiences and raised expectations for the visualization of a national imaginary, but also hardened the artists’ own self-criticism on failing to find that national tune in

²⁸⁷ Berk, Nurullah and Hüseyin Gezer, *50 Yılın Türk Resim ve Heykeli* [50 Years of Turkish Painting and Sculpture], 2nd. Ed (Istanbul, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973): 27.

²⁸⁸ Çallı İbrahim. “Musâhabe Ressamlar Diyorlar ki”, *Dergâh*, August 20, 1922, no:33 quoted in Güler, Ayşenur. İbrahim Çallı: 57. “Sergi iyi değil, madem ki an’anesiz bir san’atta çalışıyoruz. Çok aramalıyız, çok toplamalıyız. Biz hâlâ Paris’ten nasıl döndükse öyleyiz. Bir hatve ileri atamadık. Aramıyoruz, aramıyoruz.”

²⁸⁹ Hüseyin Avni. “Musâhabe Ressamlar Diyorlar ki”, *Dergâh*, August 20, 1922, no:33 quoted in Güler, Ayşenur. İbrahim Çallı: 58. “Türk san’atı eski, mâzi san’atını tahlilden sonra çıkacak san’attır. Bugün bir tane bile millî levhamız yoktur.”

painting that Nazmi Ziya had said would sing to the ears of the public. The foundation of the republic in 1923, and Mustafa Kemal's personal insistence on having the annual salon open in Ankara as well as in Istanbul must have relieved the artists' anxieties to some extent,²⁹⁰ but the issue was reignited again in 1925. A German journalist visiting Istanbul came across the Galatasaray salon, and the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper dared to publish his review of the exhibition, which expressed disappointment in not seeing a Turkish essence in anyone other than a young student's work. The author of the review had not found the originality he was looking for. Introduced proudly by *Cumhuriyet* as a distinguished Doctor of Philosophy and a member of the editorial board of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, this Mr. Buh called on Turkish artists to look for their true national selves:

The originality I seek in the painter is not to be limited to the personality of the artist. It should be an expression of the originality of the nation it represents. In other words, I want to meet such a painter in the exhibition that although his technical power will make me take him as a modern European painter, the reflection of his spirit in the work will draw my attention to him as a typical Turkish painter. His technical language is art. The individuality and true essence of the painter must be so obvious that even if his work is to be found on the other side of the world, it should be discernible that its author is a Turk. This painter will be able to represent his country among European civilizations through his originality. But this true essence cannot be communicated by painting local fountains or domes. A foreign painter can also paint these local shapes. Personality and originality only emerge by expressing the emotions and the irreplaceable imperatives of the Turkish life through painting. If such a painter paints a European motif, even one such as the Cologne Church, he still appears as a Turkish painter."²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ More on this in the next chapter. Starting in 1926, The Society of Turkish Artists organized the annual salon first in Ankara.

²⁹¹ Buh, Dr.. "Buh Resim Sergisinde" [Buh at the Painting Exhibition], *Cumhuriyet*, August 20, 1925: 1-2. "Ressamda aradığım asliyet ressamın şahsına maksur kalmamalıdır. Temsil eylediği milletin asliyetinin ifadesi olmalıdır. Yani sergide öyle bir ressamla tanışmak istiyorum ki teknik kudreti ona asrî bir Avrupa ressamı dedirtecek olduğu halde ruhunun eserindeki tarz-ı tecellisi kendisini tipik bir Türk ressamı olarak temayüz ettirecektir. Zira teknik lisan sanattır. Bir sanat üstadının lisan sanatı ise her mahalde anlaşılmalıdır. Husûsiyet ve asliyeti de o kadar bariz olmalı ki o eser sanata dünyanın öbür ucunda tesadüf edilse bunun müessiri katî olarak ancak bir Türk olabilir dedirtmelidir. Ressam asliyeti ile vatanını Avrupa harsı arasında temsil edebilir. Fakat bu aradığım asliyet mahallî çeşme veya kubbe resimlerini yapmış olmakla mahallî şekiller ile temayüz ettirilemez. Zira mahallî şekilleri yabancı ressamlar da gelip tersim edebilir. Husûsiyet ve asliyet Türk hayat-ı hissiyesinin gayr-ı kâbil-i telafi olan zaruretlerini resim vasıtasıyla ifade edebilmekle tebarüz ettiriyor. Böyle bir ressam Avrupa motiflerinden birini, Köln Kilisesi'ni bile tersim etse yine Türk ressamı olarak gözüktür."

Mr. Buh's vague discernment between the technical and the spiritual in painting is eerily close to Ziya Gökalp's distinction of civilization and culture. Gökalp had elaborated further on his culture/civilization dichotomy for the Turkish artist just two years before Buh's review, the same year the republic was founded, as if charting the way for the painters specifically. He said: "We shall certainly not take our standards of beauty from Europe, because, fortunately, there is the national treasure of the art of our own people. But, again, we need the methods of aesthetics, and these we shall take from the West."²⁹² Casting painting as a matter of balancing technique (in this case from Europe) and letting content take form from within, the artist is not only tasked to represent the spirit of a nation, and hence, act as the bearer of an essence, but he is also to elevate his people to that of civilized nations (per Gökalp) by retaining the universalism of painting as a vessel for that content. As if one could be separated from the other, technique and essence are to be synthesized within the body of the artist, to produce a national sign of universal civilization. Similarly, Buh, like Gökalp, advises the Turkish painter to be original, so that he can find a place for himself on the European stage. The formula is given: the language of painting, which Buh casts to be universal (as Gökalp's civilization), is to be filled with a national character (culture). Adding injury to the insult, this Herr Doktor Buh also said: "Unfortunately, these painters did not only study painting in Europe, they also learned to see Turkish motifs through European eyes."²⁹³

Nazmi Ziya, signing his article with his title "Director of the School of Fine Arts," published a brief response in another newspaper, *İkdam*, as he had also taken offense at Cumhuriyet for daring to play accomplice in such an offense to Turkish art and the efforts of its practitioners. Nazmi Ziya, who had always explicitly expressed his life-long principle to avoid influence, was infuriated. He wrote:

In the Cumhuriyet newspaper published on Thursday, August 20 there was an article about the painting exhibition by someone named a Doctor 'Buh.'

²⁹² Gökalp, Ziya. "Revolutionism and Conservatism" in Berkes, Niyazi, ed., *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization: Selected Essays of Ziya Gökalp*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959: 267.

²⁹³ Ibid.

Before answering this poorly translated article, which consists of ideas entirely worthy of opposition, I feel the need to ask the following two questions.

First: I would like to understand how the Cumhuriyet newspaper agreed to take part in the humiliation and contempt of Turkish art –which is in the throes of being born and struggling– by [none other than] a European.

Whether it is good or bad, a nation's art is a sacred asset which it proudly protects. It is regrettable that a foreigner who violates this asset is featured on the front page of the Cumhuriyet newspaper. Moreover, if this person were capable of analyzing art, he should have expressed what it was that he did not like about the artworks in a more scientific and philosophical language. I consider it my duty to remind the Cumhuriyet newspaper that Turkish painting, which only has a history of fifteen years filled with wars, revolutions, and reforms, needs a lot of protection and attention, and that in all civilized nations it is customary that journalists show the utmost respect for artists.

Second: I am astounded at how this Doctor Buh managed to grasp and was able to pass judgment on the Turkish spirit and sensibility after having been here for three days and a half, while Turkish painters, who were born Turkish, grew up Turkish, and have had at least twenty-five years of education, are yet to understand it themselves.

We would have been very grateful to have learned [about] this Turkish spirit that Buh has understood so well. Also, at the bottom of the article, he says that Turkish artists who studied in Europe learned to see not only art but also Turkish motifs through the eyes of Europeans. If that were the case, wouldn't he have liked our pictures himself first? This European correspondent [writing for] the Turkish newspaper, who [seems to] know how to put together various contradictory ideas in one article, should know very well that all Turks –with the exception of journalists, love logic.

Also, if this European reporter expects us to draw the story of Ferhad and Shirin or to illustrate Shah Ismail and the One Thousand and One Nights in the style of Persian miniatures, please let him go down to Tehran. They should know that Turks are no longer the people who just follow suit when Europeans show the way; we do not develop in reverse towards the past.

[Us] Turks, who have found the most beautiful in social, military and political ways, should be rest assured that we are on a good path in painting as well. Moreover, we are fully aware of the struggles of European art throughout its five-hundred-year history!²⁹⁴

²⁹⁴ Nazmi Ziya, “İki Sual” [Two Questions], *İkdam*, August 23, 1925: 4. Transcribed upon the author’s request by Halime Zorlu.

Clearly, Buh had touched on a nerve; his review made visible the anxieties of the Turkish artist almost a decade in the making, since the first Galatasaray exhibition in 1916. The offense was made even worse specifically for the 1914 generation, as Buh specifically targeted the Paris-educated artists for having internalized European ways of seeing. The matter of defending oneself against an Orientalizing foreigner on the one hand, and feeling the responsibility of charting an authentic way forward for Turkish painting on the other, revealed the 1914 generation artists to be at a deadlock. As the young director of the School of Fine Arts, Nazmi Ziya must have especially felt the weight of this responsibility –of being an artist with a bureaucratic role in alignment with a newly-forming nation state. *Cumhuriyet* was dismissive of Nazmi Ziya’s protest and did not really answer the two questions he addressed to the newspaper other than treating them as arrogant complaints. Still, they stood behind the German journalist and published a defense of his review, dismissing Nazmi Ziya as a “strange writer who appears to be a painter” while highlighting Buh’s credentials, portraying him as a Turkophile who had penned numerous positive articles on Turkey, who “when it comes to understanding the Turkish sense of spirit, ... understands it much better than the author in question [Nazmi Ziya], even though he is German.”²⁹⁵ Deliberating on this incident while reviewing the past decade of Turkish painting in 1933, artist Elif Naci admitted that it was perhaps hearing this from an outsider that had caused such a strong reaction: “I think that the reason why our painters, who returned to the country under the influence of European teachers and could not yet claim the independence of their art, got so angry about this issue, was because this truth was heard from the mouth of a foreigner. Or have we not all repeated this fact on various occasions?”²⁹⁶

If only Baxandall could have been there to relieve Nazmi Ziya from his agony about influence, and Buh from his misconception about who was agent and who was patient:

²⁹⁵ İki Sual’e Cevap [Response to Two Questions], *Cumhuriyet*, August 24, 1925: 3. Transcribed upon the author’s request by Halime Zorlu.

²⁹⁶ Naci, *10 Yılda Resim*: 17. “Avrupalı hocalardan tesir alarak memlekete dönen ve henüz sanatının istiklalile sahip alarıyan ressamlarımızın bu meselede bu kadar sinirlenmesine sebep olan şey herhalde sanırım ki bu hakikatin belki bir ecnebi ağzından işitilmiş olmasıydı. Yoksa bu hakikati hepimiz muhtelif vesilelerle söylemiş değil miyiz?”

'Influence' is a curse of art criticism primarily because of its wrong-headed grammatical prejudice about who is the agent and who the patient: it seems to reverse the active/passive relation which the historical actor experiences and the inferential beholder will wish to take into account. If one says that X influenced Y it does seem that one is saying that X did something to Y rather than that Y did something to X. But in the consideration of good pictures and painters the second is always the more lively reality. It is very strange that a term with such an incongruous astral background has come to play such a role, because it is right against the real energy of the lexicon.²⁹⁷

In his biographical study of Nazmi Ziya, published on the occasion of his retrospective exhibition that opened days before the artist's early death in 1935, Nazmi Ziya's former student and emerging artist Bedri Rahmi would write that "the most important point to be criticized in Nazmi Ziya is his fear of being influenced throughout his artistic life."²⁹⁸ That astral inflow, whether its direction was inbound as semiotics suggests, or outwards as Baxandall wants to make it to be, would come to define the 1914 generation. What Nazmi Ziya most feared would stick to the 1914 generation as a label to this day, but not because of the occasional foreign critic or Nazmi Ziya's personal vendetta with a local newspaper. No, influence and its attendant anxieties would come from historical labeling: Today, the 1914 generation artists are most often referred to as the "Turkish Impressionists." This shorthand started as early as 1938 and was rather ill-willed. Five years after his first and more tolerant deliberation on the state of Turkish art, Elif Naci took another look at the last fifteen years of the fine arts in Turkey in 1938. Himself a former student of Çallı, who at that point had taken on the role of spokesperson for *D grubu* [Group D] Elif Naci was writing for *Cumhuriyet*, when he described their Turkish teachers as: "a group that seized the whitened beard of Impressionism and dragged it into Turkey."²⁹⁹ Naci's words would be echoed by

²⁹⁷ Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1985): 58.

²⁹⁸ Bedri Rahmi. *Nazmi Ziya*, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı: İstanbul (1937): 32.

²⁹⁹ Naci, Elif. "Güzel Sanatların Son 15 Senedeki Tekamülü," [The Evolution of Fine Arts in the Last 15 Years] *Cumhuriyet*, October 30, 1938:4. Naci had by this point joined and exhibited with two groups established by younger artists in the late 1920s and the 1930s, both formed by artists who had been students of the 1914 generation at the academy (primarily of Hikmet and İbrahim, who ran the drawing and painting ateliers respectively): *Müstakiller* [The Independents] and Group D. The two groups were founded partially for distinguishing themselves from the 1914 generation and the artistic norms they had established, and both groups harbored increasing hostility for this particular generation for its hegemony of the artworld. Opinion on these exhibitions drastically changed. Having resisted and protested them as a young artist, Nurullah Berk, would later praise the Galatasaray exhibitions for the originality of the work that was featured, describing them as "devoid of influence." He also resisted

fellow artist Nurullah Berk a few years later as the rift between 1914 painters and Group D grew deeper: “In reality, what Çallı İbrahim and his friends were practicing was a formulaic form of the French Impressionist school.”³⁰⁰ It is safe to say that the mischaracterization that intentionally suggested belatedness and simplified the varied positions and practices of these artists under a generalizing umbrella term tethered to the French school by Elif Naci stuck to the 1914 generation artists. The rise in fame of these younger artists as prolific writers (and later established artists) would help etch this mischaracterization in stone, and their texts would be taken at face value by art historians rather than with a healthy dose of skepticism, despite the known chasm among these two generations.

One can in fact find many works by the 1914 painters to substantiate Elif Naci’s accusation of the Impressionist “beard” styled in Manet fashion. Certain work by the 1914 painters, as well as the Galatasaray salons at-large, contributed to reinforcing a romantic image of life in Istanbul, often depicted in a loosely Impressionist idiom. The portraits of writers and doctors, the strolls of fashionably dressed ladies on the nearby Prinkipo islands, the meditative mosque interiors and the scarcely populated streets of the old city as well as the sea baths and the crowded new beaches on the Marmara captured a life in and around Istanbul that was as varied as it was selectively charming. While traces of the city’s modernization could be observed through the paintings, the artists completely disregarded the chaos and change the war brought on, presenting a somewhat casual but nonetheless idealized city before it was stripped of its political significance, once the new republic designated Ankara as its capital in 1923. A carefully selected group of paintings of the 1914 generation can easily demonstrate their understanding of

positioning the work presented at these exhibitions within the same lineage as previous Muslim-Ottoman practitioners of painting. In this revised opinion of Berk’s, the work of the 1914 generation was neither under the influence of French tradition, nor of Ottoman easel painting, but something “original.” Berk, Nurullah. *50 Yılın Türk Resim ve Heykeli* (1973): 22-24.

³⁰⁰ Berk, Nurullah. *Sanat Konuşmaları* (Istanbul: AB Neşriyatı, 1943): 63. The hostility among younger artists towards the 1914 generation was due to numerous reasons that will be revealed in the following chapter. The label continues to be used today by art historians. For example, Gül İrepoğlu characterized Feyhaman Duran as an Impressionist as recently as 2017 in her essay for the catalog of the monographic exhibition at Sabancı Museum. İrepoğlu, Gül. “Feyhaman, Resim Aşkıyla” in *Feyhaman Duran iki dünya arasında = Feyhaman Duran: between two worlds* (Ayşen Anadol, ed.). Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2017: 16-31.

the full range of themes, subjects and attitudes afforded by French modern life that the Impressionists registered on canvas. [fig. 2.51-60] As with their French counterparts, the 1914 painters depicted figures with the details of contemporary life they were situated in, painting scenes from modernizing Istanbul, registering the transformation of the city as well as the people that populated it, with indicators of class, politics, and social fluidity. İbrahim and Namık painted the women of the Muslim haute bourgeoisie in their domestic surroundings or semi-private outings in select neighborhoods of the city. There were lovers caught on caiques on the shores of Istanbul, just like the boaters on the Argenteuil, as well as ladies promenading in the latest fashions on the islands, or sunning in their gardens. Their paintings also featured less-chaste women; singers and dancers from Pera's nightlife as well as white Russians in bathing suits in Florya. Hikmet developed an interest in the boats and barges in Istanbul's seaside neighborhoods. Feyhaman and Hüseyin Avni even signed and exhibited *ebauches* that veered on abstraction. The general qualities seen in particular selections of the 1914 generation painters' work certainly allow for a substantiation of this reading, and when shown together, can immediately confirm this attribution of Impressionism. Thus, the 1914 artists can be partially positioned within a larger history of Impressionism, as recent and more globalized art historical studies see Impressionism through the lens of an aesthetic as well as social re-integration of varieties of Paris-trained artists to their own homeland and its cultural traditions.³⁰¹ Recent surveys of this type of global Impressionism show that around the world, this label acted as an indexical sign of modernity, often in its anti-academicism and, even as some critics looked to tether it to national traditions, in its simultaneous refusal to adhere to those same traditions. In this sense, the 1914 artists can be seen as Ottoman actors within this globalized aesthetic. However, if one were to apply Michael Baxandall's theory of influence, Impressionism would be one billiard ball among many for the 1914 generation painters:

The classic Humean image of causality that seems to colour many accounts of influence is one billiard ball, X, hitting another, Y. An image that might work better for the case would be not two billiard-balls but the field offered by a billiard table.

³⁰¹ Brode, Norma. *A world in Light: France and the International Impressionist Movement 1860-1920*, New York: H.N. Abrams, 1990: 8-35.

On this table would be very many balls — the game is not billiards but snooker or pool — and the table is an Italian one without pockets. Above all, the cue-ball, that which hits another, is *not* X, but Y. What happens in the field, each time Y refers to an X, is a rearrangement. Y has moved purposefully, impelled by the cue of intention, and X has been repositioned too: each ends up in a new relation to the array of all the other balls. Some of these have become more or less accessible or masked, more or less available to Y in his stance after reference to X. Arts are positional games and each time an artist is influenced he rewrites his art's history a little.³⁰²

Nazmi Ziya had exposed the most revealing internal artistic contradiction between learning from a master and the futility of avoiding influence when he himself had said: “I learned from Rıza Bey [his tutor Hoca Ali Rıza] not to be influenced by other artists. It is owing to his advice that whenever I saw a painting that I liked, I would run away from it as if I saw something horrible, I wouldn't look at it attentively.”³⁰³ Nazmi Ziya, who had been interested in Impressionism since his student years in Istanbul, was the only 1914 artist who can truly be categorized as an Impressionist, though he would have hated the label. He painted ladies in repose as well as registering the effects of changing lights on mosques and cemeteries of Istanbul. He chased the light from early morning to sunset, sometimes even waiting for a year to faithfully capture the colors specific to a certain season in a certain neighborhood again. But was Impressionism a modern lens through which to see a national landscape? The light and its reflections on the Bosphorus afforded by the changing seasons, the complicated and cosmopolitan city that Istanbul was in the 1910s and 20s, certainly made it a rival to Paris, in many aspects. Though Impressionism and its many facets make for an exciting new way of seeing, it wasn't enough. The last sentence in Nazmi Ziya's brief artistic biography by Bedri Rahmi sums it up well:

The fear of being influenced is not only noticeable in Nazmi Ziya, but also applies to his colleagues who went to France to study with him [...]

³⁰² Baxandall, Michael. *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, Yale: Yale University Press, 1985: 58.

³⁰³ Quoted in Bedri Rahmi. *Nazmi Ziya*, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı: İstanbul (1937): 6. “Ben Rıza Bey'den hiçbir hocanın tesiri altında kalmamayı öğrendim. Gene onun telkinleriledir ki çok hoşuma giden bir resim gördüğüm zaman ondan korkunç birşey görmüş gibi kaçır, dikkatle bakmazdım.

We see that at the beginning, artists who are confident about their own flexibility and appetite, always sink their teeth in artists greater than themselves. They swallow them up like a snake swallows a deer bigger than itself. Initially, those who are under the influence of the artists they love resemble the snake that has just swallowed the deer. Day by day, the deer will melt and merge with the snake. The snake has no fear of being taken for the deer that it swallowed.³⁰⁴

During a public address, in which Ali Sami underlined his rejection of the Impressionist label, he had said:

“What is Impressionism? ... it is not ‘scraping black and all other dark and earthy colors from your palette to only accept the seven main colors of sunlight.’ Defining Impressionism in this way is wrong. This style is described best by its own name. The meaning of the word is ‘influence-ism.’ It is the style that captures the first influence that nature makes on you and registering this on canvas.”³⁰⁵

The word that Ali Sami used in the original Turkish, to describe impression is *tesir*. A word from the early 15th century, “tesir” is the mark that something makes on the person, used both to capture a physical impact, as in an impression, and used to refer to an abstract mark made on the psyche, as in influence (like Koerner’s influenza, either a global virus that infiltrates your system, or a celestial impression made on the soul). As students of the arts, as subjects of a crumbling empire, and as citizens of a nation in formation, and even later, as its affirming bureaucrats, one thing was certain about the artists of the 1914 generation: they were impressionable. But how could it be otherwise?

Though varied in subject matter and style, the work shown in the Galatasaray salons by the 1914 generation painters presented a common sensibility that led Hilmi Ziya Ülken to liken these artists to their contemporary counterpart in literature, the *Fecr-i Ati* group. A short-lived movement of the Francophile Galatasaray lycée alumni that foregrounded form rather than content, veering towards naturalism and a soft-focused realism (as they did not directly engage with ills of modern society or politics, more interested in expressing the moment as it was rather than relying on it to illustrate ideology), *Fecr-i Ati* defended artistic individualism and encouraged public intellectual engagement with new European ideas.

³⁰⁴ Bedri Rahmi, *Nazmi Ziya*, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı; İstanbul, 1937: 35.

³⁰⁵ Boyar, Ali Sami. “Bizde Resim” in *Ressam Ali Sami Boyar* (ed. Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu), İsmail Akgün Matbaası; İstanbul (1959): 74-75.

The life described, in paintings as well as texts, almost always foregrounded the upper echelons of society. While the paintings were reflective of each artist's individuality and demonstrated a diversity in subject matter (like the individualism Fecr-i Ati championed in its manifesto in 1910), the casual manner in which daily life in the city, both private and public, reflective both of the traditional and modern face of Istanbul depicted in the paintings of the 1914 generation, was indeed similar to the Fecr-i Ati's attitude towards literature.³⁰⁶ The discrepant middle ground, between modernity and tradition, between the East and the West, the past and the future, was where these artists and intellectuals lived. In their work, rather than opting for dramatic effect, they captured the incongruities as they were, devoid of signs that these would turn into social tensions, artistic anxieties, or conflicting political positions later on. The name Fecr-i Ati refers to the red light at sunrise and sunset, or in one member's words "...the shade of red that promises a future." It is hard to miss that this fiery palette is visually echoed in paint in many of Hüseyin Avni's canvases of bright oranges, yellows and flaming reds.³⁰⁷ Fueled by the hopeful promise of the new constitutional era, both the 1914 artists and the Fecr-i Ati writers, as children of this era seen at the time as the sun rising, produced works with excitement and rigor. But they both produced works accessible only to a few while intending to keep it simple. Both groups aspired for a future society Europeanized enough that their works would appeal to and would be appreciated by larger crowds. But while Fecr-i Ati is nowadays described as "the literary light of dawn that had quickly burned out,"³⁰⁸ the painters of the 1914 generation and the Galatasaray exhibitions were fully embraced by the new republic from 1923 onwards. Turkey's modest means and paradoxical aspirations of Europeanizing (or modernizing à la Europe) while remaining Turkish mirrored the predicament of these artists, who were defined by their social and educational experience in Paris as well as the rising wave of Turkish nationalism upon their

³⁰⁶ The manifesto, published in the journal *Servet-i Fünun*, was signed by the following: Ahmed Samim, Ahmet Haşım, Emin Bülend, Emin Lami, Tahsin Nahid, Celal Sahir (Re'is), Cemil Süleyman, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, Refik Halit Karay, Şabaheddin Süleyman, Abdülhak Hayri, İzzet Melik, Ali Canib, Ali Süha, Faik Ali, Fazıl Ahmed, Mehmet Behçed, Mehmed Rüşdü, Mehmed Fuad, Müfit Ratib ve Yakub Kadri. Note that characters such as Yakup Kadri, Ahmet Haşım, and Hamdullah Suphi will feature later in the chapter as critics, teachers, supporters of the 1914ers.

³⁰⁷ Philliou, *A Past Against History*: 31.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*: 45.

return to the empire.³⁰⁹ The middle ground they struck was not only formal, but also existential: between artistic concerns, patriotic attitudes and new forms of modern life entering the picture plane of the painters organizing these exhibitions. While the salons somewhat lost steam in later years when the society was asked to organize exhibitions in Ankara, they continued until 1951. This was a feat, considering the short-lived nature of many other institutional attempts related to the arts, such as keeping the State Museum of Painting and Sculpture open, a struggle referred to in the previous chapter. The Galatasaray salons were also the place where the next generation of artists that would come of age in the early Republic first encountered easel painting. If they were to seek formal education, they would encounter the 1914 generation at the School of Fine Arts as teachers. Whether it fueled aspiration or opposition, the artistic output and professional positions of the 1914 generation shaped the next generation of Turkish artists; they had in turn become influential themselves.

³⁰⁹ From 1926 onwards, The Society of Turkish Artists would first organize an exhibition of recent works to take place in Ankara. What was not sold in Ankara (and sometimes this did not amount to much, as ministries and other state institutions, such as banks, all located in Ankara had walls to fill in their newly built buildings) would then be taken to Istanbul and shown at the Galatasaray lycée. Especially after the first decade of the republic, artists submissions to the Galatasaray exhibitions waned as other artistic initiatives by the government took precedence (such as the *Exhibitions of Revolution* (1933-1938), followed by the *State Painting and Sculpture Exhibitions* that begun in 1938). There were also the independent exhibitions of younger artists, who wanted to distinguish themselves from their professors, and gave up submitting to the Galatasaray salons. Still, the GS exhibitions somewhat retained their status as the Istanbul salon and continued to be organized by the same society, which had changed its name to Güzel Sanatlar Birliği [Fine Arts Union] until 1951.

Chapter 3: From Perception to Conception: Cubism à la Turca

“Those who think that the goal of painting is to give us a faithful copy of things are correct, as are those who claim that painting must transform things. Indeed, to copy them properly, it must transform them.”

Jacques Rivière, 1912³¹⁰

There are thousands of definitions of Cubism because there are a thousand painters practicing it.³¹¹

André Lhote, late-1920s

“Don't be afraid of being under my influence, for a while at least. We've all been there. Nothing falls from the sky, and no one is born a genius.”³¹²

Fernand Léger, c.1947-50

“*Kübizm de bizim, yani asri demokrasilerin sanatı olmalıdır.*”³¹³

[Cubism must then be the art of contemporary democracies, like ours.]

İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, 1931

³¹⁰ Rivière, Jacques. “Sur la tendance actuelle de la peinture,” *Revue l'Europe et l'Amerique* (1 March 1912): 384-406 translated and reprinted as “Document 37: On the Current Tendencies in Painting” in *A Cubism Reader* (ed. Antliff, Mark and Patricia Leighton), The University of Chicago Press; Chicago, 2008 (249-267): 253. Rivière then gives an example from the work of Cézanne: “A great painter such as Cézanne has only one idea while he is working: to create an exact image of what he sees; but, in the end, his canvas is entirely different from the spectacle; and he is the only one who does not perceive it. That is because, unbeknownst to himself and in spite of himself, he has changed the *aspect* of the things he was contemplating in order to express their *being*; he has relieved them of that forced and arbitrary attitude in which they presented themselves. Completing what he perceived of them, he has spontaneously returned them to their reality.”

³¹¹ André Lhote, quoted in the text for the exhibition “20th century Australian art: Cubism in Australia”, Art Gallery of New South Wales, Australia: <https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/artsets/uj9ej3> Last accessed: September 23, 2018

³¹² Fernand Léger quoted by his student Tonia Cariffa between 1947-50 in Maingon, Claire. “*L'Académie Lhote, l'Atelier Léger: enseignements comparés,*” *L'éducation Artistique en France du Modèle Académique et Scolaire aux Pratiques Actuelles XVIII^e-XIX^e Siècles*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes; Rennes, 2010 (219-229): 226. “Ne craignez pas d'être sous mon influence, quelques temps du moins. Nous avons tous passé par là. Rien ne tombe du ciel et on ne naît pas un génie.”

³¹³ Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hakkı. *Demokrasi ve Sanat*: 71 (author's translation)

This chapter focuses on the next generation of painters who came of age during the early years of the new republic of Turkey, roughly spanning the early 1920s to mid-1930s. During the first decade of the country's formation, when painting was neither given a propagandistic role nor completely neglected, new pictorial modes entered the Turkish artistic vocabulary. The chapter traces what these aspiring artists encountered in Europe and how they negotiated their positions between artistic commitments and their roles as educators within the bureaucratic hierarchy of the newly established country, as they were sent abroad as part of the state's educational policies to return to the homeland as modern teachers. In the confluence of modern painting and modernizing policies of a new state, questions raised in previous chapters, on the relationship between the act of copying and striving for originality, between artistic influence and individualism, and the intermingling of these modern anxieties within a growingly nationalist milieu continued to exert formative pressures on the figure of the painter. But during these ten years of flux, when the young republic was busy implementing larger societal reform, these artists were allowed to experiment more freely, delaying all these pressures, at least for a while. To understand the origins, applications, and the reception of the work of these younger artists, the chapter investigates the use of the word "kübik," and traces its varied understandings and applications to the pedagogical methods of two European figures, namely, Hans Hofmann and André Lhote, in an effort to show how the Turkish *kübik* differed from Cubism as we know it, and how it came to operate within the specific context of Turkey's modernization.

After months of negotiations, the Peace Treaty of Lausanne was signed between the Entente Powers –Britain, France, Italy and Greece– and the Ankara government on July 24, 1923, and ratified about a month later, on August 21st. The Ottoman capitulations (that granted privileges to European powers and their subjects) were abolished, the straits were de-militarized. Turkey emerged as a sovereign state. The new state comprised Eastern Thrace and Anatolia, without any mention of autonomy for Armenia or Kurdistan. The rights of minorities were to be protected under the law as equal inhabitants, and the last British troops left Istanbul on October 1st, 1923. After ten years of continuous warfare, the

country was “depopulated, impoverished, and in ruins.”³¹⁴ With warfare atrocities, famine, and epidemics, the mortality rate in Anatolia was 20%. After migrations and population exchanges between Turkey and Greece (of Greek Muslims in the Balkans and Turkish Christians in Anatolia) further altered the make-up of the population. Anatolia, which had been 80% Muslim before the war, was now 98% Muslim. Linguistically, there were only two large groups left, speaking Turkish and Kurdish. Significant commercial and industrial know-how left the country with the exodus of Christian communities, with only agriculture recovering quickly. The entire country was ruralized; only 18% lived in towns, as compared to 25% before the wars.

Mustafa Kemal and his Republican People’s Party would spend the next few years consolidating their power. The nationalist movement had been split between moderates, who wanted to follow a liberal economic policy, a decentralized government, separation of powers, and slower societal reform, and a more radical wing that included Mustafa Kemal and his allies, who advocated for revolutionary change, authoritarian rule, and centralized power. The early democratic experiment was cut short, when the more liberal opposition party was closed and the Law of Maintenance and Order was established in 1925. The law was used to suppress the Kurdish nationalist movement, which had resisted the oppressive policies of the government which had banned the use of Kurdish. The law was also used to eliminate opposition in the national assembly, and in the press. The Progressive Republican Party was closed, followed by the closure of all newspapers except for the government mouthpieces, *Cumhuriyet* in Istanbul and *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* in Ankara. Like the Second Constitutional Era, the period of pluralism and freedoms were cut short by authoritarian rule in the name of national consolidation, secularization, and modernization.³¹⁵

³¹⁴ Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*: 163.

³¹⁵ This parallel between the Unionists and Kemalists is drawn by Erik Zürcher, who says: “...in both phases of the Young Turk movement, when the choice was between a democratic system with a slower pace of reform and an authoritarian one with more opportunities for radical measures, the second alternative won out because what counted for the Young Turks in the end was the strengthening and survival of the state, democracy (or ‘constitutionalism’ or ‘national sovereignty’) being a means to that end, not an end in itself.” Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*: 172-173.

Even though Mustafa Kemal's symbolic gesture to have the Galatasaray exhibition of 1923 repeated in Ankara and his effort for the acquisition of the displayed paintings for personal and state collections was an early indicator of the significance he attributed to painting (see Introduction), the fine arts would take a backseat during the early years of the new republic. There were much larger cultural changes on the agenda. The ten-year period that began with Turkey becoming a sovereign state in 1923 was transformative, to say the least. Culture was a primary theater of change during this time. With the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, single-party rule was established, governing a series of reforms through which the state steered the country on a course of secularization and Westernization. Drastically severing ties with the Ottoman imperial past, these state-enforced reforms aimed at molding the new citizens of a modern country.³¹⁶ The caliphate was abolished in 1924. In 1925, the fez was banned, and wearing Western hats became obligatory for men. While the new law did not abolish veiling, most women also adopted the Western style of dress. In 1926, the country switched from the Islamic calendar to the Gregorian calendar and the Western clock; this switch from the lunar to solar calendar not only reinforced the rupture with the past, but also allowed the Republic "to move from the 'Oriental' flow of time, which the reformers disdained, toward an 'Occidental' one, to which they aspired."³¹⁷ The script reform of 1928, which replaced the calligraphic Arabic script with the Latin alphabet over a three month period, together with the language reform of 1932 purging words deemed "foreign" to Turkish (e.g. Persianate, Arabic, or Latinate etymologies) were perhaps the most drastic ruptures with the past. While the script reform made anything written before 1928 inaccessible to the younger generations, it also rendered the adult population illiterate overnight. The efforts to purify the language by reverting to pure (or fictive) Turkish replacements for loan words reinforced this semantic shift even further. Implemented by the founder of the republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and carried out by the Kemalist ruling elite through the Republican People's Party (RPP, who governed unopposed for two decades), these reforms

³¹⁶ Özyürek, Esra. *The Politics of Public Memory in Turkey*. 1st ed. Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007: 4.

³¹⁷ Ibid: 5.

were part of a larger series of political, legal, cultural, social, and economic policy changes that were designed to swiftly implement the project of modernization by the state, linked to a nationalist ideology in formation.

But unlike its contemporaneous authoritarian counterparts, such as Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy, Turkey's radical reform program did not initially have a direct stylistic bearing on painting. Its more propagandistic and ideologically aligned aesthetic program was reflected in sculpture, more specifically, in its commissioning of public monuments, which it entrusted to foreigners. Likewise, its artists sent across Europe during the first decade of the republic, who had just come of age enjoyed a period of artistic experimentation; it was a rare moment of 'art for art's sake' in Turkey's history of painting, in which the artists' concern resided not in looking for an applicable painterly language that impressed upon the canvas an image of the modernizing nation, but a shift from perception to conception, reflecting the artists' individualized engagement with strictly formal concerns of a new language- that of modern painting.

Part 1: Young Painters=New Painting?

The students of the 1914 generation thus came of age after the republic was declared in 1923 and were to claim their own place in the artistic milieu, exactly a decade after their teachers had returned to the Ottoman capital to chart their own way. Like their teachers, who were sent abroad during the hopeful years of the second constitutional period of the Ottoman Empire, the "first children of the revolution"³¹⁸ also benefited from the hope and zeal of a new era, this time the foundation of the new republic. The students, recent graduates and irregular attendees of the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul –which was now co-ed, having recently merged with its counterpart for women in 1923– had gotten together to set up their

³¹⁸ This designation was used by artist İpek Duben for painters Turgut Zaim and Nurullah Berk, which I expand to other artists of the same generation that are included in the scope of this dissertation. Duben, İpek. *Türk Resmi ve Eleştirisi: 1880-1950*. [Turkish Painting and Art Criticism, 1880-1950] Sanat-Estetik: 4. Şişli, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2007, p.119.

own society, called “Yeni Resim Cemiyeti” [The Society of New Painting]. These young painters’ artistic training had been almost entirely shaped by the hands of the 1914 generation, but their time as students also bore the mark of the difficult conditions of war and the ensuing occupation of the city. The schools had drifted from building to building, the teaching galleries with European copies that Halil Edhem had put together at the Imperial Museum (see chapter 1) were closed, and the students faced constant shortages of material. But just like the excitement of the 1914 painters whose hopes had been buoyed by the re-introduction of the constitution in 1909, these young artists thought that the difficult years were now behind them with the foundation of the new republic in 1923. The new republican constitution was adopted that spring, replacing the Ottoman one, which had been drafted in 1876 and re-introduced in 1909. In his opening speech for the fourth year of the national assembly in March, Mustafa Kemal announced that it was imperative to establish modern libraries, conservatories, museums and fine arts exhibitions in the significant centers of the homeland and have publishing houses set up across the country.³¹⁹

The Society of New Painting, founded the same year as the new republic, had about sixty members,³²⁰ and organized its first exhibition, titled “Genç Ressamlar Sergisi” [Exhibition of Young Painters] on May 15th, 1924. (These two designations, “young painters” and “new painting” would come to signify an acute generational divide. Debates about new modalities of painting would take on different names, such as *kübik*, *asri* [modern], *modern* and *mücerret* [abstract] or simply *yeni* [new] in the ensuing years.) The *Cumhuriyet* newspaper made the exhibition-opening front-page news, reporting on it two days in a row, appreciatively describing several works in detail. The newly founded bi-weekly magazine *Milli Mecmua* [National Magazine] covered the exhibition in two of its issues. [Fig 3.1-3] The critics (especially Peyami Safa, who would become an avid supporter) were excited by these new “unknown”

³¹⁹ Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri I (Maarif Basımevi, Ankara), 1945: 300-328. TBC

³²⁰ Safa, Peyami. “Yeni Resim Cemiyeti Sergisi,” *Süs* no:10 year 1, May 31, 1340 [1924]: 8-12. Transcribed from Ottoman Turkish script by Halime Zorlu at the author’s request. My research did not reveal any remaining official documents about the society itself. All the information here is based on press material.

names and found their work promising. Also common to the press coverage was the authors' description of the modesty of this group's members, in contrast to their elder, now established, well-earning teachers, at least in outlook if not in output:

When I saw for the first time the works on the white walls, each of which looked like a window [opening] onto a piece of nature, [made] by these pale-skinned, understated young people walking among their masters at the opening ceremony, I was not too late to decide that this modest exhibition was an art event. This event deserves to be examined for societal reasons on the one hand, and for artistic matters on the other. What is this if not a manifestation of our national existence, that eight or ten young people have grown up and set themselves apart to provide us with this opening, sharing their assets like precious plants grown in greenhouses?"³²¹

Located in the rooms borrowed from the Society of Print Material in the historic district of the Sublime Porte, where the young artists took turns to sit by the door and collect the entry fee of 10 kuruş (cents), the exhibition was indeed a modest but considerable feat. It featured work –paintings as well as a few sculptures– by as many women artists as men: İhsan, Bedia, Sabiha [Rüştü Bozcalı], Güzin Fihman [Feyhaman's wife, later known as Güzin Duran], Nevzat and Hale [Salih, later Asaf] as well as Eşref [Üren], Elif Naci, Cevat [Dereli], Hamit Necdet [Görele], Halil İbrahim [Dikmen], Refik [Epikman], [Ali] Sermet, Şeref [Akdik], Saim [Özeren], Kemalettin,³²² Mithat and Nurullah [Cemal Berk].

Gleaning from the reviews that feature small reproductions, [Fig 3.4-5], among other highlights in the exhibition were still-lifes by Güzin, Saim and Elif Naci, landscapes by Cevat and Kemalettin, Hamit's "Oriental miniatures" (mentioned but not reproduced in the press) as well as portraits by Şerif and Nurullah. There were also decorative panels, various views of Istanbul's neighborhoods and landmarks

³²¹ "Küşat merasiminde üstatlarının arasında dolaşan soluk benizli, mühmel giyinişli gençlerin beyaz duvarlarda, her biri başka başka bir tabiat parçasına açılmış pencereler gibi duran eserlerini ilk defa gördüğüm zaman, karar vermekte gecikmedim ki bu mütevazi sergi bizde bir sanat hadisesidir. Bu hadise bir cihetten cemiyet, diğer taraftan sanat nokta-ı nazardan tetkike layıktır. Sekiz on gencin seralar içinde yetişen kıymetli nebatlar gibi varlıklarına bu güşayışı vererek aramızdan yetişip sıyrılmaları milli varlığımızın bir tecellisinden başka nedir?" Hüsnü Ali, "Bir Sanat Hadisesi" [An Art Event], *Milli Mecmua* no: 17, June 26, 1924: 267.

³²² The newspapers and magazines list the artist as Kemalettin, but I suspect this is [Mahmud] Cemalettin [Cûda], who is mentioned as one of the founders of the society in several sources. It was very common for newspapers to get the name of the artists wrong, especially young unknown figures as the members of the Society of New Painting.

such as island vistas, mosque courtyards and fountains, portraits of notable intellectuals or historical figures, self-portraits, and additional still-lives of flowers, teacups, and fruit. A single painting referred to the recent national struggle and the sacrifices of simple villagers, Refik's *Kurtuluş Mücahitleri* [The Independence Fighters], appreciated by some, strongly detested by others.³²³ Listed as such, it seems that the chosen subject-matter of the paintings did not stray far from their teachers' paintings, displayed in the Istanbul and Ankara salons since 1916. In other words, the young artists did not diverge too far from subject matter and genres introduced to the public at the Galatasaray salons: still-lives, Istanbul landscapes, portraits of notables, and one painting with direct reference to the recent War of Independence. Perhaps, the excitement in the press was due to the fact that the years of war, occupation, social and political uncertainty as well as economic strife, had not prevented aspiring artists from pursuing their studies, who had accumulated enough material to come together, form their own artists' society, and make the bold gesture of opening their own exhibition. If young artists had come of age during these uncertain and challenging times, were standing on their own two feet now and still enthusiastically making art despite all odds, perhaps there was hope for the new nation, and its artistic horizons after all. However, the reviews and accompanying reproductions reveal a subtle yet purposeful desire by these young painters to distinguish themselves from the previous generation, both in the artworks themselves, and in between the lines of the critics' comments.

The women's magazine *Süs* covered the exhibition with generous illustrations, and printed a review by Peyami Safa, an up-and-coming cultural critic (and later, novelist). [Fig. 3.4-5] Peyami Safa,

³²³ Refik's *Kurtuluş Mücahitleri*, was described in detail in *Cumhuriyet*: "In the painting, our heroic soldiers advancing among the clouds, the volunteer villagers who joined them, leaving their burned down village with their ruined minaret behind them, and the Turkish woman who loves her cart on the one hand and carries ammunition on her back, on the other hand, are manifested with a natural harmony." Anonymous. "Yeni Resim Cemiyeti'nin Sergisi Bugün Açılıyor" [The Exhibition of the New Painting Society Opens Today], *Cumhuriyet*, May 15 Mayıs 1924: 2. Transcribed from Arabic script by Halime Zorlu upon the author's request. "Tabloda, bulutların arasına doğru ilerleyen kahraman askerlerimiz, arkalarında yıkık minaresiyle yanmış köylerini bırakarak onlara iltihak eden gönüllü köylüler, ve bir yandan kağnısını seven, diğer taraftan sırtında mühimmat taşıyan Türk kadını tabii bir imtizaçla tecelli ettirilmiştir." In his review, Peyami Safa was dismissive of this painting: "... is similar to the tedious large compositions of Sami Bey. It is bad." Peyami Safa. "Yeni Resim Cemiyeti Sergisi" [The Exhibition of the New Painting Society], *Süs* year 1, no:10, May 31, 1340 [1924]: 8. "... Sami Beyin usanç veren muazzam terkiplerine benzemekle, kötüdür."

himself 24 years old then, was a peer of the artists showing in the exhibition, the eldest of which, according to Safa's reporting, was 26 at the time.³²⁴ The review he wrote celebrated the venture, praised the young artists for their sincere work, and considered the exhibition "the herald of a new and sound painting movement."³²⁵ However, this did not stop him from being unforgiving in his detailed remarks; he found Hamit's miniatures pretty but unoriginal, and rather historicist, like the work of the Pre-Raphaelites. Saim's work bore the influence of his teacher Çallı, and was therefore rote. Eşref's flickering little pieces were beautiful but lacked personality. In his view certain paintings needed more work, and others were weak in color. With his thorough engagement with the works presented, Peyami Safa signaled that he took the task of a critic seriously and was not going to support his peers' work unequivocally. He finished his review with a warning and a piece of advice, describing the kind of painting he was ready to champion:

Young people should always pay attention to the sketch. Some of them misunderstood the rules of 'impressionism' and went down the very dangerous path of 'taking the easy way out' for the purpose of working freely. In fact, today, art has completely come out of 'impressionism' and has made recourse to the solid and strong views of the old 'classics,' to their solid works that require a very scientific sense of composition and ornament... The line, like the sketch that young people seem to neglect, can be considered the basis of the new movement today.³²⁶

Peyami Safa's words were both very informed of international tendencies, showing his awareness of the *retour à l'ordre* wave prevalent in postwar Europe, and ominous: the contrasts he made, between the looseness of the brush and the sturdiness of the line, between the free and the scientific, between the easily new versus the steady classic would inform the feuds and antagonisms that were to unfold in the following

³²⁴ In the decades to follow, he would become an avid supporter for the work of these artists. Although extensively studied as a thinker and novelist, Peyami Safa's (1899-1961) output in art criticism awaits a careful compilation and thorough analysis. Most important to this dissertation is that he was a believer in the possibility of a civilizational synthesis for Turkey, which he theorized in works such as *Türk İnkılabına Bakışlar* [Looking at the Turkish Revolution] (1938) and *Doğu-Batı Sentezi* [East-West Synthesis] (1961).

³²⁵ Peyami Safa. "Yeni Resim Cemiyeti Sergisi" [The Exhibition of the New Painting Society], *Süs* year 1, no:10, May 31, 1340 [1924]: 8-12.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*: 12. "Gençler etüde, daima etüde dikkat etsinler. Bazı gençler 'empresyonizm' kaidelerini yanlış anlamış ve serbest çalışmak gayesiyle, çok tehlikeli bir 'kolaycılık' vadisine dökülmüşlerdir. Esasen bugün sanat 'empresyonizm'den tamamıyla çıkmış, eski 'klasik'lerin salim ve kuvvetli görüşlerine, çok derin fen nakş ve tersimi isteyen sağlam işlerine rücu etmiştir. Gençlerin ihmal ettiği "desen" çizgi gibi, bugün yeni cereyanın esası sayılabilir."

years.³²⁷ While the work of the Society of New Painting artists did not (yet) look too different than the paintings displayed by their elders in the exhibitions organized by the Society of Turkish Painters, Peyami Safa was telling them how better to set themselves apart.

Another review contended that there was already a sense that some of the works in this exhibition were indeed veering away from naturalism or the impressionist mark-making attributed to the 1914 generation. Hüsni Ali's remark in the newly founded and aptly titled newspaper *Cumhuriyet* [Republic]³²⁸, about the “sensing rather than the seeing eye” suggests that the writer enjoyed the digression from verisimilitude in representation and bright Impressionist colors of yesteryear, as if he was trying to lure his readers into doing the same:

Historical buildings have started to get rid of their geometric engineering in the hands of these young painters. The magnificent monuments brought into being by lines and surfaces that are true and honest, not for the seeing but for the sensing eye, must have deep gratitude for their second construction. There are also pieces that express the general torment and suffering in recent years – despite the strangeness in color and shape. Especially portraits have come to know the spiritual characteristics [of the sitter], let alone expressing them with the play of the brush.³²⁹

The reviewer attempts to ease the readers and the potential visitors to the exhibition into finding pleasure not in verisimilitude or a naturalistic depiction of buildings or faces, but in the personal sensibility of the artist. (Impressionism á la Turca had not foregrounded the artistic subject's personal sensing apparatus, as it had in France, as shown in the previous chapter. This was rather a distinction between perception and conception, often used for post-Cézanne practices of painting.) What Hüsni Ali calls the “second

³²⁷ Peyami Safa's words would become the prescription followed especially by members of the group, vocalized and repeated by the artists themselves a decade later.

³²⁸ Founded by Yunus Nadi, *Cumhuriyet* is the longest-running daily in Turkey, still in existence today. Most of the reporting and debates about the work of these artists were to be reported by this newspaper, and the likes of Elif Naci, Nurullah Berk, Peyami Safa, and later, Bedri Rahmi and Cemal Tollu, were to write art columns for it. The “copy scandal” discussed in the first chapter was instigated in the pages of *Cumhuriyet* as well.

³²⁹ “Tarihî binalar, bu genç ressamın eliyle artık hendeselikten kurtulmaya başlamışlardır. Bakan değil, fakat duyan göz için müstakimi olmayan hatların ve satırların vücuda getirdiği dilber-i abideler her halde bu ikinci mimarilerinde derin bir şükran ile mütehassıs olsalar gerek... Son senelerdeki umumî azap ve ızdırabı- renk ve şeklindeki acayıplığe rağmen- kuvvetle ifade eden parçalar da yok değil... Hele portreler rûhî seciyeleri birer fırça oyunuyla ifadeye kadar evvela bilecek bir hale gelmiştir.” Hüsni Ali, “Bir Sanat Hadisesi” [An Art Event], *Milli Mecmua* no: 17, June 26, 1340 [1924]: 267-268.

construction” of a building is the artist’s interpretation rather than the expected faithful reproduction of what can be seen, and the writer is eager to attribute value to this new conception. Moreover, he is acknowledging what might seem as the added strangeness of the use of arbitrary color but defends this predilection as a reflection of the grueling effects of war. Hüsnü Ali also introduces to his readers a thoroughly modern and individualist conceit that can be applied to most modernist work, from Impressionists to Cubists and beyond; the concept of the “sensing eye” that is not only a description of the artists’ perception but can also be read as Hüsnü Ali’s wish for the viewers’ reception of the newly presented work.

The portrait reflective of the ‘torment and suffering of the recent years’ that Hüsnü Ali refers to must be the self-portrait by the young Hale. [\[fig.3.6, see also fig.3.7\]](#) A close-up rendition of the artist’s face as she directly holds the gaze of the viewer, the self-portrait was daring and atypical, especially in comparison to other self-portraits by women artists, or of female figures by male artists. It is a complete departure from the demure renditions of females as exemplified by the portraits of women by Şerif or Belkıs, or the tokenistic and undifferentiated tough Anatolian woman by Nurullah presented in the same exhibition and reproduced alongside Hale’s in the pages of *Süs* magazine. Hale’s portrayal of a female figure is in stark contrast to Mehmed Ruhi’s embroidering women, selected by Mustafa Kemal for purchase in 1923 (analyzed in the introductory chapter). She conceives of the female figure as an artist, presenting her own image in public with thick impasto as a creator with intention and angst, rather than as a pleasant domestic hobbyist. This signifies not only Hale’s own artistic trajectory, but in fact challenges the new republic to aspire for more; by her own volition Hale’s self-portrait asks the republic to aim higher for women’s active role in society. Artistically, it demands support for the artist’s experimentation. Hale’s work shows that art’s role is not to offer respite or to register light, but to render the invisible visible, without the obligation to please the eye. This self-portrait set Hale apart from the other painters early on. By the time of the exhibition, Hale had followed her painter aunt Mihri to Italy, traveled with her to Paris, and had already taken classes with Lovis Corinth in Berlin before signing up at the School of

Fine Arts in Istanbul.³³⁰ Her self-portrait is the most daring example of ‘new painting’ in the exhibition, both in content and style. It offers a confrontation: her expressive gestural marks made with quick and confident brushstrokes and the direct gaze underlines the boldness of this self-portrait by the young woman artist.

The first-time exhibitors must have bent the ears of the journalists who visited their makeshift salon, as in most reports on the exhibition, writers attempt to draw the attention of the readers to the lack of opportunities and support for the young painters. As noted above, most of the reporters were happy to use their newspaper columns to voice the wishes and desires of these artists: “People have responded with deep interest to the exhibition prepared with great determination and despite great poverty by our youth. In this connection, we would like to remind you [the readers] of a decision made by the council of the municipality last year to encourage our painters. It would be very appropriate if the trust, which bought three thousand liras worth of artworks exhibited in Galatasaray Highschool for the city, extends this incentive to our young painters as well. We hope that the council of the municipality will take into consideration that this society is in its initial stage of establishment.”³³¹ Their teacher Çallı İbrahim, who seems to have been in full support of this venture, gave an interview to one of the reporters of *Milli Mecmu’a* during his visit to the exhibition, and furthermore used it as an opportunity get the attention of

³³⁰ There is confusion and uncertainty about the chronology of Hale Asaf’s earlier years. As the niece of Mihri Rasim, her initial artistic training is assumed to be through her aunt. Hale had also been a private student of Namık İsmail (some accounts suggest this was in Paris in early 1920s, but that is unlikely. It can be inferred from certain biographical detail that they were in Berlin at the same time, 1918-19, which explains her presence at the atelier of Lovis Corinth, together with Namık İsmail. Her relationship with him is attested to by Gritchenko’s diary entries, which includes an encounter with the young Hale at Namık İsmail’s home in 1920, which is probably when Namık İsmail privately tutored her). Taha Toros puts her in Italy and Berlin in her teenage years, and he also claims that she attended the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts where she worked with Arthur Kampf, which puts her in Berlin again after WW1. Toros, Taha. “Hale Asaf,” *İlk Kadın Ressamlarımız* [Our First Women Painters], İstanbul (1988): 79-85. The monograph on her does not clarify the confusion of her early years but only repeats the unvalidated information from Toros. Pelvanoğlu, Burcu. *Hale Asaf: Türk resim sanatında bir dönüm noktası* (Expanded second edition) İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2018: 113-117.

³³¹ “Gençlerimizin büyük bir yoksulluk içinde saburane bir azim ile hazırladıkları sergiye halkımız derin bir alaka ile şitaban olmaktadır. Bu münasebetle cemiyet-i umumiye-i belediyenin geçen sene ressamlarımızı teşvik için verdiği bir kararı der-hatır ettirmek istiyoruz. Galatasaray Sutanisi’nde teşhir edilen asardan üç bin liralığını şehir için satın alan emanet bu teşviki genç ressamlarımıza da teşmil ederse (kapsarsa) çok münasip olur. Hal-i inikadda (kurulma aşamasında) bulunan cemiyet-i umumiye-i belediyenin bu ciheti nazar-ı itibara alacağını ümit ediyoruz.” Anonymous, “Yeni Resim Cemiyeti’nin Sergisi Bugün Açılıyor,” *Cumhuriyet*, May 16, 1924: 3.

the state. He wanted what his students to receive what he had benefited from, namely a Parisian education and exposure to Europe: “The development of these *efendi*, who are so talented, can be achieved by sending them to Europe as soon as possible. They cannot grow to become great artists as long as they stay in our country” Çallı claimed.³³² One of the young artists interjected in the *Milli Mecmua* reporter’s interview with Çallı and added that no one from the Ministry of Education had responded to their invitation, and to their disappointment, there was no one from any governmental office at the opening. According to Elif Naci, who wrote about the event 15 years later, the municipality eventually did buy most of the work displayed at this particular exhibition.³³³ But it would not suffice for the state to act only as patron. The young artists wanted the attention and the support of the state in their continuing education: they wanted their works to be acquired, and they wanted to go to Europe, just like their teachers had.³³⁴ Both wishes would soon be granted.³³⁵

Quite a few of the artists who showed in the exhibition organized by the Society of New Painting would soon be among hundreds of other students sent by the Turkish state to France, Germany, Belgium,

³³² İbrahim Çallı in conversation with Mehmet Mesih in “Resim Sergisinde” [At the Painting Exhibition], *Milli Mecmua* no: 15, May 29, 1340 [1924]: 640-642. Unfortunately, the pronoun that he uses, “*efendi*” italicized above, is male, perhaps he thought women would not be able to travel as freely. While there weren’t any women artists in the first group sent by the government, Hale Asaf was sent to Paris the following year.

In the same interview Çallı also recounts that when he was recently sent to Ankara by the Turkish Painters Society, he made a plea to the Ministry of Education to send these students to Europe. He says he was assured that this was soon to happen, and the necessary budget had been set aside. He was keenly waiting to hear from Ankara to make the selection among his students. “Türk Ressamları Cemiyeti” beni iki defa Ankara’ya gönderdi. Gerek mektebin ihtiyaçları ve gerek Türk Ressamları Cemiyeti’yle hükümetimizin alakadar olması hakkında... Ben Ankara’ya gittiğim zaman Maarif Vekili Vasıf Bey dertlerimizi dinledi. Bu sene Avrupa’ya, bilhassa Sanayi-i Nefise tahsili için talebe göndereceklerini vadettiler ve bunun için (bunun için) de bütçeye haylice bir para kodurtacaklarını söylediler. Bilahare bu paranın temin edildiğini de öğreniyoruz. Mamafih, böyle olmakla beraber hiçbir talebe gönderilmesi hakkında mektep idaresince henüz bir tespit mevcut değildir. Halbuki bu efendilerden, müsabakada biraz ehliyet edenlerin burada geçirecekleri her zaman memleketimiz için bir zayıdır.” Hamdullah Suphi would have been disappointed by Çallı’s outcry, as this meant the Turkish artists that he had venerated did not yet believe it possible for the country to provide all that was necessary for the creation of a world-class Turkish artist after all.

³³³ Elif Naci, “Güzel sanatların son 15 senedeki tekamülü,” *Cumhuriyet*, October 30, 1938: 2.

³³⁴ “Maarif erkanından hiç kimse, Maarif Vekili Bey de dahil olduğu halde davetimize icabet etmemiştir ve arzu ettiğimiz veçhle bize karşı alakalarını göstermemişlerdir. Halbuki biz Avrupa atölyelerinden istifadeyi düşünüyorduk ki bu hale nazaran bu emellerimizin adımı’l-ımkân (imkânsız) olacağını hissediyoruz.” Çallı: “Bu kadar kabiliyetli olan bu efendilerin tekamülleri, bir an evvel Avrupa’ya gönderilmekle temin edilebilir. Evvela memleketimizde kaldıkça büyük bir artist olarak yetişmeleri mümkün değildir.” Mehmet Mesih, “Resim Sergisinde” [At the Painting Exhibition], *Milli Mecmua* no: 15, May 29 Mayıs 1340 [1924]: 640-642.

³³⁵ Elif Naci, 15 Yılda Resim (1938).

Switzerland, and England to study engineering, medicine, philosophy, architecture, archaeology, music and sociology. After their studies, they were then expected to return to the country to serve as teachers as part of the young republic's new educational push. They were to mold the new citizens of the new nation in the image of Europe, an aspirational analogue for Western civilization.³³⁶ Unlike their teachers from the 1914 generation, who had been sent abroad to further their artistic education without strict impositions on them to become educators –though that is how the careers of most eventually unfurled, as there was no art market to speak of that would allow them to support themselves– the young artists were sent with the expectation to return to the homeland as teachers. Their responsibility to the state was pre-defined, and as such, their pedagogic roles were given priority over their artistic identities, a condition that would shape their work in unexpected ways in the years to come.³³⁷

As part of the celebrations of the first anniversary of the republic, the Ministry of Education announced the first *Avrupa Konkuru* [Competition for Europe] in 1924. Five painters, Mahmut Cûda, Cevat [Dereli], Şeref [Akdik], Muhittin Sebati and Refik [Epikman] were among the 22 students selected in this first round.³³⁸ With the exception of Muhittin, they had all participated in the *Yeni Resim Cemiyeti*

³³⁶ Şarman, Kansu. *Türk Promethe'ler: Cumhuriyet'in Öğrencileri Avrupa'da, 1925–1945* [The Prometheus of Turkey: Students of the Republic in Europe, 1925–1945]. Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2005: 8-9. According to Şarman, in 1924, 22 students were sent abroad. Between the years 1928-1945, on average, 120 students per year benefited from this program, though the onset of World War 2 in 1939 resulted in a hiatus.

³³⁷ After Namık İsmail became head of the School of Fine Arts, he realized the need for training these artists for skills necessary to realize publicworks, hence, he interjected in the program that the study-abroad students followed, adding requirements to their program, encouraging them to take classes in decorative arts, sculpture, etc. More on this later.

³³⁸ Mahmut Cûda claims that it was the efforts of the students that allowed the artists to be included among the first group of students sent abroad. He says they sent a telegraph to the Ministry of Education, as well as putting their aesthetics teacher, İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], who also happened to be the President of the *Darülfünun*, the only university in the country, to support them in their pursuit. Cûda reasons that this was the reason for the high number of artists in the first *concours*, but earlier statements by state bureaucrats and Çallı's communication suggest that it was always part of the plan to send artists abroad as well. Tanaltay, Erdoğan. "Mahmut Cûda ile İkinci Gün," *Sanat Ustalarıyla... Bir Gün: Söyleşiler*, Tekin Yayınevi: İstanbul (1993): 20. Cûda: "In fact, no painters were to be sent when the first exam for Europe was set up. We ran to the school... No one paid any attention. We collected some money among ourselves and sent a telegraph to the Ministry of Education. We also went to the University Rector İsmail Hakkı Bey, who was our aesthetics teacher. He also really helped us. In the end, the highest number of students who went [abroad] were from our group." "Aslında Avrupa sınavı açıldığında resimden kimse gönderilmeyecekti. Okula koştuk... İlgilenen olmadı. Aramızda para toplayarak Maarif Vekali'ne telgraf çektik. Aynı zamanda estetik hocamız olan Üniversite Emimi (Rektör) İsmail Hakkı Bey'e (Baltacıoğlu) gittik. O da bize gerçekten yardımcı oldu. Sonuçta en çok talebe bizden gitti."

exhibition. (In the following years, several others from the society, including Nurullah, Hale, Sabiha, Hamit, Eşref, and Halil İbrahim would join them in Europe, either sent by the state or through their own means). The task was heavy. In his letter to the students who won the *concours*, the minister of education Mustafa Necati had said:

Dear young one, a new and prosperous path has been laid out in front of you. I am sure that you will jump towards this horizon with great enthusiasm and excitement. It is both your duty and your debt to work with an indomitable and unlimited determination in the land of knowledge and wisdom you will go to. While you should make use of everything to the maximum extent in the places you will be, you should also act in a manner befitting a Turkish youth and win the affection and appreciation of those around you. Do not forget that your beloved homeland has sent you [there] with great determination, having made sacrifices, and harbors high expectations. Work accordingly. Have a nice trip. I wish you success.³³⁹

In the winter of 1925, the young painters made it to Paris. Mahmut Cûda passed the exams of the École des Beaux-Arts and found himself a place in the atelier of *Bande noire*³⁴⁰ painter Lucien Simon (1861-1945).³⁴¹ He joined Nurullah there, who had traveled to Paris on his own dime six months earlier, and was in a neighboring atelier, run by neo-Impressionist Ernest Laurent.³⁴² Around the same time Ali [Karsan] had

³³⁹ “Aziz genç, önünde yeni ve feyizli bir ufuk açılmıştır. Bu ufka doğru çok kuvvetli bir şevk ve heyecanla atlayacağından eminim. Gideceğin ilim ve irfan diyarında yılmak bilmeyen hudutsuz bir azim ile çalışmak hem vazifen hem borcundur. Bulunacağın yerlerde her şeyden azami nispette istifadeyi düşünmekle beraber, bir Türk gencine yakışacak bir surette hareket ederek etrafında bulunanların muhabbetini, takdirini kazanmalısın. Senin aziz vatanın birçok umutlar besleyerek ne azim ve fedakarlıklarla gönderdiğini unutma. Ona göre çalış. Yolun açık olsun. Muvaffakiyetler dilerim.” quoted in Şarman (2005): 52.

³⁴⁰ *Bande noire*, a term certain painters used to differentiate themselves from *Les Nabis*, were a group who used the Impressionist brush stroke, but with a darker palette, with thematic tendencies that placed them between Realism and Impressionism.

³⁴¹ A year earlier, Cuda had travelled to Germany through his own means, joining other Turks there. It is unclear why he had not stayed and returned to Turkey or chose France over Germany during this second European trip. (more on the Turks in Germany later in the chapter) According to Artun’s study of the Académie Julian records, Mahmut Cûda also sporadically signed up for classes at Albert-Laurens’s atelier at the Académie Julian between 1925 and 1927, referred to as “Mahmoud Djelaeddin” in the registration notebooks. At the time, passing the exams at the école didn’t mean the students were officially registered, rather, as foreigners, they were given a special permission to follow the classes there. Kıymet Giray reproduced Cûda’s special permission in her book *Cumhuriyetin İlk Ressamları* (2003): 153.

³⁴² Ali Münip [Karsan] had come to Paris from Munich after Hitler’s Beer Hall Putsch in the fall of 1923. He took some classes at Académie Julian and was quickly put on a list and recommended to the école (his biography cites Jean-Pierre as his teacher at Julian, which contradicts Artun’s claim that Jean-Pierre never taught at his father’s school). He passed the exams and joined Ernest Laurent’s atelier there. Even though he was not a *concour* winner and had gone to Munich and Paris with family support, he was later given a state scholarship. Ali Münip also studied fresco techniques at the école, where he met Yvonne, whom he later married. The painter couple returned to

also entered the école, the three would be the last Turkish students to pursue this particular academic Parisian path in painting. Having failed the entrance exams of the école, the others in this first *concours* group, Cevat, Şeref, Muhittin Sebati and Refik found themselves at Académie Julian, just like their predecessors a little more than a decade ago. Jean-Paul Laurens, the founder of Académie Julian, who had taught the 1914 generation, had passed away in 1920. Académie Julian was now run by his nephew Gilbert Dupuis (1887-1954), and classes were taught by numerous no-names, except for the one by Jean-Paul's eldest son, Paul-Albert Laurens (1870-1934), who had been teaching alongside his father at the Académie Julian since 1911.³⁴³ It comes as no surprise that, having heard his father's name referenced tirelessly by their own teachers, the Turkish students chose the atelier of Paul-Albert Laurens, signing up immediately upon arrival. In addition to the classes at Julian, some of them also attended the evening life-classes (*cour de soir*) at the Grande Chaumière as was customary.³⁴⁴ The following year, they were joined in Paris by three more artists who won the *concours*, sculptor Ratip Aşir [Acudoğu] (1898-1957), painter Fahreddin [Arkunlar] (1901-1971), and the already partly European-trained Hale.³⁴⁵ The group of Turkish artists in Paris in the mid-to-late 1920s would exponentially grow in the late 1920s and the early 30s, but unlike the 1914 generation, the pedagogical paths they followed in the city slowly began to diversify. They had not been sent from one official school to its Parisian counterpart, holding reference letters from Osman Hamdi in hand, as had been the case with some of the 1914ers; Hikmet, İbrahim, Feyhaman, Nazmi Ziya or Namık

Turkey in 1928. Kınaytürk, Hamit (ed.), *Karsanların Yaşam Öyküsü* Akik: İstanbul, 1991. Yvonne and Ali exhibited their work together at the Genç Ressamlar Sergisi [Exhibition of Young Painters] in 1929 in Ankara.

³⁴³ Interestingly, Paul-Albert had taken classes at the Académie Julian himself, in the atelier of Benjamin Constant, where the 1914 generation had also followed classes. Moreover, Paul-Albert had also continued onto the École, where he was a student of Fernand Cormon, just like the 1914ers, before he won the Prix de Rome. Jean-Paul's younger son, Jean-Pierre, however, skipped Académie Julian entirely, and was thoroughly a product of the École, to which he returned as a teacher; not insignificantly, he took over Cormon's atelier. In turn, in 1932, upon the death of his brother, Paul-Albert took over his younger brother's atelier there. According to some accounts, the two brothers had occasionally switched places earlier, teaching in each other's ateliers. This would further support the claim that the Académie Julian and the école remained aligned in their teaching principles. In her study of the Académie Julian, Deniz Artun discusses the contradictory views on which brother was more dogmatic like their father, and which one championed a freer approach. Artun (2007): 201-206. The discrepancies can perhaps be interpreted as part of the overarching *juste-milieu* stance, which meant a certain freedom and allowance of novelty within the framework of already accepted norms.

³⁴⁴ Giray, Kıymet. *Cumhuriyetin İlk Ressamları*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları (2003): 36-37.

³⁴⁵ Notice that this is the first time that a sculptor is sent by the state to Europe. More on the divergence of disciplinary paths followed by the students of the fine arts later in the chapter.

İsmail who were all teaching at the Istanbul School of Fine Arts by this point in time were not as internationally well-connected as Osman Hamdi or his brother Halil Edhem had been. The young artists were somewhat left to their own devices in Paris. It is hard to say whether this was due to the laxity of the new republic's unarticulated artistic program, or the result of an intentionally less rigid approach championed by their teachers, which did not oblige them to follow the official training at the Parisian école but embraced the slew of independently run ateliers in the city as valid educational experiences. When Namık İsmail became the director of the school in Istanbul in 1927, he added only one requirement for the concours students in Paris: to take classes in decorative arts, so that they had more than one *metier* in their toolkit when they returned to the country. This was a foresighted vision for the employment of the school's alumni, as well as a planned attempt to curb the state's inclinations to give public commissions to European artists.³⁴⁶ And Paris was not the same place for the foreign student of the arts either; while the école had increasingly become less welcoming for the foreigners, there had been an explosion in the number of the *academies libres*, offering drawing and painting instruction to men and women, now often in mixed classes, across the city. Görele, who was part of a group of students sent to Europe in 1928 –before the Great Depression caused a hiatus in the state's study abroad program for a few years– described the confusing but freer conditions and the mindset of the Turkish students in Paris at the time clearly:

As soon as I set foot in Paris, the first thing I did was to learn where the academies were located. In our education program was the following item: To advance your technique in the arts at one of the major academies or by attending the atelier of a great artist...

Which are the higher academies of Paris? Who is a great painter?

It was not easy to find answers to such questions in the city of art, where the greats and the dwarves danced together at the same tempo, where charlatans and geniuses competed and often walked arm-in-arm...

[...] The reality of postwar Paris was an artistic chaos. Though from a distance, I was already knowledgeable about the masterpieces at the Louvre, ranging from Delacroix to Matisse and the Impressionists. I even knew the names of certain masters of modern art. We were aware that André Lhote, whose fame had reached Istanbul through the pages of *L'art Vivant*, had an academy. But here I was hearing new

³⁴⁶İrepoğlu, Gül. *Zeki Faik İzer*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları (2005): 19.

names: the Académie Scandinave, Académie Moderne, Ranson, Grand Chaumière, Colarossi; painters whose names I had just heard were teaching at these academies.³⁴⁷

It was an interesting time in Paris when, even though the famous institutions founded in the 19th century, which doubled as annexes for the école such as the Académie Ranson, the Académie de la Grande Chaumière or the Académie Julian were still active, the ateliers at schools such as Académie Moderne, the Académie Scandinave, the Académie André Lhote and the Atelier of Fernand Léger were run by modern painters, who sometimes even moonlighted at places like the Chaumière.³⁴⁸ The teaching at the modern academies was based on the learning of cubism, but of course, Cubism understood in its most expanded sense possible. The young artists started to shop around for classes across Paris: Muhittin Sebati, taken aback by the ‘scholastic’ approach at Julian,³⁴⁹ decided to follow the sculpture classes at the École des Arts Décoratifs. The most cosmopolitan among the Turks in Paris, the well-traveled Hale, skipped Julian completely, and signed up at André Lhote’s classes at his recently established Académie André Lhôte in 1926.³⁵⁰ The Turkish students in Paris were slowly realizing that the city now had more to offer than the classes at the école and Académie Julian or the *cours de soirs* at Grand Chaumière; what these institutions offered was by this time not too different than their own artistic education back in Istanbul, where unlike the

³⁴⁷ Görel[e], Hamit. “Akademi Jülyen,” *Ar* no:19, July 1938: 5-6. “Paris'e ayak basar basmaz ilk işimiz akademilerin yerlerini öğrenmek oldu. Tahsil programımızda şöyle bir madde var: Belli başlı akademilerin birine veya büyük bir ressamın atelyesine grip san'at tekniğinizi ilerletmek...

Paris'in yüksek akademileri hangileridir? Büyük ressam kimdir?

Develerle cücelerin birarada ve aynı tempo ile dans ettikleri, şarlatanlarla dahilerin boy ölçüştükleri ve çok defa kol kafa gezdikleri görülen böyle bir san'at şehrinde bu suallere cevap bulmak kolay değildi...”

³⁴⁸ See for example texts by Claire Maingon and Delphine Bière in *L'Education Artistique en France du Modele Academique et Scolaire Aux Pratiques Actuelles XVIIIe-XIXe Siècles*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010, respectively titled “La fondation artistique des femme l'Atelier Léger a l'Académie Moderne (1924-1931)” (203-218) and “L'Académie Lhote, l'Atelier Léger: enseignements comparés” (219-237).

³⁴⁹ Nurullah Berk “Muhittin Sebati,” *Sanat Konuşmaları*, AB Neşriyatı: İstanbul (1943): 103-109 (106). “Sebati, arkadaşları gibi, Julian Akademisinin skolastik, kuru ve gûya an'aneye sadık tedris tarzı ile karşılaşınca uzun müddet bocalamıştı. Bu müessesede hoca olan Paul-Albert Laurens klasik desen göstermek iddiasile figürlerin dış çizgileri kzerinde [sic] bu sakat tedrisat tarzına zamanla karşı gelmiş ve hakikî klasiğin kaynaklarını görmeğe muvaffak olmuştu.”

³⁵⁰ Though there is confusion about the timing of her travels and the formal education she received in Europe in her teens, it is certain that Hale arrived in Paris in 1926, when she was 21. Cuda accounts Hale’s arrival in vivid detail, where they stayed in the same hostel, and returned together by ship in 1928. Giray, Kıymet. *Mahmut Cuda*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları (2002): 20. Hale’s name does not appear as a student in the archive of Lhôte’s remaining documents, but his student registry books from this time did not survive. We know Hale was a student of his, as she listed him as an instructor in an exhibition catalog from 1929. *Genç Ressamlar Sergisi* [Young Painters Exhibition], exhibition brochure, 1929. Courtesy of Burcu Pelvanoğlu.

previous generation, it was now possible for them to freely work from the model, in co-ed classes in Istanbul. [fig. 3.11-12] These well-established French institutions had become rather obsolete and disappointing for the post-WWI Turkish artists in Paris. Though Académie Julian had name-recognition value and the école was associated with prestige for the Turkish students at first, both schools would quickly lose their popularity among the artists of the republic.³⁵¹ But it would be the second group that really had the opportunity to test out these new schools. The first *concours* students were called back to Turkey in 1927, a year earlier than they were promised, so that a new group could take their places in Paris. The resources of the young Turkish state were limited. The young artists in Paris met this call from Namık İsmail with some resistance,³⁵² but eventually made their way back, arriving by ferry in 1928. [fig.3.13] Their friend Elif Naci, who was waiting for their return, made sure it was reported in the newspaper, assuring the event's significance, and reserving their arrival a place in the historical record. Indeed, the return of this group, and the ones that followed would play a significant role in transforming Turkish painting and the discourse around it, but winds of change had begun to blow even earlier, not from Paris, but from Munich instead.

Part 2: Hofmann's New Pictorial Mode

Before the first *concours* students made their way back from France, two slightly older students, who had headed to Munich instead of Paris in the early 1920s, Ali Avni [Çelebi]³⁵³ (1904-1993) and Zeki

³⁵¹ Nurullah Berk later called his four years at the école “a complete waste of time.” *50 Yılım Türk Resim ve Heykeli*: 41. According to Deniz Artun, the last Turkish student to sign up at Académie Julian was “Abit Nuri” [Abidin Elderoğlu], who attended the institution between 1930-32.

³⁵² Some Turkish art historians, Kıymet Giray among them, argue that it was the feelings of protest for their early recall from Europe that led these students to organize among themselves, resulting in the establishment of the *Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltıraşlar Cemiyeti* [The Society of Independent Painters and Sculptors] in 1929. Giray, Kıymet. *Cumhuriyetin İlk Ressamları* (2003): 24-25. The argument is somewhat plausible but not substantiated.

³⁵³ According to his biography penned by Kıymet Giray, Ali Avni Çelebi went to Germany through his own means in 1922. He first headed to Munich, where he took classes from Moritz Heymann, while he also followed the classes of Hermann Groeber (1865-1935) at the Munich Academy for one semester. In Giray's account Ali Avni then joined the Hofmann School at the recommendation of sculptor Mahir Tomruk. But only two months later, he ran out of money. Unable to pay his rent or afford the Hofmann classes, he went to stay with a relative in Berlin for a year, where he followed the classes at the Berlin Academy, which, according to Giray, he did not enjoy. Ali Avni went back to Munich in 1923, this time backed by a state-scholarship, and re-joined the Hofmann School, where he stayed until his return to Turkey in 1927. He later went back to Hofmann's school in 1930 and became his studio assistant, but when the sought-after teacher decided to emigrate to the US in 1932, Ali Avni returned to Turkey. Giray, Kıymet. “Ali Avni Çelebi,” *Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltıraşlar Birliği*; Akbank Yayınları: İstanbul (1997): 92-95. (Turkish sources, including Giray, refer to a ‘Heinemann,’ which must be Moritz Heymann as suggested by Ayşenur

[Kocamemi] (1900-1959)³⁵⁴ had returned to Turkey and caused a bit of stir in the country with their “kübik” [cubic] pictures.³⁵⁵ In the summer of 1927, Ali Avni and Zeki showed the sketches they had made in their Munich teacher Hans Hofmann’s (1880-1966) School of Fine Arts at the annual Galatasaray exhibition in Istanbul.³⁵⁶ [fig.3.14-16] These figure drawings were made in typical Hofmann School style, with harsh dynamic lines of charcoal, intended to capture potential energies of objects, figures and the negative space between them, registering on the two-dimensional surface the multi-directional spatial relationships to suggest depth without relying on linear perspective. *Milliyet* reproduced two of the drawings. The newspaper’s juxtaposition of these drawings with what had become the expected still-life and landscape paintings at the Istanbul salon illustrates the stark contrast between the life-class studies by Ali Avni and Zeki, and what visitors had become accustomed to seeing at these exhibitions. These drawings, student-sketches as they may have been, would not go unnoticed. A caricature on the first page of *Cumhuriyet* teased the unusual sketches by somewhat imitating the combined cartoon-like exaggeration effect inherent in the drawings; in the caricature, the novelty and dizzying linear style of the drawings had transformed into a monumental portrait of an artist’s mannequin, a life-size wooden figure, towering over the puzzled visitors. The mock painting depicted a cross between a full-size portrait of a nude model sitting on a pedestal and a wooden artist’s figure with

Güler. Güler states that it was Sabiha Bozçalı, who took classes from Heymann, who recommended the teacher to the Turkish artists in Munich. Güler, Ayşenur. “A Turkish Female Artist Leaving Her Trace Through the 20th Century: Sabiha Rüştü Bozçalı (1903-1998),” *15th International Congress of Turkish Art Proceedings* (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Turkey; Ankara; Università di Napoli, Napoli, Istituto per l’Oriente, Roma, 2018): 355-363. Moritz Heymann’s New York Times obituary from 1937 describes him as a “65-year-old painter, formerly the director of one of the chief art schools in Munich, who was especially popular with Americans and Britons.” “Munich Artist Ends Life,” *The New York Times*, February 3, 1937: 4.) The obituary informs us that Heymann committed suicide after the Nazi regime forced him to close his school.

³⁵⁴ Kocamemi was sent to Germany with the support of the Turkish Hearts Association in December, 1922. There he joined Ali Avni, Ratip Aşir [Acudoğu] and Kenan [Yontuç], who had arrived in the spring of the same year, and who had all failed to enter the Munich Academy of Art. Before they found their way to Hofmann’s school, Zeki joined the other Turkish students at the private school run by Moritz Heymann.

³⁵⁵ “Biraz da Şaka: Resim Sergisinde Kübist Resimler Münasebetiyle...” [A little joke: On the Cubist Pictures at the Painting Exhibition], *Cumhuriyet*, August 4, 1927: 1.

³⁵⁶ According to Elif Naci’s account in 1933, the drawings were first shown at the Exhibition of Fine Arts in Ankara. However, the press clippings I could find only refer to these works after their display at the Istanbul salon. The two exhibitions were only a few months apart, so where they were first shown remains unclear, but it is most likely that they were only shown in Istanbul. Naci, Elif. “10 Yılda Resim,” *Cumhuriyet*: October 29, 1933: 19.

screwed on moveable limbs, against a background of cross-hatched lines hinting at the harsh geometric linearity of Ali Avni and Zeki's Hofmann drawings. In the caption for the caricature, titled "On the Occasion of the Cubist Pictures at the Painting Exhibition," the two onlookers speculate as to which notable's portrait this might be, the underlying message being, as for the untrained eye, the figure, whoever it might be, is beyond recognition. [fig. 3.17] According to Elif Naci, these pictures immediately set themselves apart from the others with their stylistic idiom at the time of their showing; in his words, these were the first works to be exhibited in Turkey that bore the "cubic stamp."³⁵⁷

Zeki and Ali Avni's Munich teacher Hans Hofmann would have probably enjoyed that his students' foray into the Turkish artistic sphere with drawings made in his school is often referred to as the entrance of modern art into the country. Hofmann thought art could act as a stabilizing force for every society,³⁵⁸ but he probably would not have been completely pleased with the stamp of cubism that his drawing exercises had inspired in the Turkish mainstream press. Hofmann himself had been on a bit of an artistic diet from painting, focusing mainly on drawing, precisely to "sweat out cubism."³⁵⁹ A Bavarian inventor-turned painter, Hofmann had spent ten critical years in Paris between 1904 and 1914 before he opened his school in Munich in 1915. He had arrived in Paris just before three consecutive years of significant exhibitions at the fall salons: the Fauves showed in the Salon d'Automne of 1905, followed by the Gauguin retrospective in 1906, and Cézanne was proclaimed the god of modern painting after his post-mortem 1907 retrospective. All three strands that fed modern art, namely, arbitrary color, non-Western sources of inspiration, and Cézannist perspectival experimentation would later come into play in Hofmann's conception of the 'new pictorial mode,' as he later called it. While in Paris, Hofmann engaged

³⁵⁷ Ibid. "Tarzi ifadesiyle diğer resimlerden ayrılan bu eserler 'küçük' damgası taşıyorlardı. Türkiye'de teşhir edilen ilk küçük resimler bunlardır."

³⁵⁸ Hofmann says: "if it were commonly understood, modern art might become a cultural force for restoring an emotional stability to society." quoted in Goodman, Cynthia. "Hans Hofmann as a teacher," *Arts Magazine* vol. 53, April 1979 (22-28): 21.

³⁵⁹ This was used in scare quotes as if it were a phrase used by Hofmann himself, by American critic Clement Greenberg. Quoted and used as the title of the fourth chapter in Jones, Caroline A. *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the Bureaucratization of the Senses*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005: 145-202.

with Cézanne's ideas of volumetric expression through his *passages* as well as with Fauvism and Cubism, in addition to registering the vogue of mixed –especially non-Western– sources that informed many painters' vocabulary.³⁶⁰ Hofmann spent a decade in the city's avant-garde artistic circles in which concerns of 20th century modern painting were being discussed and new formal approaches were being developed. Among these ideas was Bergson's dynamic concept of *élan vital*, which would translate to a search for 'plasticity' for painters (for Hofmann, this would inform his famous concept of 'push-and-pull').³⁶¹ He befriended artists he admired, including major names of avant-garde painting such as Picasso, Braque, Gris, Delaunay, Rouault and Matisse. A rare painting from 1921 that survives from Hofmann's Paris years, shows his engagement with Cubist idiom, though it works in contrast to the names Hofmann would later cite. Rather than Picasso or Braque's objects or figures expressed in deconstructed planes seen from varying angles and re-built as armature, Hofmann's painting is closer to the work of salon cubists or post-war Purists, where the typical Cubist object such as a pitcher, wine glass or a page from printed material is intact but reduced to its essential signifying elements. But unlike all his peers, it seems that rather than the representation and delineation of the objects in a non-illusionistic and semiotic manner, Hofmann is more interested in what happens between them; his experimentation (or perhaps more precisely, abstraction) with color and shape happens in the air that surrounds the objects, as well as the table on which they stand. [fig. 3.18-3.19] Hofmann had taken with him to Paris a post-pointillist style, as can be evinced from one of the few surviving works from this period, his self-portrait

³⁶⁰ Tina Dickey points out that on the walls of his school in the US in the 1940s, Hofmann would hang up postcards of Egyptian statues alongside reproductions of works by Cézanne, Picasso, or Matisse. Dickey, Tina. *Color Creates Light: Studies with Hans Hofmann*. Salt Spring Island, B.C.: Trillistar Books, 2011: 43.

³⁶¹ The philosopher Henri Bergson was teaching at the College de France at the time and his concept of *élan vital* (vital impulse) was a major topic of conversation. *L'élan vital* was "essentially a current sent through matter." It was the mobile continuity of matter on an intuitive level. This kind of thinking led to the notion of 'spatialized time,' in other words, for painters, the problem to be solved was how duration was to be expressed through space. The author on the most comprehensive book on Hofmann, Tina Dickey writes: "The dynamic of Bergson's *élan vital* coalesced with the vanguard's perception of volume created through forces of expansion and contraction. [...] This dynamism came to be called 'plasticity,' a word based on the Greek *plastikos* ('to form') that for centuries had been used in relation to the sculptural qualities of form. Applied now to the two-dimensional medium of modern painting, plasticity became a quality that artists struggled to capture, a quality Hofmann would later call 'push and pull,' push in terms of contraction into depth, and pull as expansion out of depth." Dickey, Tina. *Color Creates Light: Studies with Hans Hofmann* (2011): 48.

from 1902 [fig. 3.20] and left Paris at the beginning of the war (his return was instigated by the beginning of the war, just as it was with the Turkish painters of the 1914 generation, but clearly, they had circulated in completely different crowds), returning unwillingly to Munich with new ideas, primarily a desire for a synthesis between line and color, but without many new paintings or a clearly articulated new personal style (this would take him another 20 years or so).³⁶² Upon his return, and with an urgent need for financial support as the patronage he had enjoyed ended abruptly, Hofmann turned to teaching. Another significant development for painting, and for Hofmann in particular, had taken place in Germany in the meantime. The *Der Blaue Reiter* group's exhibitions (1911-14) had begun in Hofmann's hometown Munich in his absence and toured the country. The almanac the group published in 1912 combined the Blaue Reiter artists' own work with those by children, folk art, and primitive works alongside essays on painting and music. Hofmann describes this time in the following way:

... fate forced me in the field of teaching. The first world war took me out of my dreams as a painter and ended for me a happy life in Paris... It was the time in which just three revolutions in art had taken place. Two of them happened just before in France, the third of them in Germany. It was a wonderful confusion. No one really had known what has happened and what was to be expected to happen in the farther future. Everything seemed to be contradictory... This was the situation when I started my school."³⁶³

For Hofmann teaching turned out to be the vessel through which he processed and systematized what he had absorbed in Paris and later in Munich, boiling down these varying developments in modern painting into a coherent approach. For Hofmann this meant doing away with illusionism in exchange for a new way to perceive the world, translating it onto the two-dimensional surface, experimenting with and mastering new techniques to push painting to its limits for self-expression, which he called the 'new pictorial mode.' Hofmann would spend the next forty years refining his ideas about this new way of

³⁶² According to Glenn A. Wessels, Hofmann had only brought back from Paris a self-portrait and a portrait of his wife. He had entrusted the rest of his belongings in Paris to a friend but wasn't able to trace them when he returned to Paris after the WW2. Note by Glenn A. Wessels to Vytlačil's memoir. Bancroft Library, Vaclav Vytlačil Papers, U.C. Berkeley, CA.

³⁶³ Hofmann quoted in Dickey, Tina. *Color Creates Light: Studies with Hans Hofmann*. Salt Spring Island, B.C.: Trillistar Books, 2011: 53.

seeing and painting, and how to relay it to his students. Hofmann's approach not only allowed him to understand and participate in the 'new pictorial mode' himself (though this would take some time and maturing in the US), but led him to become a famed teacher, sought after by European, American, and of course, Turkish students. The German government had allowed him to open a school on the condition of providing art therapy for shell-shocked veterans. This would not pose a problem for Hofmann, who believed art to be one of the most significant pursuits in life, a conviction that pulled students into his orbit throughout his 40-year teaching career across two continents. His unwavering faith in art, in addition to his own need to work through his personal artistic crisis (or "trauma,"³⁶⁴ as Greenberg would later put it) made for excellent brewing ground for Hofmann to develop his teaching methods, working out what a student would later describe as "a formal logic which guaranteed the quality of all great painting."³⁶⁵ Hofmann's encounter with the abundance of ideas in Paris as artists experimented with re-arranging painting's building blocks with major force and conviction and developments in Germany—whether this can be characterized as 'trauma' or not—fell in line, if not with the potential of art to heal, then with the internalizing of all this new material, required for teaching. The obligation to teach deepened Hofmann's engagement with this new modernist pictorial order that did away with academic illusionism, fractured perception, used color to suggest volume, and looked to an eclectic array of sources outside the art establishment, all of which he would gradually *synthesize* into a new optic for students. While the influence of Hofmann's teaching on North American artists, and especially his contribution to the practice and discourse of Abstract Expressionism is studied, and the freedom he found in the US is often cited as the cause of his own artistic foray into full-fledged abstraction, focusing on his Munich years reveals that

³⁶⁴ For Clement Greenberg, this was not just 'trauma' but "Cubist trauma." In her chapter titled "Sweating Out Cubism" Caroline A. Jones traces Greenberg's selective absorption of Hofmann's ideas from his New York lectures, which helped Greenberg re-constitute himself as an art critic whilst constructing a 'hygienic' formalist logic and language for championing a certain brand of American art through his criticism. Jones, Caroline A. *Eyesight Alone: Clement Greenberg's Modernism and the Bureaucratization of the Senses*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005: 144-202.

³⁶⁵ Wolf Kahn quoted in Goodman, Cynthia. "Hans Hofmann as a Teacher," *Arts Magazine* vol. 23, April 1979: 22-28. For Kahn's own writing on Hofmann see also: Kahn, Wolf. "Hans Hofmann's Good Example," *Art Journal*, Spring, 1982, Vol. 42, No. 1, *The Education of Artists* (Spring, 1982): 22-23.

much of his ideas were already developed and communicated to his students while Hofmann was still in Germany.

Hofmann opened his school at 40 Georgenstraße in Munich's artistic district Schwabing in 1915.

An early German student describes it as follows:

At first glance, a completely normal studio operation. But Hofmann's school was considered a revolutionary nuisance in conservative circles because of its artistic views. But just as Hofmann's love of experimentation put off art academics, it attracted young German students who rejected the conservative academy system. And above all foreign students were interested in Hofmann's school.³⁶⁶

Post-war Germany, especially Munich, was very affordable for art students looking to take classes. The official academies in Berlin and Munich allowed foreign students to attend its ateliers, and like Paris, there were different types of approaches available outside the official schools, ranging from artist-run establishments geared for entrance exam preparation similar to Académie Julian, as well as alternatives, like Hofmann's. It was up to the student to choose between a more traditional training or to take a risk and venture into the unknown waters of 'new painting.' Hofmann's "School of Fine Arts" [fig. 3.21] was quickly geared towards the English-speaking painters who wanted to learn the new European ways, after the American students found their way to the school in 1921, around the same time as the Turks. Though Hofmann did not speak English at the time, his need-based tuition system greatly benefited from the strength of the dollar and the gradual influx of American students. (The expansion of the school from one drawing studio to include another for painting was thanks to Hofmann's overcharging the American students.)³⁶⁷ The dire conditions of the school somewhat improved, but student

³⁶⁶ Ruthenberg, Peter. *Vergessene Bilder: Alf Bayrle, Arnold, Fiedler, Heinrich Fischer, Elsa-Bertha, Fischer-Ginsburg, Carl Heidenreich, Marianne Herberg, Waldtraut Niepmann*, Berlin: 1986. Translation from German is done with the aid of google translate.

³⁶⁷ A change in local government regulations in Munich meant foreign students above the age of 35 could no longer attend the official school, which sent them on a search for alternative schools. This way, the first American students found their way to Hofmann, soon bringing others. Vytlačil, Vaclav. *Memoir on Hans Hofmann & his students*: 9. UC Berkeley Bancroft Library reel 1: Vytlačil remembers that when they arrived, most students were German, with the addition of "one Hungarian and two Turks."

descriptions are full of details of postwar deprivation, with Hofmann doing the cleaning himself as he could not afford a janitor, wrapping himself in the fabrics used for the life class arrangements before class started to save up on heat, and students making soup for those hungry Germans who wandered off the street for meals. In his unpublished memoir of Hofmann and his students, Vaclav Vytlačil, an early American Hofmann disciple who attended his Munich school between 1921-27, argues that for him and many others who had come to Munich as aspiring artists, Hofmann provided something which they didn't even know they needed. He was "someone who could explain the significance of Cézanne and the values of the post-Cézanne development in France. [...] Hofmann had an uncanny ability, we thought, to do this."³⁶⁸ He elaborates further on why Hofmann's teaching was different, and why the values he relayed to his students were fundamental for their work:

No one in my former periods of training had ever spoken of the properties of the two-dimensional plane. That planes build volumes, not lines; that volumes were three-dimensional, that the negative space in which they exist also has a 3 dimensional volume. This was for us a tremendous revelation.³⁶⁹

While Hofmann was an advocate of modern painting, as pointed out by Vytlačil, an American student in Munich who was interested in "the plastic composition of the old masters" was also told to go to the Hofmann school rather than the Akademie der Bildenden Künste München, which was a block away from his school.³⁷⁰ But for some students, Hofmann's school did not provide the same assurance that the fame and title of an official European academy could. The Americans had only begun to make their way to Hofmann's school when the Ministry of Culture published an edict banning foreign students above 35 years of age from attending the Akademie, but some of them still resisted Hofmann's school adamantly.³⁷¹ The accounts of Hofmann's early students refer to mostly German students, one or two

³⁶⁸ Vytlačil, Vaclav. *Memoir on Hans Hofmann & his students*: 7. Vaclav Vytlačil Papers, U.C. Berkeley Bancroft Library, BANC MSS 75/102 Z, microfilm reel 1

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*: 15.

³⁷⁰ Dickey: 71.

³⁷¹ In Vytlačil's account this was Worth Ryder, who was a properly enrolled master student at the Munich Academy. Vytlačil: 6-8.

eastern Europeans, and two Turks.³⁷² These were most likely Ali Avni and Zeki, who stayed there the longest, but from the early 1920s to the 1930s, a total of five Turkish students would pass through Hofmann's School.³⁷³ Ali Avni and Zeki were younger, so unlike the Americans, if they wanted, they could have followed the classes at the Munich Academy, even if they weren't admitted as official students. They had both initially tried a Julian-style preparatory school run by Moritz Heymann, presumably with the aim of entering the Munich Academy, but for one reason or another, both Zeki and Ali Avni later headed to Hofmann's, and decided to stay there. Even if they had found it by coincidence, their extended studies with Hofmann suggest that the two made an informed choice. Perhaps this was because, as innovative as his teaching was, Hofmann was not strictly opposed to tradition, and found that there was much to learn from and hence teach through the history of European painting.

Hofmann students would go to the Alte Pinakothek every Sunday, and on some occasions, the teacher joined them as well. During these visits, Hofmann encouraged the students to look at the old masters, talked about the paintings and often made diagrams of the 'plastic quality,' the use of negative space or the 'volumnar conception' of works by the likes of Michelangelo and Rembrandt in his notebook. These turned into diagrams jotted down on student drawings, and later, into illustrations analyzing qualities such as the "opposition of masses," "volumnar conceptions," or "short and long

³⁷² In his interview with Tina Dickey, Hofmann student Peter Ruthenberg refers to two Turks, and also mentions them by name, these are "Ali Zernet and Seki [sic]." Interview between Tina Dickey and Peter Ruthenberg, April 7, 1999, Berlin. B Side. Transcribed by Ellen Dissanayake. I thank Tina Dickey for sharing the transcription of this interview with me. Another reference to the Turkish students is by Vytlačil in his unpublished memoir, counting the Turks, interestingly, among the 'Europeans': "When Ernst [Thurn] and I began, most students were German, a scant hand. There were also three Europeans, two Turks and a Hungarian." Vytlačil, unpublished memoir: 9. Vytlačil he doesn't name the artists, inferring from the years Vytlačil was at Hofmann's school (1922-2), I make the assumption that these are Ali Avni and Zeki.

³⁷³ These were Mahmut Cuda (1923), Ali Sermet (little is known about him as he died at a very early age, but there is a portrait of him by fellow Hofmann student Niepmann, which dates his time at the school to some time between 1929-1932, when Waldtraut Niepmann was there), Ali Avni (1921-... and 1931-32), Zeki (1922-27), and Cemal [Tollu] (summer of 1931).

tensions” in the work of old masters, which he used as accompaniment to his lectures.³⁷⁴ [fig.3.22]

Vytlačil elaborates on this particular approach and its effect on students:

We began to understand and work in the manner of the French cubists while working from the model. Also, the ways and the means by which man’s cubic visual experiences of positive and negative space in terms of volumes can be seen, felt and brought into relationships, with these relationships unified and transposed to the three dimensional place in the manner of the French Modern Painters, these were revelations of utmost importance to us. We enthusiastically tested ourselves on both the old masters, and the modern as to whether we could both see and feel the form structure in their canvases. And in this manner, we suddenly began to realize that there was such a thing as an ‘art of seeing.’ We began to live and see both the old and the new masters with developing perceptive powers. The real education in art, and in painting in particular, had begun.³⁷⁵

Hofmann had already articulated the methods of his teaching before crossing the Atlantic. He had been instilling his ideas about composition, color, light and depth after the elimination of illusionistic space to his students in Europe. Hofmann’s approach offered not a stylistic indoctrination, but an analytical understanding of elements active on the surface of a painting, which led some students to take their work to abstraction, while for others, these principles could be applied to other preferred manners of working.³⁷⁶ Former student Peter Ruthenberg notes that the plurality of styles of the students at the Hofmann School in Munich was only logical. The following simple statement made in the summer of 1931 in Berkeley, on his first trip to the US, and printed in the brochure of his first exhibition in the US in 1932, relays the basic principles of his understanding of painting already in place before his American sojourn:

³⁷⁴ These also feature in some of his catalogs, many are featured in his unpublished manuscript, part of the Hofmann Papers at the Bancroft Library at U.C. Berkeley.

³⁷⁵ Vytlačil: 15.

³⁷⁶ Ruthenberg continues: “Many worked objectively. And yet a clear effort towards abstraction was recognizable. Fiedler made his first abstract drawing around 1927. Unfortunately it has not been preserved. After leaving school, Heinrich Fischer was already painting strongly colored, expressive pictures of high abstraction at the beginning of the 1930s. Ruthenberg had completed the change to the abstract in 1930. Waldtraut Niepmann came to an end during her time at the school strong abstraction in the 1920s, tendencies towards expressive abstraction, which had their roots in the Hofmann School in Munich and which paved the way for Hofmann's later development of Abstract Expressionism in America.” Ruthenberg, Peter. *Vergessenen Bilden* (exh. cat.), unpaginated. Translated with the help of google translate.

The formal elements of painting are: the line, the plane, volume and the resulting formal complexes. These are the elements of construction. The aim of art is to vitalize form.

The medium of expression is the picture plane, the means for its vitalization are color and light integrated into planes. Form develops its power through the creation of space unity. Color develops its power through the creation of light unity. The creation of space and light unity is in a certain sense synonymous. Light and unity are identical with the essence of the picture plane. The essence of the picture plane is its two-dimensionality. The two-dimensionality of the picture plane is synonymous with the created space and light unity. We perceive this in the movement and tension relation of the form and in the movement and tension relation of the color which is expressed in intervals, complimentary relations, contrasts and color complexes. From this the life of the composition becomes a spiritual unity.

...Pictorial homogeneity of the composition –plastic unity– is developed by lawfully governed inner necessities. From this derives the rhythm, the personal expression in the work.³⁷⁷

While there are some discrepancies or slight variations in student accounts of Hofmann's pedagogical approach and theories, descriptions from his students during this time show that he took his teaching very seriously.³⁷⁸ As stated earlier, Hofmann himself had mainly preferred drawing after the decade he had spent in Paris. Though he was an outlaw in the eyes of the established academics in Munich, his system was rather traditional. Life-classes were at the core of his teaching. However, he encouraged his students to focus not only on the model or the objects in the still-life arrangement he had set up, but on the negative space too, advising them to pay equal if not more attention to the spatial relationships between things rather than the things themselves.³⁷⁹ Life drawing began around nine in the morning. From 1pm until 2pm was lunch break, from 2pm to 4pm students focused on drawing portraits,

³⁷⁷ Quoted in *Hans Hofmann* (exh. brochure), Berkeley, August 5-22, 1931. Hans Hofmann Papers, Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley, BANC MSS 80/27C, Carton 1.

³⁷⁸ Hofmann, said Wessels, "was always in there, pitching, counseling, helping," and he took teaching "seriously, as a kind of mission." In other European ateliers, the teacher was likely to appear once a month, but at the Hofmann School, each student received an individual critique from him at least twice a week, and in the winter of 1926-27, twice a day, an unusual frequency." P. 79

³⁷⁹ Waldtraut Niepmann, who came to the Hofmann School in 1929, said: "Hofmann insisted on painting two-dimensionally and yet giving space. He didn't want an illusionary space, but a translation into the surface." Quoted in Ruthenberg, Peter. *Vergessene Bilder: Alf Bayrle, Arnold, Fiedler, Heinrich Fischer, Elsa-Bertha, Fischer-Ginsburg, Carl Heidenreich, Marianne Herberg, Waldtraut Niepmann*, Berlin: 1986. Translation from German is done with the aid of google translate.

and at 6pm the evening class started. The model held one pose for a week and students often worked the same drawing for that duration, which allowed them to explore what was happening in the still-life or the model. Everyone used the same materials: chamois cloth, a kneaded rubber eraser, and soft vine charcoal on a standard size charcoal paper attached to a drawing board. The models' head and feet had to reach to the edge of the page. The drawing had to capture the characteristics of the model; but it also "had to express this movement, how the space moves, counter-space, what is going forward."³⁸⁰ Though drawing was prioritized, students were also allowed to paint, collage, or use ink.

These general rules can only account for part of the similarity among the student work, which has been described as evidence for the "cult-like"³⁸¹ nature of Hofmann's following. However, for his students, the personal differences remained easily identifiable in the drawings, and they could always tell the work apart.³⁸² The similarity of drawings and the Hofmann-speak among his students crossed over the ocean when Hofmann started to teach in the US in the early 1930s, arranged and prompted by his American students –first temporarily in the summers and soon after, permanently. Not only did the Hofmann students adopt his obscure language about the energies within and around the objects (made even more mystical by the limited nature of his English in his first US visits), but the charcoal drawings made in Hofmann's California classes, and even those made in New York a few years later look similar to those by students in Munich. Zeki, Ali Avni and his later Turkish student Cemal Tollu's drawings suggest that this emphasis on drawing as a tool for expressing depth without the use of linear perspective and the suggestion of volume through the play of overlapping planes was already part of his pedagogical approach in Munich in the early 1920s. [fig.3.23-25] Cemal Tollu, who was in Hofmann's school as late

³⁸⁰ Lillian Olinsey, later Friedrich Kiesler's wife. Quoted in Dickey: 60.

³⁸¹ Tina Dickey writes: "His devoted students and their indistinguishable charcoal studies looked like a cult to those who assumed that artists should not emulate a master but miraculously emerge as mature and original masters in their own right." Dickey, Tina. *Color Creates Light: Studies with Hans Hofmann*. Salt Spring Island, B.C.: Trillistar Books, 2011: 21.

³⁸² As his US-teaching was of great interest to scholars of Abstract Expressionism in the US, even an exhibition of student drawings was organized at the MET, Goodman, Cynthia (ed.). *Hans Hofmann as Teacher: Drawings by his Students* (exh. cat.), Jan. 23-March 4, 1979, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: New York. Also see: Goodman, Cynthia. "Hans Hofmann as a Teacher," *Arts Magazine* vol. 23, April 1979: 22-28.

as 1932, has many more traces of the typical Hofmann corrections on his drawings, with hatchings and arrows indicating Hofmann's emphasis on the forces of push and pull activating the picture plane.

In the Hofmann hagiography, it is often highlighted that Hofmann's pedagogical approach set itself apart from others' in his purposeful refrain from showing his own work to students. He is either mythologized for not having painted at all during his first two decades of teaching or commended for his careful avoidance of casting a long shadow of influence over his students. Neither is completely true, as Hofmann did paint even though it seems he did not paint profusely, and preferred (or as one student suggested, perhaps could only afford³⁸³) to draw. While he did not surround his students with his own work, he did not completely hide it. In 1928, during a summer session in St. Tropez, Glenn A. Wessels, an early American student of Hofmann's, caught a glimpse of his teacher's drawings –which he characterized as a cross between what he had “seen of Dufy's drawings and flat-pattern Cubism” – while they were both working *en-plein-air*:

He told me I must not try to copy the style of what I saw. I must develop my own handwriting on the basis of the sure principles. He said, at first, he had drawn a lot for students, but later came to draw only diagrammatically because so many students copied his style without understanding it! So, he never showed them his own work and cautioned me to say nothing about what I had seen.³⁸⁴

It appears that the early Turkish students of Hofmann were among those with the inclination to copy their teacher's style. They must have been part of this earlier group of students who got to see Hofmann's work, as a drawing by Ali Sermet, and another by an unidentified Hofmann student reproduced in the art supplement of 1939 Turkish newspaper *Ulus* with the caption “a crazy work at the exhibition,”³⁸⁵ bears similarities to Hofmann's own ink drawings. (It remains unclear whether these are the kinds of drawings Wessels saw in St. Tropez.) The existence of a caricature-esque portrait, a collotype

³⁸³ Letter from Glenn A. Wessel to Lois Stone commenting on Vaclav Vytlačil's memoir, Vaclav Vytlačil Papers, U.C. Berkeley Bancroft Library, BANC MSS 75/102 Z, microfilm reel 1: unpaginated. Wessels: “He was living very economically, and I doubt he could afford a full palette of colors. I know that he looked at my boxes with what I can only interpret as envy!”

³⁸⁴ Ibid. Glenn A. Wessel notes that he remembers two Turks from Hofmann's school, Ali Sermet and Zeki.

³⁸⁵ *Ulus Resim Sergileri İlavesi no:29*, June 11, 1938: 9.

print by Hofmann, now in the collection of the Istanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture, misattributed to one of his students, Cemal Tollu (who was most likely the print's donor, mistaken as its author) supports this further. [fig. 3.26-28]

While the early Turkish students might have been tempted to copy their teacher's style, even from the little they saw of their teacher's own work, Hofmann repeatedly emphasized the importance of developing the individuality of the student early on in his teaching: "Hofmann said to me in 1926: 'The most important thing is YOU and YOUR work,'" he repeated to his students, reports Arnold Fiedler.³⁸⁶ In critique sessions, Hofmann encouraged students to analyze each other's work and spoke of observation as well as of personal interpretation: "First observation, then emphatic penetration of the observation are necessary to the spiritual and intellectual comprehension of visual experience."³⁸⁷

Though foregrounded by Hofmann and his later US accolades, the Parisian years and their heavily French-inflicted bent were not the only influences that guided Hofmann's understanding of this new 'art of seeing' expressed through line drawing. Color was an important aspect of his own teaching, and later work. Hofmann's teaching and his own work synthesized Cubist construction and Fauve color, as he himself said on many occasions ("To synthesize the line of Picasso and the color of Matisse" he told his students as late as the 1950s, "that is our future, that is our problem."³⁸⁸) But there were more elements at play that he molded into a seemingly simple but rather nuanced aesthetic backbone. German students remember that Hofmann would cut out colored paper and ask his students to try their various effects by pasting them on their linear compositions. He was very familiar with the early works and writings of Kandinsky and in the post-war period, also an admirer of Mondrian.³⁸⁹ While American critics

³⁸⁶ Quoted in Ruthenberg, Peter. *Vergessene Bilder: Alf Bayrle, Arnold, Fiedler, Heinrich Fischer, Elsa-Bertha, Fischer-Ginsburg, Carl Heidenreich, Marianne Herberg, Waldtraut Niepmann* Berlin: 1986. Translation from German is by google translate.

³⁸⁷ First lecture in the US, translated by Glenn Wessels.

³⁸⁸ Dickey: 45.

³⁸⁹ It is not certain whether Hofmann met Kandinsky in person, but, according to Tina Dickey, he had a high regard for his early work and his writing, particularly his 1926 book *Concerning the Spiritual in Art and Point and Line to a Plane*. Dickey: 45, 60-61. The Hofmanns also had Kandinskys in their collection. Dickey: 18.

and scholars interested in Hofmann's influence on U.S. painting downplayed his German roots in Hofmann histories (quite understandably, especially in the aftermath of WW2), Hofmann was also undeniably shaped by German culture. It remains the most evident contemporary artistic influence, traces of which are visible not only in the impassioned student drawings but also in Hofmann's later work. The Germanic influences in Hofmann's own work and teaching was not limited to Weimar Expressionism either.³⁹⁰ Of course, Hofmann was not blind to the mark making and color of Die Brücke, and as mentioned earlier, he himself acknowledged its parental figure, the group Der Blaue Reiter as one of the three major 'revolutions' in modern painting. Ali Avni's description of Hofmann's approach and brusque mark making and his tracing of the teacher's own character in his painting, evinces Hofmann's Expressionist inclinations, while the musical metaphor nods to Kandinsky and der Blaue Reiter:

He was a kind, strong, and mighty figure. But I found his *peinture* a little strange. It had a brusque mark... It was oppositional, contrasted. 'Life demands it. Because that's what life is all about,' he would say. The harmony, construction, character, and atmosphere of these lines also exist in music. He would take all these into account and simply compose his work. *Peinture* should be added to the composition... Like this: A person can be [already] physically beautiful. Then, there is make-up. *Peinture* is that which wears make-up. Physically, the construction must be intact. Hoffman was friends with Picasso and Matisse... He had worked with them. But of course, his paintings reflected his own personality."³⁹¹

His understanding of artistic creation was also imbued with a mystical connection to nature and an artistic interior through which the exterior world was filtered, reminiscent of German Romanticism.

Simultaneously, Hofmann embraced the picture plane for its characteristics as a flat support for painting's

³⁹⁰ Until the late 1950s, Hofmann recommended a 1893 book by Adolf Hildebrand, "Das Problem der Form in der bildenden Kunst [The problem of form in Painting and Sculpture]: "With pre-Cubistic, Bergsonian insight, Hildebrand wrote that since we perceive nature not 'with the eye alone, nor from a single point of view, but rather as something always changing, always in motion... we live and move with a consciousness of space surrounding us... Pictorial representation ... has for its purpose the awakening of this idea of space, and that exclusively by the factors which the artist presents." Dickey: 38-39.

³⁹¹ Ali Avni, quoted in Giray: 94. "Hoffman'ın [sic] akademisinde portre, kompozisyon ve gece kurslarının atölyeleri vardı. Kendisi centilmen, çok kuvvetli, kudretli bir kimseydi. Yalnız onun pentürünü biraz yadırgadım. Hırçın tuşları vardı... Tezat halinde, kontrastlı olarak. 'Hayat bunu icap ettiriyor. Çünkü hayat bundan ibarettir' derdi. Müzikte de vardır bu çizgilerin ahengi, inşası, karakteri, atmosferi. Bütün bunları gözönüne alır, eserini öylece kompoze ederdi. Pentür kompozisyon üzerine eklenmeli... Tıpkı şöyle: Fizikman bir kimse güzel olur. Bir de makyaj yapılır. Makyajlı pentürdür... Fizikman konstrüksiyonun yerinde olması lazım. Hoffman, Picasso ve Matisse'le arkadaştı... Onlarla beraber çalışmıştı. Tabii, resimlerinde kendi şahsiyeti vardı."

own worldmaking, rather than acting as a window onto it. His synthesis was more complicated than what he had made it out to be. The metaphysics of Hofmann's teaching also centered on the idea of 'unity,' which bears traces of his highly likely familiarity with Gestalt theory.³⁹² While there are numerous attempts at formulating or clarifying Hofmann's theory of painting (including a 1948 publication of a collection of his own writings³⁹³) by himself and by others, it remained full of paradox, oscillating between the conflicting desires of finding a formula and avoiding dogma.³⁹⁴ (To many of his students, it was the paradoxical, exciting, case-specific teaching of Hofmann, and the magnetism of his resolute belief in art as a worthwhile pursuit that made him such a sought after teacher, none of which could be captured in writing.) Even though Hofmann had been somewhat reluctant to share his own work with his students, he seems to have carried documentation of his Munich students' work with him to the US, which partially explains the shocking degree of similarity between drawings that Ali Avni and Zeki displayed in Istanbul in 1928 and those made in the US from 1930 onwards, when Hofmann first started teaching summer courses there.³⁹⁵ [fig. 3.29-36]

³⁹² Vytlačil also refers to the influence of Gestalt Psychology on Hofmann, but does not elaborate further. Vytlačil, unpublished memoir: 14.

³⁹³ By 1931, with the help of his student, Hofmann had already prepared a comprehensive guide to his teaching and understanding of painting in German, this 222-page 26-chapter manuscript was culled from his notes and lectures between 1915-1931 across Munich, Capri, St. Tropez, Paris. See "Creation in Form and Color: A Textbook for Instruction in Art," Hans Hofmann Papers, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, BANC MSS 80/27 C Carton 1. This immense undertaking was translated into English by his student Glenn A. Wessels. Though this manuscript was revised twice more by Hofmann and given different titles, in 1948 and again 1963, it was never published in the format Hofmann prepared it. However, a collection of his essays was first printed in 1948 in parallel to his comprehensive exhibition at Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, January 2-February 22, 1948, and reprinted in 1967: Hofmann, Hans. *Search for the Real, and Other Essays*. [Rev. ed] Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1967. The main text in the catalog of his solo exhibition at MoMA in 1963 is another attempt at a clear paraphrasing: Seitz, William Chapin. *Hans Hofmann with selected writings by the artist* (exh. cat.) The Museum of Modern Art: New York (1963).

³⁹⁴ Harold Rosenberg (convincingly for this author) argues that this was the productive dialectics of Hofmann's teaching in Rosenberg, Harold. "Hans Hofmann's Life Class," *Portfolio* vol.6 Autumn 1962: 16-31, 110-115 and also partially in Rosenberg, Harold. "The Teaching of Hans Hofmann," *Arts Magazine* vol. 45, December 1970: 17-19.

³⁹⁵ I found among photographic documentation of student work, copied from Hofmann's originals by Christina Lilian who was a student at the classes Hofmann taught in the summer of 1932 at Chouinard School in Paseo del Mar in California, a reproduction of one of Ali Avni's drawings. [fig. 29-30] This small discovery stands as proof that Hofmann, while reluctant to share his own work with students at the risk of influencing them with his own style, did not mind showing them Hofmann school drawings by former students from Munich. U.C. Berkeley Bancroft Library, Hofmann Papers, 80/27C Box 1 HA 1971.3 From 1924 until he left Germany, Hofmann's summer sessions were held in Yugoslavia, Italy or France. Hofmann's classes in Berkeley in 1931 and

Hofmann found fame in the US, first as a prolific teacher, and later, also as a painter. [fig.3.37] In 1957, during the height of his North American popularity, he claimed in an interview in *Life* magazine that he was “nobody’s student.”³⁹⁶ Unlike his teaching, when it came to crediting the influences on his own work, Hofmann’s claim to originality ignored his decades-long process of synthesizing a diverse multiplicity of sources. In contrast, the Turkish students, when they returned to Turkey, would use their European training to legitimize their work; whether this was the school they attended or an artist-teacher they followed. For the Turkish artist, the European master was not a shadow hanging over their their artistic output, but a stamp of approval. Ali Avni and Zeki included the name of their master, ‘Von Hofmann’ in the brochure of the first exhibition they organized themselves, and would go on to mention his name throughout their careers.

After the incident with their Hofmann School drawings, Ali Avni and Zeki would not show their work at the Galatasaray salon again. The matter of the Turkish “küçük” was also temporarily shelved; it would not resurface for a few more years, when more students returning from Europe with an expanding set of attitudes, understandings and variations on this and other new pictorial modes (more on whether these were to ‘qualify’ as cubism or not, later) came together to show their works. Upon their return, Ali Avni was appointed to the mid-Anatolian town of Konya to teach at the Women’s Teachers’ College, while Zeki was deployed to Trabzon in the Black Sea region to teach art at the high school there (this is where, Zeki would inspire his student Bedri Rahmi to become an artist). Soon, Ali Avni and Zeki joined forces with the first wave of Turkish students returning from Paris. The first *concours* winners, disgruntled to return early, had also been quickly appointed to various schools across the country as middle school or high school level art teachers, that is, as low-level bureaucrats. Hale started teaching at

Chouinard School of Art in 1932 were followed by a year-long gig at the New York Art Students League. In 1933, he set up his own school in Manhattan. Hofmann also continued his summer school tradition to work *en plein air* with his students, first teaching in Gloucester, MA with his former student Ernest Thurn. Soon after he started his own summer school in Provincetown, MA. While the Manhattan school changed its address a few times, Hofmann taught and lectured continuously until 1958, when he decided to close both schools to focus on his own work.

³⁹⁶ Hans Hofmann in “Master Teacher Hofmann,” *Life* vol.42 no: 14, April 8, 1957 (7-9, 74-75): 74.

the girls' high school in Bursa, a city she would soon find very oppressive. Muhittin Sebati was sent to Ankara, to teach at the boys' high school. Şeref was first sent to Sivas, and later appointed to the teachers' college in Ankara. Refik, Mahmut Cuda and Cevat were in luck, they stayed in Istanbul and were given teaching assistant roles at the School of Fine Arts. Joined by the self-funded Nurullah, Ali Münip and his new French painter wife Ivonne (who did not have state-obligations or appointments, but would also soon find teaching jobs), they all came together again under the platform of "Young Painters" in 1929. The catalog, the first one in which their names were published in Latinized Turkish, bore traces of their strengthened desire to distinguish themselves as a new generation advocating for a new kind of painting, and directly pronounced the mission they had internalized as young painters returning home to their young republic: [fig.3.38]

The purpose of this exhibition and those to follow is to help the development and progress of the newborn Turkish painting, and to have it attain the position it deserves by guiding the national fine arts with solid principles, through works that are strong in idea as well as in technique.³⁹⁷

The catalog of the *Genç Ressamlar Sergisi* [Young Painters Exhibition] listed each artist as students of particular European teachers: in addition to Hofmann were names of professors from the école des Beaux-arts in Paris, Académie Julian teacher Laurens the junior (Albert), as well as Hale's modern masters, Lovis Corinth and André Lhote.³⁹⁸ The artists dominantly showed landscapes: they were either scenic views from cities where they were employed (Hale presented views from Bursa, and Muhittin Sebati was eager to

³⁹⁷ Brochure for "İnci Genç Ressamlar Sergisi" [The First Young Painters Exhibition], Ankara Etnografya Müzesi [Ankara Ethnography Museum], 1929. "Bu sergi ve bunu takip edecek olan diğer sergilerden maksat yeni doğan Türk resminin inkişaf ve terakkisine yardım etmek, fikir ve teknik sahasında kuvvetli eserlerle milli nefis san'atlara emin esaslar dahilinde bir istikamet vererek onu layık olduğu mevkie erıştirmektir." Adnan Çoker Archive. Digital copy courtesy of Burcu Pelvanoğlu.

³⁹⁸ Ali Avni and Zeki introduced themselves as students of Hofmann (Munich), Hale as student of André Lhôte and Lovis Corinth (Paris and Munich), Muhittin Sebati, Şeref Kamil, Refik Fazıl and Cevat, having attended Académie Julian, listed themselves as students of Albert Lorans (Paris), from the école, Ali Münip and his wife Yvonne referred to Pierre (Jean-Pierre Laurens, Münip also listed Ernest Laurent), whereas Nurullah Cemal (later known as Nurullah Berk) indicated he was trained there by Ernest Laurent, Paris. Lastly, Sabiha Zekeriya (later known as Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı) indicated her allegiance to the Academy in Rome but did not name a specific professor. The catalog informed the readers that although they couldn't participate in this exhibition, the group also included sculptor Ratip Aşır (student of Bourdelle and Landowski) and Mahmut Cemalettin (later Mahmut Cuda) (student of Lucien Simon and Albert Laurens) as well as decorator Fahrettin Bey (Leipzig Academy). Ibid.

register the newly developing steppes of Ankara, where he was now based) or the places they had left behind (Cevat, Ali Münip and Ivonne presented landscapes from Bretagne, Şeref Kamil showed his paintings of Cluny and Paris, depicting the Seine river and the Notre Dame Church). There were also some nudes and still-lives, but nothing that the press could latch onto and sensationalize as ‘kübik’ or other. (Among the paintings Ali and Zeki showed, there was Ali Avni’s *Vitrin*, a rather Benjaminian painting of a shop window, and Zeki’s *Atölye Dahili* [Studio Interior], possibly showing a Hofmann school class, both of which went unnoticed, not reproduced in exhibition reviews or mentioned by name. While Zeki’s interest in a certain Cézannist construction is visible in the planar organization of his volumes –“the German toughness is corrupting his personal merits” one reviewer commented– Ali Avni’s concern seems more with color and flatness, befitting his modern life subject-matter of the fleeting view of the shop window. [fig. 3.39-40]

Although the exhibition was organized in Ankara –which typically only played host to a single exhibition per year, the official annual salon– the Young Painters’ Exhibition did not get much attention from the press. It was a strange mix of styles and attitudes, not shocking enough to report on, not accessible enough to comment on, combined with mostly unexciting subject matter, save for Ali Avni’s singular *Vitrin*. The works fell short of living up to the aims and excitement of the young artists to turn a new page and contribute to the development of Turkish painting as they aimed, at least not just yet.

In his review, Hikmet (the architect) admitted to the shortcomings of the exhibition while remaining cautiously hopeful [fig.3.41]:

This exhibition, and these works of art have not yet reached the ideal that we expect from painting. Because like in developed nations, Turkish painting should have its own ‘école’ distinguishable through clear difference. However, this exhibition and these young artists are approaching our ideal on the luminous road of art.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁹ Mimar Hikmet. “Ankarada 15 Nisanda Açılan Genç Ressamlar Sergisi [The Young Painters Exhibition that Opened in Ankara on April 15th], *Türk Yurdu* no:15-16 vol. 209-210 (54-56): 54-56. “...bu sergi ve bu eserler resimde beklediğimiz gayeye henüz ulaşmamışlardır. Çünkü müterakki milletlerde olduğu gibi Türk ressamlığının da bariz farklarla seçilebilen bir ‘Ecole’i olmalıdır. Mamafı bu sergi ve bu genç artisler sanatın nurlu yolu üzerinde gayemize doğru yaklaşmaktadırlar.”

Again, like Peyami Safa's review of their 1923 exhibition before they were sent off to Europe, there was an attempt on the part of the reviewer to acclimatize the viewer to look beyond established norms of verisimilitude, to see in this new work a new attitude that was freer, more personal, and hence contemporary: a new way of seeing, the *conception* of the artist. And of course, legitimized by reference to developments in Europe that the young artists were embodying:

In Europe, novelties occur every hour and every day at lightning speed, and these have significant effects on Art. Once upon a time, the formulas of painting and color were like glasses worn by artists. The painter had to see life through these collective art glasses. The free artists of the twentieth century have discarded these spectacles. And today, the painter has begun to see nature and events through the eyes of his soul and the inspiration of his mind. The works of our young painters were created with this spirit. And as such, they are works of this day.⁴⁰⁰

A French art historian residing in Istanbul at the time took notice of the exhibition and congratulated the artists for their strong technique as well as for avoiding 'old principles.' He also cautioned them, hoping that they wouldn't let themselves be swayed by certain movements that were now in fashion. Gabriyel [sic] engaged with the work of each artist individually, and while he acknowledged the traces of their European training in their work, he ended on a positive note, unlike Buh had done in 1925 (previous chapter). While Buh was frustrated by the absence of a native essence, the French critic Gabriyel looked for the individuality of the artist, encouraging it to shine forth:

The influence of the atmosphere of the Paris ateliers and the deep and permanent impressions left on the souls by the emotional and intellectual training of this place on all talents are known by everyone. But afterwards, it is necessary for the artist to pour his native merit and knowledge into his works and to make his personality stand out with continuous effort. If the effect of residing in Europe is to train only imitators, this mission has failed. All of the artists whose works we appreciate [in this

⁴⁰⁰ Mimar Hikmet. "Ankarada 15 Nisanda Açılan Genç Ressamlar Sergisi [The Young Painters Exhibition that Opened in Ankara on April 15th], *Türk Yurdu* no:15-16 vol. 209-210 (54-56): 56. "Avrupada her gün [sic] her saat yıldırım süratle vücuda gelen yenilikler Sanat üzerinde mühim tesirler yapmaktadır. Bir zamanlar resmin, rengin formülleri sanatkarların gözlerinde bir gözlük halinde idi. Ressam tabiatı, hayatı bu müşterek sanat gözlüğü ile görmek mecburiyetinde idi. Yirminci asrın serbest Sanatkarları bu gözlüğü atmışlardır. Ve bugün ressam tabiatı, hadısatı ruhunun gözile, dimağının ilhamile görmeğe başlamıştır. Genç ressamlarımızın eserleri bu ruhla vücuda getirilmiştir. Ve bugünün eserleridir.

exhibition] have personal views and inclinations to varying degrees. They should always be sincere interpreters of their own sensibility in their works.⁴⁰¹

Their peer Halil [Dikmen], speaking about this exhibition a few years later, was a little less forgiving of his peers, but also signals the confusion that arose with the discrepancies in artistic training in Europe, now visible in the work of the artists. Was Europe in disagreement about which was the right way for painting? He sums it up succinctly:

The Paris branch of these first travelers brought back to the country a kind of academicism under the aegis of classicism from Académie Julian. The cubism of the Hofman [sic] atelier and the academicism of Julian confused and astonished our art world then. These two opposing currents gave rise to many ideas and movements, both for and against them.⁴⁰²

After this exhibition, the Young Painters regrouped or rather, re-branded under *Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltıraşlar Derneği* [The Society of Independent Painters and Sculptors]⁴⁰³ and began organizing

⁴⁰¹ Gabriyel. “Ankara’da Resim ve Heykel Sergisi,” *Hayat Mecmuası* no: 129, May 16, 1929: 7-8. ‘Gabriyel’ must be Albert Gabriel (1883- 1972), A French turcophile who was an architect, archaeologist and art historian. Gabriel taught art history at Istanbul University from 1926 until 1930, when he was named the first director of the l’Institut Français d’Etudes Anatoliennes.

⁴⁰² Epikman, Refik. “Türk Resim Sanatına Toplu bir Bakış,” *Çığır* no:111 (1942): 46-47 quoted in Artun, *Paris’ten Modernlik Tercümeleeri*: 242-243. “Bu ilk gidenlerin Paris kolu ise Akademi Jülyan’dan klasisizm namı altında bir nevi akademizmi memlekete getiriyordu. O zamanlar, Hofman [sic] atelyesinin kübizmi ve Jülyanın bir nevi akademizmi muhiti, resim alemimizi bir hayli düşündürmüş, hayrete düşürmüş, bu birbirine zıt iki cereyan hakkında lehte ve aleyhte birçok fikirlerin ve hareketlerin doğmasına sebebiyet vermişti. Bununla beraber bu cereyanlarla beraber yeni nesil, müstakil ressamlar ve heykeltıraşlar birliğini kurmuş bulunuyorlardı.”

⁴⁰³ The society was established officially on July 15, 1929. The name was chosen to indicate that anyone who joined and paid the membership fees would be able to show their work, without the approval of a jury. The program of the society had three main aims: firstly, to ensure the financial stability of its members by working with the ministry so that the artists had appointments that allowed them to work on their art, and participate in the competitions for state commissions, and to sell their exhibited works; secondly, to create the artistic milieu necessary for the artists to work freely –which they spelled out to mean that the artists should reside in Istanbul–in addition to organizing fundraising events and having a dedicated building for the society, complete with a library, and thirdly; to open exhibitions: both across the country and internationally, not just for the members for the society but also to invite foreign artists to show their work in Turkey, organizing writing and speaking engagements, and finally, to work towards the opening of museums and galleries in Istanbul and Ankara. *Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltıraşlar Birliği’nin Programı* [The Program of the Society of Independent Painters and Sculptors] reprinted in Giray, *Müstakil Ressamlar ve Heykeltıraşlar Birliği* (1997): 48. In 1932, due to some disagreements about the society’s aims, Nurullah Berk and Elif Naci were suspended, and the two resigned quickly thereafter. The Society organized exhibitions of their members’ work across Ankara and Istanbul in the early 1930s, had a hiatus after the break-up and the death of its director, Muhittin Sebati in 1933. After 1936, with the leadership of Mahmut Cuda, it focused on organizing exhibitions of its members work across cities in Anatolia. The Society failed to realize the rest of its initial ambitious program, but remained active well into the 1950s.

exhibitions first focusing on Ankara and Istanbul, and later, taking their work across the country. The first few exhibitions went mostly unnoticed, without much attention from the press. Writing for *Uyanış* on the occasion of the 13th Galatasaray salon the same year, Nurullah accused its participants and the critics that championed this decadent work for stifling the development of painting. Titled “Hakiki Sanata Doğru” [Towards Real Art] he chose the work of his peers Zeki and Refik from the 1929 *Genç Ressamlar Sergisi* to illustrate his scathing article rather than the works his review criticized, arguing that what mattered in art was investigation, an effort he only found in the work of his peers.⁴⁰⁴ But it wasn’t until second wave of students returned from Paris and began exhibiting with them that the matter of the Turkish “kübik” or “new painting” and the matter of what was to constitute real Turkish art would be re-visited, and extensively discussed in the press. This required the processing of another teacher of modern art, Andre Lhote, who had quickly become a towering figure for Nurullah and his contemporaries in Paris in the late 1920s and early 30s.

Part 3: Back in Paris- Académie André Lhote and its Growing Turkish Following:

Hamit, who had been rather puzzled by the number of academies and paths that were laid out in front of him upon his arrival to Paris in 1928, initially opted for Académie Julian, a well-known haven for Turkish students. But when he somewhat got his bearings in the city, he decided to leave Académie Julian and never looked back. He recounts how a particular event led to his decision to leave just after spending two months there:

One day, our teacher [Paul-Albert Laurens] came [to the atelier] again. He offered his critique on each work. It was my turn. As the novelty of a new student wore off, he would harden his criticism. He looked vaguely at my work, on which I had worked very hard, but in a rather free manner... He slapped both his hands on his sides, lifted both shoulders, and made a non-human sound between his lips.

-Why do you do that! I don't like it, I don't like it, he said; look, the traces of your brush and even its number are obvious!

⁴⁰⁴ [Berk], Nurullah Cemal. “Hakiki Sanata Doğru,” *Uyanış* no: 1723-38 (August 22, 1929): 616-618.

I was thinking to myself: the things the teacher gets hung up on!

I involuntarily protested. As if this was not the case in [the work of] Cézanne, Van Gogh, Manet, Monet? I couldn't help but respond:

- What you are objecting to here, isn't it visible in the paintings of Renoir and Cézanne?

The entire Julian academy was silent. Everyone was amazed; whispers passed through their lips.

After looking around for a while, I realized that I had committed a grave mistake. My teacher was repeating the word 'Cézanne' as an empty and meaningless notion. I gathered my last strength. It had already happened. So, I risked everything: 'Don't you like Cézanne?' I said, behind me two strong hands pulled at the end of my apron violently. How should I have known? [Apparently] our teacher never liked Cézanne...⁴⁰⁵

Hamit could not wait another month, even though he had paid for 3 months' worth of classes up front, and left Académie Julian immediately after this incident:

...I was now escaping this building, which I had entered with pure excitement as if I were entering a temple and a new religion, as if I were escaping from a prison. Oh... how nice... now I had freedom and liberty, and I flew like an outlaw down Dragon Street.

After skipping down Rue Dragon, Görel[e] headed to Rue de Rennes:

[...] to join the convoy of art youth walking behind [the likes of] Cézanne, Matisse, Bonnard and Derain, who carry the holy fire of French artistic life in their hands ... to enroll in André Lhote's academy."⁴⁰⁶ [fig.3.42-44]

⁴⁰⁵ Görel[e], Hamit. "Akademi Jülyen," *Ar* no:19, July 1938: 5-6. "Bir gün yine hocamız geldi. Eserler üzerinde ayrı ayrı tenkidini yaptı. Sıra bana gelmişti. Talebe eskidikçe tenkidini sertleştirirdi. O hafta biraz serbest çalıştığım ve oldukça edor sarfettiğim eserime mübhem mübhem baktı baktı. Ve iki elini iki yanına vurdu ve iki omuzunu [sic] da kaldırıp dudakları arasında insan hecesine uymayan bir ses çıkardı.

-Böyle nasıl yapıyorsunuz! sevmiyorum, sevmiyorum, dedi; baksanıza fırçanızın izleri ve hatta numarası belli oluyor! İçimden hocada nelere takılıyor diyordum.

Gayri ihtiyari isyan ettim. Bu hal sanki Cezanne'da, Van Gogh'da, Manet'de, Monet'de yok mu idi? dayanamadım cevap verdim.

-İtiraz ettiğiniz şey Renoir'in, Cezanne'nin resimlerinde belli değilmi?

Bütün Jülyan akademisi susmuştu. Herkesde hayret ve dudaklarda fısıltılar.

Bir aralık etrafıma göz gezdirince büyük bir kabahat işlediğimin farkına varmışım hocam Cézanne kelimesini boş ve manasız bir mefhum gibi tekrarlıyordu. Son kuvvetlerimi de topladım. Zaten olan olmuştu. Ve her şeyi göze almıştım. Cézanne'ı beyenmiyor musunuz? dedim, arkamdan iki kuvvetli el önlüğümün ucundan şiddetle çektiler. Ne bileyim. Hocamız Cézanne'ı hiç sevmezmiş..."

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid: 6. "...Bir mabede ve yeni bir dine girer gibi temiz heyecanlarla girdiğim bu binadan şimdi bir hapishaneden kaçır gibi kaçırıyordum. Oh... ne iyi... artık hürriyete ve hürriyetime kavuşmuşum ve bir hapishane kaçırımı gibi

The sign that greeted Hamit as he walked up to André Lhote's Académie de Peinture was a painting of a painter in silhouette in front of an empty easel occupying the right half of the painting, with the seated model posing in the nude, which echoed the shape of the silhouette covering the rest of the picture plane. The simply and rather flatly rendered signage for his académie was based on a 1920 painting by Lhote, which had the same compositional elements of the model, the painter in silhouette in front of his easel, with the marked difference that in the painting, the easel here held a finished painting: the flesh colors of the model, who was depicted here observing the translation of her own figure onto canvas, had been transformed into a monochrome rendering of geometric volumes. [fig.3.45-46] The figure in the painting within the painting was faithful to the model and resembled her to some degree, (which as a figure itself had been rendered in dominantly straight lines that resisted curvature), but the female form had been transformed into a series of stiff, hefty planes and shallow volumes. The colors of the painting as well as those on the painter's palette were blue, red and white, the colors of the French flag. Taken as a visual manifesto, the 1920 painting is a testament to Lhote's personal interpretation of post-war Cubist deformation: a highly controlled and cerebral effort of personal artistic conception based on nature, following a logic of ornamental geometrization, with references to classical composition and a nod to the orderly post-war organization of the picture plane, while remaining committedly French. Soon, this particular blend of modern painting that synthesized Cubist deformation, golden-ratio composition, art historical reference, and national identification would draw in many more aspiring Turkish painters into Lhote's fold.

Hamit's peers –sculptor Ali Hadi, and painter Halil Dikmen– hung onto Académie Julian for a little longer than he did, but would also give up soon and follow him to Académie Lhote. In the same *concours* group coming from Turkey together was Zeki Faik [İzer]. He first decided to take classes from

Dragon sokağını uçar gibi yürüdüm. [...] Fransız sanat hayatının mukaddes ateşini ellerinde taşıyan Cézanneların, matisselerin, bonardların, dören Derain'lerin [sic] arkasından yürüyen sanat gençliğinin kfilesine bir an evvel katılmak için Rue de Rennes'den André Lhôte un akademisine yazılmaya gidiyorum.”

Fauvist-turned-Cézannist Othon Friesz (this must have been either at Académie Moderne or Académie Scandinave), but soon Zeki Faik would also join his friends at Académie Lhote.⁴⁰⁷ Cemal [Tollu], who arrived in Paris a few months later, in the fall of 1928, would try everyone and everything during his four years there. For painting, he sampled the classes at Académie André Lhote, Léger's atelier at Académie Moderne, and also studied painting with Marcel Gromaire at Académie Scandinave, whom Tollu remembered as a great teacher, trying patiently to convey the message of "simplicity of form"⁴⁰⁸ to his students.⁴⁰⁹ (As mentioned earlier, in the summer of 1931, Tollu even ventured out of Paris and headed for Munich, where he sought Hans Hofmann's school.) After three years of class-shopping, his stay in each atelier ranging between one to six months, Tollu settled on Académie Lhote in 1931, and stayed for a full year. His friend Bedri Rahmi [Eyüboğlu], while visiting Cemal from Lyon, also decided to try Lhote's classes, and ended up staying for three years.⁴¹⁰ [fig.3.67] By the early 1930s, Académie Lhote had become the new pre-requisite pedagogic haunt for the Turkish student of painting: the school would be home to at least fourteen Turkish painters before the Second World War,⁴¹¹ including notably, Nurullah Cemal.

Nurullah's second trip to Paris after his disappointing four years at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in the mid-1920s was exclusively dedicated to frequenting the ateliers of modern painters. (Over the next

⁴⁰⁷ From this 1928 *concours* group, it was only Zühtü [Mürtoğlu] who did not join his friends at Lhote's, most likely because he was studying sculpture. He instead studied at Académie Colarossi.

⁴⁰⁸ Tollu quoted in Berk, Nurullah. "Marcel Gromaire," *Ustalarla Konuşmalar* (65-70): 69.

⁴⁰⁹ In addition to painting, Cemal took sculpture classes from Charles Despiau and Marcel Gimond at Académie Colarossi and as well as attending Louis Marcoussis's etching classes at Académie Moderne. Çoker, Adnan. *Cemal Tollu*. Ankara: Galeri B Yayınları, 1996: 33-60.

⁴¹⁰ This is where Bedri Rahmi met Romanian Ernestine Letoni, his future wife, later known in the Turkish art world as Eren Eyüboğlu, who was to become one of the most recognizable women painters in Turkey.

⁴¹¹ Edip Hakı [Köseoğlu] and Eşref [Üren] arrived in 1929, directly heading to Lhôte's. After attending Académie Julian between 1930-32, Abidin [Elderoğlu] (Abit Nuri) also signed up at Lhote's. Kemal Zeren and Salih Urallı arrived in 1931, alongside Fürümet Tektaş and Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu. They were joined by Nurullah Berk in 1932. Ercüment Kalmık was Lhote's last Turkish student before the war, arriving in 1938. After WW2, the list of Turkish students at Lhote that I was able to compile includes Hasan Kavruk, Arif Kaptan, Refik Eren, Sadi Öziş, Nedim Günsür, Neşet Günal, Cemal Bingöl, Hasmet Akal, Şemsi and Maide Arel, Tosun Bayrak, Leyla Gamsız, Erol Akyavaş, Becky Molho, Eli Yağcıoğlu and lastly, Adnan Çoker, who went in 1954. A time-table of known students based on the list I had culled together (with minor errors) was published without crediting my work and attributed to Zeynep Kuban. *André Lhote and His International Students*. (eds. Zeynep Kuban, Simone Wille), Edited Volume Series. Innsbruck: University Press, 2020: 142.

three decades, Berk would become Lhote's embodiment in Turkey, both as an artist, and in his practice as a writer and teacher. This will be briefly covered in the conclusion.) In 1982, Eşref Üren put Lhote's influence on himself and his peers succinctly: "Our generation mostly comprises the baby chicks of Çallı, Hikmet Onat, Feyhaman and Mehmet Ruhi, and hens of André Lhote."⁴¹² Üren seems to be the last student at Académie Lhote in the interwar period. But the channel of Turkish painters' artistic pilgrimage to Académie Lhote was only temporarily interrupted when the académie was closed during WW2. Lhote's influence would extend beyond this generation of early republican artists who were in Paris during the interwar years. Just as many Turkish students attended Académie Lhote during the decade after WW2, among them returning customers, who were by then professors at the Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul.⁴¹³ When Lhote passed away in 1962, an obituary appeared in the mainstream Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. It was written by none other than his former student Cemal Tollu, who characterized his teacher as "the master with a first-degree influence on Turkish painting."⁴¹⁴

But far from being cited among masters of modern art today, Lhote's name is barely recognizable, even to art historians working on Cubism. A lauded painter and a well-regarded theorist of his time, Lhote was awarded the French *Prix national des arts* in 1955 and given a retrospective at the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris in 1958. In the aftermath of World War II, Lhote had been deemed "the only representative of French cubism,"⁴¹⁵ but today he is almost forgotten, save for those studying the unlikely paths of global modernism. When the exhibition "Le Cubisme" was organized by Musée National d'Art Moderne in 1953, Lhote participated in the event with twelve paintings, but by 2018, when the French curators decided to give the Cubist overview a second go, he was not even

⁴¹² Üren, Eşref. "İlk gözağnılarım," *Cumhuriyet*, September 14, 1982.

⁴¹³ Sabri Berkel, who was the head of the etching atelier at the school by this time, was sent as part of his professional training in 1946. Nurullah Berk joined him there the same year, during his sabbatical, but it is not certain for how long he took classes during this second time at his teacher's school. Berk seems to remain intentionally obscure about this in his interview with Lhote done during that year in his book *Ustalarla Konuşmalar*. Berk, Nurullah. "André Lhote," *Ustalarla Konuşmalar*, Ankara; Ankara Sanat Yayınları (1971): 47-56.

⁴¹⁴ Tollu, Cemal. "André Lhote," *Cumhuriyet*, February 5, 1962: 2. "André Lhote bizim nesilden pek çok ressamın hocası idi. Bu itibarla Türk resminde birinci derecede tesiri olan bir üstad'dır."

⁴¹⁵ Fierens, Paul. "André Lhote et le Cubisme Français," *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, May 1929, no:188, 731-736.

mentioned in passing at Centre Pompidou's comprehensive exhibition on Cubism.⁴¹⁶ While his rise and fall from fame in Cubist historiography is deserving of close scrutiny, in the context of Turkish modern painting, more significant is answering the following question: What made Académie Lhote such a coveted place among generations of Turkish artists, the children of the republic? What was it about the French master's teaching that the Turks found so appealing? This requires a close look at Lhote's teaching as well as his own artistic practice and writing. It seems that the particular kind of *syncretic* Cubism Lhote came to stand for—a position that was “compromised,” it might have erased his name from Euro-American histories—is precisely why he was such a coveted teacher for the Turks.

André Lhote was born in Bordeaux in 1885, the same year as Roger de La Fresnaye and Robert Delaunay, and was a close contemporary of the likes of Marcel Gromaire, Raoul Dufy and Marc Chagall. Trained in decorative carving at the École des Beaux-Arts in Bordeaux, Lhote was self-taught as a painter and intellectual. A provincial figure from the Parisian point of view, Lhote still managed to find himself a place in the Salon d'Automne of 1907 in his early twenties, having had his first encounter with modern painting just a year earlier in Bordeaux in a private collection holding Paul Gauguin's *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* (1897).⁴¹⁷ The 1907 Salon d'Automne, in which Lhote showed his paintings for the first time in Paris, also included the largest posthumous exhibition of Cézanne, who had died a year earlier. As mentioned before, this showing of Cézanne's work had a tremendous impact on the direction taken by the Paris avant-garde, but also had a very specific and overarching effect on Lhote's trajectory as a painter, theorist and teacher.⁴¹⁸ Three years later, Lhote had

⁴¹⁶ Léal, Brigitte, Christian Briend and Ariane Coulondre (eds.) *Le Cubisme*, Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou (2018).

⁴¹⁷ Bermann Martin, Dominique. “The Life of André Lhote,” presentation at the conference *Correlating Cultural and Ideological Positions: André Lhote, Paris, and his Former International Students*, İstanbul Technical University, (December 11-2, 2017), İstanbul, Turkey.

⁴¹⁸ William Rubin, in his article *Cézannism and the Beginnings of Cubism* (1977) argues that it was Matisse and Derain's paintings from the year 1900 which were the earliest evidence of a more private but nonetheless first period of Cézannism. For Rubin, the second wave of Cézannism also came a year before his well-known retrospective of 1907, in the winter of 1906-7, when Kahnweiler noted in the work of Derain a turn away from Fauvism towards a more sculptural painting. See: Rubin, William. “Cézannism and the Beginnings of Cubism,” in *Cézanne. The Late Work* (exh. cat.), New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977: 156.

his first solo exhibition in Paris, at the Galerie Druet, in 1910. At the time, he was very much under the guidance of Cézanne's towering and long-lasting influence. His paintings also evinced the saturated colors and outlines of Gauguin, and the more general traditions of the French landscape and Romanesque primitivism. [fig.3.47-48] In his paintings from this period, whether it is Dionysian scenes of dancing and drinking or bourgeois promenades through the idyllic French countryside, his compositions spiral inward with arabesque lines, while simultaneously pulsating outward with Cézannist passages rendered in unmixed Fauvist greens and blues. The heightened palette reveals Lhote's intensity as a painter as well as his intellectual ambition. Lhote's experimentation is tiring for the viewer: volume is rendered by a simplified chiaroscuro of unmixed color and there is very reduced modeling. Like his friend Georges Rouault, Lhote uses black outlines to delineate figures and objects, but this simplicity is betrayed by the love for decoration that governs the overall compositions, perhaps due to his training in woodcarving. The repeating curves make the eyes oscillate endlessly on the surface of the painting. More than anything, these early paintings suggest an enthusiastically overthinking young provincial artist, determined to make it in Paris. (Funnily enough, instead of going to his own *vernissage*, Lhote went to the Louvre to copy from the masters at the museum and intentionally missed his own opening. Unbeknownst to him at this point was that years later, students of his like Maide Arel would go to the museum to copy his paintings.) His landscapes from this period are already a blend of tradition, modernism, and a certain religiosity (in addition to his interest in the Romanesque-stained glass, he was making paintings that referenced the neo-Catholic playwright Paul Claudel's work) with a nationalist touch (the emphasis on the French landscape), which would come to characterize his paintings as well as his theoretical stance and teaching throughout his career. The eclecticism of Lhote's references and stylistic uncertainty were already discernable to Jacques Rivière, his close friend and patron, who reviewed his first solo exhibition generously:

...The disparity of his styles and the unexpectedness of everything he invents stem from the very monotony of his intention and, one might say, of his obstinacy.

But what is Lhote looking for? From Cézanne he inherited the love of construction. Nothing moves him so much as the arrangement of objects; he finds nothing more beautiful than the way things are made, the distribution of their planes, the different and adjoining visages they offer to the unquantifiable rush of air. In him I rediscover the delicious passion that made Cézanne, standing in front of a house, suddenly turn religious. Respect for the ridges-the divisions of architecture, the regular angles and curves.⁴¹⁹

As insinuated by Rivière, it was difficult to characterize Lhote's personal style, as he seemed to be experimenting with various approaches, but soon, he was to be considered among the salon Cubists.

Lhote participated at the *Salon des Indépendants* in 1911 and 1912, considered Cubism's first public appearances as a movement. In 1912, he also participated in the *Section d'Or* with ten paintings as "a member of the family," which included a vast range of artists, both Cubist innovators (with the notable exception of Braque and Picasso, who never showed with this group, or at any of the salons, which resulted in their being dubbed 'the gallery Cubists' as opposed to the 'salon Cubists') such as Fernand Léger, Juan Gris, Francis Picabia and Marcel Duchamp, and those "friends of Cubism" –as Apollinaire would have it–seeking a union between modernism and tradition, such as Albert Gleizes, Roger de La Fresnaye, and Gustav Metzinger, among whom one can also easily place Lhote.⁴²⁰ The same year, Jacques Rivière wrote *Sur la tendance actuelle de la peinture*, considered an early and perceptive description of Cubist ideas but also functional as a critique of what was wrong with the extremes of Cubism from Picasso and Braque.

In this 1912 review, Rivière also unknowingly charted the type of traditionalist "juste milieu" Cubism Lhote was to practice for the rest of his career. Rivière explained at length why perspective and

⁴¹⁹ Rivière, Jacques. "Exposition André Lhote. (Galerie Druet)" *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, no:24 (July-December 1910), 806-8 translated and reprinted in *A Cubism Reader: Documents and Criticism, 1906-1914*. (ed. Antliff, Mark, and Patricia Dee Leighton), 2008: 90-91. It is also argued here that Rivière's interpretation of Cézannism as a critique of Cubism that will be published two years later develops out of this review. Lhote's first solo exhibition was also successful commercially; André Gide and Maurice Denis each bought paintings.

⁴²⁰ Lucbert, François. "André Lhote aux expositions de Salon d'Or" in *André Lhote: 23 de enero de 2007* (exh. cat.) (ed. Carmona, Eugenio and Antonia Castaño), Bordeaux: Musée des beaux-arts de Bordeaux; Madrid: Fundación MAPFRE, 2007: 26-37. The catalog also lists: Agero, Archipenko, Auclair, Duchamp-Villon, Dumont, Dunoyer de Segonzac, Exter, Galanis, Hasenberg, Laurencin, Le Beau, Lewitska, Marchand, Marcoussis, Mare, Moreau, Ribemont-Dessaignes, Tirvert, Tobeen, Valensi, Véra, Villon, Wield.

lighting should be abolished, to be replaced by ‘truly plastic values’ that show the permanence of objects, their real volume rather than their relief, which creates a sense of volume in the painting without perspective (he mentioned that the use of planes will both ‘repel and go seeking the distant objects,’ like Hofmann’s push and pull). While Rivière thanked Cubism for the novelties that it introduced to painting, his review also pointed out what he deemed Cubism’s mistakes: Cubism’s showing of multiple views of an object results in suggesting volume without perspective, but when it tries to show all the faces of the object, it undoes this effect, acting more like an unfolded map, destroying the sense of volume it had created. The second and graver mistake of Cubism for Rivière was more subtle: when it shows an object from an angle that is not representative of the object’s ideal view, it repeats the mistake of the one-point perspective, showing an arbitrary shape rather than the ideal shape of the object (The neo-Kantian undertones of this reading did not go unnoticed). Lastly, and consequently, the incoherence it creates due to the lack of hierarchy Cubism introduces to the picture plane results in anarchy. In other words, Cubism’s commitment to abolishing depth is taken to an extreme: by representing the space between objects ever more solidly, Cubism comes full circle to subordinating the object rather than giving it its solid integrity. Rivière located these errors in both the work of the gallery Cubists: Picasso and Braque, but also in the salon Cubists: Metzinger, Gleizes, Delaunay, Léger, Herbin and Marcel Duchamp. He saw Derain, Dufy, la Fresnaye, de Segonzac, Fontanay and Le Fauconnier to be on the right path, but significantly, singled out Lhote as on the way to a Kantian plastic perfection that he envisioned, which can show an object’s essence. It is Lhote who marks “the decisive advent of new painting.”⁴²¹

Rivière and Lhote were not the only ones trying to fashion a modern Cubist-informed but conservative visual language. The goal was a new plasticity-seeking painting that would nonetheless follow the compositional lessons that could be gleaned from the history of painting. A year earlier, Metzinger had published *Cubisme et tradition*, in which he defended his own version of Cubism, which

⁴²¹ Rivière, Jacques. “*Sur la tendance actuelle de la peinture*” *Revue d’Europe et d’Amérique*, March 1, 1912), 384-406 translated and reprinted in *A Cubism Reader: Documents and Criticism, 1906-1914*. (ed. Antliff, Mark, and Patricia Dee Leighton), 2008: 249-267.

combined Cubist innovation of multiple perspectives with the use of compositional elements derived from tradition, using both “conventional and new signs.”⁴²² While they did not agree on everything, both Metzinger and Lhote (via Rivière) were interested in versions of Cubism that could link with the history of French painting and classical tradition. The *Section d’Or* exhibitions are characterized as having “the explicit program of presenting to the public a version of Cubism that would be tamed by ‘universal’ principles of ‘geometric harmony’ going back to classical Greece and well established in the tradition of French painting, from Poussin to Ingres to Cézanne and Seurat.”⁴²³ As its name suggests, the Golden Section artists wanted to invoke a connection to mathematical harmony and to geometric configuration of the golden ratio (which they saw in the works of Seurat); this was an intellectual commitment with references far from the Cubist experimentations and non-Western interests of Picasso and Braque.

Teleological art history may characterize this as a “taming” of avant-gardist ideas, undermining the work of the larger group of Cubists in Paris as regressive hiccups or docile, second-grade or belated manifestations of a groundbreaking invention attributed only to Picasso and Braque, but the critical re-evaluation of the work of the *Section d’Or* artists illustrates that the analytic-synthetic Cubism that we have come to know as *the* Cubism was only one among many, just as there are many modernisms.⁴²⁴ (This revisionary point has been made and expanded by art historians who have looked closely at this extended period of Cubism from 1910-1920, but has not had the prevailing effect of altering the much easier to grasp the analytic-synthetic narrative.) Locating Lhote’s own complicated position and

⁴²² Metzinger, Gustave. “Cubisme et tradition,” *Paris-Journal*, August 18, 1911:5 translated to English and reprinted in *A Cubism Reader* (2008): 123-125. In the commentary the editors characterize Metzinger’s theory as a blend of “Poincaré’s conventionalism with Bergsonian metaphysics.”: 126. Albert Gleizes would write a similarly titled article in 1913, “La tradition et cubisme” in 1913, which was a somewhat leftist, nationalist Cubist reading against Lattinita, which would change with WW1. *A Cubism Reader* (2008): 460-466. Even theoretical allies like Gleizes and Metzinger, who co-wrote *Du Cubisme* (1912) did not agree on everything.

⁴²³ Alain-Bois, Buchloh, Hal, Krauss. *Art since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2004: 198.

⁴²⁴ See for example, Romy Golan’s look at the interwar Parisian painting, as well as David Cottington’s work on an expanded history of Cubism. Golan, Romy. *Modernity and Nostalgia: Art and Politics between the Wars*. Yale Publications in the History of Art. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995; Cottington, David. *Cubism and Its Histories*. Critical Perspectives in Art History. Manchester; New York: New York: Manchester University Press; Palgrave, 2004 and Cottington, David. *Cubism in the Shadow of War: The Avant-Garde and Politics in Paris 1905-1914*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

characterization within Cubism provides a most apt window for understanding the polymorphous nature of Cubism (a style, a movement, a grouping of artists, a new way of seeing for painters) and also the international dissemination of his ideas that informed *cubisms* elsewhere.

Lhote participated in both the 1911 salon d'Automne that launched salon Cubism in the French capital and the *salon d'Or* exhibitions that followed, but was never considered a complete insider.⁴²⁵ Despite his presence at these crucial moments of Cubism's materialization in the public eye, his name appears neither in Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger's *Du cubisme* (1912) nor in Guillaume Apollinaire's *Les peintres cubistes* (1913).⁴²⁶ Lhote made paintings that were thoroughly Cubist in look such as *Nature morte à la tasse de café* (1913). If this table-top depiction with cups, pipes and a fan all seen from singular angles on a gently tipped café table while fruits in a bowl are vaguely blended into the receding and arbitrarily faceted background seems too tame or derivative, consider his more adventurous 1918 painting *Rugby*, in which Cubist faceting is employed to depict the movements of the players; the dynamicism of the sport is conveyed both through form and figure, the crescendo of reaching for the ball (that is presumably outside the frame) amplified by the central triangular compositional lattice. [fig. 3.49-3.50] During and after the First World War, it was Lhote's theoretical position as a writer and a Cubist painter that provided him with the stature he enjoyed as a member of the Paris avant-garde, which was not limited to *Bande à Picasso* as revised histories of Cubism have illustrated, but a complicated, diverse,

⁴²⁵ In a catalog essay for a posthumous exhibition of Lhote's works in New York, Daniel Robbins says that "In fact, appreciation of Lhote's work was then greater than that accorded to the work by the equally theoretical Gleizes, Villon or Delaunay." Robbins, Daniel. "The Two Reputations of André Lhote," *André Lhote: Cubism* (exh. cat.) New York: Leonard Hutton Galleries, 1976: 5.

⁴²⁶ Art historian and curator Jean-Roch Bouiller explains this omission as a consequence of Jacques Riviere's articles on Cubism and on Lhote in 1909-10 that designated Lhote as the only promising painter among his generation while criticizing other Cubists. According to Bouiller, after this, Lhote took on the defense and promotion of his own work, and his first text appeared in 1913, the same year as Apollinaire's disregard of him in his theorization of Cubism. Bouiller, Jean-Roch. "Art Criticism and Avant-Garde: André Lhote's Written Works." *Avant-Garde Critical Studies* 21 (January 2007): 15-25, (16). Revisionist historian of Cubism Daniel Robbins contends that Apollinaire's (1913) and Metzinger's (1912) pre-war summaries were all "doctrinaire views of theoretical codifiers" who were justifying their ongoing trajectories as painters or the painters they supported. Robbins, Daniel. "Abbreviated Historiography of Cubism," *Art Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 4, Revising Cubism (Winter, 1988): 277.

multi-faceted endeavor which involved many more artists and theoretical positions than usually credited, which extended well beyond WWI.⁴²⁷

As a theorist, Lhote's article *Totalisme* of 1916, which appeared in Amedée Ozenfant's journal *L'Élan*, published throughout the war, put him on the map.⁴²⁸ In *Totalisme*, Lhote linked pre-war individualism and one-upmanship of the avant-garde with a certain unhealthiness, and hence associated Cubism with illness and an extremism, which was thankfully calmed by the war. A reconsideration and evaluation of the pictorial process is used by Lhote to prescribe moderation for the avant-garde artist. In his manifesto for "totalisme," he called for "an expressive totalization of pictorial values": "So let's take advantage of these tragic holidays [the war] to attempt an expressive totalization of the pictorial values. Warned of the inadequacy of a unique method, we do not confine ourselves to any exclusive biases."⁴²⁹ In a way, *Totalisme* was the exception to *L'Élan*'s general stance of lauding the pre-war Parisian avant-garde. But while the article might have been colored by the conservatism of the war years, characterizing the pre-war years of experimentation as definitively over, it was not necessarily advocating a return. What it did however, was to point to a need for a turn to rationalism, pre-figuring Lhote's *rappel à l'ordre*. The article can be seen as a manifesto for Lhote in which he completely abolished the dependence on perspective, prescribing a Cubist approach, but only if it is safely nestled within the classical tradition. It is making peace with Impressionism, not violently breaking away from it.⁴³⁰ This can be seen in pictorial

⁴²⁷ These include but are not limited to the pioneering work of Christopher Green and Kenneth Silver. See: Green, Christopher. *Cubism and Its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987; Silver, Kenneth E. *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925*, Thames and Hudson, 1989.

⁴²⁸ And signified Lhote's ambition to be affiliated with the circle of avant-garde painting in Paris, among artists such as André Derain, La Fresnaye, Laboureur, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, Dunoyer de Segonzac, who were all featured in Ozenfant's journal *L'Élan*.

⁴²⁹ Lhote, André. "Totalisme," *L'Élan* no:9, 1916, unpaginated.

"Profitons donc de ces tragiques vacances pour tenter une totalisation expressive des valeurs picturales. Avertis de l'insuffisance d'une méthode unique ne nous cantonnons dans aucun parti-pris exclusif." Translation is the author's.

⁴³⁰ Kenneth Silver underlines the fact that Ozenfant added a disclaimer at the end of Lhote's article, about the opinions being expressed being solely the author's, and about how *L'Élan* was open to all experimentation. Perhaps this suggests that Ozenfant foresaw that the journal's small readership of like-minded artists would not find Lhote's ideas in line with theirs. Silver, Kenneth E. *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925*. Thames and Hudson, 1989: 58.

terms in two paintings by Lhote from 1918 with similar compositional elements [fig. 3.51-52], referencing two movements that informed modern painting, namely Cubism and Neo-impressionism. In both paintings, a diagonal divides the picture plane into two. On the right, a seated female figure is seen. In *Hommage à Watteau*, “a woman seen from the back, painted in an ‘ingresque’ manner, sitting in front of Harlequin (this geometric person is a Cubism symbol). She tears off his mask to reveal his human face.”⁴³¹ In the other half, a monumental female nude, very solidly rendered in a blend of natural skin tone and artificial chiaroscuro of blue and green, holds the gaze of the viewer while lifting the curtain on a pointillist landscape, similar to the port of the artist’s hometown Bordeaux, often featured in other paintings by Lhote. These two paintings can be interpreted as the illustration of Lhote’s *totalisme* in paint: the canvas is organized in the proportions of the golden section, the main focal point of the painting in each is the traditional female figure, one nude, the other clothed, allowing the artist to flaunt his skill in the fabric rendered in Cézannist *passage*, which, however, leaves the pearly skinned female lusciously intact. The figure can also be seen as a stand in for the artist, who is gazing, both at the developments of painting, and to the viewer, to negotiate a middle point: between avant-garde experimentation and accessibility, between modern painting and the tradition to which it is indebted, locating its syncretic future between suggested volume and perspective, between arbitrary color and sensory perception, using the analysis of its elements for a new construction, rather than a negation of past traditions.

In 1919, Lhote became a critic for the literary journal *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, which re-emerged under the new editorship of Jacques Rivière, after a 5-year hiatus due to the war. Rivière entrusted the art criticism section in NRF to his long-time friend Lhote, and by designating a painter to take over the fine arts changed the usual approach of the journal.⁴³² Lhote would continue to write for NRF for the next twenty years. In the first issue, Rivière had written: “We think we can perceive a

⁴³¹ Bermann-Martin, Dominique. “The Life of André Lhote,” *André Lhote and His International Students* (Kuban, Zeynep; Simone Wille). 1st edition. Edited Volume Series. Innsbruck: University Press, 2020:27.

⁴³² Jane Lee says that “while [André] Gide, for instance, sneered at the space wasted, Lhote found a supporter in [Marcel] Proust. Lee, Jane. “André Lhote - art critic for *La Nouvelle Revue Française*,’ *Art criticism since 1900* (ed. Malcolm Gee), Manchester University Press, 1993 (85-96): 85.

direction to which the creative instinct of our race, as new and hardy as ever, is in the process of committing itself... We will speak about everything that seems to forecast a classical renaissance.”⁴³³ In line with Rivière’s thinking, Lhote established himself in the pages of NRF as “a conservative critic from the avant-garde.”⁴³⁴ He wrote reviews as well as short treatises, which established his theoretical position, aligning himself with the convictions of NRF at large, very clearly.

His articles from 1919 and 1920, such as “Premiere Visite au Louvre,” “De la Necessité des théories” and “L’Enseignement de Cézanne” attest to the fact that Lhote was cultivating a theory of modernism that was based in tradition. He prescribed what might be called a rational Cubism as a continuation of French tradition; for him, Cubism was a new classical form that was applying new methods of representation. Informed by Cézanne, for Lhote, painting was a *transposition plastique*; an intensive knowledge of the masters and their methods to be combined with a direct study of nature, transformed into new forms on canvas after having been processed internally by the artist. There was an emotive value in geometricization, through which the artist would externalize an internal universal order with his intellect. It was not only a synthesis of the phenomenological (what was observed from nature) and the internal disposition of the artist but also a synthesis of preceding styles with the necessities of the current day, folding new methods of representation (in this case the Cubist deformation of the visual field) into the French lineage. Lhote was set on restoring a broken tradition as an artist as well as a theorist. He saw the failing of Impressionism to be not knowing how to bring the sensations it had fixed through color back into tradition, and Cubism as already rooted in the strong linearity and composition of the primitives, could be seen as a reconciliation, rather than a further break: “One’s duty is to work to find an equilibrium between the anti-impressionist classical ideal and our means, which are profoundly,

⁴³³ Silver, Kenneth E. *Chaos & Classicism: Art in France, Italy, and Germany, 1918-1936*. New York, N.Y.: Guggenheim Museum, 2010: 175.

⁴³⁴ Lee, Jane. “André Lhote” (1993): 86.

incurably impressionist.”⁴³⁵

One might also see this as a *syncretic*, rather than synthetic Cubism, and this would be the profound lesson for the Turks. In the article *De la nécessité des theories*, Lhote described that it was not just cold reason, but instinct that worked quietly and in mysterious ways, hence theory was not an *a priori* principle to apply, but an intellectual process supported by the act of observation of nature together with the act of painting, in turn resulting in new forms. This, he saw in the work of the greatest synthesizer, Cézanne, who successfully negotiated between *cosa mentale* (Leonardo da Vinci’s description for art, which the section d’Or Cubists had taken as their credo)⁴³⁶ and the sensory perception advocated by the Impressionists, *petite sensation*. In his 1920 article titled *L’Enseignement de Cézanne*, he articulates this process:

To resume the method of Cézanne, one must divide it into two times. First the painter in contact with a spectacle undergoes an emotion of an essentially plastic order, he uncovers under appearances the existence of a hidden order which raises in his consciousness an adequate geometric construction. The sensation replaces the inspiration in the classical sense and remains invested with the same powers. The first work is direct, spontaneous and consists in nourishing the colored material, enclosing the essence of the object envisaged, the fugitive edifice of sensation. The second task, which takes place ‘a tête reposée’ consists in submitting to a mechanical rhythm, the reflection of a universal rhythm, the elements born in the preceding analysis.⁴³⁷

Jane Lee reads Lhote’s theoretical writing from the lens of scholasticism, a thirty-year philosophical attack on positivism and materialism that preceded Lhote’s writing: information is submitted to universal ordering principles, accepting the Platonic form, but to be reached through sensations. This scholasticism informs not only Lhote’s reading of Cézanne, but also his desire to mend the break with tradition that Impressionism created, by synthesizing sensation with the universal

⁴³⁵ Lhote, André. “A propos de club artistique” quoted in Lee, Jane. “André Lhote - art critic for *La Nouvelle Revue Française*,” in Malcolm Gee (ed.), *Art criticism since 1900*, Manchester University Press, 1993, p. 85-96: 86.

⁴³⁶ The group's title ‘Section d’Or’ was suggested by Jacques Villon, after reading a 1910 translation by Joséphin Péladan of Leonardo da Vinci's *A Treatise on Painting*. Of note here is the parallelism with two books to be penned by Lhote in the upcoming years, *Traité du Paysage* (1939) and *Traité de la Figure* (1950).

⁴³⁷ Lhote, Andre. “L’Enseignement de Cézanne” quoted in Lee, Jane. “André Lhote - art critic for *La Nouvelle Revue Française*,” in *Art criticism since 1900* (1993): 88.

organizing principles of classicism.⁴³⁸ Lee goes on to explain that this was scholastic synthesis at the service of modern painting: larger-than-life questions were simplified and systematized with an Aristotelian method, and nothing was cast away (neither the lessons of Impressionism, nor the deconstruction of the object in Cubism).⁴³⁹ Lhote exercised this method in taking parts of Impressionism and Cubism to fold back in with tradition, to ensure historical continuity rather than perceiving these developments in painting as a series of ruptures. His call for a return to order (*le rappel à l'ordre*) was not full return, but progress without losing ties with tradition. In this sense, Lhote's traditionalism was not reactive per se, but rather, cumulative.⁴⁴⁰

Lhote's very first text for NRF had been a review of Braque's exhibition at Léonce Rosenberg's gallery, in which Lhote used the term "*le rappel à l'ordre*," to describe what he saw in recent work by Braque and Picasso. The term, translated as "a call to order" or "a return to order" became more popular after it was used by Jean Cocteau as the title of his collection of essays, *Le Rappel à l'ordre*, published in 1926.⁴⁴¹ *Le rappel à l'ordre* came to designate a wide-ranging set of ideas, not all strictly against Cubism. It characterized a larger tendency in postwar France, firstly, towards classical ideals, evidenced most easily in Picasso's Ingres-esques portraits, a cultural re-alignment with "l'attinité" evident in the *commedia*

⁴³⁸ Lee continues: "Modern metaphysics was replete with scholasticism, particularly in the teachings of Bergson and his followers, and long before the First World War scholasticism had become a pervasive force in French thinking. For artists like Lhote, moreover, it was a current of thinking which systematically overrode both the materialism of the impressionists and the mystic realism of the symbolists." Lee, Jane. "André Lhote - art critic for *La Nouvelle Revue Française*," in *Art criticism since 1900* (1993): 90.

⁴³⁹ Modern scholasticism was about restoring the ideas of Thomas Aquinas in Catholicism as well as bringing metaphysical studies in universities closer to empirical study and research, while remaining loyal to the belief of a greater truth beyond the observable world.

⁴⁴⁰ Most of these earlier articles by Lhote were posthumously compiled by Jean Cassou under the title "Les Invariants Plastiques" in 1967. The book was translated into Turkish and printed with the initiative of the Turkish art historian Kaya Özsezgin, with the hopes of understanding the theoretical influence of Lhote on Turkish painters and painting as late as 2000. In his introductory text "Lhote and Us" Özsezgin says: "Even though the pursuit for the modern against impressionism in Turkey largely developed under the direction of Lhote's counsel, which provided a resource for these endeavors, the lack of reviews or articles in our own language on this teacher-theorist in the literature of painting, and the fact that there hasn't been anyone who wished to translate his work until now, is very interesting..." Lhote, André. *Sanatta Değişmeyen Plastik Değerler – Les Invariants Plastiques* (ed. Jean Cassou, trans: Kaya Özsezgin), İstanbul: İmge, 2000: 9.

⁴⁴¹ William Rubin says that the phrase was used by Jacques Bissière and Lhote in their reviews of the Braque exhibition, in March and June of 1919, respectively. Rubin, quoted in Green, Christopher. *Cubism and Its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987: 108.

dell arte themes taken up by various artists, and thirdly, it manifested itself as what some call an “academic cubism,” more aptly characterized as a specific brand of cubism with a nationalistic reading. This was an at times racist and anti-Semitic recasting of the German-influenced *Kubism* advocated by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and his gallery cubists, the leader of whom was the Spaniard Picasso, into a French Cubism, a defense against the barbarization of French values by outsiders. Of course, there were overlaps and points of departure in the various manifestations of these tendencies as they were not strictly prescribed courses for subject matter and style.⁴⁴² *Le rappel à l'ordre* more generally was a moving away from what was now seen as prewar decadence and radicalism in certain artists (some of whom were foreigners) towards a balance between the mind and emotions: a new classicism at large. But what exactly did classical mean at this point in time for postwar French painters, who were completely taken over by it? Kenneth Silver explains in *Chaos and Classicism*:

In French artistic parlance, ‘classical’ describes not only antiquity (Greece and Rome) and the Italian Renaissance, but also the sixteenth-century court art of François I at the Fontainebleau; the work of Nicolas Poussin and his contemporaries during *le grand siècle*, the seventeenth century; the painting of Jacques-Louis David and his followers at the end of the eighteenth century; and the art of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, the great representative of *le style classique* in the nineteenth century (not to mention still later ‘classicists’ like Pierre Puvis de Chavannes and Maillol.) Sculpture, architecture, and the decorative arts that evoke these moments or figures are likewise deemed ‘classical.’⁴⁴³

During the war, Lhote himself had been represented by Léonce Rosenberg, who had taken over from exiled Kahnweiler the position of sponsoring Parisian Cubism. (And in Kahnweiler’s absence, Cubism became less cosmopolitan-Parisian, and more French.) This is when Lhote’s call for moderation against zealous avant-gardism since before the war fell in line with the post-war atmosphere of French

⁴⁴² It is important to note here that *le rappel à l'ordre* was neither solely Lhote’s doing nor strictly French; Futurist Gino Severini wrote a text in 1921 titled “du cubism au classicism: esthetique du compas et du nombre,” which was a call for leaving artistic anarchy for the laws of construction. Carlo Carro published “Our Antiquity” in 1919. While they argued for a streamlined version of classical values rather than a classicism that found its form in visual references to Old Master and Neo-classical painting, the golden ratio and Greek classicism were also the subject of Jeanneret and Ozenfant in *Après le Cubisme* of 1918.

⁴⁴³ Silver, Kenneth E., “A More Durable Self” *Chaos & Classicism: Art in France, Italy, and Germany, 1918-1936* (2010): 20.

nationalism. Lhote broke away from Rosenberg's gallery *l'Effort Moderne* in 1918; this was seen as his defection from Cubism together with the better known Diégo Rivera, evidencing, for vocal critics eager to announce to be rid of Cubism such as Louis Vauxcelles, its death. In his book *Cubism and Its Enemies* in which art historian Christopher Green argues for the extended life of Cubism in France and a more expanded understating of the movement at large, he states that Lhote still saw himself as a Cubist after 1918, even though this might have been dismissed by others. After the large Cubist showing at the *Salon des Indépendents* in 1920, Lhote argued that there were two kinds of Cubists; *a priori* Cubists (synthetic Cubists such as Picasso and Gris), whose work was based on abstraction and construction, and *a posteriori* Cubists, (more in the camp of the earlier, pre-war analytic Cubism), whose works were based on a direct study of nature.⁴⁴⁴ Lhote saw himself as an *a posteriori* Cubist, embracing a kind of "revived early Cubism" as Green describes it, but with post-war qualities using "geometric armature as discipline" and tied to a French lineage with a "chauvinistic notion of tradition." Green argues that Lhote "was thus able to fit his analytical, nature-based Cubism into a reassuringly nationalist view of tradition and remove the synthetic, pure Cubism of Picasso, Gris, and their French allies into the more doubtful category of foreign art. His appeal was that of a solid French nationalist who looked (in his work) and sounded (in his writing) like a modernist, and it was an appeal augmented by the choice of attractive popular subjects, anti-elitist and lively."⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁴ Lhote's conceptions of analytic and synthetic are not too far from those deployed in *Der Weg Zum Kubismus* (1920), Kahnweiler's account of Cubism. Alfred Barr relied on Kahnweiler's account for his 1936 exhibition and catalog *Cubism and Abstract Art*, for which he came up with his now-famous evolutionary diagram of modern art. Only, Robbins says, Barr redeployed Kahnweiler's terms "analytic" and "synthetic" not as options available to the artists at the time, but as evolutionary phases of a movement leading towards abstraction. For Kahnweiler, analytical and synthetic corresponded to his Kantian thinking about art, where the *a priori* and the empirical experience could come together. According to Robbins, figures such as Lhote were characterized as "mere cubifiers" after this evolutionary thinking settled, and hence they were thrown out of the history of Cubism as it developed in the Anglo-American trajectory from Roger Fry and Clive Bell to Alfred Barr to Sir Herbert Read. Robbins, Daniel. "Abbreviated Historiography of Cubism," *Art Journal*, Vol. 47, No. 4, Revising Cubism (Winter, 1988), 277-283: 277.

⁴⁴⁵ Green, Christopher. *Cubism and Its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987: 65.

However, as Lee says, “Lhote’s conservatism should not be confused with the chauvinism of the period around the First World War... He was a conservative critic as he was a conservative painter” all along.⁴⁴⁶ While Lhote himself was building his theories and practice of painting towards the synthesis between tradition and Cubism since before artistic discussion became entrenched in war time nativism, his analytical postwar Cubism became the evidence of a French Cubism in postwar writing. The 1929 article of poet and art critic Paul Fierens in the NRF makes this positioning clear, and is hence quoted extensively below:

Cubism is French. Perhaps it is important to say it, to recall it, at a time when, shuffling the cards, neglecting the facts of history and juggling with the concepts of verticalism and horizontalism, romanticism and Hellenism, Mr. Uhde strives to Germanize Picasso. Cubism, like Gothic architecture, like Impressionism, is French by birth. Cézanne was its father, Seurat something like the uncle, Matisse the godfather. But it quickly became Europeanized, in such a way that we wouldn’t be insisting on the place of its origins if it was only a question of defining its essence and its characters. We would simply like, with regard to Lhote, to point out that there exists a French Cubism, clearly circumscribed, conscious of its aims and means, even in full agreement with the tradition invoked against Picasso by Mr. Uhde. It is not *the* cubism, it is *a* cubism, the most rational, the most measured, in certain respects the least free, and in others, the least mechanical. Who are its masters, those who, until the end, have remained faithful to it? Roger de la Fresnaye, Robert Delanunay, André Lhote.

Fierens goes on to discuss the “processes of expression” and “form and construction” that uniquely “reduce [...] living nature to its abstract components” as part of this French genius, uniquely inflecting every canvas with “the personal fantasy of the artist” ending his piece by announcing the need for designating a separate room in a French museum for Lhote’s paintings:

[...] In the end, André Lhote may well be the only representative of a French Cubism whose historical importance (in a national museum of modern painting better organized than that of Luxembourg, a room should group *Conquest of the air* [by de la Fresnaye], *Escale* [by Lhote])... the ideal of complexity in the effort, of unity in the result – ‘I have neglected nothing’ said Poussin—deserve to be better appreciated.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁶ Jane Lee says that “while [André] Gide, for instance, sneered at the space wasted, Lhote found a supporter in [Marcel] Proust. Lee: 86.

⁴⁴⁷ Fierens, Paul. “André Lhote et le Cubisme Français,” *La Nouvelle Revue Française* no:188, May 1929: 731-736.

The artwork Fierens found worthy of hanging in an ideal museum of French modern painting, Lhote's *Escale* (1913) was a thorough celebration of French cultural values, both in form and content.⁴⁴⁸ [fig. 3.53-55] Riffing on the traditional pictorial types of history painting and genre painting, Lhote revives them both through a contemporary scene of national celebration. The painting is again divided by a diagonal, with two female figures on the foreground and the rest reserved for depicting the port receding gradually into the background, inhabited by dancers and sailors, with incoming ships, masts of docked boats and a bridge in the distance. The sense of depth is created not through a one-point perspective, but through the use of scale as well as the mildly cubist faceting. A characteristic landscape of a French port town—possibly Bordeaux—with a characteristic scene of rowdy sailors disembarking to meet prostitutes, is communicated through recognizable signs and figures rendered in realistic yet synthetic color, with blue, white and red used in abundance, the colors of the French flag: a celebration of French tropes of daily life. When the Turkish students found their way to Académie Lhote in the late 1920s, the huge canvas *Escale* was hung in the pride of place in the main atelier. [fig. 3.55-56] And what better school could there be for the interwar Turkish painter, to which many international artists flocked, run by a famous master, who was designated a national treasure by French critics, a published theorist, advocating for a modern art solidly based in tradition?

Académie André Lhote:

Though he was characterized as a thoroughly French painter, Lhote could also be seen as a key player in exporting Cubist strategies to the rest of the world. In a parallel trajectory, Lhote's career as a pedagogue—especially as a go-to teacher of modern painting for artists coming from outside France—had long begun. Lhote had initially started teaching when an older Swedish painter, Georg Pauli, asked

⁴⁴⁸ *Escale* was a variation on *Sur le pont d'Avignon*, presented at the Salon des Indépendants in 1923. Lhote would make more variations on the same theme with slight stylistic updates a year after this article, in 1930, he painted *Juillet 14*. Today, whether on display or not, all three paintings are in French national museum collections.

Lhote in 1911, who was then only twenty-six years old, to teach him Cubism with private lessons.⁴⁴⁹

During the war, Lhote had also started teaching in the free academies of Paris; [fig. 3.57-63] he taught at “Atelier Libre” (1916), Académie Montparnasse (1917-1925), Académie Moderne (1919), Atelier d’études (1920-21) and Académie de la rue du Départ (1921-25) until he opened his own: Académie André Lhote at 18 rue Odessa in Montparnasse in 1925.

A circular for Lhote’s academy shows that Lhote’s academy operated not so differently than others, offering studies from the live model as well as the still-life: “Professor André Lhote corrects Thursday mornings and Friday afternoons. He gives the pose and a demonstration of the model every Monday. We have classes of nudes, portraits and still lifes. Every three months we have a special composition course that lasts for 15 days with a lecture by Mr. Lhote.”⁴⁵⁰ It can be inferred from the accounts of former students as well as the two pedagogical books (*Traité du paysage*, 1939 and *Traité de la figure*, 1950⁴⁵¹) he penned during the active years of his *académie* that it was the lectures and corrections which differentiated Lhote and contributed to his reputation as a sought-after teacher.

American artist and filmmaker Emlen Etting, who studied at Académie Lhote between 1928-1931 must have overlapped with at least a few of the Turkish artists that are the subject of this study. His memoir paints a vivid picture of his years as a student of painting in Paris, and features a detailed description of Lhote’s atelier and teaching:

The master would appear Monday mornings [...] First off, he would greet the model and set the pose for the week. [...] After he had settled the pose Monsieur Lhote would retire to the office where he would discuss personal problems and evaluate work brought in from outside before putting his shoes back on. But Thursday was the big day, climax of

⁴⁴⁹ Bermann Martin, Dominique. “The Life of André Lhote,” presentation at the conference *Correlating Cultural and Ideological Positions: André Lhote, Paris, and his Former International Students*, İstanbul Technical University, (December 11-2, 2017), İstanbul, Turkey.

⁴⁵⁰ “Monsieur le Professeur André Lhote corrige les jeudis matins et vendredis après-midi. Il donne la pose ainsi qu’une demonstration d’après le modele tou les lundis. Nous avons des classes de nus, de portraits et de natures mortes. Tous les trois mois nous avons un cours special de composition qui dure pendant 15 jours avec conference de Monsieur Lhote.” Circular sent to the students of the academy, no date, Lhote archives, Paris.

⁴⁵¹ Etting says: “His books on art were most enlightening reappraisals and pronouncements. Unfortunately, these were little known outside France, for the prose, though clear, was convoluted and hard to translate.” (P.27) His *Traité de paysage* was translated to English in 1950.

the week, when the whole session was devoted to class criticism. After a few jesting remarks, Lhote would pitch right in, sitting or standing in front of a central easel while the students regrouped, hugging around behind him. Sometimes he would demonstrate with sketches, but more often he would paint right onto the canvas in question but with the student's own brushes and pigment. Often there would be a little gasp as some prized passage was obliterated or done over, but mostly it was a matter of total absorption, with only the briefest pause before the next canvas was attacked. This schedule allowed for Friday and Saturday to be devoted to adjustments and finishing up. [...] Lhote used to refer frequently to the journal of Eugène Delacroix, declaring "Tout est là dedans" (everything you need to know is in there). [...] With due respect to Delacroix, Mr. Lhote had worked out his own methods, and they were eminently practicable and totally his. A lot of students invariably copied his style, but he never encouraged anyone to paint as he did. He only wanted his students to learn traditional fundamentals now almost totally disregarded. He matured from cubism into a new form of classicism. [...] After the first winter I began to grasp his method of drawing. He explained that since the advent of photography there was no reason to attempt to reproduce what the lens could readily fix on sensitized paper. The painter should progress in another direction—one of inventive stylization—by a simplification first of all into geometric terms. [...]⁴⁵²

The echoes of Lhote's middle-ground approach between Cubism and classicism are embedded in the description of his *académie* by Etting; while teaching outside the Beaux-Arts system, Lhote offered not a radical rejection of traditions, but a means to update classical tradition without disavowing the past. Nurullah Berk, who arrived at Académie Lhote a year after Etting's departure, picks up the description of the atelier where Etting left off, and confirms his take on Lhote as a teacher of 'modern classicism':

It was rather large and had a balcony. Downstairs, [students] worked from a live model, while upstairs was for still lifes that changed every week. Lhote's paintings, both old and new, hung on the walls. It was jam-packed with people from all over the world, of every age. A 20-year old German girl would work next to a Swede over 60. What the master taught here could be said to be the opposite of the system of the official academies. It was the system of a teacher who had made a move, encouraging his students to do so as well. But this [encouragement] was far from a thoughtless boldness that was blindly running after novelty. On the contrary, what was taught was real classicism. Was the pose of the nude model reminiscent of a Rubens [painting] or Tintoretto's? The teacher would show examples from both, sharing his dizzying observations. What the teacher said and advised on those two days of the week were so captivating that people would come just to listen to these conversations about art.

Lhote's teaching was technical and emphasized the craft of painting. He insisted on the rules of composition learned from the masters by intensive study of the history of painting, and of careful

⁴⁵² Etting, Emlen, and Marina Pacini. "Studio in Paris." *Archives of American Art Journal* 28, no. 3, 1988: 26-28.

observation. (Up until this point, Lhote's methods seem not too different than those of Hofmann, but what follows is where the similarities end.) This was always to be accompanied by a study of nature, which would always get combined with theory and precise laws of organization before being transferred onto the canvas. His weekly *conférences* at the académie, his written treatises as well as the public lectures Lhote frequently gave revolved around line, color, and perspective. [Fig. 3.64] His theorization strove towards a geometric organization that was equally informed by Jacques-Louis David's neo-classicism and the strong linearity of Ingres, as it was by Cézanne's *passages* and Cubist geometricization, with color lessons learned from Neo-Impressionists. (During the summers, he invited his students to the village of Mirmande, to paint *en plein air*.) Though undated, some of Lhote's handwritten notes for the lectures he gave to his students at Académie Lhote survive in the Lhote archives. In his *Premier discours à mes élèves* [First Lesson to my Students], Lhote differentiates his teaching from that at the École des Beaux-Arts; his method is based on showing his students how to look at nature, a practice that is to be informed by looking at museum collections:

The School of Fine Arts speaks of correctly distributed forms and colors; [but] it fails to speak of the essential: quality; it is also incapable of learning to see nature, because it omits to examine the museums beforehand. During the first years, in fact, one cannot see Nature with the naked eye; one must wear extraordinarily deformed glasses to see the parts of it which are suitable for art. This instrument of approach, only the Museums can provide it to you, I mean some exemplary works, fruit of the traditional sweat matured in the fire of revolt.⁴⁵³

In his lectures, Lhote also color reproductions to illustrate his points. But unlike Hofmann, Lhote argued that it was possible to codify the complex art of painting. When one is able to see properly, that is through the artistic temperament, there are eternal values that can be identified in the work of the masters. Lhote calls these principles *plastic invariants*. For Lhote, when one disregards the differences of geography, era,

⁴⁵³ Lhote, André. "Premier discours à mes élèves," Archive André Lhote. « L'École des Beaux-Arts parle de formes et de couleurs correctement distribuées; elle omet de parler de l'essentiel: la qualité; elle est incapable en outre d'apprendre à voir la nature, parce qu'elle omet d'interroger préalablement les Musées. Durant les premières années, en effet, on ne peut voir la Nature à l'œil nu; il faut chausser des lunettes extraordinairement déformantes pour en apercevoir les parties qui conviennent à l'art. Cet instrument d'approche, les Musées seuls peuvent vous le fournir, je veux dire quelques œuvres exemplaires, fruit du sue traditionnel muri au feu de la révolte. »

personal style, mannerisms and all other sorts of affect in painting, we are left with these eternal values, common to all good painting. When looking at paintings in museums, he advised his students to see past the detail to capture these plastic invariants:

I said 'eternal values.' Indeed, resistant to all the transformations of genius, to all climates, to all eras and to tics, mannerisms and affections of all kinds, there are values that I name, for lack of a better [term] plastic invariants, of which a certain coefficient is absolutely necessary for the life of the work. To determine the invariants is to ensure the most direct route to the goal: the painting; it is to protect oneself against all hesitations, devouring time, it is above all to present to the shock of emotions a solid recording and correcting mechanism, like the way in which the swimmer opposes his cunning muscles to the currents and eddies of the tide.

Lhote spent the rest of his first lecture to his students to elaborate on some of these plastic invariants, by looking at works by Rembrandt and Van Gogh. He used Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait* (also known as *Self-Portrait with an Architectural Background*) (c.1639) as an example to illustrate that when color is reduced to a minimum, the play of values reached maximum intensity, whereas when the play of color is used at maximum intensity, as in the example of Van Gogh's *Portrait of Doctor Gascet* (1890), the values were at a minimum. By value, Lhote meant dark-light contrasts, which, in his opinion, were not to exceed one-third of the painting's surface, or it would weigh it down. The painting was to be predominantly reserved for half-tones. One can infer that the other elements that Lhote planned to teach his students are those of the geometricization of the drawing and rhythmic composition, but he leaves these to another lecture.⁴⁵⁴ Whether it is the chiaroscuro used by old masters, or the tonality of color in the flat-tints of Van Gogh, the painter should distribute light and dark values according to a rhythm. Through the example of *valeur* and *couleur* Lhote argues that in painting, an equilibrium is to be maintained in painting, which gives it unity (echoing Hofmann):

⁴⁵⁴ He says: "I pass over in silence today, because I would never finish, the rhythmic composition of the Architect [The Rembrandt portrait] and the geometry of the drawing, which differs from the Byzantine stylization only by the artifice of the envelope and the passages." André Lhote, *Ibid.* « Je passe sous silence aujourd'hui, car je n'en finirais pas, la composition rythmique de l'Architecte et la géométrisation du dessin, qui ne diffère de la stylisation Byzantine que par l'artifice de l'enveloppe et des passages. »

The unity of the painting above all things. It was to achieve this unity that Tintoretto and El Greco so arbitrarily illuminated the backgrounds, riddled them with inexplicable reflections...⁴⁵⁵

Though Lhote stuck to pre-synthetic Cubism, his formula for painterly creation is one of synthesis. His approach to painting is one of looking at the tradition of painting to learn from it, and to critique it, so that the painter can add to it, from his position in the present. In his own way, Lhote is a type of synthesizer, or one could argue that his work precisely exists within the realm of syncretic modernism. He says: “To create is at times to obey, and at others to critique.”⁴⁵⁶ His lecture ends with a joke that shows his hostility towards Cubist ambitions with regard to simultaneity, expansion of space, or non-Euclidian mathematics, and his stance of moderation. Lhote apparently said to André Salmon, one of the early defenders of Cubism (together with Guillaume Apollinaire and Maurice Raynal): “‘Your fourth dimension is getting the hell out of here,’ I propose to them, on the contrary, laws that are exciting and not so tyrannical that they cannot allow everyone to find—provisioning of course—one's own truth.”⁴⁵⁷ What Lhote practiced in his own work, taught to his students, and advocated in his writing was neither a reactionary neo-traditionalism nor a revolutionary futurism, but a moderate, populist, middle-of-the-road modernism, a synthesis between the old and the new.

Today, whether one derides or praises Lhote's particular classicist modernism as a synthesis of decorative Cubist geometricization or simplified Cézannist construction with lessons on composition, color and light gleaned from historical precedents depends on how much one has internalized a vanguardist understanding of modernism. (Hence, for example, Centre Pompidou's exclusion of Lhote from the most recent French Cubism exhibition in 2019.) But when historically contextualized, his method of teaching modern painting as firmly grounded within the classical tradition of Western painting had a particular attraction, especially for the international students voting with their feet. Finding one's own voice, albeit

⁴⁵⁵ André Lhote, *Ibid.* «L'unité du tableau avant toutes choses. C'est pour réaliser cette unité que Tintoret et le Gréco éclairèrent si arbitrairement les fonds, criblant ceux-ci de reflets inexplicables...»

⁴⁵⁶ Lhote, *ibid.* «Créer, c'est à la fois obéir et critiquer. »

⁴⁵⁷ Lhote, *ibid.*

working within the popularized version of a contemporary idiom (Cubism at-large), greatly appealed to the international artists flocking to Paris to learn about new modes of painting before and after the Second World War. Like the Turks, both Swedish and Brazilian students kept heading for Académie Lhote for over 50 years. His archive illustrates that Lhote was in close contact with his devout students from all over the world throughout his life, maintaining his relationship with them through letters and holiday cards, as well as limited visits prompted by countless invitations to their respective countries. [fig.3.65-68] After the end of the Second World War, he had been in close contact with his Brazilian students, which resulted in him setting up an academy in Rio de Janeiro in 1952: L'Atelier Academie Montparnasse à Rio de Janeiro. The same year, he also went to Cairo upon the invitation of his former student Ahmed Nagy, where he became mesmerized with Egyptian art, writing *Les Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture égyptienne* in 1954. Meanwhile, Lhote continued to teach at his académie in Paris and in the south of France in the summers until 1960. Lhote's theoretical teaching remained committed to his "plastic invariants" even when non-objective painting and gestural abstraction swept off everything else in the 1940s. In 1948, he gave five lectures at the Sorbonne about looking for the intangible principles and unchanging properties in painting. His last lecture there was later printed under the title: "Les invariants plastiques."⁴⁵⁸ Before and after the war, Lhote also expanded his devout international following through the publication of two books, *Traité du Paysage* in 1939 and *Traité de la Figure* in 1950.

For some of his students, like Nurullah Berk, their experience of Académie Lhote would only crystallize after reading his treatises. Berk's example shows that these encounters with modern painting in Paris, however simplified, must have been initially rather difficult to process for the young artists. It must have been similar for Ali Avni, who returned to Hofmann and became his student again a decade later, in 1931. When Berk returned to Paris in 1932, having been unsatisfied with the four years he had spent at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the early 1920s, he only sought the ateliers of those he surely knew to be modern masters. He first headed to André Lhote's school on rue Odessa. Not knowing that he would

⁴⁵⁸ Lhote, André. *Les Invariants Plastiques*, Paris: Hermann, 1967.

later become his most adamant follower (and even, one could argue, Lhote personified in Turkish art circles), Nurullah's first visit to André Lhote's atelier was initially underwhelming. About this first encounter, he later admitted that at the time he didn't understand the master at all: "As a student of Çalli, a novice painter bored with academic formulae, how was I to grasp Lhote's 'plastic metaphors?'"⁴⁵⁹ In 1933, Berk had left Lhote's atelier after a short while, and had instead headed to Atelier Fernand Léger⁴⁶⁰—an experience he remembers to be just as confusing:

I looked at the model and was surprised. The nude model was surrounded by thick sailor ropes, papers curled like tubes, conch shells; many 'objects.' The students were transferring all these onto paper with the meticulousness of a photographer (...) the proportions of the objects were changed according to the student's wishes transferred to paper and canvas. For example, the conch shell placed on the table on which the model was leaning had been enlarged ten times, or a rope that had been twisted from top to bottom had thickened to a pipe. It was Léger's system of prioritizing the object and playing with it as he wanted."⁴⁶¹

According to Berk, the moment he began to understand Lhote's teaching came after WW2, in 1947, when he visited the artist again in Paris. He had adamantly followed his teacher, reading and closely studying

⁴⁵⁹ Nurullah Berk "André Lhôte," *Ustalarla Konuşmalar*; Ankara sanat yayımları, Ankara, 1971 (47-64): 59. Berk specifically cites: *La peinture, le cœur et l'esprit suivi de Parlons peinture: essais*. Paris: Denoël, 1933; *Traité du Paysage*, Librairie Floury, 1939; *Peinture d'abord: essais*. Paris: Denoël, 1942; *Bonnard, Pierre. Seize peintures, 1939-1943*, Paris: Les Éditions du Chêne, 1944; *Écrits sur la peinture*. Collection "Témoignages" (Brussels, Belgium). Paris: Lumière, 1946.

⁴⁶⁰ Léger came to teach rather surreptitiously; living in the same building as *Academie Moderne*, run by Othon Friesz at 86, rue Notre-Dame des Champs. In 1924, while he was busy establishing the Scandinavian Academy (also known as Maison Watteau) Friesz asked Fernand Léger to take over. Friesz continued to teach in the morning, while Léger held an atelier in the afternoon. From 1925, weakened by pneumonia, Léger asked the painter Amédée Ozenfant to share his teaching until 1928. Léger's studio at the Académie Moderne closed for two years in 1931, the year of Fernand Léger's first trip to the United States. The following year, the painter reopened a studio within the framework of the Grande Chaumière. In 1933, Fernand Léger finally decided to found his own academy, called the Atelier Léger. This is where Nurullah Berk must have taken classes with him. Atelier Léger moved three times until 1939, the year before it closed. In 1946, the school re-opened a few months before Léger's return from the US after WW2, in Montrouge. Berk went to see his former master again the same year, where he interviewed him. Maingon, Claire. "L'Académie Lhote, l'Atelier Léger..." (2010): 220-222.

⁴⁶¹ Nurullah Berk "Fernand Léger'nin İki Atölyesi," *Ustalarla Konuşmalar*; Ankara sanat yayımları, Ankara, 1971 (38-47): 41. "Modele baktım ve şaşırđım. Çıplak modelin çevresi kalın gemici halatları, boru gibi kıvrılmış kağıtlar, çağanoz kabukları, bir sürü 'obje-nesne' ile örüldü idi. Öğrenciler bütün bunları birer fotoğrafçı titizliğiyle kağıda aktarıyorlardı (...) kağıda, tuvale aktarılan modellerin normal nispetleri öğrencinin isteğine göre değiştirilmişti. Örneğin modelin dayandığı masanın üstündeki çağanoz kabuğu on misli büyütülmüştü, ya da yukarıdan aşağı kıvrıla kıvrıla indirilmiş bir halat, hortum gibi kalınlaşmıştı. Bu Léger'in obje-nesne'yi ön plana alarak onunla istediği gibi oynaması sistemiydi."

all his books and articles that came out to the point of memorization. Eventually, Berk would be the instantiation of such pedagogical Cubism for Turkey.

Part 4: ‘Kübig’ not Cubist

The Turkish students’ processing of these varied teachings from the advocates of modern painting, be it Léger, Gromaire, Lhote, or Hofmann, would take time; even decades for some, as it had for Hofmann. Nevertheless, they had experienced the shock of the new in Europe and they were determined to carry their experience over to Istanbul. Not even allowing themselves some time to internalize their encounters with these new modes of seeing and painting, the young artists eagerly displayed the early tests of their newly found modern vocabulary, even if half digested. Throughout the 1930s, audiences would get to see many drawings made in the ateliers of Paris and Munich, as well as paintings including Cubist table-top compositions, Léger-like exaggerated and simplified still-lives, or Gromaire-esque solid figures across exhibitions in Istanbul and Ankara. [fig. 3.69-74] But even before these student ‘copies’ were shown publicly, the matter of the ‘kübig’ resurfaced in Turkey, not in closed artistic circles, but in newspaper pages. As illustrated earlier in the chapter, the fine art ‘kübig’ had been introduced to the public in a rather tongue-in-cheek fashion by the press when Ali Avni and Zeki had first shown their Hofmann drawings. Between then and 1931, ‘kübig’ had been used in the context of architecture, in a 1929 essay titled “Cubism in Architecture and the Turkish Tradition” by İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], the rector of Istanbul University; he had critiqued the First National Style in architecture, with its cultural references now passé (read Ottoman), as the product of a bygone era, surpassed by the Modern Movement in architecture.⁴⁶² The matter of the Turkish ‘kübig’ found new discursive ground to cover after 1931, when the 4th exhibition of the Independents in Istanbul caught the attention of the press. The exhibition can best be described as a latent roaring 20s event; it was organized in the hopping Pera district, in a building which had formerly housed the Karpıç restaurant, the Nikola beer hall, in the former space of the

⁴⁶² Sibel Bozdoğan discusses this turn towards modernism and the Kemalist conception of culture as an evolutionary agent of history as well as laying out the discourse in which İsmail Hakkı was participating in, in Chapters 3 and 4 of *Modernism and Nation Building*.

Moskovit night club.⁴⁶³ “Colorful pictures of all kinds hung on the motley walls of the former club that had absorbed the sounds of the jazz band” is how Elif Naci described the exhibition, who accused Hale for making Bursa look like the Moulin Rouge, and vice versa in his review.⁴⁶⁴ The music was not only a distant memory; the artists organized a “danslı çay” –a tea-party with dancing– and announced it with the exhibition invitation drawn by Hale. The famous white Russian balalaika orchestra, that of the famous club Turkuaz provided the music. More than 700 people saw the exhibition in the first five days; possibly due to the tea party with dancing that was organized, which led the artists to repeat the event every weekend in order to draw in even more viewers.⁴⁶⁵ While a complete reconstruction of what was in the exhibition is not possible, as its brochure does not survive, a few photographs printed in newspapers give a sense of what was shown. Included were Hale’s portraits of men about town such as her *flaneur* husband the ceramicist İsmail Oygur, young art historian Burhan Ümit, or herself, now depicted in a much more simplified style compared to her own self-portrait from 1924, using subdued color, a thinly applied smooth coat of paint, and clean lines within sparsely populated compositions. It is highly likely that another painting that fell in line perfectly with its time and its environment and was part of the show was Refik’s *Bar*, depicting couples dancing the foxtrot in summary lines, flat and vivid colors presented in a typically modern composition that oddly left parts of the piano, one of the diners and one half of the dancing couple off the canvas, as if this was not a painting but a quickly snapped photo, an effect

⁴⁶³ Post Independence-war and post-occupation Istanbul was like post-war Berlin or Paris, a very cosmopolitan, entertainment-focused city; even the diplomatic corps refused to leave to move to Ankara. Fikret Adil’s autobiographical book *Asmalımescit* paints a vivid picture of the entertainment culture in Pera, focusing on the characters that are precisely part of this artistic milieu, including Hale, her husband at the time, ceramicist İsmail Hakkı [Oygur], Elif Naci, İbrahim [Çallı] and more... Fikret Adil, *Asmalımescit 74* (1933), reprinted as *Asmalımescit 74 (Bohem Hayatı)*, Sel Yayıncılık, İstanbul; 2015. Another resource to understand this time in Pera is King, Charles. *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul*. First edition. New York: WWNorton and Company, 2014.

⁴⁶⁴ Naci, Elif. “Müstakiller” *Milliyet*, February 27, 1931. Naci’s review is full of other snide remarks, including his oft quoted remark “Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş” [Citizen, Speak Turkish!] which he directed to the artists whom he accused of being too accommodating of their European teachers ways, and dissed their cosmopolitanism. This was indeed no small accusation, his nativist call for them to speak Turkish was a slogan directly lifted from a ethno-racial social program by extremists, who wanted minorities to stop speaking their own languages in public, such as Ladino and Rum Greek, or Armenian often heard in the streets of İstanbul. For more on this specific campaign, see: Aslan, Senem. “Citizen, Speak Turkish!: A Nation in the Making,” *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* no:13 vol. 2 (2007): 245-272.

⁴⁶⁵ “Resim Sergisinde Danslı Çay,” *Vakit*, February 22, 1931: 3.

heightened further by the blurred movement of Refik's subjects. [fig.3.75-81] Almost as if they had listened to Peyami Safa's prescription from 1924, the artists had moved from the dominance of the brushstroke and color to the primacy of line and composition, and their works were now filtered through not the glasses of art worn by everyone, but re-shaped through their own intellectual processes: a move from perception to conception.

Yunus Nadi, the editor of *Cumhuriyet*, wrote a front-page article, admitting that he had never before heard of the group, which was now having their 4th exhibition.⁴⁶⁶ He also expressed his surprise that since they claimed to be the independents, there must now be enough artists in the country to have split into groups, marking the old hat and differentiating the new. Yunus Nadi wrote that the artists he met once he entered the exhibition were in full alignment with what the name of the group evoked in him: a group of young idealist men and women, who were after something new, chasing the dream of "creating the new ideal." In his editorial, he expressed full support for the young artists, who were trying to get by "working here and there" [all teachers in mid-or-high school level in various cities] and specifically named Hale's work as 'beautiful' even though, he admitted, he didn't really have an informed point of access into the artworks presented, but was approaching the works as an amateur.

While it seems that there was not a single painting in the exhibition that could be described as recognizably 'Cubist,' the intelligentsia took it upon themselves to explain the new methods with which the young artists were working. Intentionally or not, they ended up giving it a name: 'kübizm.' (Other names would be used interchangeably as well, such as *asri*, *yeni*, *modern*.) Among those who undertook the task of explaining these new modes of painting to the public was psychologist and philosopher Mustafa Şekip [Tunç], who was a professor in the department of literature at the Istanbul University at the time. He dedicated two articles to the matter, in the first of which, as a responsible public intellectual, he made a convincing argument for staying open to new modes of painting: "History shows us that new forms of art have always been chastised by the public, until the older tastes and views change. But once

⁴⁶⁶ Nadi, Yunus. "Müstakillerin Dördüncü Sergisi," *Cumhuriyet*, February 28, 1931.

this fear of the new subsides, and the season of judgement passes, these very same works once rejected become classical and even, sacred.” He announced that Cubism, a historical current, the first seeds of which were sown by Seurat and Cézanne, and had had its beginning in 1908, had grown into a historical movement, and was now among us, thanks to the young painters. Mustafa Şekip acknowledged that it was hard to abandon old judgements and embrace the new, and identified with the fear and anxiety of his readers. He counted himself among those who presumably did not yet understand how to approach this new kind of painting, with the difference that he had an underlying belief that new painting held a new artistic enchantment. According to Mustafa Şekip, new painting, which had its first thrust from Cubism, and was currently “branching off into tendencies such as constructivism, neoplasticism, and purism,” brought with it new aesthetic values, which the young artists were embracing. He equated the work of the artists with the novelties brought on by the 20th century, dismissing in one sentence a multiplicity of 19th century styles, and charted the way from perception to conception that they were following: “... neither a perfect copy of nature, its symbolic expression, nor its appearance ‘seen through a temperament’ do not satisfy the artists of the century. [...] Rather than presenting us with a newly formed aesthetic sect, what they are attempting to convey is to reflect the essence of this new era.”⁴⁶⁷ He used a vanguardist argument in describing the important work the young artists were undertaking, while they were challenging the viewers into self-transformation, by reforming their value judgements about art: “The artists, architects, musicians, decorators, sculptors and writers are using their art as whips, to thrust us into the 20th century.”⁴⁶⁸ Mustafa Şekip was careful to underline that at this early stage, rather than praising or criticizing the work of the artists, “we should educate ourselves to spend enough time with these works to allow the colors and forms to bestow new influences on us, allow them to let us dream new dreams.”⁴⁶⁹ In

⁴⁶⁷ [Tunç], Mustafa Şekip, “Dördüncü Sergi-1,” *Milliyet*, March 2, 1931: “...o halde ki tabiatın ne mükemmel bir kopyesi, ne remzi bir ifadesi, ne de ‘mizaç arasından görünüşü’ asrın sanatkarlarını mütehassis etmiyor. [...] Bu henüz teşekkül etmiş bir estetik mezhebi olmaktan ziyade bu asrın ruhi halidir.”

⁴⁶⁸ Mustafa Şekip, “Dördüncü Sergi-1,” *Milliyet*, March 2, 1931: ilk manasını kübismden alan ve bugün constructuism [sic], neoplasticism, purism, namları altında dal budak salan yeni resim, beraberinde yeni bedii kıymetler getiriyor.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.: “Basit bir seyirci olmaktan çıkarak renk ve şekillerin üzerimizde yeni bir tesir, yeni bir hayal yapmasını temin edecek kadar üzerlerinde durmak gerekir.”

the second article, Mustafa Şekip was more specific; he took it upon himself to explain the principles of Cubism, and was not far off either. His article had the following subheading: “In Cubism, the painting reflects neither nature nor events.”⁴⁷⁰ His definition of Cubism was simplified for the sake of clarity, which was understandable for a widely read newspaper column: “[Cubism] refuses to be based on nature and wants to transform painting into a purely mental work; for which it only uses colors and shapes...”⁴⁷¹ But the rest of this sentence, which applies to Le Corbusier and Ozenfant’s Purism rather than to Cubism at large, also reflected his desire to make Cubism fit into a non-threatening, rational mold, one that would be more acceptable for the Turkish audience: “and as a result, it tries to supply the provisions of the modern man, which are order, openness, and clarity through the lyricism of shape and color.”⁴⁷² Even though he dedicated two articles to the subject, he finished the last one in a hesitant tone, saying that despite the fact that inclinations towards this current could be evinced by some of the paintings, he wasn’t aware of a painter who embraced it fully.⁴⁷³

This important caveat (with almost Fascist undertones of aesthetic rationalism) or willful distortion would be picked up on (or simultaneously echoed) by others such as İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu], allowing him to make the argument that Cubism, the rational, geometric, cerebral art that it was made out to be, was *the* branch of modern painting most suitable for new and strong democracies like Turkey. (The two men were not strangers, and this could not have been a coincidence, Baltacıoğlu and Mustafa Şekip worked together at the university, İsmail Hakkı had been a proponent of Mustafa Şekip’s hiring there, together with his own mentor, none other than Ziya Gökalp, all in all, three figures that had much to do with how the fine arts came to be theorized in late Ottoman and early Republican Turkey.)

⁴⁷⁰ Mustafa Şekip, “Dördüncü Sergi-2,” *Milliyet*, March 9, 1931. “Kübizmde tablo tabiat ve hadisattan hiçbir şey aksettirmez.”

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.: “Kübizm cereyanı ise tabiatın istinadeyi bilküllüye reddederek tabloyu sırf zihni bir eser olarak vücade getirmek ister ve bunun için yegane vesait olarak renk ve şekilleri kullanır.”

⁴⁷² Ibid.: “...ve neticede asri adamın bugünkü itiyatları olan nizam, berraklık ve vuzuhu renk ve şekillerin lirizmi ile temin etmeye çalışır.”

⁴⁷³ Ibid.: “Tam bu mahiyette çalışan bir ressamımız var mı bilmiyorum. Yalnız tek tük eserlerde bu cereyana doğru temayüller seziliyor denebilir.”

In his 1931 book *Demokrasi ve Sanat* [Democracy and Art] published the same year, (which built on his earlier essay on Cubic Architecture) Baltacıoğlu did not just foreground International Style architecture (again a dominantly Le Corbusier-version selectively handpicked from a varied range of applications), but dedicated a whole section to Cubist painting to to make a larger argument for “kübik,” as the art of democracies. This was a wholesale campaign for rational organization of cities, hygienic living, modern furniture, and Cubist painting as its matching artistic accompaniment as testimony to the secular, Westernized and modern living that was appropriate for Turkey; an argument close to the wholesale embrace of modern aesthetic form that would be suggested by Léger and Le Corbusier in their 1937 Pavilion *Temps Nouveaux*. However, there were already some strange insertions into this narrative: a preference for a connection to the tradition of painting rather than a tabula rasa. Even though his text did not engage directly with the illustrations he used for his book, the images Baltacıoğlu selected included, in addition to examples from Braque and Picasso’s synthetic cubism or Jeanneret and Ozenfant’s Purism, rather off-track additions, such as a painting by Ingres, one by Seurat, and another by André Lhote (in fact, this was none other than his *The Painter and his Model*, 1920). This was the alternative artistic lineage of Cubism that synthesized tradition and modernity, suggested by Lhote himself. In the aesthetic circles the Turkish Kübik hence transformed with intentional departures from its widely accepted European understanding of semiotic deconstruction of painting’s illusionistic vocabulary into an argument for a modern painting that stayed within the parameters of tradition and rational city planning.⁴⁷⁴ In Turkish discourse, while kübizm was modern and rational in outlook it also could be tied to tradition (hence it was the ‘new classical’). Similar to the way he had dismissed the First National Style, İsmail Hakkı was also dismissing the 1914 generation’s Impressionism with his campaign for cubic

⁴⁷⁴ İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Mustafa Şekip were Bergsonian intellectuals, thus their support for Cubism is also in line with their philosophy. Nazım İrem identifies them as conservative intellectuals of the era, while positioning their senior –and Baltacıoğlu’s mentor Gökalp– as more of a positivist. I would argue that in their aesthetic choices, this was not conservatism, but similar to the ‘middle of the road Impressionism’ of the generation before, a negotiation between European radical aesthetics and their adaptation to a local case, which demanded a more modest embrace. İrem, Nazım. “Turkish Conservative Modernism: Birth of a Nationalist Quest for Cultural Renewal,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Feb. 2002): 87-112.

pictures. Arguably this was a distant cousin of Hofmann's 'new pictorial mode' but definitely the twin-sister of Lhote's traditionalist, populist Cubism. [fig.3.82]

We should note that Cubism in painting is not an isolated movement; it is *a fait accompli* that Cubism is commensurate with human and social issues. Cubic art exists in all nations that belong to the ranks of European civilization, as a strong tendency and a modern novelty. It seems that the fate of Cubism is in conjoined with that of democracy.

Moreover, the cubic viewpoint is in harmony with the nature of other social concerns. The ideal of democracy is a scientific ideal; it operates objectively, it requires clarity, certainty and positivity in its process. It is closer to rationalist form rather than an impressionist art form. Democratic conduct is independent and individualist. It respects character and original work. It values concepts rather than rules, free thought rather than dogma. Thus, it can be understood as an art that does not operate with dictates, order and style but rather lets itself [be steered with] creative inspiration, as a fluid, dynamic sensibility. Democratic economy is a rational, logical and positive economy based on big industry, big trade and big agriculture. It favors an art that corresponds to its own nature.⁴⁷⁵

Turkey in 1931 was neither a democracy, nor a strong industrialized country that foregrounded freedom. The two attempts at transitioning from the single-party rule into a multi-party democracy by introducing an opposition party to the Turkish parliament in 1924, and again in 1930, had both been very short-lived experiments, initiated and then curtailed by the head of state, Mustafa Kemal himself. If Cubism was the art of democracies, for Turkey, it remained a goal, rather than a *fait accompli*. Literacy in the country was extremely low, made even worse by the transition into the Latin alphabet in 1928. The 1929 Depression had severely hit Turkey's economy, which was still dominantly agriculture based, as industrialization had been slower to implement in the aftermath of decade-long wars and regional political insurrections. Individualism had not been given space to flourish in Kemalist Turkey either, as the top-down reforms introduced by the civil code and the dress reforms strictly intervened in personal freedoms in affairs of daily life, controlling religious practice, familial organization, as well as sartorial choices.⁴⁷⁶ The program of Kemalism had been written into the single party program, hence it became the program of the government the same year as well; republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism and

⁴⁷⁵ Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hakkı. *Demokrasi ve Sanat* (1931): 125.

reformism were to be embraced by all. The vision for the modern, secular, independent Turkey was a vision with strong totalitarian tendencies, but without a clear aesthetic articulation. (Hence the confusing stylistic choices and references of the artists in 1933 when they were asked to visualize its revolutions, discussed in the first chapter.) İsmail Hakkı and Mustafa Şekip, as part of their *noblesse oblige*, pointed to Cubism and would continue to advocate the work of the artists they associated with it in the following years, but Cubism as such should be seen as the aesthetic embodiment of this aspirational society rather than its reality. ‘Kübik,’ its Lhotian interpretation in the fine arts, especially painting, that was already shaping the discourse and would greatly influence the actual work of the artists in the following years, attests to a tendency to chart a path of moderate modernism, not dissimilar to the path chosen by the 1914 generation’s particular adaptation of the Impressionist brushstroke.

Kübik, this specifically Turkish version of Cubism, carried with it the general task of being on par with European Civilization, and the argument Baltacıoğlu made for Cubism as the art of democracies was still aspirational and futuristic in the context of Turkey:

[...] Our traditional formation is a strong obstacle to understanding the nature of this new art. I see that a lot of our enlightened friends look for science, reflection and documentation rather than rhythm and harmony. It is impossible to see and understand even the most realistic and mimetic works through this point of view. In this way, what we believe to be artistic is nothing but furnishing. There is not yet an artistic rapture. As in all works of art, in the contemplation of cubic works, it is necessary to absolve first picturesque characteristics from artistic judgment and discernment. For those who admit that they fail to comprehend despite this, it is necessary to bring forward the idea of a preparatory education in painting. The comprehension of high art requires a high degree of dedicated effort. Artistic comprehension is not to behold something that already exists, but to invent a state of being through the technique of the artist.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁷ Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hakkı. *Demokrasi ve Sanat* [Democracy and Art], İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931: 126-127. “ikinci nokta şudur: An'anevi terbiyemiz yeni san'atın mahiyetini anlamamız için kuvvetli bir manidir. Birçok milli münevver arkadaşlarımızın kübik tabloda vezin ve ahenk değil, ilim, suret ve vesika aradıklarını görüyorum. Bu noktai nazardari en realist ve taklitçi eserleri bile görmek, anlamak kabul değildir. Bu suretle görüyorum zannettiğimiz şey, san'atkar değil, eşyadır: Halbuki bedii istigrakhemiz yoktur. Bilfiil san'at eserlerinin temaşası için ilim olduğu gibi kübik eserlerin temaşasında da evvela tablonun pitoresk unsurlanndan bedii hüküm ve muhakemeyi tenzih etmek lazımdır. Buna rağmen anlamadığını itiraf edenler için yalnız ihzari bir resim terbiyesi noksanını ileri sürmek lazım gelecektir. Yüksek eserlerin idraki için yüksek ceht lazımdır. Bedil idrak olmuş bitmiş bir mevcudu seyretmek değil, san'atkarın tekniği sayesinde bir haleti ruhiye icat etmektir.”

The slippery nature of the word and its varied uses did not remain limited to the aesthetic realm but was also appropriated by popular culture. [fig.3.85] Under the title “Kübik” *Son Posta* printed the following conversation in the summer of 1932:

Hasan Bey was reading a book, I asked:

- Hasan Bey, what is this book you are reading?
- Kübik!
- What do you mean cubic, doesn't this book have a name?
- Kübik!
- Alright, let its name be cubic, what does it say?
- Kübik!
- I'm going to go crazy Hasan Bey, I mean, what is its subject matter, what is it about?
- Kübik!
- Dear, what does cubic mean?
- You don't know what it means? They are calling everything that lies beyond one's ken cubic! So is this book. I can neither grasp what it's about nor how its written, so I wriggle myself out by calling it cubic!

Another caricature from the same year serves to illustrate not only the bifurcated nature of living in Turkey, between the modernized urban elite and the undereducated, religious and traditional provincial population that comprised the majority of Turkey's citizens, but also how 'kübik' had become code for signifying the discrepancy between the country's aspirations and its reality. [fig. 3.83-84] In the caricature titled “Cubic eyebrows are becoming fashionable among women,” we see a young, tall and thin lady in a Sonia Delaunay-inspired geometrically patterned dress and thinly plucked V-shaped eyebrows, casting a belittling look at the older lady behind her: she is pictured with a hunchback, in a traditional long and baggy overcoat and a darkly colored headscarf. The two take a look at each other, and both say: “What a strange creature.”⁴⁷⁸ Behind them, the contrast between the two figures is mirrored in the architecture of the buildings, one is a Le Corbusier style concrete construction of stacked cubic volumes, while the other is a shabby, wooden house with its windows partially covered in latticework. The takeaway was simple

⁴⁷⁸ *Cumhuriyet*, May 24, 1932: 1.

and does apply to the conundrum of the young Turkish painters: Kübik equaled modern, but its quick and wholesale adoption by a dominantly traditional society remained complicated.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

“It is impossible for Europeans to admire us because of things that we have borrowed from them. The most they will say is a short ‘Well done!’ It is only when we introduce to them things that are specifically ours that they will like us, treating us as their equals in the path of beauty and self-realization.”⁴⁷⁹

Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1940)

“... technique and spirit, if they could be as separate as milk and a cup, it would have been possible to place a national ingredient within an international envelope, with a gesture as simple as drinking the milk of a Turkish cow from a European cup... If it is as difficult for an artist to be national as it is for him to be an artist, it can be inferred from this that who is not Turkish is not an artist either; because everything aside, he hasn’t become himself yet.”⁴⁸⁰

Peyami Safa, 1941

“The marvel of nature is a synthesis, a beautiful synthesis, the artist must destroy that synthesis, tear it apart, and create his own synthesis.”⁴⁸¹

Hans Hofmann (mid-1940s)

⁴⁷⁹ Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. “Millî Bir Edebiyata Doğru” [Towards a National Literature], *Tasvir-i Efkâr* no: 4515, October 14, 1940 reprinted in *Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Edebiyat Üzerine Makaleler I*, İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları (1992): 91. “Bizi Avrupalıların, kendilerinden aldığımız şeyler için beğenmesi ve bize hayran kalması mümkün değildir. Olsa olsa aferin deyip geçerler, bizde asıl bizim olan şeyleri tanıttığımız zamandır ki, bizi beğenip seveceklerdir; çünkü o zaman güzelliğin, kendi kendisini tahakkuk ettirmenin yolunda kendileriyle müsavi görecektir.” English translation used here is from Gürbilek, Nurdan. “Dandies and Originals: Authenticity, Belatedness, and the Turkish Novel.” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 102, no. 2–3 (April 1, 2003): 599–628.

⁴⁸¹ As quoted in Duben, *Türk resmi ve eleştirisi: 1880-1950* (2007): 120. (author’s translation)

⁴⁸¹ Hans Hofmann quoted by Hofmann’s student Nieves Marshalek Billmyer from his notes on Hofmann’s critiques in the mid-1940s. Dickey, Tina. *Hans Hofmann* (2011): 25.

In the fall of 1931, about six months after the 4th exhibition of *Müstakiller* [Independents] had kindled some public attention and appreciation (largely in the form of explanatory support for *Kübizm* from select members of the intelligentsia as the previous chapter has shown), Ali Sami, the most conservative among the 1914 painters, penned an article titled: “What State is our School of Painting, and Our Painting in?” for the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. In the article, Ali Sami portrayed the Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi [Academy of Fine Arts]⁴⁸² –finally settled permanently in the buildings of the former Ottoman parliament in Fındıklı on the European shore of the Bosphorus– as operating under much improved conditions, in comparison to the school’s humble beginnings and primitive conditions when it was first established by Osman Hamdi across from the Imperial Museum.⁴⁸³ The painter described his own time there and the challenges its students faced at length, to emphasize the contrast between the limitations of the Ottoman past and the auspiciousness of the current Republican moment. (As shown in the Introduction, drawing this kind of terminal line between the late-Ottoman and early republican period had become customary among the fervently nationalist members of the intelligentsia, however, as this study illustrates, this was hardly the case. Especially in the fine arts, it was slow shifts that occurred within a continuous arc rather than rupture that marked this period.) According to Ali Sami, during the second constitutional era, when he was a student, the cosmopolitan make-up of the school had held back the Ottoman Turks intellectually: he complained of the chaos created by the multiplicity of languages spoken by the students enrolled (referring to Jewish, Greek and Armenian students who did not read or write in Ottoman Turkish, which according to Ali Sami, rendered the occasional history and theory classes obsolete and lowered the quality of education at the school at large), the conservatism of the social context, which did not allow for life-classes –a core element of artistic training all painters found to be a great lack– and also reminded his readers of the mediocrity of the school’s incidental old European

⁴⁸² Under Namık İsmail’s direction the name of the school was updated from its Arabic roots (Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi Alisi) to Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi –a mélange of contemporary Turkish (Güzel Sanatlar [Fine Arts] instead of Sanayi-i Nefise) and the Francophilic loanword “Akademi”; corresponding rather fittingly to the alliances of the pedagogic system: a Turkish commitment to the fine arts from within the adopted system of French artistic training.

⁴⁸³ Ali Sami. “Resim Mektebimiz -ve Ressamlığımız- ne Halde?,” *Cumhuriyet*, November 13, 1931: 3

instructors (Valeri and Zarzecki, as discussed in chapter 2). Now, with the support of the new republic, the *Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi* had become the *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi*, transforming from a modest Ottoman school to a republican institution of higher education, housed in a spacious building with wonderfully equipped ateliers and highly paid ‘foreign’ instructors.⁴⁸⁴ But while the school had technically (and semiotically) caught up with the times, Ali Sami expressed a certain dissatisfaction with its established program, evinced, according to the author, by its low enrollment numbers, especially in the department of painting. In the article, he raised some valid points about how the school ought to put more emphasis on the instruction of decorative arts; according to Ali Sami, the prospects of employment played a significant role for students in choosing their disciplines, and therefore enrollment at the painting department as it stood was unsatisfactorily low. While Ali Sami argued for the painting department to cater to the needs of a new country under construction, Namık İsmail, who had been the director of the school since 1928, had already focused his efforts on improving the decorative arts department. He had made it a requirement for all Turkish students in Europe to take classes in the decorative arts as part of their training program. More importantly, since taking over the school’s administration, he had also introduced new ateliers for ceramics, interior design, as well as poster design (known as the *afiş atölyesi*—a proto-graphic design program) and appointed specific instructors with these specializations to head the ateliers.⁴⁸⁵

The country was indeed in need of all kinds of artists trained in the fine arts; Ali Sami was not wrong on this front. But it wasn’t really a lack of Turkish artists and architects, but the lack of trust the

⁴⁸⁴ In early 1932, when Ali Sami wrote the article these instructors were in departments other than painting. The architecture department was headed by Swiss Ernst A. Egli since 1930 (he would be replaced by Bruno Taut in 1936), and in the decorative arts department, the interior design studio was run by Austrian Philipp Ginther since 1928. Austrian Eric Weber had been tasked with setting up the poster atelier in 1927.

⁴⁸⁵ As we also know from the previous chapter, this deficiency was acknowledged by Namık İsmail himself and hoped to be partially compensated by the requirement introduced to the *concours* students sent to Paris in the late 1920s to attend classes at the Ecole des Arts Décoratifs. Namık İsmail had seen the 1925 *Expositions des Arts Décoratifs* in Paris, which led him to particularly focus on this area when he became the Istanbul academy’s director. Over the years, he put the returnees in charge of setting up or updating the decorative arts ateliers at the Istanbul Academy. In 1932, Parisian-trained Mithat [Özar] replaced Weber, whereas the ceramics atelier was introduced by Weber’s former assistant İsmail Hakkı [Oygar] in 1929. Cezar, Mustafa (ed.) *Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi 1883-1973* Istanbul: Renkler Matbaacılık, 1973.

government put in them that was the problem. All public art commissions, numerous architectural projects, and most of the significant academic posts were being given to European professionals. The construction efforts in Ankara were largely undertaken by German architects and planners,⁴⁸⁶ the national monuments being erected across the country –mostly in the form of statues of Mustafa Kemal– were entrusted to Italian, German and Austrian sculptors,⁴⁸⁷ [fig.C.1-3] even Mustafa Kemal’s first oil-paint portrait had been commissioned to a German painter, Arthur Kampf, [fig.C.4-5] despite the 1914 generation artists’ acknowledged aptitude for portraiture.⁴⁸⁸ [fig.C.6-13] For Ali Sami, in addition to great professional tasks that should be undertaken by graduates of the Fine Arts Academy, such as city-planning, the list also included decoration, stage design (he complained that the stage sets for the Istanbul Theatre were entrusted to a Russian émigré), printmaking, poster design and illustration.⁴⁸⁹ But what this brief discussion of the benefits of prioritizing the instruction of graphic and decorative arts at the school did was to provide cover for a more malevolent intention of the writer.

Under the disguise of national priorities and pedagogic advice, what Ali Sami really wanted to do was to protest the presence of the practitioners of ‘new painting’ at the school and suggest that their role

⁴⁸⁶ Alfred Jansen’s plan for Ankara was approved the same year, in 1932. Other prominent architects, including Clemens Holzmeister, Martin Wagner, Bruno Taut, Martin Elsaesser, Franz Hillinger, Wilhem Lihotzky and Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky were invited and joined the effort soon after. See Bozdoğan, *Modernism and Nation Building* (2001), especially chapter 4 and Esra Akcan’s *Architecture in Translation* (2012), especially chapter 1.

⁴⁸⁷ See Gür, Faik. “Sculpting the Nation in Early Republican Turkey.” *Historical Research* 86, no. 232 (May 2013): 342–72 and Wilson, Christopher S., and Sinan Niyazioğlu. “Political Portraiture in Early Republican Turkey,” *The Political Portrait* (Routledge, 2020): 311-327. Also see: Elibal, Gültekin. *Atatürk ve resim heykel*. İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 121. İstanbul: Kırıl Matbaası, 1973.

⁴⁸⁸ Namık İsmail was tasked with the project of finding the most suitable (and also affordable) European painter for this task. He toured European capitals together with the Minister of Education Mustafa Necati, and initially asked Académie Julian professor Albert Laurens. The commission was eventually given to Arthur Kampf, who would later become an official artist of the Nazi regime. Kampf completed two portraits of Mustafa Kemal, one in military costume and the other in civil attire in 1927. In later years, the 1914 generation would produce many portraits of Mustafa Kemal, İnönü, and other notables. Elibal, Gültekin. *Atatürk ve resim heykel*. İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 121. İstanbul: Kırıl Matbaası, 1973: 188.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid. Ali Sami rhetorically asked in the article: If Alfred Janssen (who was at the time tasked with the masterplan for the capital Ankara) had been trained simply in painting and not the applied arts at large, would he have become the architect he was, put in charge of such a masterplan?

as instructors posed a threat to solid academic education. He inserted the following section towards the very end of his three-column text, as if it were an afterthought:

If what we hear is true, there are now teachers at the academy who are proponents of modern art, if this is true, what a pity!

If there is one door through which modern art -the profession that comes up with a new -ism such as futurism, cubism, or modernism- cannot enter, it is that of the school. Modernism means without schooling. Modernists are those people who are against schooling and the science of painting. For them, everyone's a painter. All kinds of work, made by anyone, and everyone is considered art. How can such a profession be reconciled with schooling? If this is true, one shouldn't look far for why the demand for the art of painting has decreased. (Only in architecture cubism means simplicity, which remains outside this objection.)⁴⁹⁰

In the rest of the article, he described modern artists as schemers who provoke and manipulate gossip around what they do, with the aim of causing embarrassment to the viewers by the strangeness of their art, making the public think that there is something there that they fail to understand.⁴⁹¹ He was not entirely wrong on this front either; as shown in the previous chapter, “kübik” had become a code word for such reactions of alienation towards modern art among the uninitiated, as well as an easy target of ridicule for journalists, attitudes reflected in caricatures and comic strips that occasionally appeared in newspapers. According to Ali Sami, these artists –proponents of what he called *ar modern*– had somewhat succeeded in garnering some attention in Europe and managed to fool those who had an abundance of money but lack of judgement. This was fortunately not applicable in Turkey, and modern art would not find such patrons here, as neither the rich nor the poor of the country had any money to waste on things they did not understand.⁴⁹² He framed it as a pity that the youth, who, following the

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid. “İşittiğimize göre akademide ar moderne taraftar olan muallimler varmış, eğer bu hakikatse ona pek acınır! Ar modern, yani fotorizm, kübizm, modernizm gibi her gün yeni bir izmle meydana çıkan meslekin giremeyeceği bir kapı varsa o da mekteptir. Modernizm mektepsizlik demektir. Modernistler mektebin ve resim ilminin aleyhinde olan insanlardır. Onlar için herkes ressamdır. Herkesin elinden çıkan iş bir san’at eseridir. Böyle bir meslek mektepçilik ile nasıl telif olunabilir? Eğer bu hakikatse resim sanatlarına azalan rağbetin azalmasının sebebinin uzaklarda aramamalıdır. (Yalnız mimaride kübizm sadelik demektir, bu ise müddeamden hariçtir.)”

⁴⁹¹ Ibid.:4. “Gaye, halkın garabet ve tecessüsünü üzerlerine celb etmek, yaptıkları şeylerin etrafında dedikoduya tahrik ve idare ederek halka burada bir şey var biz anlamıyoruz- dedirtmektir.”

⁴⁹² Aside from the artistic judgement, his observations about the lack of market for modern art were on point, sales in *Müstakiller* exhibitions were largely to diplomats, visiting Europeans, etc. The state remained the main patron for the fine arts for an extended period. The fate of private art sales in Turkey would not drastically change, even in the 1950s; most galleries that championed modern art, such as Galeri İsmail Oygur in the 1940s and Helikon (Ankara)

European magazines and paintings that the Istanbul Academy's library subscribed to, were tricked into thinking modern art was something beneficial.⁴⁹³

Ali Sami's claims initiated an extended altercation between himself and the director of the school, Namık İsmail, which unfolded across the art section of the newspapers for the next four months, with other commentators such as the Union of Fine Arts,⁴⁹⁴ as well as artists such as Eşref⁴⁹⁵ and Elif Naci⁴⁹⁶ occasionally chiming in to help Namık İsmail beat back Ali Sami's accusations and prejudice. Writing from Erzurum, where he was posted to instruct painting at the institute for teachers, former *concours* student Eşref simply asked: Isn't it the case that a new society and its new tastes result in a new art and aesthetics? He immediately responded with a defense of the school's program, assuring the readers that Ali Sami's claims were without base, that the school's curriculum for painting as well as architecture were determined by committees ranging between twelve to eighteen expert members, determined after close scrutiny by practitioners and teachers with years of experience, following careful and diligent procedures.⁴⁹⁷ Ali Sami insisted that the instruction at the school was loose, that the academy could not perform its duties, resulting in a significant decrease of demand among students. In later articles he openly blamed modern art as the cause, announcing that "an irresolute art, has been allowed at the school."⁴⁹⁸ For Eşref and his peers, who had been trained by modern painters, what scandalized Ali Sami was a positive development and the young artists' interest in modern art signaled a keeping with times.

and Galeri Maya (Istanbul) in the 1950s had rather short lifetimes. For details on Galeri Maya, see: Smith, Sarah-Neel. *Metrics of Modernity* (California University Press, 2022): Chapter 1.

⁴⁹³ Ibid.: "Memleketimizde çok şükür öyle bilmedikleri şeylere para verecek ne zengin ne de fakara vardır. Bu işlere vakitlerini ve nakitlerini sarfeden gençler Avrupa'dan gelen mecmualara, resimlere aldanarak onu istifadeli bir şey zannediyorlar."

⁴⁹⁴ "Resim Mektebi ve Ressamlık Münakaşası-Resim Şubesinin Mektubu" [The School of Painting and the Quarrel on Being a Painter-The Letter of the Painting Branch], *Cumhuriyet*, January 15, 1932: 3. According to the newspaper, the letter was penned by Sami, the head of the Painting Branch of the Fine Arts Union.

⁴⁹⁵ Eşref. "Bir Endişe Dolayısıyla," *Milliyet*, January 15, 1932: 4. [Isn't it the case that a new society and its new tastes result in a new art and aesthetics? ...we would love to see our school of fine arts like the Hofmann Schule or académie Lhote"]

⁴⁹⁶ Naci, Elif. "Ali Sami Beye," *Milliyet*, January 21: 5.

⁴⁹⁷ Namık İsmail, "Akademi ve Tenkit" [Academy and Criticism], *Milliyet*, November 19, 1931:5.

⁴⁹⁸ Ali Sami, "Resim Mektebimiz ve Ressamlığımız Ne Halde?," January 10, 1932: 4. "Mektepte tedrisat gevşektir. Akademi vazifesini ifşa edemiyor. Günden güne mektebe rağbet azalıyor. [...] Ar modern denilen mütereddi bir sanat mektebe sokulmuştur."

He frankly declared: "...we would love to see our school of fine arts like the Hofmann Schule or Académie Lhote."⁴⁹⁹ Namık İsmail chose a different path. He responded with enrollment numbers, reported on student participation,⁵⁰⁰ described how the atelier system was modeled entirely after the school's French counterpart, whose wholistic academic system was indivisible and unalterable, and that for the last fifteen years, it had been applied in Istanbul by none other than the Turkish alumni of the Parisian Ecole des Beaux-Arts (all peers of Ali Sami: Nazmi Ziya, Namık İsmail, Hikmet, Çallı İbrahim, Feyhaman as well as the late Hüseyin Avni).⁵⁰¹ Namık İsmail insisted that the curriculum was "completely classical."⁵⁰² This prompted Ali Sami to fire back and start naming names. In one of his responses to Namık İsmail (sometimes they were so long that the newspaper resorted to printing them in two parts), he recounted that some weeks ago, two instructors from the school, Nazmi Ziya and Çallı İbrahim, had visited him right after seeing the latest exhibition of *Müstakiller*.⁵⁰³ A lengthy debate on modern painting ensued among the three painters, as this was the kind of art on display at the exhibition. While Nazmi Ziya remained neutral, Ali Sami was of course, strictly against it. Unsurprisingly, among the three it was Çallı İbrahim who came to the defense of "this new painting," arguing that its entrance into the country was beneficial. Ali Sami couldn't help but add that Namık İsmail was also in this camp, by reminding him: "You know this art very well Namık B[ey]. Modern art, in other words, this new fashion in painting, this is the art of Gritchenko, the one you can't stop bashing about..."⁵⁰⁴ Ali Sami

⁴⁹⁹ Eşref, "Bir Endişe Dolayısıyla," *Milliyet*, January 15, 1932: 4: "Acaba yeni bir cemiyetin yeni zevklerinin yeni bir san'at ve estetikte yol açması doğru değil midir?...Güzel san'atlar akademimizi bir Hofmann Schule veya bir Académie Shote [sic] gibi görmek isteriz."

⁵⁰⁰ "Resim Mektebi ve Ressamlık Münakaşası - Namık İsmail'in Mektubundan Bir Parça" [The School of Painting and the Quarrel of Painters - A Section from Namık İsmail's Letter], *Cumhuriyet*, January 15, 1932: 3.

⁵⁰¹ "Ressamlık ve Akademi Münakaşası-Namık İsmail Bey'in Cevabı" [The Quarrel of Painters and the Academy-Namık İsmail's Response], February 18, 1932: 6. "Akademi resim şubesi tedris sistemi bugün resmin hiç şüphesiz en müterakki olduğu Fransa mektepler resim sisteminin aynidir. Ve bütün hocalar da Fransa'da tahsil etmişlerdir. Bu sistem bir kültür ve ruhunu bozmadan bir noktasını değiştirmek kabil değildir. On beş senedir resim tedrisatı Akademi bu usul ile yapılır."

⁵⁰² "Resim Mektebi ve Ressamlarımız Ne Halde? Akademi Müdürü Namık İsmail Ressam Ali Sami Bey'e Cevap Veriyor [In What State are our Painters and the School of Painting? Academy Director Namık İsmail Responds to Painter Ali Sami Bey]," *Cumhuriyet*, January 14, 1932: 4 "Akademi tedrisatı tamamen klasiktir."

⁵⁰³ Ali Sami must be referring to the fifth exhibition of *Müstakiller* in 1932 in Ankara, the group's last one until 1936.

⁵⁰⁴ Ali Sami. "Ali Sami Beyden Namık İsmail Bey'e... Ressamlık ve Akademi Münakaşası" [From Ali Sami Bey to Namık İsmail... The Quarrel on Painting and the Academy], *Cumhuriyet* February 2, 1932: 4. "Siz onu çok iyi

explained that it was during this debate that he learned from his colleagues that some of the painters who displayed works in this new vein were currently employed as teaching assistants at the Academy of Fine Arts.⁵⁰⁵ Even though he did not name them directly, it was now clear that he was referring to members of *Müstakiller* who happened to hold these coveted assistant positions: Ali Avni, Refik, Cevat, and possibly, also Hale.⁵⁰⁶

Though Namık İsmail stood his ground in public, privately, he and Çallı İbrahim were threatened by Ali Sami's accusations about the school and began to question whether modern painting should have a role in it. Eventually they decided to let go of the teaching assistants in question. Although Çallı İbrahim was the most curious and experimental artist among the 1914 generation –he was the first to recognize something in value in Ukrainian Gritchenko's work and even as an established artist in the late 1920s, was interested in learning about what his students Ali Avni and Zeki had learned during their European travels– integrating ideas and methods learned from other artists and former students into his own practice,⁵⁰⁷ nonetheless he stood behind the decision to fire the modernists. He firmly believed that the instruction of painting had to stay within “classical” parameters. Unlike Çallı İbrahim, Namık İsmail later

bilirsiniz Namık B. Armodern, yani yeni moda sanat, şu sizin hayranlığınızı anlata anlata bitiremediğiniz Kırıçinko'nun san'atı...”

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Peyami Safa's article refers to five dismissals, the fifth name currently remains a mystery and needs further research into the school's archives, which are currently not open to the public, for confirmation. An informed guess would be Ali Sermet, another Hofmann student, about whom little is known, as he died very young and has not been studied extensively. Hale and Mahmud Cuda had professionally exchanged places in 1929, as Hale found Bursa too oppressive. Hale was assigned to the decorative arts department, and was the assistant to a Viennese, which can either be Philipp Ginther or Eric Weber. Eyüboğlu, Bedri Rahmi. “Şu Bizim Akademi,” *Cumhuriyet*, November 27, 1953:3. It is uncertain whether Hale was still teaching at the school when the academy debacle surfaced in late 1931-early 1932. She went to Paris for an operation after her health deteriorated and had troubles with her vision, either in late 1931 or early 1932. *Hale Asaf* (Pelvanoğlu): 84-86. According to her friend and later partner Italian writer Antonio Aniante, Hale was called back to Turkey by the government in 1932, but she declined. She decided to stay in Paris and started working at Galerie-Librarie Jeune Europe, where Aniante was director. In two group exhibitions organized at the gallery in early 1933, works by Hale as well as other Turkish artists in Paris at the time, such as Nurullah Cemal [Berk], Bedri Rahmi and Ernestine Leitoni [later, Eren Eyüboğlu] were shown. Exhibition brochures for these exhibitions can be found in Adnan Çoker's archive.

⁵⁰⁷ Eyüboğlu, Bedri Rahmi. “Şu Bizim Akademi,” *Cumhuriyet*, November 29, 1953. In this article, Bedri Rahmi remembers how his teacher Çallı İbrahim made copies from the work of Ali Avni and Zeki upon their return from Germany, in order to teach himself. According to Bedri Rahmi, the students were very impressed by Çallı's modesty to do so.

regretted the decision and questioned their joint decision.⁵⁰⁸ However, despite Ali Sami's public acrimony and the quick action taken by Namık İsmail and Çallı İbrahim in response to it, new modes of painting and practitioners would find their way into the academy just a few years later.

This purge of the teaching assistants from the school came despite a clear distinction Namık İsmail had made publicly in one of his responses to Ali Sami, distinguishing between the style an artist might choose to follow in their own work versus what they taught to students, while also maintaining his own positive stance on *ar modern*:

... It is our ideal to raise painters like Cézanne or Henri Matisse. And to do so, we try to give our student a genuine classical education, not an academic one. Çallı İbrahim Bey or another atelier teacher may like the new art. Because a [true] painter likes neither old, nor new painting, but good painting. However, both the atelier teachers and the young assistant teachers, who are the atelier teachers of the future, thoroughly apply the classical method in their teaching duties. Current student works bear witness to this.⁵⁰⁹

Namık İsmail's claim was also revelatory in what he saw as an art school's role in the making of an artist: the school could provide the *technique* of art through classical teaching methods, but being an artist was a whole other matter, an alchemy that happened outside the confines of artistic education.

Another distinction came from Peyami Safa, who addressed the dismissals with an article titled "The Painter and the Painting Teacher" that was printed in *Cumhuriyet*. According to the critic, who had

⁵⁰⁸ Toker, Metin. "Emekliye Ayrılan Çallının Hayatı," *Cumhuriyet*, July 13, 1947: 2. "İki dost Avrupaya talebeler yolladılar ve onları dönüşlerinde, yanlarına muavin olarak aldılar. Heyhat! Bu gençler sanatın sol cereyanları olan ve bir Akademiye girmemesi gereken fütürizm, kübizm gibi cereyanlara kendilerini kaptırmışlardı. Namık İsmaille Çallı başbaşa verip, uzun uzun konuştular ve bu gençleri Akademiden uzaklaştırmağa karar verdiler." [The two friends sent students to Europe and took them as assistants on their return. Alas! These young people were immersed in movements such as futurism and cubism, which are left-leaning movements in art and should not enter an Academy. Namık İsmail and Çallı had a long talk and they decided to remove these young people from the Academy.]

⁵⁰⁹ "Akademi ve Ressamlık Münakaşası-Namık İsmail Beyin Cevabı" [The Quarrel about the Academy and Painting], *Cumhuriyet*, February 23, 1932: 4. "...(Sezanne) [sic] ya da (Hanri Matisse) [sic] gibi ressam yetiştirmek bizim idealimizdir. Ve bunu yapabilmek içindir ki talebemize akademik değil, hakiki klasik bir tahsil vermeğe çalışırız. Çallı İbrahim Bey veya diğer bir atelye muallimi yeni san'atı sevebilir. Çünkü bir ressam resmin eskisini yenisini değil, iyisini sever. Fakat gerek atelye muallimleri ve gerek yarının atelye muallimleri olan muallim muavini gençler kendilerine düşen tedris vazifelerinde tamamen klasik usulü tatbik etmektedirler. Buna talebe eserleri şahittir."

been a decade-long champion of the younger generation, having these artists employed across the country as primary and secondary level teachers was a waste both of their talent as artists and the state's investment in them; their proper place could only be the academy if they were to be employed by the state. His argument was also a financial one aimed to maximize the state's investment in these select individuals. Writing a month after the purge of the assistants from the Istanbul academy, which resulted in the artists taking various bureaucratic positions in Ankara and Istanbul,⁵¹⁰ he said:

It is neither necessary for a great painter to be a good teacher of painting nor for a good teacher of painting to be a great painter. [...] There is a difference between [grade] school painting, which art teachers are obliged to teach the student, and genuine painting, *peinture*: What you can expect from a painting teacher is to know enough painting techniques to record their impressions correctly, rather than creative talent. The young people we send to Europe who work in ateliers in Paris and Berlin do not return here as primary and secondary school teachers, but as artists; they can only be expected to work at a fine arts school. There are several kinds of harm in having these precious young people, each of whom cost us ten thousand liras [for their training] in Europe, give drawing lessons to village children: Firstly, children cannot benefit from these people who do not know how to teach painting and who were not trained in a teacher's school. Secondly, these artists, who can only find a milieu for their development and activity in a city like Istanbul, which has museums, exhibitions, monuments, and studios, would become dull in distant provinces and township centers, and hence, the hundreds of thousands of liras we spent to raise these distinguished people would be wasted.⁵¹¹

⁵¹⁰ Refik Fazıl decided to undertake his compulsory military service and served until 1933. He later became the librarian in Ankara's Gazi Education Institute. Ali Avni found a job at Istanbul University's archaeology department as a sketch artist, Cevat Dereli did the same in the medical department. Zeki, who was an assistant in the department of interior design at the academy, was spared. Though his long-tenure as a skilled carpenter at the school can be interpreted as a type of banishment.

⁵¹¹ Safa, Peyami. "Ressam ve Resim Muallimi" [The Painter and the Painting Teacher], *Cumhuriyet*, October 2, 1932: 3. "Büyük bir ressamın iyi bir resim muallimi ve iyi bir resim mualliminin de büyük bir ressam olması şart değildir. [...] Resim muallimlerinin talebeye öğretmeğe mecbur oldukları mektep resmi ile, hakiki resim "peinture" arasında fark vardır: Resim mualliminden isteyebileceğiniz şey, yaratıcı bedii bir kabiliyetten ziyade, intibalarını doğru kaydedebilecek kadar resim tekniğini bilmesidir. Avrupa'ya gönderdiğimiz, Paris ve Berlin atölyelerinde çalıştırdığımız gençler buraya birer ilk ve orta mektep muallimi olarak değil, birer san'atkar olarak dönüyorlar; onlardan ancak bir güzel sanatlar mektebinde iş beklenilebilir. Her biri bize avrupa'da on bin liraya mal olan bu değerli gençleri, köy çocuklarına çizgi dersi vermeğe makkum etmekte bir kaç türlü zarar vardır: Birincisi resim öğretme yollarını bilmiyen ve bir muallim mektebinden çıkmayan bu insanlardan çocuklar fayda göremezler; ikincisi de, ancak müzeleri, sergileri, abideleri ve atelyeleri olan İstanbul gibi bir şehirde kendilerine inkişaf ve faaliyet muhitleri bulabilen bu san'atkarlar, uzak vilayetlerde, kaza merkezlerinde körleşirler ve nihayet, bu güzideleri yetiştirmek için harcadığımız yüz binlerce lira boşa gitmiş olur."

Over the following years, the growing tension between the two generations that became tangible with the dismissal of *Müstakiller* members from the academy grew into a chasm. It also resulted in the lasting contempt among the younger artists for not only the anti-modernist Ali Sami, but also for Namık İsmail and İbrahim Çallı, who had both until this divisive moment been curious as well as supportive of new and different approaches to painting.⁵¹² After their fifth exhibition in Ankara in 1932, and quite likely due to the purging of its members from the school, *Müstakiller* went quiet for a while. They were not to open another exhibition for the next four years.⁵¹³ Muhittin Sebati, the leader of the union, passed away from tuberculosis in 1932. Hale had gone back to Paris and decided to stay there. Nurullah Cemal and Elif Naci had been suspended from *Müstakiller* in 1931, after disagreements about the union's mission. They wanted the group to focus solely on opening exhibitions, while others insisted on job security and other assurances a union could provide, using the establishment as a platform to negotiate with the state, eliminating the academy as the middleman in all artistic matters. Before this disintegration, the group had been an artists' union as well as a generational alliance. *Müstakiller* was set up not only to organize exhibitions that offered an alternative to the official salons in Ankara and Istanbul, but also to act as a platform from which the younger artists could address the state and make their own demands. Already, *Müstakiller* had listed in their brief program that one of the aims of the union was contributing to the formation of an artistic milieu, which included ensuring that the artists stay in Istanbul.⁵¹⁴ They saw the state's deference of all artistic matters to the professors at the academy to work against them, creating a generational hegemony that only favored the interests of their elders. The young painters wanted to paint

⁵¹² Toker, Metin. "Emekliye Ayrılan Çallının Hayatı," *Cumhuriyet*, July 13, 1947: 3.

⁵¹³ After Cuda became the head of *Müstakiller*, the group focused its energies on opening exhibitions in cities other than Istanbul and Ankara. They organized exhibitions in the People's Houses in Zonguldak (1937), Balıkesir (1937), Bursa (1937) and İzmit (1939). In 1936, they opened one exhibition in a bar in Istanbul, in later years, they had a few exhibitions in the Mountaineering Club in Istanbul in the early 1940s (1939, 1940, 1941). The *Müstakiller* also attended the Ankara Birleşik Resim Sergileri (1937 and 1938) and the ensuing State Painting and Sculpture exhibitions as a group.

⁵¹⁴ The program of the *Müstakiller* states as one of its aims ensuring that the artists stay in Istanbul. Giray, *Müstakiller Ressamlar ve Heykeltıraşlar Birliği* (1997): 48.

and show their work, and as Peyami Safa stressed, most also wanted to live in the cultural capital, Istanbul, within a stimulating, artistic and intellectual environment.

Though Istanbul was a cultural hub compared to Ankara, the capital under construction, or the provincial towns across Anatolia, it was neither the Paris of the interwar years nor the Munich of the Weimar Renaissance. Without the financial means or jobs offered by the state, the young artists knew very well that they could not sustain themselves solely as painters, even in Istanbul. The city was artistically peripheral compared to the select European capitals they had gotten a taste of; there weren't hundreds of students hailing from across the world to learn about new modes of painting that the young artists could cater to, nor was it overrun by galleries or museums. Setting up independent schools themselves as they had seen their European teachers do in other artistic centers was not an option for them. They could not resort to teaching outside the state system, nor could they depend on the sale of their work; there was not really an art market that they could depend on for their sustenance.⁵¹⁵ It would take many more years for the Turkish entrepreneurs to seriously attempt creating an art market that pushed for and catered to private art patronage.⁵¹⁶ Hence, the primary expectation of these artists from the state was to be supported in jobs that both allowed and inspired them to continue being artists, their talents and education wasted as they taught in provincial towns or worked as clerks in administrative offices. The existing conditions in the country did not provide them with many options: The Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul was the most welcoming choice for their professional and financial subsistence. But with Namık İsmail and Çallı İbrahim turning their backs on them after the public debacle instigated by

⁵¹⁵ The young artists were well-aware of the absence of an art-loving and open-minded middle-class with acquisition power, the corporatist economic policies of the early republic and the lack of accumulated capital among the upper echelons of society meant the only tangible patron of the arts was the state, and these younger artists couldn't subsist on its acquisitions from the annual salons, where their works were relegated to dark corners or secondary rooms. It can be inferred from reviews that sales from their self-organized exhibitions were not enough to ensure their financial freedom either. The earliest attempt at a gallery was itself an academy-backed effort, the Daimi Resim-Heykel Satış Galerisi [The Permanent Gallery for Sales of Painting and Sculpture] in Taksim, which did not happen until 1939, itself a failed attempt that lasted less than a year.

⁵¹⁶ It was not until the mid-1980s, when Turkey switched to liberal economic policies that allowed artists to get by on selling their work alone. For earlier gallery attempts in the mid-1950s in Istanbul, especially the famous Galeri Maya, see the first chapter in Smith, Sarah-Neel. *Metrics of Modernity* (2022).

Ali Sami, the doors of the school had now closed. The younger generation was given a clear message that there was to be no place for them in the highest artistic institution of the country, which, as it currently stood, believed that new modes of painting that they had come to embrace had no place in it.

In the meantime, having succeeded in initiating the cleansing of the school from the young proponents of *ar modern*, Ali Sami had found another place to focus his distaste for new painting and his disdain for its proponents: the European teachers of the new generation who had corrupted the young Turkish artists. Ali Sami had identified the cause of all new artistic ills in the country: André Lhote. To his credit, he was not alone in complaining about foreign influence. Elif Naci, the young artist who had eagerly awaited the return of his friends by boat from Europe on the dock in Istanbul just a few years ago, had soon after also written: “Turkish painting is like a dress that faded under the sun. Both those of yesterday and today [artists of the old and new generation] are repeating their European teachers like children who have memorized their lessons well. The wind from the West is making people shiver in our exhibitions.”⁵¹⁷ When Cemal [Tollu] and Zeki Faik [İzer] returned from Paris in 1933, shortly after the blow *Müstakiller* had taken, they had no other option but to participate in the annual Galatasaray salon in 1933, to publicly show their new work. As was customary, the 1933 Galatasaray salon opened when the high school was in summer recess, at the end of July. Just a few days later, the newspaper *Akşam* announced: “Mr. Ali Sami spits fire at new painting” followed by the subheading: “New painting is nothing but ploy, it’s a money trap.”⁵¹⁸ Having seen Cemal and Zeki Faik’s work on display, Ali Sami had set his sights on a new target. But he spared the two newcomers, not calling them out personally. Instead, he attacked their French teacher whose name he had been hearing about.

⁵¹⁷ Naci, Elif. “Müstakiller” [The Independents], *Milliyet*, February 27, 1931:4. However, Elif Naci was easy to convince otherwise. When he saw Cemal and Zeki Faik’s works in the Galatasaray salon in 1933, he said (about Cemal’s works): “Even though some of these paintings speak in German and others in French, how well and sweetly they speak. He is fluent, with a clear accent.” Naci, Elif. “Resim Sergisi Münasebetiyle: Bir Eski ve İki Yeni,” *Milliyet*, August 6, 1933:4. “Resimlerinin bir kısmı Fransızca, bir kısmı da Almanca konuşuyor, fakat ne güzel, ne tatlı konuşuyor. Ne fasih, ne berrak bir şive ile.”

⁵¹⁸ Ali Sami. “Ali Sami Bey Yeni Resme Ateş Püskürüyor” [Mr. Ali Sami Spits Fire at New Painting], *Akşam*, August 5, 1933 reprinted in Çoker, Adnan. *Cemal, Tollu*. (Ankara: Galeri B Yayınları), 1996: 64.

...I'm not going to criticize the young who are trying their hand at new painting. But I have noticed that lately, all the young painters who go to Europe become affiliated with modern painting. Among those men they cite as their prophet is a painter called 'André Lot.' [sic] Whenever you ask a young'un who recently came back from Europe, especially France, they tell you that they have worked in André Lot's atelier.

André Lot, André Lot, André Lot...

As if there were no greater artist than him in Paris... Every young person returning from Europe brings back André Lot.

Let me tell you about this new art and about André Lot.

I have been to all the modern art ateliers. I met many modernists. André Lot is a man, 40-45 years of age, who curls his hair with an iron every morning. He never leaves Montparnasse... He is well liked by women. When it comes to his art, don't even ask. In reality, modern art exhibitions and ateliers in Europe are nothing but money traps for the rich, attended by rich American widowers. They especially enjoy being patrons of young painters and young men interested in painting. [...]⁵¹⁹

The newspaper must have sensed that this was only the beginning of another sensational debate, as it sought a response from one of these unnamed young painters right away. The article stated that while a lot of fun had been made of "new painting" and "cubism;" no one had yet to explain what these were. While that question would continue to boggle the minds of the public as well as the critics, and provide ample sensational material for the newspapers over the coming years, Zeki Faik's response attests to the fact that the younger artists already knew that they first had to prove their merits as painters of a "classical" order before they could engage further in discussions of how to approach new painting and explain their own work:

They say that we don't care about classical painting, that we don't know it. On the contrary... New painting examines classical art much more than old [art]. We have all begun new painting after we have thoroughly studied and excelled at classical painting. We are doing this, not because we are not well informed, but intentionally. We have always examined all classical [art]. We practiced old art before going to Europe. I for one, finished the academy at the top of my class. I passed my exams in classical art, and thus went to Europe afterwards.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ "Yeni Ressamlar Eskilere Ateş Püskürüyorlar," *Akşam*, August 15, 1933, reprinted in Çoker, Adnan. *Cemal Tollu*. (Ankara: Galeri B Yayınları), 1996: 64.

This was no knee-jerk reaction: the younger generation's insistence on their own "classical" training was not only shaped by the harsh lesson instigated by Ali Sami's continuing attacks, but how they really saw new modes of painting that they embraced. Though they differed in their approaches, the primary teachers they had chosen in Europe –both Lhote and to some degree, Hofmann– had advocated it thus: new painting was not a complete departure from the tradition of painting, but its continuation. What Lhote practiced in his own work, taught to his students, and advocated in his writing was neither a reactionary neo-traditionalism nor a revolutionary futurism, but a moderate, populist, middle-of-the-road modernism, a synthesis between the old and the new.⁵²¹ However radical and gimmicky the practice and teaching of new painting might have seemed to Ali Sami, Lhote was a painter's painter, who had rejected more avant-garde, deconstructive approaches to art. As artists and as instructors, both Lhote and Hofmann were interested in art for art's sake. As the previous chapter has shown, they had both absorbed the developments in painting in pre-war Paris and combined the abolition of the one-point perspective and its association with illusionism with their varied cultural formations, producing elaborate systems of teaching. While Hofmann's drawing exercises were meant to implement a new way of seeing and expressing these spatial relationships and forces, to stylistically more open-ended results, Lhote's strength as a theorist produced a more structural system that was easier to absorb as a set of formulas, hence his long-lasting influence on the young Turkish painters. Even though Ali Sami's portrayal of Lhote as an opportunistic and morally questionable con artist was completely over the top, he was right in sensing the Parisian teacher's overarching power over this particular generation of Turkish painters.

While Namık İsmail and Çallı İbrahim's knee-jerk reaction to Ali Sami's public attacks had been to disagree with him in writing, they had followed his lead in action. But sooner rather than later, the

⁵²¹ The ultimate contradiction was that while the culmination of Lhote's teaching pointed to abstract plastic values, he wanted his students never to completely depart from nature. Unlike Hofmann, Lhote didn't allow his students to not work from the model. Lhote's extremely theoretical teaching remained committed to his "plastic invariants" even when abstraction swept off everything else in the 1940s. In 1948, Lhote gave 5 lectures at the Sorbonne about looking for the intangible principles and unchanging properties in painting. His last lecture there was later printed under the title: "Les invariants plastiques."

younger generation came to have the institutional upper hand. When Namık İsmail unexpectedly died of a heart attack in 1935, he was replaced by a close ally of the younger painters, their friend and peer, Burhan Ümit [Toprak]. Burhan Ümit had also been among the first wave of students sent to Paris by the republic. He studied art history at the Sorbonne and had been teaching it at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul since 1930.⁵²² His appointment came at the helm of the establishment of the Fine Arts Directorship within the Ministry of Education, and allowed him to extend the reform movement that was sweeping across the new republic's institutions of higher education to the Academy of Fine Arts, especially the painting department.⁵²³ With the 1930s rise of fascism in Europe, Austrian and German academics of Jewish descent or with Jewish family connections had begun to flock to Turkey, a safe-haven with a drastic need for educators. The Turkish Republic perhaps no longer needed to send students to Europe, as European professors were now heading to Turkey instead, populating the departments and classrooms of its reformed Istanbul University and taking positions crucial to the building of the new country.⁵²⁴ Already, at the Academy of Fine Arts, the architecture department had been headed by Austrian Ernst A. Egli since 1930 (he would be replaced by Bruno Taut in 1936), and in the decorative arts department, the interior design studio had been run by another Austrian, Philipp Ginther since 1928. In 1936, the Turkish

⁵²² Burhan Ümit was the son-in-law of General Fevzi Çakmak, a minister in the first Ankara parliament, who later became a decorated field marshal during the war of Independence. After the foundation of the republic, Fevzi Çakmak was appointed Chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces and after the president's death in 1938, was considered a potential successor to Mustafa Kemal. Burhan Ümit's familial connections are often cited in relation to his appointment as the Academy's director at a young age.

⁵²³ Widely studied is the University Reform of 1933, which refers to the transition of the Ottoman scholastic institution Darülfunun into the Istanbul University. The coincidence of Hitler's rise to power and the ensuing purge of Jewish academics with the educational reform in Turkey is well described by Azade Seyhan, who writes: "The attempted rehabilitation of a humanistic legacy shattered by the experience of Nazi persecution became, by a strange twist of history, linked to the formation of the young Turkish republic that aspired to translate what it saw as the exemplary representation of Western education into its own discourse of nation." See: Seyhan, Azade. "German Academic Exiles in Istanbul: Translation as the Bildung of the Other." *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation* (eds. Bermann, Sandra and Michael Wood), Princeton University Press, 2005: 274-288. This extensive educational reform program, undertaken with the advice of Swiss professor Albert Macke upon Mustafa Kemal's orders resulted in the dismissal of İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu as university rector, and also in the hiring of Jewish emigré academics such as Leo Spitzer and Erich Auerbach among many others. For Leo Spitzer, see: Apter, Emily. "Global Translatio: The 'Invention' of Comparative Literature, Istanbul, 1933." *Critical Inquiry* (winter 2003): 254-281. For Auerbach see: Konuk, Kader. *East-West Mimesis: Auerbach in Turkey*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2010.

⁵²⁴ For the contribution of European architects and urban planners shaping Turkey during this era, see Akcan, Esra. *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

government invited Rudolf Belling (1886-1972), one of the founders of the revolutionary Novembergruppe, later known for his “classical modernism,” who had lost his position in the Berlin Academy, to head the sculpture department.⁵²⁵ The challenge that lay ahead for the young director Burhan Ümit was to find a suitable counterpart for the department of painting. And who would be more fit for this position than the younger generation’s beloved Lhote? Hofmann had already emigrated to the US, and his primary Turkish disciples Ali Avni and Zeki did not have Burhan Ümit’s ear the same way his friends from Paris did. Lhote’s position as a respected theorist and a painter recognized by the Parisian establishment, and an experienced teacher with a stance that was both modern and rooted in tradition was very attractive for his Turkish students, who wanted an overhaul of the teaching at the academy. Providing both the reassurance of “classical” tradition and the comfort of non-radical modernism, Lhote’s position was also ideal for the reform Toprak had in mind for the school. Unsurprisingly, the offer was quickly extended to the Parisian teacher. It was penned by his devoted student Hamit in the summer of 1936 [fig.C.14-15]

My dear teacher,

I hope for very good news. 12000 francs per month. After 6 years of work, discussions and suffering I have arrived at a happy result. We founded a directorship of the Fine Arts in the ministry that our country lacked for all of this century.

⁵²⁵ Belling was a friend of Hans Poelzig (1869-1936), a German architect who had already been employed by the Turkish government to build a theater and concert hall in Istanbul and to teach (neither of which materialized, as Poelzig died of a stroke shortly before his move to Turkey). It is highly likely that the sculptor was invited by the government on the recommendation of Poelzig. Soon after accepting a position in Turkey, Belling’s works were included in the now infamous “Degenerate Art” exhibition organized by the Nazis in 1937. Belling started teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in 1937 and remained the head of the sculpture department until 1952. He continued to teach at the Istanbul Technical University’s architecture department and remained in Turkey until 1965. Belling’s proposal for an Atatürk monument was selected in a competition in 1938, but never realized due to a lack of funds. He made two statues of İnönü after he became president, one for Ankara (1940), placed in front of the Ankara University’s Faculty of Agriculture building, and the other for Istanbul (1943). İsmet İnönü’s Istanbul statue was intended for Taksim Square. The monument was completed but never placed in its intended location when RPP lost the elections in 1950. The monumental equestrian statue currently stands on its disproportionately tall pedestal in a small park in front of İnönü’s house in the Maçka district of İstanbul. See also Demir, Ataman. *Arşivdeki belgeler ışığında Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi’nde yabancı hocalar: Philipp Ginther’den (1929) - (1958) Kurt Edman’a kadar*. Istanbul: Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2008.

That's already something, isn't it, dear master? We were asking for a reform at the School of Fine Arts in Istanbul. It's been 20 years that Cormon's students are still there... teachers... I have always cited your high skill and your dignity for painting. Your quality as a good conversationalist and your polemics have completely taken over us... Finally, we have included you[r name] in an appeal, in which we propose that you come to Istanbul as a teacher at this school and at the same time carry out a reform there.

I hope you will accept that for 12000 fr per month.

The Orient... a new world and horizon...

My dear teacher if you accept, ask for permission and full power to do all this. We will, of course, help you here. In my opinion, this will not be necessary because your intelligence and your sympathetic personality will [surely] win our intellectuals over.

If you do not accept this mission, be ashamed to recommend Derain to us...

My respects,

Hamit, July 1, 1936⁵²⁶

Lhote's written response to Hamit doesn't survive, however, a second letter in the Lhote archive dated two weeks later, this time from the newly minted director of the academy, Burhan Ümit allows us to infer that Lhote only offered to come to Istanbul for a short visit of three months –to the disappointment of his devout Turkish students. In his letter to Lhote, Burhan Ümit kindly explains that the decision about Lhote's counter-proposal falls on the ministry, and that he would inform Lhote himself as how to proceed once he hears back. Of course, three months would not have been sufficient for the overhaul of the department that Burhan Ümit and Lhote's former Turkish students hoped him to undertake. Was the love the Turkish students had for their teacher unrequited? Anything beyond deducing that Lhote was not yet ready to leave Paris in the mid-1930s during the height of his popularity would be speculative. While Lhote only made limited visits prompted by countless invitations to their respective countries during the interwar years, after the end of the Second World War, Lhote in fact did undertake two longer-haul international pedagogical ventures. He had been in close contact especially with his Brazilian students,

⁵²⁶ Archive André Lhote. No file number. I thank Dominique Bermann-Martin for sharing this letter with me. To remind his teacher who he was, Hamit had described himself at the top of the letter as: "One of your students whom you used to call the young Turk."

extending as far back as his pre-Académie Lhote years, when Tarsila do Amaral was a student of his. This life-long relationship resulted in him setting up an academy in Rio de Janeiro in 1952: “L’Atelier Academie Montparnasse à Rio de Janeiro.” The same year, he also went to Cairo upon the invitation of his former Egyptian student Ahmed Nagy, where he became mesmerized with Egyptian art, writing *Les Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture égyptienne* in 1954. Meanwhile, Lhote continued to teach at his académie in Paris and in the south of France in the summers until 1960. Interestingly, a visit by Lhote to Turkey never materialized. After the end of the Second World War, Turkish artists –both teachers and new graduates-- resumed going to Académie Lhote in Paris. In the following years, the theoretical backbone Lhote instilled in his students during his lectures and critiques, and his concept of “the plastic invariants,” which he continued to develop in articles and books (that his Turkish devotees would devour immediately upon publication) continued to shape the discourse of modern painting in Turkey.

Back in Istanbul, the position offered to Lhote in 1936 was soon after filled –not by André Derain, but by a relatively unknown friend of his, Léopold Lévy: a painter-engraver without any academic training, loosely associated with the école de Paris. [fig.C.16-17] An account by a friend of Lévy’s fills in the gaps in the story and explains how Lévy ended up as the head of the painting department at the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul in 1937, a title the artist was to hold until 1949. Before settling on Léopold Lévy, the next move of the Turkish ministry of education, had been to task the inspector in charge of Turkish students in Paris to extend the same invitation to André Derain, as Hamit had joked about in his letter to Lhote.⁵²⁷ It must have been either André Dérain, or sculptor Charles Despiau another close friend of Lévy’s, whose atelier was frequented by Turkish students in the 1930s, who pointed the Turkish inspector in the direction of Léopold Lévy. Taking into account Lévy’s Jewish

⁵²⁷ This part of the story is based on a footnote (no: 61) that cites a close friend of Léopold Lévy, a Kurdish artist named ‘Remzi’ who settled in Paris in 1953 and naturalized as a French citizen. In his interview with the Xavier du Crest, Remzi pointed to André Dérain as the choice before Léopold Lévy. Du Crest, Xavier. “La modernité en peinture,” *De Paris à Istanbul, 1851-1949: un siècle de relations artistiques entre la France et la Turquie*. Sciences de l’histoire. Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2009: 183-249. Du Crest’s chapter focusing on Lévy is a very tendentiously French and deferential account of Léopold Lévy’s time in Istanbul. He goes as far as crediting Lévy with introducing modern painting to the Turkish artists upon his arrival.

descent (his Alsatian parents had chosen to live in France not to become German subjects in 1870), and the timing of the job offer in the summer of 1936, everything else falls in place: Lévy must have gladly accepted the high-paying assignment which came with the offer of sanctuary in Istanbul amidst rising anti-Semitism in Europe. The negotiations were finalized by November⁵²⁸ and Lévy's appointment was announced with excitement in the Turkish press soon after.⁵²⁹ Léopold Levy took over the painting department of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul and started teaching as early as January 1937.⁵³⁰ Çallı İbrahim, Hikmet and Nazmi Ziya were the only 1914 generation artists still teaching at the school at this point, and soon after Lévy began working there, Nazmi Ziya passed away, leaving Çallı İbrahim and Hikmet as the only representatives of the old guard. Çallı openly resented Lévy's appointment, which also meant that the program of sending students to Paris –a rite of passage that he believed integral to a Turkish artist's training– came to a halt, and questioned his aptitude for teaching.⁵³¹ When he retired in 1947, Çallı İbrahim was still disgruntled by Lévy's appointment and the changes that ensued: “We invented a rank that has never been invented in any country: We found a ‘Specialist in the Fine Arts.’ We brought a European painter to our Academy as a specialist. This person is now teaching Modern Art there. Since he was not a schoolboy, he separated our school from the path of other nations.”⁵³² Çallı İbrahim was adamant about his views on how an Academy of Fine Arts was to teach, even a decade and a half after the abovementioned purge. For him, it was not art, but the requirements of art that could be taught; not how to be an artist, but the means necessary to become one, in other words, *technique*.

⁵²⁸ Draft contract dated November 14, 1936 from the private archives of Lise Becker in Paris, grand-niece of Léopold Lévy.

⁵²⁹ “Güzel Sanatlar Akademisinde Islahat” [Reform at the Academy of Fine Arts], *AR* no2, January 1937: 15.

⁵³⁰ “Akademi İki Kuvvetli Profesör Kazandı” [The Academy Gained Two Strong Professors], *Cumhuriyet*, January 17, 1937:5; “Léopold Levy'nin Bir Konferansı” [A Talk by Léopold Levy], *AR* no2, February 1937: 13-15. Lévy, Léopold. “Resim” [Painting], *Arkitekt* no:72, December 1936: 348-349.

⁵³¹ Eyüboğlu, Bedri Rahmi. “Usta-Çırak IV” [The Master and the Apprentice IV], March 23, 1952, reprinted in *Resme Başlarken*. 1st ed. Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu bütün eserleri: 3. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1986: 193-198. In the article, Bedri Rahmi recounts how Çallı would challenge Lévy's teaching, asking him to make corrections on student work, which Lévy adamantly resisted.

⁵³² Toker, Metin. Emekliye Ayrılan Çallının Hayatı,” *Cumhuriyet*, July 13, 1947: 3: “Biz, hiç bir memlekette icad edilmemiş payeyi keşfettik: ‘Güzel Sanatlarda Mühassıs’ bulduk. Avrupalı bir ressamı, Akademimize mühassıs olarak getirdik. Bu zat, şimdi orada Modern Sanat tedris ediyor. Kendisi mektebci olmadığı için, bizim mektebimizi diğer milletlerin yolundan ayırdı.”

Like all other foreign instructors across the new republic's educational institutions, Lévy was offered teaching assistants. Though it was a requirement for émigré professors to learn Turkish, this often proved an unrealistic expectation, and the teaching of the European instructors depended on the assistants who relayed in Turkish the lectures they gave in their mother tongues. Naturally, Lévy was to be given French-speaking assistants, and unsurprisingly, those who gladly came to his aid were none other than the young painters trained in Paris in the interwar years, first Cemal and Bedri, and a few years later Nurullah. Lévy also made sure to make use of the other young artists. Soon after, Zeki Faik, Ali Avni, Cevat and Halil all found themselves employed by the academy. Lévy's needs and their friend Burhan Toprak's administrative efforts had finally granted the wishes of the first children of the republic.⁵³³ [fig.] While Lévy's years in Istanbul, his pedagogic approach and his influence on Turkish painting are the subject of another study, significant to this narrative is how through Lévy the doors of the school were once again flung open to the young Turkish painters, and through their internalization, the teachings of their select European masters.⁵³⁴ While Lhote never came to Istanbul, his legacy lived through his devout students, who were soon to become teachers with their own ateliers in the Fine Arts Academy, and after Lévy's departure in 1947, rule it for decades to come.

The few years before Lévy's arrival in Turkey had been eventful for the younger generation. Just a month after Ali Sami had publicly named Lhote the culprit in 1933, the painters whose paintings at the Galatasaray salon had been the bone of contention, Cemal and Zeki Faik, joined four others, the two

⁵³³ Lévy's first atelier assistants were Cemal Tollu and Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, who started with him in 1937. Together with Burhan Toprak, the two reformists gradually hired as many of the former *Müstakiller* and *d Grubu* artists: Ali Avni Çelebi and Cevat Dereli returned to the school at Lévy's initiative as assistants. They were joined by Nurullah Berk in 1939. In the meantime, Zeki Faik was tasked with running the photography studio, Sabri Berkel with the engraving atelier, and Zeki Kocamemi with the furniture design workshop. All stayed on as professors, most teaching until they had to retire due to age restrictions. Halil Dikmen, another Lhote student, became the director of the Painting and Sculpture Museum when it opened in 1937, which was also officially entrusted to the school, and stayed as its director until his death in 1964.

⁵³⁴ The tendency of this generation was to completely downplay any influence Lévy might have had on them, when Nurullah Berk wrote "Ustalarla Konuşmalar," revisiting artists influential on his generation in Paris and recording their conversations, he only mentioned Lévy in passing, and rather deridingly commented that even though he had spent years with him, Lévy hadn't really made a mark on him. Berk, Nurullah. "André Lhote," *Ustalarla Konuşmalar*, Ankara; Ankara Sanat Yayınları (1971): 63.

suspended *Müstakiller* members Nurullah Cemal and Elif Naci, and their friend from the Parisian *concours* group, sculptor Zühtü, as well as the self-taught Abidin [Dino] in forming *d Grubu* [Group d].⁵³⁵ [fig.C.18] (Three of the initial six members of the group, Cemal, Zeki Faik and Nurullah Cemal had studied with Lhote in Paris, and when *d Grubu* expanded over the years, former Lhote students came to dominate the group.) Unlike *Müstakiller*, *d Grubu* aspired to nothing more than showing their work, but soon most of its members would get integrated into the state's artistic bureaucracy. Before Lévy's appointment in 1936, *d Grubu* had opened six exhibitions over the course of three years. As they themselves claimed, it wasn't mutual interest or stylistic coherence, but friendship that brought the group together.⁵³⁶ *d Grubu* opened its first self-organized exhibition in the fall of 1933, in a recently vacated hat store on the Grand rue de Pera, in Narmanlı Han, the following exhibitions took place in other makeshift

⁵³⁵ Abidin Dino (1913-1992), the only self-taught artist in the group, already had a preference for drawing rather than painting. While neither a brochure nor many photographic reproductions from this first exhibition survives, it is highly likely that Dino showed drawings of body parts such as hands and fingers, as stand-ins for the human figure. Abidin Dino differs significantly from the other members in the group in having surrealist tendencies. It is more apt to treat his artistic career outside this group as his time with *d Grubu* was short-lived. He was invited to the USSR later in 1933, and left for Moscow, where he worked in film studios, making set-designs for Russian films. His already leftist views grew closer to socialism during this time. He later moved to Paris, and circulated with the members of the artistic avant-garde there, such as Tristan Tzara. Abidin Dino was involved in organizing the Pavilion for Turkey for the 1939 New York World's Fair. He later briefly showed his work with another group, *Yeniler* in the early 1940s. His political leanings and critical stance for Turkey's war-time policies in the early 1940s grew increasingly at odds with state upon his return to Turkey, which led to his exile to Adana for his drawings. He spent this time writing newspaper articles and plays. In the early 1950s, after he was allowed to leave Turkey, Dino permanently settled in Paris, where he and his wife Güzin Dino played host to Turkish artists and thinkers that passed through. While there are many sources about Abidin Dino in Turkish, including collections of his own writings, and a three-volume biography is available, unfortunately not much has been written about his life and work in English. A critical evaluation of his visual and textual output is long overdue. See: Avcı, Zeynep. *A'dan Z'ye Abidin Dino*. 1. baskı. (İstanbul: YKY), 2000; Güzel, M. Şehmus. *Abidin Dino*. 1st ed. Vol.1-3. Anı ve yaşam dizisi. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008.

⁵³⁶ The group's manifesto, penned by Peyami Safa, was as follows: "Group d is not a squad/Neither to right nor to the left/Or a sergeant./Six heads turning on their own axes;/Six pairs of eyes, looking at and inside matter,/As if searching for the sign of life in the dead./This is not new painting, neither European, nor local./Just painting./Neither Délaacroix, nor Cézanne, nor Manet, nor Monet, nor Pissarro or Picasso./No: Abidin, Cemal,/Nurullah, Naci, Zeki, Zühtü. /Nor an école, nor a doctrine. Their future is one word: Painting./The mirror, the ox and the photograph see the same thing./No single person sees the same thing as another. Or even, sees the/Same thing twice. Doesn't Heraclitus say that you can't bathe in/The same water twice? An eye can't see the same thing twice./I'm not theorizing. These are all known./I just wanted to reiterate that Group d has six distinct points of view./Isn't there something that connects the sides of this hexagon?/There will be. Or you can come up with a chemical formula./Let's take the most natural: Friendship. Being coeval, and being painters./There may even be some AESTHETIC connections./But let's not busy ourselves with talk and theory, let's see the exhibition./If there, we find a work of art that falls exactly in line with our views,/That's bad. Because, seeing the same thing is an attribute common to the mirror,/The ox, and the photograph. /I kiss the eyes of Group d, who do not see like we do." Safa, Peyami. Exhibition leaflet reprinted as wall text in *D Grubu* exhibition at Cer Modern, Ankara, 2018

exhibition spaces such as theatre foyers, social clubs, as well as state buildings, such as the Halkevi [People's House] in Istanbul and the Sergievi [Exhibition House] in Ankara.⁵³⁷ Notably, in their first exhibition, the artists, including the only sculptor among them, Zühtü, only showed drawings on paper.

[fig.C.19] According to exhibition reviews, the works on display included the sketches that the artists had made in the life-classes of the Parisian ateliers they frequented, as well as studies of canonical European paintings they observed in museums, described later by historians as “copies of Western classics.”⁵³⁸

There are only a limited number of reproductions from the exhibition, showing six such drawings that look more like life-drawings the artists made in ateliers rather than studies from canonical paintings. [fig.

] Among the reproductions it is easy to tell that the sketch by Cemal was made in Hofmann's school; it even includes the teacher's instantly recognizable correctional drawing next to Cemal's figure-study.

Another female nude, by Nurullah, must have been made in Atelier Léger, as the thick rope coiling behind the model matches his descriptions of Léger's still-life arrangements. Zühtü's clean lines suggest that the drawing is perhaps a study for a Maillol-esque sculpture, while it can be inferred from Zeki

Faik's messy charcoal marks that the artist was searching to capture the posture of a live model. The

portrait by Elif Naci could not be a copy either, it more likely was a true-to-life rendering of its sitter, the only one surely made in Istanbul. Whether the exhibition at-large included copies or not, this initial

gesture of *d grubu* members to show only drawings was as bold as it was telling; it both signaled the

artists' interest in constructing through the primacy of the line –an attitude that they insistently vocalized

to distinguish themselves from their Turkish teachers, who, in their opinion, prioritized registering light

and color on canvas with brush and paint at the expense of solid construction– as well as a display of their

own aptitude: the drawings were to illustrate to the viewers that the *d Grubu* members were technically

⁵³⁷ Cemal Tollu was recommended by Zeki Faik, and Nurullah Berk suggested that they also include Abidin Dino. Cemal Tollu's cousin, the governor of Beyoğlu, Sedat Aziz Erim helped find a hat store in the former building of the Russian Consulate in rue Pera. The two floors of the store at Narmanlı building no:388 were rented for the exhibition, and it was announced that 160 drawings were to be exhibited, with a *vernissage* on October 8, Sunday at 3pm. Artists Fahrelnissa Zeid, Bedri Rahmi and Eren Eyüboğlu, Sabri Berkel, Zeki Kocamemi, Eşref Üren, Arif Kaptan, Halil Dikmen, Salih Urallı, Turgut Zaim joined the group in later exhibitions. Among the later editions, Fahrelnissa Zeid and Turgut Zaim were the only two who didn't pass through the ateliers of the famed Lhote.

⁵³⁸ Duben, *Türk Resmi ve Eleştirisi: 1880-1950* (2007): 209.

capable and “classically” trained. If they chose to depart from naturalism in their work –which they were to do in the exhibitions that ensued– this was a conscious choice, and not for a lack of dexterity. They advocated for the primacy of the artist’s intellect in painting, which was reflective of their specific understanding of *classicism* and *construction* that informed their work. The varied output of *d grubu* artists was to be guided by the strength of their linear aptitude supported by well-studied references to the history of art.

Deciphering how the term “classical” was used by Turkish painters–not just by Namık İsmail and his peers in their defense of the pedagogical approach at the school against Ali Sami’s accusations, but also by the younger generation’s insistence on their experimentation being tethered to tradition– proves key to understanding the stakes at hand, and points to the common predicament of the two generations, however artistically unaligned they might appear. For both generations, “classical” was used as an antidote to the opposing categories of both the academic and the avant-garde; another indicator for the middling instinct of the Turkish artists. In debates between Namık İsmail and Ali Sami, “classical” was used by Namık İsmail as if it were a calming balm applied to alleviate the anxiety of radicalism of modern art. In this context, “classical” was used to deny excess or straying from the right path in the arts, especially in regard to the potential of modern painting to derail the school’s program, while the term simultaneously was used in contradistinction to “academic,” to avoid the tarnish of ‘academicism.’ Namık İsmail’s insistence on “classical” rather than “academic” meant a teaching style that was not unchanging and dogmatic, yet firmly grounded in tradition. Similarly, for the younger generation, “classical” was employed to fend off feelings of alienation that their “skewed” works might incur, but in defense of modern painting.⁵³⁹ For the younger generation, classical was reiterated as an affirmative label,

⁵³⁹ In the popular press, the work of these artists was at times characterized as “çarpık,” [skewed] which different art critics were in pains to cast in a friendly manner, arguing for the lack of verisimilitude as not a lack but a sign of the artists’ individual viewpoints that conveyed sophisticated meanings rather than simplistic messages. See for example: Safa, Peyami. “Çarpık Resim Yaşayacak mı?” [Is Skewed Painting Going to Last?], *Yedigün* v.13 no:326, June 6, 1939.

not to designate a historical period, but to signify a continuous line through a family of artworks that bore the retrospective mark of artistic achievement appropriate for its era.

In fact, in his first book on modern art, titled *Modern San'at* and published in 1934, the leading member of *d Grubu* Nurullah went through great pains to differentiate between deconstructive art movements such as Dada and Surrealism, and a constructive, geometric modern art based on the intellect, which he called “mücerret san'at” [abstract art]. This was not dissimilar to the dismissal of Dada and Surrealism, which was a common thread in Lhote and Hoffman’s teaching as well. Both artists openly disavowed these two significant post-war approaches to artmaking with a critical edge, which positioned themselves both against bourgeois values and the tradition of art. For both Lhote and Hofmann, new modes of painting embodied new ways of looking at nature and registering it on canvas, while also staying referential to its greater tradition. In this sense, the new painting that the young Turkish painters were trying their hand in (and as it was advocated by these particular teachers) remained within the parameter of the *classical*, though reflective of its own time. Like the impressionist light and color inflected naturalism of the 1914 generation, the children of the republic had also found a middle-ground between tradition and a modern mode of looking, through the notion of the classical. The artists did not want to radically depart from a painting practice based on nature; on the contrary, they wanted to firmly stay within its parameters. They were not interested in redefining artistic production wholesale like the Dadaists or offer a critique of reason in the aftermath of war-time devastation like the Surrealists; these were deconstructive movements ill-fitting for their new nation under construction. For the Turkish artists, the wars that had devastated Europe (and the Ottoman Empire) had also resulted in the independence of their nation. They were neither interested in expressing the irrational corners of the human mind, nor in breaking with the tradition of European art –to which they were newcomers– wholesale. The Turkish artists were still admirers and students of it. For the young painters, bringing modern painting’s various manifestations from Europe was itself a sufficiently novel and thoroughly modernist enterprise without edging into radicalism (but soon, they would also feel the need to adapt these modes to their own

context). The Turkish painters wanted to remain within a constructive paradigm of painting, and it was critical that they cast the modern modes of painting they embraced in this light. [fig.C.20-23]

Another development that happened the same year that *d grubu* was founded would propel the young Turkish painters to think about what their artistic contribution to the Kemalist revolution was to look like: on the occasion of the tenth-year anniversary of the republic, the Turkish state initiated a competition for paintings that illustrated the Turkish revolution, which resulted in the series of *Exhibitions of the Revolution* (1933-37). The young generation's initial response to the profound artistic question that this exhibition series posed, as partly conveyed in the first chapter about the copy scandal, was premature, to say the least. However, over the years, the painters would articulate much more sophisticated responses to the question of how national identity was to inform their work. This sudden obligation initially instilled in them a division of the artistic self: between one that felt the need to respond to the demands of the state's revolutions, to which they were committed, and another, that wanted to engage solely with painterly questions without the imposition of subject matter, in other words, art for art's sake. This bifurcation would eventually prompt the artists to look for ways of synthesizing these positions, which proved to be fertile ground for their syncretic modernism in the years to come.

In a report he submitted to the Ministry of Education in 1933, the year in which both the *Exhibitions of the Revolution* were initiated by the Turkish state and *d Grubu* was founded by the young artists, Namık İsmail had written:

Our fine arts today, far from being national yet, are only artificially engaged with national essence. Unable to determine their school and under various influences of the orient and the occident, the devotees are exhausted. In short, unable to fix its public face, stray and unkempt, [the fine arts] present a view of anarchy.⁵⁴⁰

⁵⁴⁰ Namık İsmail, "Güzel san'atların memleketimizde gelişmesine dair proje ve kanun tasarısı gerekçeler raporu [Report on the justification of the legislative draft for the development project of the fine arts in our homeland], *Arkitekt*, no:32, 1933: 252-257. "Güzel san'atlarımız bugün henüz milli olmaktan uzak, milli varlıkla alakası sun'i şarkın ve garbın muhtelif tesirleri altında mektebini tespit edememiş ve salikleri bezgin velhasıl umumiyet itibarile veçhesini tesbit etmemiş başıboş bakımsız bir anarşi manzarası arz etmektedir."

Seen in this context, the copy scandal outlined in the first chapter becomes less scandalous. Having just spent years in Paris unlearning (or perhaps more accurately, updating) the lessons of their “classical” training and attempting to synthesize them with new ways of seeing and painting, Zeki Faik and Nurullah had seen no issue adapting the work of their modern French masters –whether they were long historicized and acknowledged artists like Délaacroix or contemporary painters very much alive like Luc-Albert Moreau– when they were tasked with expressing the modernizing efforts of their own country. [fig.C.24-25] Feeling obligated to participate when the state asked the artists it had invested in to express its reforms, some of the young painters had produced mimetic adaptations, for a new country whose own efforts to modernize had been based on imitating its European counterparts.⁵⁴¹ The paintings were reflective of “the paradox of Turkish nationalism”⁵⁴² at-large, which showed “both a hostility towards and an imitation of Western ways.”⁵⁴³

A triptych by Nazmi Ziya, submitted to the same series of exhibitions in 1935 is representative of the incomplete nature of the larger social transformation of the first decade of the Republic. The revolutions themselves were not fully synthesized but remained syncretic. [fig.C.26] The central panel of the triptych depicts a sunny Taksim Square, easily recognizable from the Republic Monument by Pietro Canonica that had been unveiled in 1928. The scene shows strollers, mostly women, in Western clothing on a sunny day, against a backdrop of automobiles and newly constructed modern apartments. In most art historical accounts of this work, this jubilant scene rendered in Nazmi Ziya’s gentle brushwork and pleasantly Impressionist color-palette is the only part of the painting that gets reproduced and commented

⁵⁴¹ *The Exhibitions of the Revolution* were short-lived, first they were eagerly supported by the intelligentsia, ranging from the academic İsmail Hakkı to the journalist Yunus Nadi, there had been calls that it was time for the artists to show their commitment to the country by making national works. Nadi, Yunus. “Fikirde ve San’atta İnkılapçı Hamleler İstiyoruz,” *Cumhuriyet*, July 28, 1933: 1. and Baltacıoğlu, İsmail Hakkı. “Türk Ressamı Uyan!” [Turkish Painting, Wake Up!] *Yeni Adam* no:4, January 22, 1934: 6. The first two iterations of the exhibitions received support, however, as the works got repetitive, and the expectation for the artists to produce great historical paintings was never met, most later deemed the output from these exhibitions unsatisfactory.

⁵⁴² Kadioğlu, Ayşe. “The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (1996): 177–93.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid*: 185.

on. However, in the original showing of the painting, this central panel was flanked by two others; today, the panels are separated into different private collections, and the location of the two wings remains unknown. [fig.C.27-28] The paintings on the two sides depict scenes that are in stark contrast to the central image, while in actual distance, the locations where Nazmi Ziya painted these images are separated by no more than a few kilometers. These are scenes from the same city, possibly painted only days apart, *en-plein-air*, as this is the only method Nazmi Ziya employed to paint. The two flanking panels depict older neighborhoods of Istanbul recognizable from their Ottoman architectural features; in the foreground of the left panel a scene of haggling seems to be taking place in front of an Ottoman shrine; the everyday scene registers strollers or shoppers in traditional outfits, men donning fezes or turbans, and women with veils and umbrellas instead of Western style hats. The right panel depicts another everyday scene, framed by a wooden house on the one side, and two hookah smokers perched on small stools under a tree on the other, while a porter crossing the cobblestone street with his wicker basket on his back seems to be looking for work from shoppers around him. Nazmi Ziya's small triptych, with its two overlooked side panels, is testament to how the state's reforms of the past decade were received differently, and how time (and hence the pace of modernization) moved unevenly, not just in Istanbul, but across the country. Not synchronicity, but a syncretic experience of daily life defined the Turkish landscape in the 1930s (and arguably, continues to do so today). In the exhibition that took place in the Ankara Halkevi [People's House] this work hung below a typically optimistic and large-scale painting by the Beaux-Arts trained Şeref, who had taken to painting Social-Realist style works that unequivocally cheered the modernizing reforms.⁵⁴⁴ [fig.C.29] In this particular painting, *Köy Mektebinde Talebe Kaydı* [Student Registration at the Village School] (1935) the painter emphasizes the government's literacy efforts as well as hinting at other reforms such as the civil code that encouraged gender equality, and the alphabet reform, with smiling villagers gladly taking both their daughters and

⁵⁴⁴ For the Soviet-Turkish relations and artistic exchange in the 1930s, see Karagöz, Özge. "Turkish Revolutionary Figuration in the Soviet Union," *Turkey-Russia: Two Periods Of Rapprochement*, SALT, Istanbul (2021): 83-112 (EBook).

sons to school on registration day. The placement of the two works makes Nazmi Ziya's work even more poignant; the juxtaposition is not only revelatory of the stylistic variation the state's indiscriminate support (which sponsored the French Beaux-Arts training both these artists received in pre- and post-war Paris) but also allowed artists of all generations to be displayed for the new republic. While Nazmi Ziya most likely did not conceive of the triptych as a critique of the fragmented and piecemeal adoption of the Kemalist revolution, but rather presented it as a celebration of Turkey's multifaceted society, the autonomous nature of the medium of painting allows the work to disagree with its creator today. The artist's own intention is only one among many other layers of spatial, contextual, historical and political readings, and Nazmi Ziya's triptych generously illustrates a critical conviction that this dissertation has attempted to put forward: that the medium of painting carries the potential to articulate more than one message to the onlooker.

In the early 1930s, it became clear that the Kemalist Revolution had not completely taken root across the country. An opposition party, the *Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* [Liberal Republican Party], which was founded in 1931 at the request of Mustafa Kemal to transition into a more democratic republic made this clear for the government, which quickly returned to the single party regime. When the Liberal Republican Party garnered unexpected popular support in local elections, it shocked and threatened the RPP. The opposition was dissolved the same year, but its short-lived success instigated further centralization of governmental power, a move that was described even by the likes of Hamdullah Suphi (the staunch Turkist who had been sent to exhibition openings to represent Mustafa Kemal, as covered in the introduction) as a totalitarian turn.⁵⁴⁵ After the single-party rule curbed all opposition (in and outside the parliament), it set up its own vessels through which it was to articulate itself across the country: the basic principles of Kemalism were laid out in the program of the party in 1931, represented by the six arrows in its insignia. These were republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism (state interest before

⁵⁴⁵ Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver quoted in Aydın, S. "Türk Tarih Tezi ve Halkevleri," *Kebikeç*, Vol.2, No.3 (1996): 109.

class interest), statism (a corporatist economic policy), and revolutionism (sometimes translated as reformism). The main realization of the ruling RPP was the urgent need to communicate the Kemalist principles to the population at large, which required surmounting the gap between the urban and the rural populace of Turkey. This was also a reflection of the educational and cultural division between the Westernized intelligentsia and the peasantry, which the ruling party increasingly came to see as an object of social engineering. The Ottoman-era nationalist Turkish Hearts associations were replaced by *Halkevleri* [People's Houses] in 1932, the cultural organ of the RPP that was tasked with transmitting national consciousness through educational and cultural activities. Two key institutions were founded around the same time: The Turkish Historical Society (1931) and the Turkish Language Association (1932), which proposed two complimentary theories on Turkish language and history that would be integral to the construction of a newly mythical understanding of national cultural heritage.⁵⁴⁶ The language reform of 1932 purged words deemed “foreign” to Turkish (e.g. Persianate, Arabic, or Latinate etymologies); the efforts to purify the language by reverting to pure (or fictive) Turkish replacements for loan words reinforced the semantic shift that had begun with the alphabet reform of 1928. In 1932, the call to prayer, which had been performed in its original language, Arabic, was translated, and the Turkish *ezan* began to echo across the country five times a day. Two further major reforms were undertaken in 1934, when “the law of last names” obliged every citizen to cast aside any social, religious or familial titles and replaced them with new, state-approved last names, dividing larger families into nuclear units and distancing the new generations from their genealogical roots. That same year, women were given full rights to vote and be elected. In 1935, Islam was taken out of the constitution, after which Turkey became a completely secular republic (though not yet democratic). It is important to consider that the competition

⁵⁴⁶ The Turkish History Thesis argued, among many things, that Turkic peoples in Central Asia had established the first human civilization and dispersed to Europe through waves of migration. It also argued that modern Turks had descended from Hittites, a Turkic tribe that migrated to Anatolia from Central Asia. Hittites were ancient people predating Greek civilization, emphasizing the role of Anatolia as the cradle of civilization. The Sun-Language theory by the Turkish Language Institution argued that all languages were based on and were dialects of a primal ur-Turkish language. The motivations behind these theses were manifold; but most importantly, in the aftermath of the Independence War, they helped justify Turkish presence in Anatolia, confirming the borders of the new nation-state.

for paintings that illustrated the Turkish Revolution and the ensuing exhibition series had been organized not only as part of the ten-year celebrations of the republic, but also against the backdrop of the state's efforts to clarify its Kemalist message and ensure social cohesion through asserting totalizing control over its citizenry.

The younger generation, at least the modern painters among them, were relieved when the *Exhibitions of the Revolution* came to a halt in 1937, and this imposition of subject-matter of the state-endorsed artistic program was given up. As illustrated by Zeki Faik and Nurullah's statements to the press during the copy scandal in the 1950s, the painters had not been too satisfied with the results themselves. Nurullah confidently declared in 1937 that the measure of great Turkish art was not to be sought in its content, but in its entirety:

A work of art is national in its spirit, and through its spirit represents a leaning, a revolution. To ascribe certain subjects and certain directions to it, does nothing other than paralyzing it, if not actually murdering it.

Kemalism understands it as such. The importance given to the fine arts by the regime is not entirely programmed but takes it [art] at its largest and most perceptive sense. In fact, the Turkish artist is an embodiment of the revolution. Every plastic work of art – whatever its subject and the object it depicts- is an expression of the entire society. Here lies the recently flourishing Turkish painting, Turkish sculpture, here is its new music and its architecture. Instead of the arid air of ideological art, only art in its most expanded sense!”⁵⁴⁷

Since 1934, when Berk wrote the first book on modern art in Turkish, he had been gradually establishing his own theorization of a modern Turkish art, selectively appropriating ideas from his teacher Lhote, while modestly establishing local links. In his 1934 book, Berk had a section dedicated to

⁵⁴⁷ Berk, Nurullah. “Sanat ve Devlet” [Art and the State], *Ar*, no: 12, December 1937. “Sanat eseri ruhu itibariyle millidir ve ruhu itibariyle bir cereyanı, inkılabı temsil eder. Ona muayyen mevzular tayin etmek, muayyen istikametler tayin etmek, öldürmek değilse bile, felce uğratmaktan başka bir işe yaramaz. Nitekim Kemalizm bunu bu şekilde anlar. Rejimin, güzel sanatlara verdiği ehemmiyet, henüz programlanmış değilse de, en geniş ve en idrakli manasındadır. Türk sanatkarı esasen inkılabın bir tecellisidir. Her plastik eser –mevzuu ve ifade ettiği sahne ne olursa olsun- bütün cemiyetin ekspresyonudur. İşte son zamanlarda büyük bir inkişafa mazhar olan türk ressamlığı, işte türk abideliği, işte yeni musikisi ve yeni mimarisi. İdeolojik sanatın kurutucu havası yerine, sadece sanatın geniş mefhumu!”

geometry (in which he talked about the curved and straight lines at length as well as the Pythagorean golden ratio) followed by extensive coverage of Cézanne and Cubism (Cubism amplified geometry, bringing what Cézanne had begun to its extreme end), through which he developed his notion of *mücerret san'at*. While the direct translation of the word *mücerret* means abstract, in Berk's conception, this was an instinct of abstraction still strictly based on nature, as it was with his teacher Lhote. *Mücerret san'at*, the type of modern art suitable for Turkey and championed by Berk, was an intellectual effort to create harmony on the surface of the canvas through line, color, and overall composition. In his argument (as in Lhote's), the primary purpose of painting was always an abstract one –plastic perfection. For Berk, this notion of the abstract that came to the fore with Cubism had in fact been a perpetual principle of art since Ancient Greece. (Therefore, it would be a mistake to claim that Cubism was dead –this way, he also outmaneuvered any accusations of belatedness.) Berk's understanding of "classicism" as a means of abstraction was directly lifted from Lhote:

The grand secret of classicism is the desire for abstraction. If you want to be classical, you should neither look at the leaves nor the branches of a tree, but observe its volume, its geometry. An artwork is architectural; made of colors, lines, and stylized composition. It doesn't shy away from reality, but it is both real and a lie. It is real because it takes inspiration from nature, and it is a lie for molding nature into an abstract form. You stroll in nature with your feet, in art, with your mind. All art is this way; from Byzantine to quattrocento, from David to Ingres, a reality above the world of physics rules their nature.⁵⁴⁸

In this argument, the simplification of form present in Cubism had existed for time eternal, and hence, was a form of "classicism," not a departure from it. With an interestingly localizing turn, Berk added that hence, Cubism is more similar to ornamentation, to a *kilim* (a Turkish carpet), to mosaics (not Turkish but Greco-Roman, though still geographically local) rather than to *peinture* -French painting. This key comparison foreshadowed organicist arguments and applications of local sources to modern painting that became popular in the 1940s, and fully articulated in the 1950s.⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴⁸ Berk, Nurullah. *Ustalarla konuşmalar*. Ankara sanat yayınları, 4. Ankara: Ankara Sanat Yayınları, 1971: 59.

⁵⁴⁹ Berk, Nurullah. *Modern san'at: empresyonizm, neo empresyonizm, kübizm, pürizm, fütürizm, sürrealizm*. İstanbul: Semih Lütfi Bitik ve Basım Evi, 1934: 85-88.

Berk's notion of *mücerret* was also tied to geometric armature, a way of organizing the picture plane as a "construction." During the interwar years of young republican artists' sojourns in Paris, *construction* was associated directly with Cézanne, both as an organizational method and as the treatment of paint (through his *passages*), which inspired the work of many modern painters, had become part of a larger metaphor about post-war reconstruction in France. As Kenneth Silver points out in his *Esprit de Corps*, Cubism's deconstruction was to be re-cast by a re-alliance of the avant-garde with the old guard; its destructive period only a phase towards *construction*: "...while destruction or demolition may have been appropriate and essential to pre-war Cubism, their time had passed, and the saviors of art are now 'constructors.'"⁵⁵⁰

This spirit of the artist as constructor would perfectly align with the painters of the new republic in Turkey. Years later, in a conversation with Berk in the 1940s, Léger intuitively connected the Turkish artists' internalized notion of *construction* to what had become a larger-than-life metaphor for building a nation. As Berk recounts, Léger expressed his admiration for Atatürk by saying: "He is a great man, a man of tomorrow. He is a *constructeur*. I like men who step over the past, dismiss it, who put the groundwork for tomorrow -be it an artist, state leader, politician, or a savior like your Kemal."⁵⁵¹ Léger's remarks testify to the similarity between the mindset of certain French and Turkish modern painters during this period. The Turkish artists agreed: for many, especially Nurullah and Cemal, Cézanne-inspired Cubist construction provided both a formal model and an essential metaphor: a constructive painting for the art of a new nation that came without a manual.⁵⁵² This armature would gradually become part of constructing the new artistic language that befit the nation, both literally and figuratively. But

⁵⁵⁰ Silver, Kenneth E. *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925*. Thames and Hudson, 1989: 326.

⁵⁵¹ Berk, Nurullah. *Modern san'at: empresyonizm, neo empresyonizm, kübizm, pürizm, fütürizm, sürrealizm*. İstanbul: Semih Lütfi Bitik ve Basım Evi, 1934: 46.

⁵⁵² The artists often used the French transliteration of construction, "konstrüksiyon" to describe their interests and to characterize their work, which resulted in a rather significant misunderstanding on the part of many art historians, who often claim that these artists brought "Cubism and Constructivism" from Paris. They neither had any exposure to Russian Constructivism, nor does their work have any formal resemblance to Constructivist painting or sculpture.

articulating this on the surface of the canvas would take a few more years and a few more insights about modern painting's building blocks that their teachers had depended on. If *konstrüksiyon* was one of the *techniques* they were to effectively borrow from their European masters, developments in their home base would soon require them to attempt synthesizing this with an *essence*, as Gökalp's formulation demanded. Though Cézannist construction was as significant formally as it was for presenting a readymade metaphor for the Turkish painters, there were other essential building blocks to consider when modern painting was concerned.

At the 1933 Galatasaray salon that had fueled Ali Sami's attack on Lhote, Cemal had shown a self-portrait, *Portrem* (1933). A year later, in the second exhibition of *d Grubu* in 1934, he exhibited a stylistically similar painting, another portrait, titled *Bir Muallimin Portresi* [Portrait of a Teacher] (1933). [fig.C.30-31] Taken together, these portraits are telling, as they hint at the prevailing authority and influence European teachers imprinted on the Turkish artists. The two portraits can also be interpreted as the key to the struggles of exercising newly learned techniques and the young artist's registration of Orientalism and Primitivism as informants of modern painting. The two portraits both stress the self-awareness of the young Turkish artists, as heavily dependent on European pedagogues, and foreshadow the task of locating an essence for their painting practice, a synthesis that would also be asked of this generation, both for their work as artists and teachers. Cemal's self-portrait, *Portrem* [My Portrait] (1933), is compositionally based on a 1932 drawing he had made in Hofmann's studio. [Fig. C.32] With thick black outlines reminiscent of the charcoal drawing's linearity, Cemal depicts himself at work, wearing a painter's apron over his shirt and tie (perhaps a nod to the personality split required of his current situation, changing dress between his bureaucratic role as a school teacher and his identification as a painter). His posture is typical of historical artist self-portraits with the three-quarter view of his face, his body heavily bent to one side, suggesting the presence of a mirror that he hypothetically consulted while sitting in front of his easel. At the same time, the posture mimics the corrections of his teacher Hofmann, whose lines exaggerated the contorted pose of the female model Cemal had drawn in his

school. The artist is holding his palette and three large-size brushes, suggestive of his application of the thick impasto, and visible brushwork on the surface of the canvas the viewer is presented with. The canvas is dominated by earth-tones, subdued choices similar to Cemal's other favorite teacher, Marcel Gromaire, whose coarsely painted solid figures are echoed in the rendering of Cemal's own body.

[fig.C.33] He seems to be in a small, low-ceilinged space, perhaps an attic or a mezzanine atelier. The only other objects in the picture are what appear to be the African figurines behind him. His blurry brushwork obscures the distinction between two and three dimensions, which makes it hard to say whether these are actual statues or drawings of the figures hanging on the wall. Cemal seems to be playfully teasing the viewer's faculties that are prone to perceiving an illusion of depth all the while knowing what is on view is the flat plane of the canvas with daubs of paint on it. Are the African sculptures in the background merely there as historically accurate representations of an artist's studio in the early 1930s? Cemal undoubtedly knows that the foremost lesson of modernism from African sculpture is this artistic discovery in playing with perception: another system with a different approach to representation can also produce the effect of object-recognition for the viewer, through a completely different set of semantics. Perhaps the statuettes are there as reminders of the significant sources for modern painting, as testament to one of the primary sources of Cubist deformation.

In the other portrait –titled *Bir Muallimin Portresi* [Portrait of a Teacher] (1933)– Cemal uses a similar composition, a three-fourths close-up portrait of a male figure, rendered again in coarse brushwork and a muddy palette of browns and yellows. The teacher figure leans gently forward with his hands clasped, as if formulating the lesson word he is about to impart to his eagerly awaiting students outside the canvas. The teacher figure is surrounded by objects that hint at his sources. To his right are a stack of books, and above them, the lower part of a landscape painting of a seaside can be made out. On the other side behind him hangs a Japanese print. Cemal has placed it playfully; it is as if the Oriental figure in the print is looking over the shoulder of the teacher. The teacher-figure is in suit and tie, and his eyes gaze into the distance in a pensive look. Is this teacher-figure an artist? Despite his outfit, the objects Cemal

placed around him suggest so. Moreover, while the figure bears no direct resemblance to Lhote, Hofmann or Gromaire (Cemal's favorite three teachers), it can be argued that this is a representation of any European teacher of modern painting, perhaps an amalgamation of all teachers Cemal came across during his European sojourn. In a more metaphorical interpretation of the two paintings that Cemal made briefly after his return, they can be taken to hint at the two greatest teachers of modern painting at-large: Orientalism and Primitivism. Significantly, these "influences" from outside the canon of Western oil painting reference the civilizational differences through which the artists transformed European painting from within. These references stand as evidence of ideas metabolized and conveyed by the European teacher and received by his students, like Cemal himself. They hover above the teacher, and accompany the artist, informing both their work. However, these informants could not be readily delineated into clean-cut matters of technique versus essence, or culture versus civilization. The references to Orientalism and Primitivism also present a different kind of positional challenge for the artist from the periphery. The Turkish painters' interest in these notions and their applicability in their own work were to be further complicated by larger cultural shifts in the Turkish Republic's own identity formation. In Turkey, aspects from these two thought-systems and formal informants would both be implicated in the larger local tendency of *peasantism*. This homegrown affliction with both primitivist and orientalist traits would replace these two cross-pollinators in the Turkish artists' syncretic modernism.

In the Gökalp formula, the reforms and the vessels through which they were to be adopted and disseminated, were modeled after various different Western examples, and comprised the "civilizational" developments free to be borrowed by any and all. But the "cultural," in other words, what constituted Turkish identity, was not readily available, and as it could not be borrowed, it had to be extracted. Throughout the 1930s, locating this cultural essence became a primary task of the Turkish state. Turcologists, art historians, archaeologists and architectural historians of different bents –Turkish as well as European– were invited to Ankara to undertake archaeological digs, make sense of and theorize

Anatolian material culture as the source of Turkish art, write texts and arrange museum displays that offered and reinforced a narrative of Turkish history. While not always in agreement on details, these efforts all attempted to formulate a Central-Asian and Anatolian narrative for Turkish identity, save for its Islamic phase, and its non-Turkic inhabitants, resulting in confusing, paradoxical, fictive narratives.⁵⁵³ The findings from these efforts and the narratives they offered were utilized to further substantiate the work of the Turkish Historical Association and the Turkish Language Institute. Though these attempts were largely pseudo-scientific and resulted in various selectively targeted interpretations of Turkish identity and its material culture spanning multiple eras (Bronze Age to pre-Islamic, Seljuk to Ottoman), lands (Central Asia to Anatolia), and civilizational demarcations (Greco-Mediterranean, pre-Islamic, even Aryan) they were intended to create and reinforce a historical-mythical national narrative; which had been partly vacated by secularism's undoing of the society's Islamic heritage and partly by the replacement of Ottoman cosmopolitanism with nationalist cultural homogenization.

In the 1930s, both in relation to the more global phenomenon of the Great Depression, and the Turkish nationalism's search for an authentic Turkish identity, a "peasantist ideology" gained widespread currency in the republic, and the People's Houses took a central role as both its instigators and informants.⁵⁵⁴ The peasantist ideology saw the peasant as both the motor of development, a tool of resistance against Western imperialism, and the primary location of a pure, Turkish culture. The People's Houses, functioning as adult education centers and cultural hubs spread across the country, were intended as the places where the Westernized intelligentsia and the traditional peasant population were to meet and cross-fertilize. This project of centralization was to work in both directions; while the intelligentsia were to communicate the principles of living according to Kemalism, the centers would also be places where folkloric data was to be collected and registered, so that the Turkish identity could be understood and

⁵⁵³ Redford, Scott. "What Have You Done for Anatolia Today?": Islamic Archaeology in the Early Years of the Turkish Republic." *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 243–52.

⁵⁵⁴ Karaömerlioğlu, M. Asim. "The People's Houses and the Cult of the Peasant in Turkey." *Middle Eastern Studies* 34, no. 4 (October 1, 1998): 67–91. Öztürkmen, Arzu. "The Role of People's Houses in the Making of National Culture in Turkey." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (1994): 159–81.

articulated through the techniques of the West. This was of course both utopian and unrealistic; the assumption of a pure Turkish culture located in the life and figure of the peasant was an essentialist trope, and as the syncretic modernism of the Turkish artists traced in this project illustrate through the medium of painting, just as technique and essence could not be so easily delineated or synthesized; nor could culture and civilization.

The urban People's Houses had already quickly integrated the work of the young painters into their cultural program. During the 1930s, the houses in Istanbul and Ankara gladly housed the exhibitions of both *d Grubu* and *Müstakiller*.⁵⁵⁵ Later, *Müstakiller* would expand its activities to other cities, opening the first art exhibitions in the People's Houses in Zonguldak (1937), Balıkesir (1937), Bursa (1937) and İzmit (1939). And eventually, as intended, it also worked the other way around as well: traces of *peasantism* were soon to emerge in the work of the artists.⁵⁵⁶ By 1936, *d Grubu* had doubled in size to twelve members and included artists such as Bedri Rahmi and Turgut Zaim, who were already interested in updating local systems of representation such as miniature painting (Turgut) and folk imagery (Bedri Rahmi).⁵⁵⁷ Turkish artists had already realized that the foreign elements that fueled modernism were not entirely foreign to them; there had even been discussions of an artistic civilizational switch among the

⁵⁵⁵ During the span of the *Exhibitions of the Revolution*, between 1933 and 1937, *d Grubu* had organized six exhibitions over a three-year period. When they averaged about two exhibitions per year between 1933-36, they also took over from *Müstakiller* the role of the black sheep: the group's exhibitions were championed by the intelligentsia, confused the general public, and were largely mocked by caricaturists. After most of the *d Grubu* artists became part of the academic staff, the exhibitions of *d Grubu* also moved there. *Müstakiller* resumed its activities around this time. This makes sense: exactly when *d grubu* became part of the establishment, *Müstakiller* resumed their role as the independents, this time under the leadership of Mahmud Cuda.

⁵⁵⁶ As Karaömerlioğlu also points out, while the exchange might have been two-sided in some occasions, largely, the project benefited the intelligentsia, not the other way around.

⁵⁵⁷ The first two exhibitions in 1933, both in Istanbul were organized by the initial six members. Caricaturist Cemal Nadir joined them for the third exhibition with his caricatures. By the fifth exhibition, the members had expanded to include Bedri Rahmi (also from Académie Lhote) and Turgut Zaim. In 1935, the group was invited to show their work in Soviet Russia, at the initiative of its members Abidin Dino, who was based there. At the behest of the Turkish government, the invitation transformed into an official state-supported exhibition of Turkish Painting, their works toured Bucharest, Budapest, Athens, Moscow, Vienna, and Leningrad. The same year, the group opened their first exhibition in Ankara. Their 7th exhibition marked their take-over of the Istanbul Academy; the exhibition took place there and was opened by its director Burhan Toprak. Their membership expanded to twelve by this point. By their 9th exhibition in 1941, four more artists showed with Group d: Hakkı Anlı, Sabri Berkel, Fahrelnissa Zeid and sculptor Nusret Suman. For their 15th exhibition in 1947, Zeki Kocamemi also joined them. Adil, Fikret. '*d' Grubu ve Türkiye'de Resim* (Halk Matbaası, İstanbul): 1947. The last exhibition the group organized was in 1951.

young painters in the early 1930s.⁵⁵⁸ And as discussed in the second chapter, what constituted the Turkish in Turkish painting had been debated by their elders, the 1914 generation as well, with no overarching solution or formulization. In the late 1930s and early 40s, the artists of both generations would become more directly involved with these questions, as the Turkish state itself had begun to look for answers, with hopes to find it in Anatolia, and in its inhabitants, in the supposedly pure figure of the Anatolian peasant.

After the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in 1937, the cultural policy of RPP under İsmet İnönü's leadership somewhat softened; it was less adamant in creatively asserting a purely Turkish heritage through history and language theses, and more interested in embracing the cultural heritage of Western civilization, inserting Turkey into a Greco-Roman lineage of Western civilization. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, cultural policy was oriented towards what scholar Nilüfer Öndin describes as “a synthesis of technique and essence” (*usul ve öz birleşimi*).⁵⁵⁹ The pervasive state programs during this time involved artists but also many public intellectuals who contributed to the theorization of art and influenced the artists deeply.⁵⁶⁰ One of these new ventures was The Republican People's Party's

⁵⁵⁸ Hamit Nejdet. “Bizde Resim Sanatı” [Our Art of Painting], *Milliyet*, March 22, 1932: 5; Zühtü, “Bizde san'atkar doğacak mı?” [Will an artist be born here?], *Milliyet*, January 15, 1932: 5. Naci, Elif. “Yarının San'atı” [Tomorrow's Art], *Milliyet*, October 9, 1932: 5. Hamit Nejdet wondered whether they could look to Eastern Civilizations such as the arts of Egypt, Zühtü believed the Turkish artist was to articulate Turkish civilization, but needed the society's unquestioning support, whereas Elif Naci rejected both the East and the West (“neither Cimabue or Michelangelo nor miniature” he said).

⁵⁶⁰ Öndin, Nilüfer. *Cumhuriyet'in Kültür Politikası ve Sanat 1923–1950* [Art and Cultural Politics of the Turkish Republic, 1923–1950]. Istanbul: İnsancıl Yayınları, 2003: 56.

⁵⁶⁰ One theoretical movement that emerged out of this moment was Blue Anatolianism. It retooled a rather rigidly ethnic nationalism that pointed to Anatolia as the heartland of the Turks and justified the modern borders of Turkey in the early republican period into a soft-focus cultural embrace of folk traditions, retroactively projecting Turkey into a world history of civilization that prioritized the beginnings of humanism in Ancient Greece. The motivation behind this was partially complicating the Orientalist discourse that located the beginning of Western civilization in Greece, by inserting Turks into this civilizational history through a Mesopotamian/Anatolian link in the chain. The trope of “Anatolia” had been utilized by competing ideological projects at different points in late Ottoman, as well as early years of the Turkish Republic. See Bilsel, S. M. Can. “‘Our Anatolia’: Organicism and the Making of Humanist Culture in Turkey.” *Muqarnas* 24 (January 1, 2007): 223–242. Blue Anatolianism also replaced the ethno-centric leanings of earlier theories with a conception of Anatolia as a melting pot of cultures—a syncretic understanding of cultural heritage by all means. It was Bedri Rahmi's brother, Sabahattin, who applied principles of Blue Anatolianism into his art criticism, whereas Bedri Rahmi embodied Blue Anatolianism's principles both as an artist and as a poet. I touch upon its theoretical underpinnings in more detail in: Demir, Duygu. “Another Kind of Muralnomad: Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu's Mosaic Wall from the Turkish Pavilion at the Brussels Expo 58.” *Thresholds* (Cambridge, Mass.) 46 (2018): 120–43.

distinctive new cultural program of “Yurt Gezileri” [Homeland Tours], which envisioned sending ten artists to ten different locations throughout the country every year to observe and make art inspired by their surroundings.⁵⁶¹ [fig.C.34-35] The artists were to stay in the People’s Houses. The Homeland Tours program, which started in 1938 and lasted until 1946, fell perfectly in line with Prime Minister İsmet İnönü’s still adamantly Kemalist, but slightly divergent vision. While this approach ultimately failed to forge a synthesis that would close the gap between the urban intellectual elite, to which the artists belonged, and the rural public, it nevertheless gave the artists a new informant that could be used for both style and content: *peasantism* served as the site though which they attempted to forge a synthesis between technique and essence, and simultaneously, between modernism and nationalism. The quick production expected from the painters during these visits initially produced straightforward engagement with local subject matter: many sketchy landscapes of villages, mountains, rivers and bridges, as well as harvest scenes, paintings that registered historically significant sites for the Turkish War of Independence, or figurative work with peasant subjects, studies of local costumes, and depictions of artisanal activities such as carpet weaving, in addition to documents of the republic’s modernizing efforts such as factories, power plants and agricultural machinery were the kinds of paintings presented at the first State Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture in 1937 and were repeated by new groups of artists sent to other locations in the ensuing years. In the 1940s, painters were also to write educational texts for *Ülkü*, the print organ of the houses, and make woodcuts of Anatolian peasants and village landscapes for its covers. [fig.C.36]

A few years later however, the Anatolian peasantism was to provide more than thematic subject matter. Artists decided to try their hand at a corresponding painterly synthesis, neither exact emulations of European forms, nor the decorative traditions of the Orient, but a stylistic “sentez.” At the same moment, with the onset of the Second World War, during which Turkey managed to preserve a neutral

⁸⁴ Erol, Turan. *Günümüz Türk resminin oluşum sürecinde Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu: yetişme koşulları, sanatçı kişiliği* [Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu During the Formation of Today’s Turkish Painting: His upbringing, artistic personality]. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1984: 36. While Erol locates the Soviet Painting exhibition in Ankara in 1935 as the originary idea for these tours, Elif Naci gives credit to Léopold Lévy’s administrative efforts. Naci, Elif. “15 Yılda Resim,” *Cumhuriyet*, October 1, 1938: 2.

position, outside influences came to be seen as potentially corrupting forces for national culture, so a homegrown *sentez* was more important than ever. During this period, what are perceived as completely divergent modes of art-making in western scholarship, namely, the nationalist and the modernist, were hybridized in the work of these artists and in the theories of intellectuals. Such syncretic modes aligned themselves with a nascent Turkish humanism. Producing a heterogeneity of artistic styles, here, syncretism was to be the fleeting coming together of the urban elite and the rural populace. In the 1940s, “classical” was to be employed by critics and in artist writings to designate a type of Turkish return to order, to provide a narrative in which the perceived radicalism of the younger generation was eventually tamed, used both in reviews of exhibitions by *Müstakiller* and the *d Grubu* as a stylistic softening.⁵⁶² These texts are reminiscent of the post-war return to order arguments in Europe, with titles such as “Yeni Bir Klasisizma” [A New Classicism] or descriptions such as “ıfrattan realiteye dönüş,” [a return from excess to reality], while for the painters, their works had never departed from a classical base. The term *classical* further merged with the concept of *ümanizma*, or a Turkish humanism, which combined this stylistic taming of the work of the painters with a direct engagement with subject-matter (Turkish and otherwise) as well as stylistic cues extracted from Anatolia.⁵⁶³ This peasantist turn provided ample

⁵⁶² For example, in 1937, when the Union of Fine Arts, *Müstakiller* and *d Grubu* made peace and joined forces to participate in a state exhibition together for the first time, it was characterized by an unnamed reviewer as “a return to *bon tradition*” and as a “switch from excess to reality.” “Ankara’ya Açılan Resim Sergisi” [The Painting Exhibition that Opened in Ankara], *Cumhuriyet*, June 23, 1937:3. In 1939, Ahmet Muhip Dranas interpreted the 7th exhibition of *d Grubu* as indicating a turn towards a new classicism; a move towards establishing Turkish painting. Dranas, Ahmet Muhib. “7. D Grubu Sergisi” [The 7th Group D exhibition], *Cumhuriyet*, February 6, 1939: 7. The same year, Mustafa Şekip Tunç characterized the *Müstakiller* exhibition as “a synthesis between the decorative and the classic.” Tunç, Mustafa Şekip. “Müstakillerin Sergisi Münasebetiyle” [On the Occasion of the Exhibition of the Independents], *Cumhuriyet*, March 25, 1939: 3. In 1947, the academic-classical-modern debate would be rekindled again, but this time the academy teachers were more confident. Cemal Tollu, who was a professor there by then, responded that both old and new methods were at the disposal of the student, represented by different professors, and they were free to choose their own path. See: Tollu, Cemal. “Akademik-Klasik-Modern Dedikoduları” [Gossip about Academic-Classical-Modern], *Cumhuriyet*, May 31, 1947: 2.

⁵⁶³ In two articles written for the journal *Güzel Sanatlar*, Ahmet Muhip Dranas explained *ümanizma* as a painting that showed love for nature and the human form, with a concern for monumentality, and tied to tradition. He delved into the matter of national character in the second article, admitting this was an evasive matter that required the deep intuition of the artist. Though he didn’t point to Anatolia, his advice to the artists to reflect this outlook was to look at the history, the mythology, and the fables to extract this national character. Dranas, Ahmet Muhip. “Resimde Ümanizma,” *Güzel Sanatlar* no. 2 (1939–40): 141; “İkinci Devlet Resim ve Heykel Sergisi,” *Güzel Sanatlar* no. 4 (1940-41):16-17.

material for the modern painters to work with and led the way towards modes of self-inflicted primitivism and orientalism.

These shifts are especially visible in the work of Cemal and Bedri Rahmi. The 1958 monumental painting by Cemal, *Hatay'da Portakal*, in which Anatolian women are depicted alongside their children and animals during the harvesting of oranges in the historically significant city of Antioch. [fig.37-41] As Cemal's charcoal sketches for the work also survive, it is easier to make the connection to his studies with Hofmann; the harsh black outlines that delineate his figures nod to his German teacher. The organization of space, with repeating diagonals and the careful balance of his subdued colors that organize the composition are lessons applied from his teacher Lhote. As Cemal himself aptly put it in 1960, he carried these lessons with him throughout his life: "I tried André Lhote's Neo-classicism, Fernand Léger's Purism, Gromaire and Hofmann's Expressionism. I have since been committed to deformation, construction, and the idea of 'valeur.' I hate modeling, the rounding of objects with the aim of imitating nature."⁵⁶⁴ On the other hand, the painting has one other significant reference that is not addressed by the artist directly. This harmonious scene of village life is depicted entirely in profile, reminiscent of relief sculpture. Considering that Cemal spent his early years as the director of the Ethnography Museum in Ankara, one can easily discern that his reference here is likely the Bronze-age Hittite reliefs housed in this museum. Cemal's extraction of the organizational principles of Hittite reliefs are revelatory of Anatolian peasantism that informs his work: with a sleight of hand, he connects the Turkish villager to the Anatolian land through time immemorial, mirroring the cultural policies that shaped RPP's last years in power. A similar ideological conviction informed the work of Bedri Rahmi, though with different cultural references. [fig.C.42-46] More interested in inserting Anatolian folk culture into the larger framework of Western civilization, Bedri Rahmi used double-coded figures, such as fusing the Anatolian mother with the Virgin and Child, or combining his arabesque lines gleaned from Matisse

⁵⁶⁴ Tollu, Cemal. "Sanatçılarla Konuşmalar," *Varlık* no:537, November 1, 1960 quoted in *Cemal Tollu* (ed. Adnan Çoker), Ankara: Galeri B Yayınları (1996): 52.

with mosaics, producing calligraphic abstractions in glass and stone. Though his painterly output is very limited, as he spent most of his time producing a textual body of work, Nurullah's arguments and terminological interests can be traced also in his paintings and drawings. While he never participated in the Homeland Tours program, the influence of the local *peasantist* turn as well as its integration into his work is clearly visible. [fig.C.47-50] His early Cubist compositions were replaced by studies of Anatolian women in the late 1930s. In the 1940s, he tried his hand at merging Cubist deformation with figures, by 1950s, these attempts merged with his theories. In the late 1940s, Berk dropped *mücerret* from his vocabulary. In its stead, he introduced the concept of *yaşayan sanat*⁵⁶⁵ [living art], another Lhotian term that implied a classical take on modernism:

For those with singular and narrow views, classical art is art made according to certain measures and techniques, having been expressing the same view for centuries. Those who seek intellectual pleasure in painting before everything else see the classic in a different way, as what it actually is: what is classical is different in every century, every period; because it takes on new forms in every epoch. Classic art is 'living art' before everything else. Because it is living, because it is a matter of excitement and dynamism, as Saint-Beuve says, it is considered revolutionary. Delacroix and Ingres, Manet, Renoir, and Cézanne were all considered to be revolutionaries and extreme modernists during their own time.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁵ Again, the term "yaşayan sanat" [living art] was connected to André Lhote and his middle-ground between academicism and avant-gardism. "L'art Vivant" could be traced back to an exhibition, a journal, and a gallery, all titled *l'art vivant*. When this particular French term simply connotes contemporary art today, between the 1930s and 1950s, when Nurullah Berk was entrenched in Lhote's ideas, *l'art vivant* had a more specific connotation, referring to a kind of classical modernism. Green, Christopher. *Cubism and Its Enemies*: 66; 146; 174; 206. Borrowing its title from a formula of the writer and critic André Salmon, the journal *L'Art vivant* was founded in 1925 by Jacques Guenne, who was the editor of the magazine until its disappearance in 1939. There had also been an exhibition with the same title in 1930 in Paris that Berk must have come to know, at the Pigalle Theater which featured the likes of Pierre Bonnard, Georges Braque, Marc Chagall, Maurice Denis, Andre Derain, Charles Despiau, Maurice Dufresne, Raoul Dufy, Roger de la Fresnaye, Emile-Othon Friesz, Marcel Gimond, Marcel Gromaire, André Lhote, Aristide Maillol, Henri Matisse, Amedeo Modigliani, Luc-Albert Moreau, Pablo Picasso, Georges Rouault, Chaim Soutine, Maurice Utrillo, Maurice de Vlaminck, Edouard Vuillard, Ossip Zadkine (May and June 1930). Berk would champion most of these artists in his writings in years to come. "L'art Vivant" was also the name of the Parisian gallery where Lhote organized his first retrospective in 1953.

⁵⁶⁶ Berk, Nurullah. "Sanat Davamız Hakkında" [About Our Artistic Cause], *Sanat ve Edebiyat* no:3, July 1947: 29-30. Together with Cemal, Bedri Rahmi, and Sabri Berkel, Nurullah Berk published a magazine with the same name, "Yaşayan Sanat" in 1949. The effort only lasted a year, twelve issues were printed. The artists whose works graced the cover respectively mirror this understanding of "classicism" or "living art" as formulated by Berk via Lhote: Maillol, 16th century Persian miniaturist Reza Abbasi, Picasso, Degas, Renoir, Rodin, Corot, and a drawing by himself. In the editorial for the first issue of the journal, the artists declared: "There is no old or new in living art. Because it is not a formula or prescription that belongs to a single period. Living art, above all, is the transformation of thought and feeling on the face of nature and the universe into art." "Okuyucularımıza" [To Our Readers], *Yaşayan Sanat*, editorial, no:1: 2.

Nurullah's 1934 argument for the link between a Turkish kilim and a Lhotian Cubist composition is most clearly articulated in his 1954 painting titled *Carpet Weavers*, made on the occasion of the *İş ve İhtihsal* [Labor and Development] competition. In this painting, the Anatolian women at work on their looms are not only weaving the rugs in front of them, but also creating the space of the painting through weaving; in Nurullah's cerebral operation, the rug and the canvas become the one and the same. For him, this was Turkish classicism.

Concluding remarks:

For both the Ottoman and the Turkish artists, a European apprenticeship was at once indispensable, transformative and for most, perpetual. As artists from the periphery, they struggled to claim the position of the individual artist or master teacher. Staying within a paradigm of mimetic appropriation was initially sufficient for these artists, as their work readily registered shift in their artistic stance in line with European developments, relinquishing from the onset their claim to artistic originality. If modernization could be imported, why not modernism? Their newly learned techniques were soon found lacking within the context of rising nationalism, and they were asked to merge technique with local essence; in this equation the painters who are the subject of this study achieved a syncretic modernism. Compared to the 1914 generation, for the young painters of the republic, the period of purely imitative apprenticeship was more luxurious as they weren't immediately tasked with applying lessons learned abroad to expressing national identity. But their task was proportionately more complicated; they struggled as they switched from the primacy of perception to conception in painting, a leap even for the students of painting raised within the European tradition. Soon enough, the republican painters were also tasked with mining the local from which the essence for Turkish painting was to be extracted. But the overriding bifurcations between technique and essence, between being an artist and serving the nation, between the West and the rest, meant whatever their chosen approach, these artists were given an impossible task. As they got integrated into the state-driven Fine Arts Academy and other institutions of

the Turkish bureaucracy as teachers, exhibition organizers, art critics and historians, their works came to be perceived as manifestations of a state-endorsed, self-promoted academic modernism that took on a multiplicity of forms. Writing about the paradox of Turkish nationalism, Ayşe Kadioğlu claims that “The national question poses itself theoretically as an insoluble problem in the Turkish context” as two levels of Orientalism co-exist within this search for identity. It is both essentialist, but also not quite so, as the object of observation is no longer passive, but a participant.⁵⁶⁷ The paintings featured in this study operate within this strange paradigm: moving between translations, appropriations, and imitations, they also articulate both the artistic opportunities and the difficulties of the framework in which they were produced.

In this context, the viewpoint afforded by syncretism also functions as an art historical method. The multi-temporality embedded within syncretism, this approach offers a way to negate the teleological through choice, suggesting a different kind of anti-teleological art history. Seen as a conscious picking and choosing from a palette of available possibilities, the syncretic functions not simply as a qualifier on a distinct Turkish modernism, but also reveals a significant aspect of modernism: Syncretism can be seen to operate at modernism’s founding moments, in Europe, as well as the supposed peripheries where imitation will always be found.

[fig. C.51-53] The “moderately modern” genre painting by Mehmed Ruhi that Mustafa Kemal bought in 1923 depicted a woman working on a tambour frame. İbrahim Çallı’s *Woman Sewing* made only a few years later, in 1927, presents a different vision of the modern Turkish woman. Looking fashionably European in a much less modest green dress, this urban female figure with a pixie cut is

⁵⁶⁷ Kadioğlu, Ayşe. “The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (1996): 177–93. Drawing on Anouar Abdel-Malek', and Partha Chatterjee's distinction between the thematic and problematic levels of Orientalism, Kadioğlu analyzes the two orientalisms at work in the efforts of Turkish nationalists: “When these two levels of Orientalism are transposed to the nationalist thought, the compatibility between the two levels extinguishes. At the level of the thematic, nationalist thought adopts the same essentialist distinction between the Orient and the Occident or the East and the West. Therefore, the object still retains the essentialist Oriental character. Yet, at the level of the problematic, the nationalist thought, quite contrary to Orientalism, relinquishes the subjectivity of the object who thenceforth is no longer passive, and non-participant.” (184)

placed in a modern interior, and yet, she is over-dressed for the domestic work of sewing she is engaged in. In this scene, Çallı's interest kindled by his Ukrainian friend Gritchenko in the whirling dervishes of Istanbul, rendered almost as abstract stains of primary colors is relegated to a room separator in the background. The geometric patterns of a Turkish kilim hint at Çallı's continuing search for integrating local visual elements, but strangely, rather than spread on the floor, it is thrown across the table, as in European paintings. In the 1958 painting by Nurullah Berk, the geometric patterns informed by the same weaving traditions organize the entire surface of the picture plane, and his female figure, also at work on her embroidery, is weaving the space of the canvas. Formally synthesized, this painting acknowledges that the theme of women embroidering has become a trope of Turkish syncretic modernism. While simultaneously illustrating that the tokenistic place of women in modern Turkish society did not change as depicted by the male, Turkish and Muslim painter over the thirty years spanning these paintings, the juxtaposition of these works also reveals that the attempts at synthesis by the two generations that are the subject of this study found a line through to the Turkish classicism they strove for, at least formally.

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Fig. 1.15: André Lhote and Maide Arel at Lhote's atelier, Arel Family Archive, courtesy of Esin Arel Tunalıgil

Fig. 1.16: *Arel (Maide, Şemsi) Resim Sergisi* [Painting Exhibition], October 27-December 9, 1951, exhibition brochure, Yusuf Taktak Archive, SALT Research

Fig. 1.17: Pablo Picasso, *La casserole émaillé*, 1945, 82 x 106.5 cm, oil on canvas, Centre Pompidou Collection

Fig. 1.18: Maide Arel's photo of the painting with gridded pencil marks, Arel Family Archive, courtesy of Esin Arel Tunalıgil

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Fig. 1.20: Âsâr-ı Nakşiye Inventory Logbook, first entry by Halil Edhem [Eldem], 1910, IRHM Archive

Fig. 1.21: Logbook page showing Ottoman painter Mihri Rasim [Müşfik]'s copy of Franz Hals's *The Gypsy Girl* (1628), 1911

Fig. 1.22: *Âsâr-ı Nakşiye* exhibition brochure, sample double page, c.1915, Courtesy Gizem Tongo

Fig. 1.23: İnkılap Salonu [The Revolution Gallery] in the İstanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture, with İzer's *On the Road to Revolution* (1933) in the center, Dolmabahçe Palace, İstanbul, 1937. Photo printed in *Cumhuriyet*, October 1, 1937:7.

Fig. 1.24: The first two pages of Halil Edhem's *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* book, first edition (1924) Courtesy Gizem Tongo

Fig. 1.25: Cover of Gültekin Elibal's 1970 transcription of Halil Edhem's *Elvah-ı Nakşiye* from Ottoman Turkish to Turkish

Chapter 2: From Techne to Turkification (or the other way around)

Fig. 2.1: Students in front of École des Beaux Arts, Paris: İbrahim Çallı (first row, third from left), Nazmi Ziya (in top hat in the center framed with brooms), Ruhi to their right (with his hand on the collar of his jacket), 1912, Paris.

Arel Family Archive, Courtesy of Esin Arel Tunalıgil

Fig. 2.2: Comic strip by Ramiz *Akbaba*, no:66, July 23, 1923.

Fig. 2.3: Cartoon by Ramiz, *Akbaba*, no:57, July 20, 1922.

Fig. 2.4: Cartoon by Haydar Şevket, *Ayine*, no:52 August 16, 1922.

Fig. 2.5: *Yeni Mecmua* no:8, August 30, 1917: 149, 150, 151.

Fig. 2.6: Namık İsmail, *Sedirde Uzanan Kadın* [Woman Reclining on a divan], 1917, oil on canvas, 131x185.5cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.7: İbrahim Çallı, *Adada Çamlar Arasında* [Among the pine trees on the island], undated, c. 1917, oil on canvas, 125x89 cm, private Collection

Fig. 2.8: Şevket Dağ, *Rüstem Paşa Camii* (similar work the artist exhibited the following year), 1918, 55 x 36 cm, IRHM Collection

Fig. 2.9: Namık İsmail, *Devr-i Nedim* [The Era of (Poet) Nedim] also known as “Lale devri” [The tulip era], 1917, oil on canvas, location unknown

Fig. 2.10: Hikmet Onat, *Manzara Kabataş'tan* [Landscape from Kabataş] (similar work as stand in), 1924, oil on canvas, 80x90 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.11: Painter Ali Cem'al at the painting studio in the İstanbul School of Fine Arts with model (undated) Image from Çoker, Adnan. *Osman Hamdi ve Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*, Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi Basımevi, İstanbul (1983).

Fig. 2.12: Hikmet Onat, *Untitled*, undated, oil on canvas, 100.5x69.5 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.13: Hikmet Onat, *Untitled*, 1910, oil on canvas, 72.5x45 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.14: Namık İsmail Yeğenoğlu, Hikmet Onat, İbrahim Çallı and Feyhaman Duran in Paris during their student years (circa 1911-1913) Adnan Çoker Archive

Fig. 2.15: 1912 Paris: İbrahim Çallı (second from left), Ruhi (third) and Hikmet (sixth) Esin Arel Tunalıgil Archive

Fig. 2.16: Photograph of room no:1 of Musée Luxembourg, Paris, 1887 Image from Bénédite, Léonce. *Le Musée du Luxembourg* (Paris, 1895)

Fig. 2.17: Fernand Cormon, *Cain flying before Jehovah's Curse*, 1880, oil on canvas, 400x700cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

Fig. 2.18: Hikmet Onat, figure study, 1912, pencil on paper, made in Fernand Cormon's atelier, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris. ARTAM A.Ş. auction no: 352 “Çağdaş ve Klasik Tablolar”, lot 94 (2020)

Fig. 2.19: Hikmet Onat, figure study, 1914, charcoal on paper, made in Fernand Cormon's atelier, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

ARTAM A.Ş auction no: 362 “Değerli Tablolar, Antikalar, Sanatsal ve Dekoratif Eserler”, lot 48 (2022)

Fig. 2.20: Hüseyin Avni Lifij, *Untitled* (male nude with notes), c.1909-11, pencil on paper 53x36cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.21: Joseph Warnia-Zarzecki, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1897, oil on canvas, 42x34.5 cm (oval), IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.22: Salvatore Valeri, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1898, oil on canvas, 64x54 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.23: Mehmed Ruhi, *Untitled*, signed and dated: May 1325=1909 İstanbul, oil on canvas, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.24: Mehmed Ruhi, *Untitled*, c. 1910-14, Paris, oil on canvas, Sabancı University Collection, Sabancı Museum, İstanbul

Fig. 2.25: Mehmed Ruhi, *Nude*, 1913, Paris, oil on canvas, 79x49cm, Bozlu Art Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.26: Feyhaman, nude study, Paris (c. 1913?), oil on canvas, 100.5x80cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.27: Namık İsmail, nude study, 1918, oil on cardboard, 99x67.5 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.28: Hikmet, nude study, undated, ARTAM A.Ş. auction no:362 lot 47 (2022)

Fig. 2.29: Salon de Pera, Deuxième Année, 1903, exhibition brochure. IBB Atatürk Library Digital Collections

Fig. 2.30: Exposition de Galata-Serai Alumni Club Painting Exhibition, 1917, exhibition brochure. IBB Atatürk Library Digital Collections

Fig. 2.31: Hikmet Onat, *Siperde Mektub Okuyan Asker* [Soldier Reading a Letter at the Trenches], 1917, oil on canvas, 146.5x120 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.32: İbrahim Çallı, *Türk Topçuları* [Turkish Artillerymen], 1917, oil on canvas, 180x270cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.33: Mehmed Ruhi Arel, *Çanakkale'de Mehmetçik* [Mehmetçik at Gallipoli], 1917, location unknown Image courtesy of Esin Arel Tunalıgil, Arel Family Archive

Fig. 2.34: Exhibition poster. Courtesy Imperial War Museum, Vienna © IWM Art.IWM PST 6732

Fig. 2.35: Feyhaman Duran, *Ressamlar Grubu* or *Sanatkâr Dostlar* [Group of Painters or Artist Friends], 1921, oil on canvas, 133x162 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.36: Panos Terlemezyan, *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 1911, Oil on canvas, 48 x 79 cm, National Gallery of Armenia

Fig. 2.37: Hikmet Onat, *Morning at Toygartepe*, 1956, oil on canvas, 54x72cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.38: Panos Terlemezyan, *The Bosphorus*, 1913 (?), oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, location unknown Image courtesy of Gizem Tongo, source: AGBU Nubar Library, Paris

Fig. 2.39: Şevket Dağ, *Rumeli Hisarı ve İstanbul Boğazı* [The Rumeli Fort and the Bosphorus], 1934, oil on panel, 39x47cm, private Collection

Fig. 2.40: Rumeli Hisarı ve Boğaz [The Rumeli Fort and the Bosphorus], 1943, oil on canvas, 30x40cm, private Collection

Fig. 2.41: Hüseyin Avni [Lifij], *Alegori* [Allegory of War, 1917, oil on canvas, 160x200cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.42: Eugène Delacroix, *The Massacre at Chios*, 1824, oil on canvas, 419x354cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 2.43: Eugène Delacroix *La Mort de Sardanapale* [The Death of Sarnadapalus], 1827, oil on canvas, 392 cm×496 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

Fig. 2.44: Hüseyin Avni [Lifij], *Alegori* [Allegory of War, 1917, oil on canvas, 160x200cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.45: Feyhaman Duran, Doktor Akil Muhtar'ın Portresi [Portrait of Dr. Akil Muhtar], 1916, Collection of the Museum of Medical History at Cerrahpaşa Medical Faculty, İstanbul

Fig. 2.46: Edouard Manet, *A Bar at Folies-Bergere*, 1882, oil on canvas, 96x130cm, Courtauld Institute, London

Fig. 2.47: Namık İsmail, *Tefekkür* [Contemplation] also known as *Sedirde Uzanan Kadın* [Woman Reclining on a divan], 1917, oil on canvas, 131x185.5cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.48: Halil Pasha, *Yatan Kadın* [Reclining Woman], 1896, 41x60cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.49: İbrahim Çallı, *Türbe* [Shrine], c. 1920-21, oil on cardboard, 37x31 cm, private Collection, İstanbul Sold in auction at Artam A.Ş. Müzayede "Müzayede Antikalar ve Sanatsal Dekoratif Eserler" no 359 lot:23, 2020

Fig. 2.50: Alexis Gritchenko, *Hagia Sophia*, 1920, watercolor and pencil on paper, 26 x 20.5 cm, signed. Ömer Koç Collection. Image courtesy of Meşher, İstanbul

Fig. 2.51: Nazmi Ziya, *Şezlongda Pembeli Kadın* [Woman in Pink on Chaise-Longue], 1917, oil on canvas, 54 x 73 cm, Sabancı University Collection, Sakıp Sabancı Museum, İstanbul

Fig. 2.52: İbrahim Çallı, *Kayıpta Sevgililer* [Lovers on Caiques], nd, oil on canvas, 150x182cm, Suna ve İnan Kırac Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.53: Feyhaman Duran, *Manzara (Anadoluhisarı)* [Landscape (The Anatolian Fort)], 1913, oil on cardboard, (dimensions not listed), İstanbul University Feyhaman Duran Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.54: Namık İsmail, *Untitled*, 1925, oil on canvas, 41x33cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.55: Sami Yetik, *Peyzaj* [Landscape], 1914-15, oil on canvas, 33x19cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.56: Mehmet Ruhi, sketch for *Bağ Dönüşü (Bakus)* [Return from the Vineyard (Bacchus)], 1914, oil on cardboard, 27x39cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.57: Feyhaman Duran, *Manzara* [Landscape], 1913, oil on cardboard, 19x27cm, İstanbul University Feyhaman Duran Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.58: Avni Lifij, Landscape, 1916-17, oil on cardboard, 15.5x34cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.59: Hikmet Onat, *Kabataş İskelesi'nden Mavnalar* [Barges from the Kabataş Quay], 1922, oil on canvas, 70x116cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 2.60: Nazmi Ziya, *İstanbul Limanı* [Port of İstanbul], undated, oil on canvas, 119x27cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Chapter 3: From Perception to Conception

Fig. 3.1: *Cumhuriyet* newspaper May 15, 1924: front page

Fig. 3.2: *Milli Mecmua* no:15

Fig. 3.3: *Milli Mecmua* no:17

Fig. 3.4: *Süs / Haftalık Edebi Hanım Mecmuası* [Ornament/Weekly Literary Women's Magazine], May 31, 1340 [1924], year 1, no:10

Fig. 3.5: *Süs / Haftalık Edebi Hanım Mecmuası* [Ornament/Weekly Literary Women's Magazine], May 31, 1340 [1924], year 1, no:10

Fig. 3.6: Hale Asaf, *Self-portrait*, c. 1924, oil on canvas, location and dimensions unknown

Fig. 3.7: Hale Asaf, *Self-portrait*, c. 1924-25, oil on canvas, 60x50cm, İstanbul Üniversitesi Feyhaman Kültür Sanat Evi [gift of Hale to Güzin Duran]

Fig. 3.8: Şeref, title unknown, early 1920s, oil on canvas, location and dimensions unknown

Fig. 3.9: Nurullah, title unknown, early 1920s, oil on canvas, location and dimensions unknown

Fig. 3.10: Belkıs, title unknown, early 1920s, oil on canvas, location and dimensions unknown

Fig. 3.11: School of Fine Arts at its new location, c. 1926-29, Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı Archive, SALT Research

Fig. 3.12: Sabiha Bozcalı, in the middle, with atelier friends, Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı Archive, SALT Research

Fig. 3.13: Cevat Dereli, Mahmut Cuda, Refik Epikman, Muhitin Sebatı, Şeref Akdik, Hale Asaf, İsmail Hakkı Oygur on the ferry Tadla, arriving in İstanbul from Paris, July 16, 1928

Kıymet Giray Archive

Photo was printed on the front page of *Milliyet* newspaper the next day, on July 17, 1928

Fig. 3.14 *Milliyet*, July 31, 1927

Fig. 3.15 Zeki Kocamemi, sketch made in Hofmann's school, mid-1920s, charcoal on paper, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.16: Ali Avni Çelebi, sketch made in Hofmann's school, pre-1933, charcoal on paper, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.17: "Biraz da Şaka: Resim Sergisinde Kübist Resimler Münasebetiyle..." [A little joke: On the Cubist Pictures at the Painting Exhibition], *Cumhuriyet*, August 4, 1927: front page.

Fig. 3.18: Hans Hofmann, *Green Bottle*, 1921, oil on canvas, 45.4 x 60.64 cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Fig. 3.19: A sketch by Hofmann(?), Bancroft Library Archives, UC Berkeley, CA

Fig. 3.20: Hans Hofmann, *Self-portrait*, 1902, oil on canvas, location and dimensions unknown

Fig. 3.21: Hans Hoffman's *carte visite* for the school in Munich, Bancroft Library Archives, UC Berkeley

Fig. 3.22: Illustrations from Hofmann's first lecture in the US, delivered at the University of Minneapolis in 1931, Bancroft Library Hans Hofmann Papers

Fig. 3.23: Cemal Tollu, sketch made in Hofmann's school, circa 1932, charcoal on paper, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.24: Cemal Tollu, sketch made in Hofmann's school, circa 1932, charcoal on paper, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.25: Cemal Tollu, sketch made in Hofmann's school, circa 1932, charcoal on paper, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.26: Hans Hofmann, untitled collotype, date unknown, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

The collection catalog misattributes the work to Cemal Tollu, who possibly donated it to the museum.

Fig. 3.27: Unknown Turkish artist, reproduced in *Ulus* with the caption "a crazy work at the exhibition," *Ulus*, art supplement, 1939.

Fig. 3.28: Drawing by Ali Sermet, undated, location unknown. Reproduced in *Müstakiller* (Giray), misattributed to Ali Avni.

Fig. 3.29: Photographs of work by Hans Hofmann students and photographs of studio still-life set ups, Hans Hofmann Papers, HA 1971.3 80/27C Hofmann Box 1, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, CA

Fig. 3.30: Ali Avni, untitled drawings made in Hofmann's school, pre-1933, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.31: Ali Avni, untitled drawings made in Hofmann's school, pre-1933, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.32: Cemal Tollu, sketch made in Hofmann's school, circa 1932, charcoal on paper, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.33: Hofmann student sketch made by "Connor," from the copies of Hofmann's photographs of student work, Hofmann Papers, HA 1971.3 80/27C Hofmann Box 1, Bancroft

Fig. 3.34: Zeki Kocamemi, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.35: Hofmann student sketch, unknown artist, from the copies of Hofmann's photographs of student work, Hofmann Papers, HA 1971.3 80/27C Hofmann Box 1, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, CA

Fig. 3.36: Copies of Hofmann's photographs of student work, Hofmann Papers, HA 1971.3 80/27C Hofmann Box 1, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, CA

Fig. 3.37: Photo of Hofmann and his students during the 1930-31 summer classes at Berkeley, Hofmann Papers, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, CA

Fig. 3.38: Exhibition brochure for *İnci Genç Ressamlar Sergisi* [First Exhibition of Young Painters]. Courtesy Burcu Pelvanoğlu

Fig. 3.39: Ali Avni, *Vitrin* [Shop window], c. 1926-8, oil on canvas, 90x73 cm, Kemal Bilginsoy Collection, İstanbul

Fig. 3.40: Zeki Kocamemi, *Ateliye Dahili* [Studio interior], undated, oil on canvas, 33x43cm, private Collection

Fig. 3.41: Mimar Kemal's exhibition review, *Türk Yurdu*, 1929

Fig. 3.42: Rue de Rennes, Paris, where Académie Lhote was located. Photograph courtesy of Dominique Bermann-Martin, Archive André Lhote, Paris

Fig. 3.43: The stairway leading to the Académie Lhote. Photograph courtesy of Dominique Bermann-Martin, Archive André Lhote, Paris

Fig. 3.44: Hamit Görele [third from left, seated, in the dark suit and tie] with other students in the mezzanine studio at Académie Lhote. Photograph courtesy of Dominique Bermann-Martin, Archive André Lhote, Paris

Fig. 3.45: André Lhote, *Le peintre et son modele* [The Painter and his Model], 1920, oil on canvas, 97 x 130 cm, Musée de Grenoble Collection

Fig. 3.46: Sign for Académie Lhote hung at the entrance to the atelier. Photograph courtesy of Dominique Bermann-Martin, Archive André Lhote, Paris

Fig. 3.47: André Lhote, *Le partie de Plaisir* [The Pleasure Party], 1910-11, oil on canvas, 250.5x250.5cm, Collection of Musée d'Art moderne de Paris

Fig. 3.48: André Lhote, *Paysage français* [French landscape], 1912, oil on canvas, 89x116cm, Dominique Bermann-Martin Collection

Fig. 3.49: André Lhote, *Nature morte à la tasse de café*, 1913, oil on canvas, 30x23cm, Collection of Musée d'Art moderne de Paris

Fig. 3.50: André Lhote, *Rugby*, 1917, oil on canvas, 127.5 x 132.5cm, Collection of Centre Pompidou, Paris

Fig. 3.51: André Lhote, *Hommage à Watteau*, c. 1918, oil on canvas, 73x60cm, Arkas Collection, İzmir

Fig. 3.52: André Lhote, *Seated Nude*, 1918, oil on canvas, 116x89cm, Arkas Collection, İzmir

Fig. 3.53: André Lhote, *Escale*, 1913, oil on paper mounted on canvas, 217 cmx190 cm, private Collection

Fig. 3.54: André Lhote, *Juillet 14* [July 14th], 1930, oil on canvas, 152 x 183 cm, Centre Pompidou Collection, Paris

Fig. 3.55: André Lhote's atelier, Paris. Zeki Faik and Cemal Tollu are to the left of the teacher c. 1931. Yusuf Taktak Archive, SALT Research

Fig. 3.56: André Lhote's atelier, Paris. Bedri Rahmi and Ernestine Letoni right behind the teacher to the right, c.1931-33. Archives André Lhote, Paris. Photograph courtesy of Dominique Bermann-Martin.

Fig. 3.57-58: Posters for Atelier Libre, 55 Bd du Montparnasse, Paris, Lhote taught here 1916 -1920(?). Archives André Lhote, images courtesy of Dominique Bermann-Martin.

Fig. 3.59-60: Posters for Atelier d'Études, 242 Bd Raspail, Paris. Lhote taught here 1917-?.

Fig. 3.61: Poster for Académie Moderne, 86 rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris. Lhote taught here 1918-1920. Archives André Lhote, images courtesy of Dominique Bermann-Martin.

Fig. 3.62-63: Posters for Académie Montparnasse, also called Académie Scandinave, 35 rue du Départ, Paris. Lhote taught here 1920 -1925. Archives André Lhote, images courtesy of Dominique Bermann-Martin.

Fig. 3.64: "Les Commendements de l'Académie André Lhote." Archives André Lhote.

Fig. 3.65-66: Photographs attached to the letter from Hasan Kavruk to André Lhote. Archives André Lhote.

Fig. 3.67: Lhote's letter certifying Bedri Rahmi's attendance at his classes for two years. July 30, 1933. Eyüboğlu Family Archive

- Fig. 3.68:** Cemal Tollu at Lhote's mezannine painting atelier. Yusuf Taktak Archive, SALT Research
- Fig. 3.69:** Nurullah Berk, untitled drawing made in Fernand Léger's atelier, early 1930s, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
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- Fig. 3.72:** Nurullah Berk, *Çömlek ve Kabuklu Natürmort* [Still-life with Jug and Shells], 1968, oil on canvas, 39.5x47 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
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- Fig. 3.76:** Hale Asaf, *Self-portrait*, 1924, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown
- Fig. 3.77:** Invitation to the tea-dance party for the 4th exhibition, drawn by Hale, Taha Toros Archive
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- Fig. 3.83:** Gathering for André Lhote at Café Cuppole, Paris. Archives André Lhote
- Fig. 3.84:** "Kübik kaşlar kadınlar arasında moda oluyor" [Cubic eyebrows are becoming fashionable among women: Both say– Oh, what a strange creature!], *Cumhuriyet*, May 24, 1932: first page.
- Fig. 3.85:** "Kübik" [Cubic], *Son Posta*, August 9, 1932: 7.

Conclusion:

Fig.C.1: Pietro Canonica, Atatürk Monument, Ankara, 1927. Photo from *La Turquie Kemaliste* no:12, 1936: 26.

Fig.C.2: Pietro Canonica, *The Republic Monument*, İstanbul
Photo: Ali Enis Oza, 1929/1930, İstanbul Research Institute Collection

Fig.C.3: Pietro Canonica, Atatürk Monument, İzmir, 1932. Photo from *La Turquie Kemaliste* no:1, 1934: 20.

Fig.C.4: Arthur Kampf, Atatürk, 1927

Fig.C.5: Arthur Kampf, Atatürk, 1927

Fig.C.6: Çallı İbrahim, Portrait of Atatürk, nd, oil on canvas, 143x121cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.7: Namık İsmail, Portrait of Atatürk, nd, oil on canvas, 170x115cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.8: Nazmi Ziya, Portrait of Atatürk, nd, oil on canvas, 146x180cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.9: Hüseyin Avni, Portrait of Field Marshall Fevzi Çakmak, 1923, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.10: Çallı İbrahim, Portrait of Atatürk, nd, oil on canvas, 96x80cm, formerly IRHM Collection, İstanbul, current location unknown.

Fig.C.11: Feyhaman Duran, Portrait of Atatürk, 1937, oil on canvas, 91x72 cm, İstanbul University Feyhaman Duran Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.12: Feyhaman Duran, Portrait of İsmet İnönü, 1943?, pastel on paper, 55x45cm, İstanbul University Feyhaman Duran Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.13: Çallı İbrahim, Portrait of İsmet İnönü, oil on canvas, 130x97.5cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig. C.14: Letter from Hamit Görele to André Lhote dated July 1, 1936. Archives André Lhote, Paris

Fig. C.15: Letter from Burhan Toprak to André Lhote dated July 19, 1936. Archives André Lhote, Paris

Fig. C.16: Léopold Lévy in his studio, boulevard Auguste Blanqui, Paris, 1928.

Photograph by Marc Vaux. Archives Centre Pompidou, Paris

Fig. C.17: Sabri Berkel, Léopold Lévy, Cemal Tollu at the İstanbul Fine Arts Academy, undated. Yusuf Taktak Archive, SALT Research, İstanbul

Fig. C.18: Group D's first exhibition at the Mimoza hat shop. October 8, 1933.

Members posed in front of the exhibition venue:

From left: Salih [Urallı], Halis [Doral], Cemal [Tollu], unknown, Zühtü [Mürtoğlu], Elif Naci, İ, Galip [Arcan], Nurullah [Berk], Cemal Nadir [Güler], Theatre Director Suphi Bey, *Hürriyet* newspaper photographer Ali, Abidin [Dino]. Photo: Adnan Çoker Archive

Fig. C.19: *La Turquie*'s reproductions from works in the first exhibition of Group D

Fig. C.20: Second exhibition of *Group D*, Beyoğlu Halkevi, January 19, 1934

Fig. C.21: Third exhibition of *d Grubu*, Taksim Dağcılık Kulübü, January 8, 1934

Fig. C.22: News clipping on the fifth exhibition of *d Grubu*, Şehir Tiyatrosu, 1935

Fig. C.23: Works from the 5th exhibition reproduced in *Arkitekt* magazine

Fig.C.24: Zeki Faik İzer, *İnkılap Yolunda* [On the Road to Revolution], 1933, oil on canvas, 176.5x237cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.25: Nurullah Berk, Tayyareciler [Aviators] also referred to as *İstikbal İçin* [For the Future], 1934, oil on canvas, 96x96cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.26: Nazmi Ziya, (Title unknown) [Triptych], 1935, Ankara Halkevi

- Fig.C.27:** Nazmi Ziya, *Taksim Meydanı*, 73.5 x 92 cm Sabancı University Museum Collection
- Fig.C.28:** *Kemeraltında Nargile İçenler* [Hookah Smokers in Kemeraltı], 73.5 x 60 cm, Kemal Ayrancıoğlu Collection
- Fig.C.29:** Şeref [Akdik], *Köy Mektebinde Talebe Kaydı* [Student Registration at the Village School] (1935)
- Fig.C.30:** Cemal Tollu, *Portrem* or *Sanatkarın Kendi Portresi*
[My Portrait or The Artist's Own Portrait], 1933, oil on canvas, 72.5x54 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.31:** Cemal Tollu, *Bir Öğretmen Portresi* [Portrait of a Teacher], 1933, oil on canvas, 65x50cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.32:** Cemal Tollu, *Portre* (drawing made in Hans Hofmann's atelier), 1932, charcoal on paper, 63x46.5 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.33:** Marcel Gromaire, *La Guere* [The War], 1925, oil on canvas, 127.6cmx97.8cm, Collection of Musée d'Art moderne de la Ville de Paris.
- Fig.C.34:** Pages from the brochure of the first State Painting and Sculpture exhibition, with the list of artists who participated in the first Homeland Tour, Taha Toros Archive
- Fig.C.35:** View from the 1st State Painting and Sculpture Exhibition, *Güzel Sanatlar Dergisi* no:2, 1939
- Fig.C.36:** Covers of *Ülkü* between 1942-1946, Exhibition view from *Idealist School, Productive Studio*, SALT Galata, 2019. Author's photo.
- Fig.C.37:** Hittite bas relief of warriors, 900-700 BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara
- Fig.C.38:** Cemal Tollu, *Portrem* [My Portrait], 1933, oil on canvas, 72.5x54 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.39:** Cemal Tollu, *Ayakta Çıplak* [Standing nude], c. 1931-32, charcoal on paper, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.40:** Cemal Tollu, *Hatay'da Portakal* [Oranges in Antioch], nd (c.mid-1950s), charcoal on paper, 125x253cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.41:** Cemal Tollu, *Hatay'da Portakal*, 1958, oil on canvas, 134x250cm, IRHM, Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.42:** Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, *Yavuz Geliyor Yavuz* [Here Comes Ferocious], 1932, oil on canvas, Eyüboğlu Family Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.43:** Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, *BRE, Interior*, (pre-1939), oil on canvas, 50x68cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.44:** Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, *Peasant Family*, nd. (pre-1937), oil on canvas, 91x72 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul
- Fig.C.45:** Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, *Anne ve çocuk* [Mother and Child], 1951, Mixed media on paper, 58x40cm, private Collection
- Fig.C.46:** Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, *The Bosphorus*, 1962, ceramic and glass mosaic, Collection of University of Berkeley, CA
- Fig.C.47:** Nurullah Berk, *Paletli Natürmort*, 1933, pencil drawing, dimensions unknown, in the artist's family Collection. Photo: Adnan Çoker Archive

Fig.C.48: Nurullah Berk, *Köylü Kadın* [Vilager Woman], 1938, charcoal and guache on paper, 62x44cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.49: Nurullah Berk, *Ayakta Çıplak Kadın*, etüd [Study for a Standing Nude], 1947, pastel and watercolor on paper, 28x16 cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.50: Nurullah Berk, *Carpet Weavers*, 200x300cm, oil on canvas, 1954, Yapı Kredi Bank Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.51: Ruhi Arel, *Bahçede Gergef İşlerken* [While Embroidering on a Tambour in the Garden], nd. (c.1922-23), oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, Çankaya Atatürk Müze Köşkü [Çankaya Atatürk Museum Kiosk], Ankara

Fig.C.52: Çallı İbrahim, *Dikiş Diken Kadın* [Woman Sewing], 1927, oil on canvas, 126.5x97cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul

Fig.C.53: Nurullah Berk, *Gergef İşleyen Kadın* [Woman Embroidering], 1958, oil on canvas, 74x60.5cm, IRHM Collection, İstanbul



Fig. I.1: Ruhi Arel's *Kasnak İşlerken* (undated, c. 1922-23), Çankaya Atatürk Müze Köşkü [Çankaya Atatürk Museum Kiosk] Collection



Fig.I.2: Ruhi Arel, *Bahçede Gergef İşlerken* (undated, c.1922-23), Çankaya Atatürk Müze Köşkü [Çankaya Atatürk Museum Kiosk] Collection



Fig. I.3: Hüseyin Avni, *Nef'i Devrine bir Sahife* [A Page from the Nef'i Period], 1922, Çankaya Atatürk Müze Köşkü [Çankaya Atatürk Museum Kiosk] Collection



Fig. I.4: At the 5th Galatasaray Exhibition, Lycée de Galatasaray, Beyoğlu, İstanbul, 1923

From left to right: İbrahim Çallı, Hikmet Onat, Feyhaman Duran, Bahriye Hanım, Sami Yetik, Ali Sami Boyar, Güzin Duran, H. Vecih Bereketoğlu, Nazmi Ziya, ?, Ömer Adil, ?, İhsan Hanım, Halil Pasha

In the upper left corner is Namık İsmail's *Harvest*, 1923

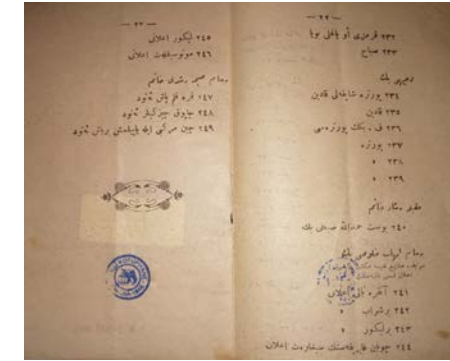
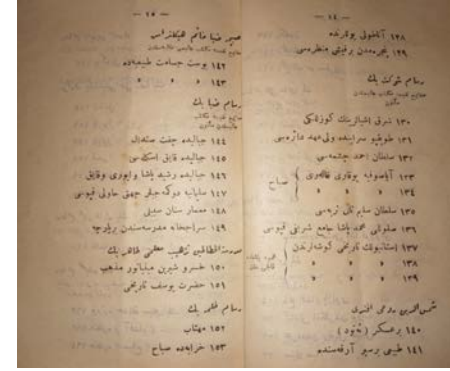
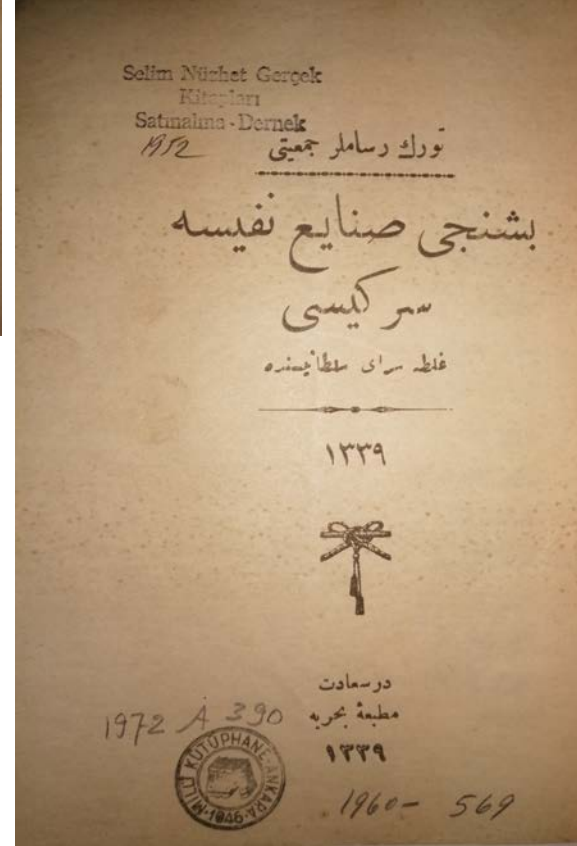
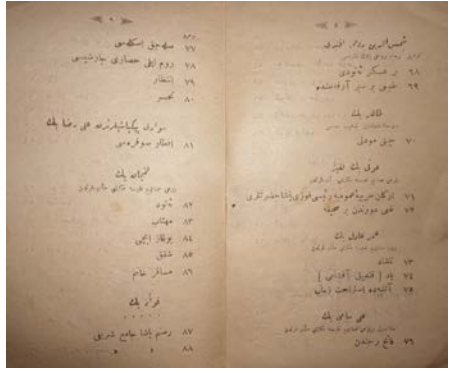
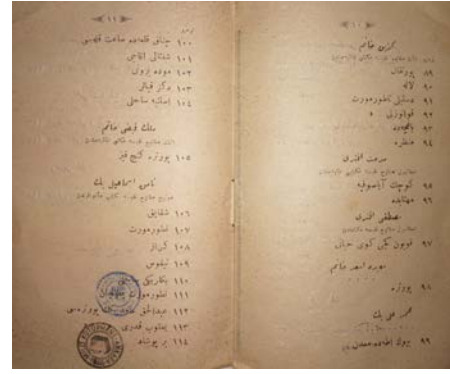
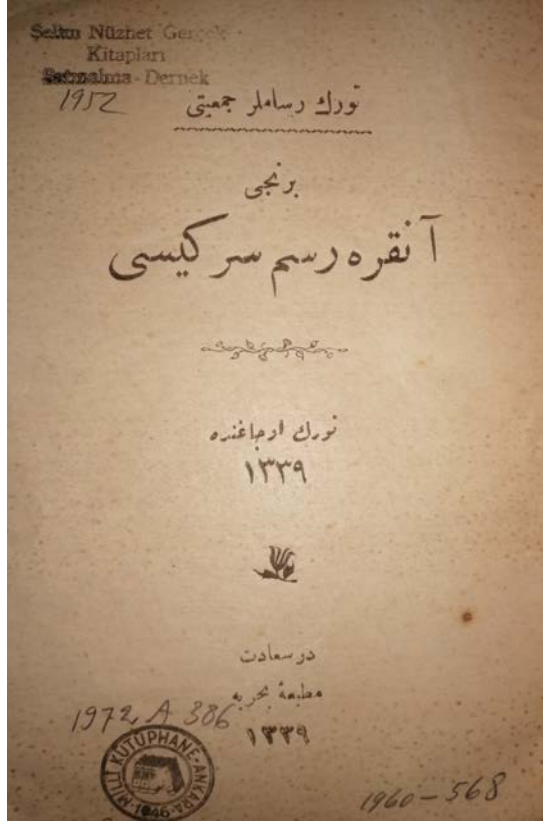


Fig. I.5: Türk Ressamlar Cemiyeti, Birinci Ankara Resim Sergisi [Turkish Painters Society First Ankara Painting Exhibition], 1923. Collection of the National Library, Ankara

Fig. I.6: Beşinci Sanayi-i Nefise Sergisi: Galatasaray Sultanisi'nde [The Fifth Exhibition of Fine Arts at the Galatasaray High School] 1923 Collection of the National Library, Ankara

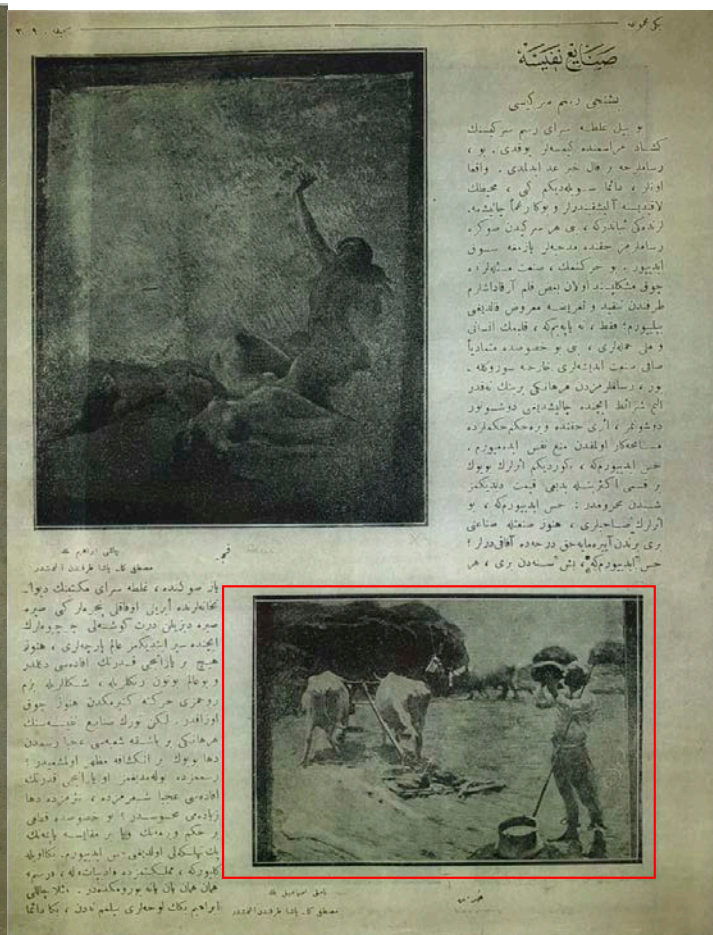


Fig. I.7: Yeni Mecmua, August 2, 1923: cover pp. 309, 310.



Fig. I.9: Namık İsmail, Harman [Harvest], 1923, 165x200 cm



Fig. I.10: İbrahim Çallı, *Kayalıklarda Yıkanan Çıplaklar* [Nudes Bathing by the Rocks], 1923



Fig.1.2 Hüseyin Giritli, *Yıldız Sarayı Bahçesinden* [From the Garden of the Yıldız Palace], ca. late 19th c., oil on canvas, 73x92 cm

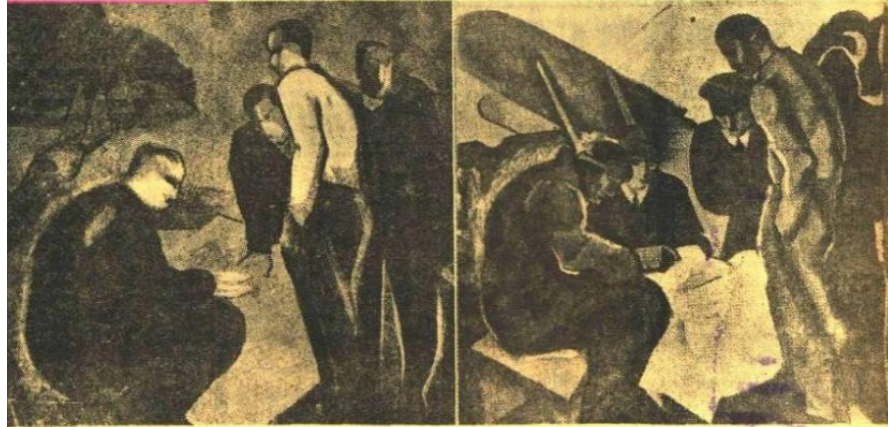
Fig.1.1 Page from Tansuğ's article juxtaposing the Abdullah Brother's photo (top left) with the [From the Yıldız Palace Garden], Hüseyin Giritli painting (top right)

linan Everestle karşı karşıyayız. l yaşadayım» demesine rağmen, anı inandıramıyor. «Gençlik hiç zaman yaşla ölçülmez» diyorlar. meşer ne kadar haklı imişler! Sinan Everesti tanıdıktan sonra neden insanın herşeyi yapabile- jine bir kat daha inandım. O ha- tını şöyle nakletmeğe başladı: «— Eski bir sporuyum, boks ve reg yaptım. Fakat son zamanlar- dar çiftçi idim. Tuzlanın ileri- deki bahçevanlık okulunda mü- r muavini olarak çalıştım. Sonra — Arkası Sa. 5, Sü. 3 te —

Genç ressamlar, tanınmış sanatkârları kopyacılıkla itham ediyorlar

«Tavanarası Ressamları Grubu» bir broşür çıkararak sanat muhitimizde fırtına koparan iddialar ortaya attı

Genç ressamların açtıkları bir resim sergisi, eskilerle yeniler arasında tekrar giddetli münakaşalar çıkmasına yol açmıştır. Genç ressamlardan «Tavanarası ressamları» unvanını taşıyan bir grup, eskiler- den isim yapmış bir kaç tanınmış ressamı kopyacılıkla itham etmiş — Arkası Sa. 4, Sü. 3 te —



Tavanarası ressamları grubunun broşüründe yanyana seçedilen resimlerden ikisi: Moreau'nun havacıları, Nurullah Berk'in havacıları

Fig.1.3 The front page of Cumhuriyet, July 25, 1951. The title reads: “Young painters are accusing famous artists of being copyists” followed by the subheadline: “The Attic Painters caused a storm in our artistic sphere with the claims made in the pamphlet they published.”

CUMHURİYET

Genç ressamlar, tanınmış sanatkârları kopyacılıkla itham ediyorlar




Tavanarası ressamları grubunun broşüründe birbirinin benzeri olarak seçedilen iki tablo: Zeki Faik İzer'in tablosu, Delacroix'in tablosu

— Bastarın 1 nes sahifede — ve münakaşa bütün sanat muhitini alkâdar eden bir mecraya sürük- lenmiş bulunmaktadır.

Bu gençlerin iddiasına göre, Tür- kiyede bir hayli yabancı ressamın eserleri aynen kopya edilmiştir. Raoul Ruffy, Gromaine, André Loth, Georges Rensult, Motisse, Mo- reau, Delacroix'nin resimleri, ta- nınmış bazı imzalar tarafından tek- rarlanmış ve altlarına hiç çekinil- meden kendi imzaları konmuştur.

«Tavanarası ressamları» olarak tanınan, Yılmaz Batıbakı, Erdoğan Behnesov, Baha Çalt, Atıf Han- çeriloğlu, Seto Hidiş, Ümid Mil- don, Halûk Muradoğlu, Vildan Tatlıgil, Ömer Uluç «İlk Sergimiz» isimli bir broşür çıkarmışlar ve kendilerine serzenişte bulunan es- ki ressamları kopya ettikleri söy- lenen resimlerle beraber teşhir et- mişlerdir. Gençlerin kopyacılıkla itham ettikleri ressamlar arasında Nurullah Berk ile Zeki Faik İzer isminde memlekette şöhret yapmış iki ressamımız da vardır.

Gençler bu broşürlerinde, bi- tüm hazırladıklarını, yakında kaçak olan bu albümü, Avru- lardan kopye edilmiş sayısız t- leri asıllarıyla beraber yayını- cıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Hâdi- inkişafı sanat muhitimizde b- alâka ile beklenmektedir.

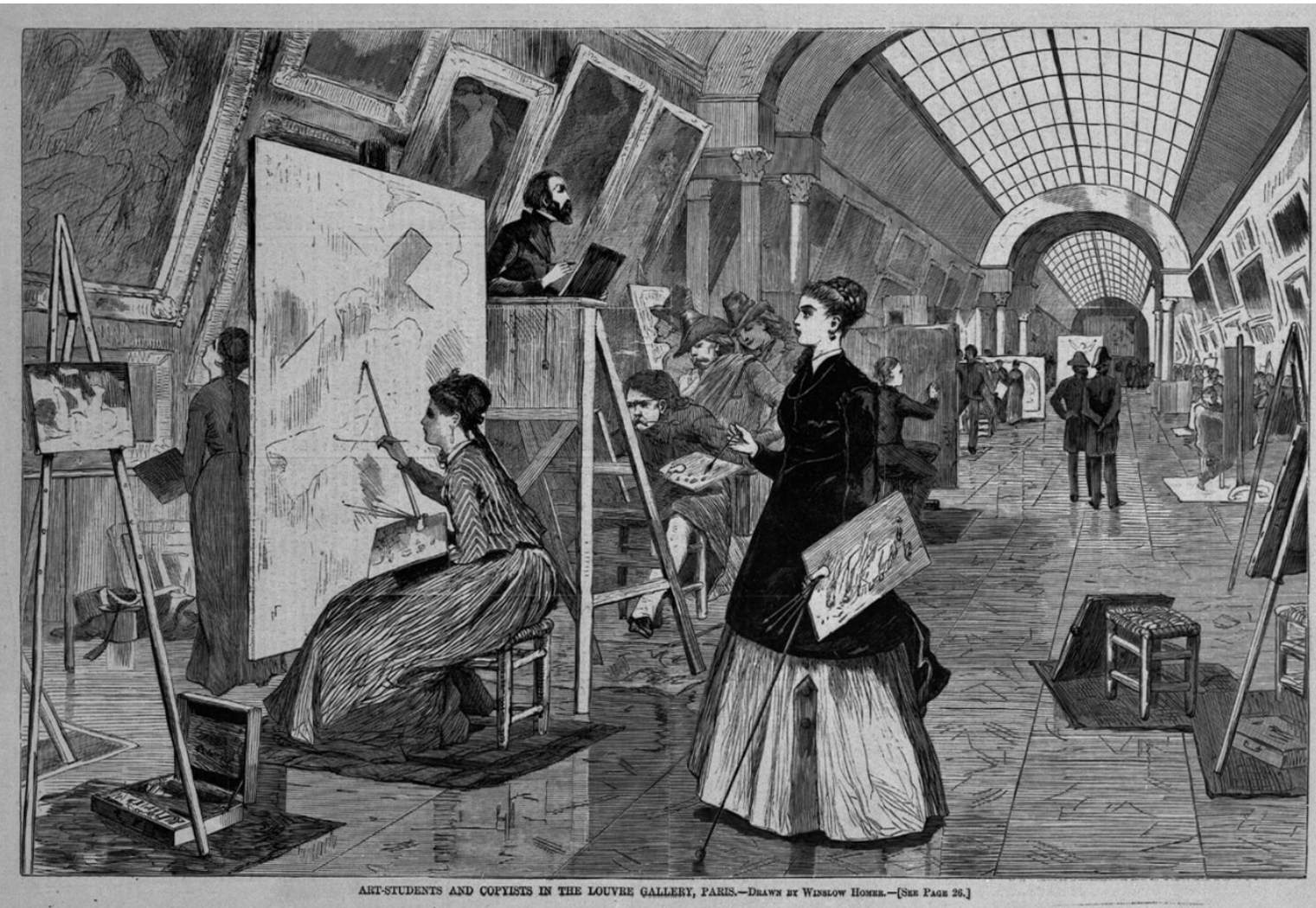
Fig.1.4 The article continued on the fourth page of the newspaper shown above. Here Zeki Faik İzer's *İnkılap Yolunda* [On the Way to Revolution] (1933) was juxtaposed with Eugène Delacroix's *La Liberté guidant le peuple* [Liberty leading the people] (1830).



Fig. 1.5 Zeki Faik İzer, *İnkılap Yolunda* [On the Way to Revolution], 1933



Fig.1.6 Nurullah Berk, *Tayyareciler* [Aviators], 1934



ART-STUDENTS AND COPYISTS IN THE LOUVRE GALLERY, PARIS.—DRAWN BY WINSLOW HOMER.—[SEE PAGE 26.]

Fig.1.7 Winslow Homer, *Art students and copyists in the Louvre*, wood graving, 1868



Fig. 1.8 Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin and the Child with St. Anne* (c. 1510)



Fig. 1.9 Cemal Tollu, *Alfabe Okuyan Köylüler* [Villagers Reading the Alphabet], 1933



Fig. 1.10 Arif Bedii Kaptan, *Cumhuriyetin Gençliğe Tevdii* [The Gift of the Republic to the Youth], 1934

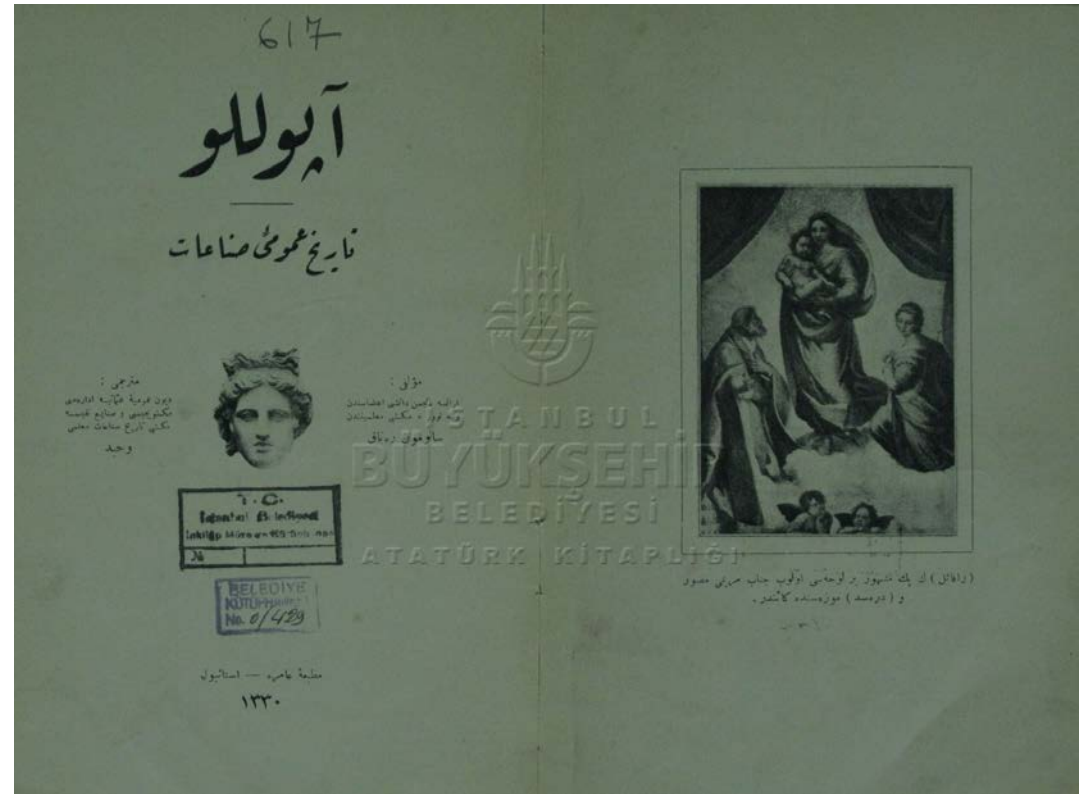


Fig. 1.11 Cover page of Salomon Reinach's *Apollo: histoire générale des art plastiques* [Apollo: The General History of the Fine Arts] translated into Ottoman by Vahid (1911/12) featuring Raphael's painting *Sistine Madonna* (1512).



Fig. 1.12 André Lhote, *La Moisson* [The Harvest], 1935



Fig. 1.13 Maide Arel, *After Lhote's La Moisson*, 1950-51

Je soussigné André Lhote
artiste peintre à Paris, certifie
avoir vu Madame Maide Arel
copier ma toile "Les Meules"
exposée au Musée d'Art Moderne
de Paris. J'ai vu le son qu'elle
prenait à l'approcher cette
composition et à se rappo-
cher de plus possible de son
matériau pictural. J'estime
le résultat très satisfaisant.

André Lhote

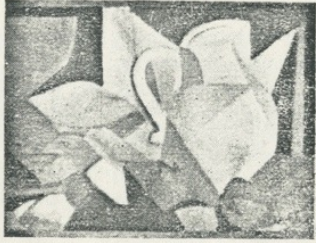
Paris le 10 septembre 1951



Fig. 1.14: André Lhote's letter certifying Maide Arel's copy

Fig. 1.15: André Lhote and Maide Arel at Lhote's atelier

AREL MAİDE ŞEMSI



RESİM SERGİSİ

Fransız Konsolosluğu Sergi Salonu - TAKSİM

27 - Ekim — 9 - Aralık - 1951

Erkmen Matbaası - İstanbul - Tel. 29551

Arel Maide:

Istanbulda doğdu. 1926 da Güzel Sanatlar Akademisine girerek Ressam H. Onat'ın talebesi oldu. Sergilere muntazaman iştirak etti ve mesleki çalışmaları için 1949 da Paris'e giderek "André Lhote,, Akademisine girdi. Akademi çalışmaları ile beraber, gece kurslarına devam ederek, Fransız dili diplomasını aldı.

Paris Kadın Ressamlar Cemiyeti sergisine iştirak ederek, "Ecole des Beaux Arts,, Müdürü tarafından, başarılı çalışmasından tebrik edildi.

"Art Moderne,, müzesinde iki garpli üstün eserlerini tam başarı ile kopya edip yurda getirdi. Paris avdetinde, 12 nci Devlet Resim ve Heyhel Sergisine iştirak eden Ressam'ın, tablolarından biri Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından satın alındı.

Arel Şemsettin :

1907 de İstanbulda doğdu. İlk sanat derslerini babası Deniz subaylarından Ressam Ruhu beyden aldı. Resmi sanat tahsiline, 1924 de Güzel Sanatlar Akademisine girmekle başladı, Ressam Çallı'nın talebeliğini yaparak 1930 da ikincilikle Akademi den mezun oldu. Bundan sonra, Harp akademisi Filim Merkezi ressamlığında bulundu, Askeri Okul resim öğretmenliğine tayini ile, Erzincan, Konya Askeri okullarında, Ticaret Lisesinde ve Harp Okulunda vazife gördü, Kuleli lisesi, Kara ve Deniz Harp Okulları resim kolları öğretmenliklerinde çalıştı.

Bir kısım Devlet dairelerde tabloları bulunan ressam, Konyada iken şahsi iki sergi açtı. Halen vazife gördüğü Dz. Ast Subay Okulundan, 1949 da mezunen Avrupaya giderek "André Lhote,, Akademisinde çalıştı.

Paris, Londra Sanat ve Askeri müzelerinde, galerilerinde mesleki etüdler yaparak sergilere iştirak etti.

M. Arel KATALOĞ Ş. Arel

1	Yeşilli portre	19	Ankara gölbaşı
2	Köylü kızı	20	Ankarada kar
3	Siyahlı portre	21	Konya dağları
4	Düşünen kadın	22	,, bağ mahallesi
5	Portre	23	,, Alaeddin camii
6	Bursadan manzara	24	Genç kadın
7	Topkapı sarayından	25	Sarıllı portre
8	Ağaçlar	26	Zenci kız
9	Mevleviler	27	Oturan kadın
10	Natürmort	28	Nü
11	Natürmort	29	Nü
12	Nü	30	Nü
13	Nü	31	Nü
14	Nü	32	Mavili Nü
15	Nü	33	Geometrik armoni
16	Okuyan kadın	34	Sarı ve Siyah
	Kopyalar	35	Gri ve Mavi
17	Picasso'nun "La casseröle émailée,,	36	Sükünet ve hareket
18	André Lhote'dan "La moisson,,	37	Sarı çevreli
		38	Ritm

Fig. 1.16: Arel (Maide, Şemsi) Resim Sergisi [Painting Exhibition], October 27-December 9, 1951, exhibition brochure



Fig. 1.17: Pablo Picasso, *La casserole maillé*, 1945

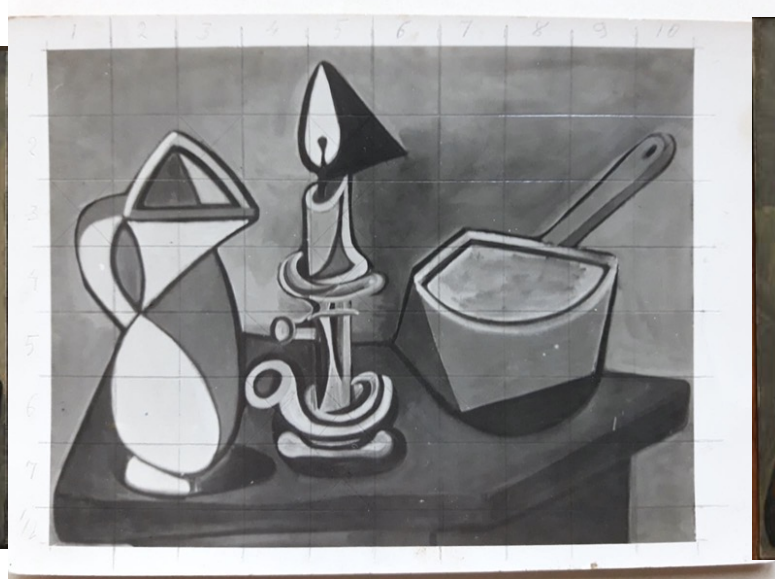


Fig. 1.18: Maide Arel's photo of the painting with gridded pencil marks



Fig. 1.19: Maide Arel, *After Picasso's La Casserole Emaillé*, 1950-51



1 2

N° d'ordre / 1 VIV

Date d'entrée Décembre 1910/1916

Désignation du tableau Prometheus et Prométhée avec la Serpe

Nom du peintre Rubens (Jean-François)

École Flamande

Lieu où est conservé l'original Musée des Conservateurs au Capitole Rome

Caractéristiques et dimensions Peint sur toile
Simulation de la Copie H. 0.76 larg. H. 0.78

Description Deux compositions sous jerrant une bordé d'un étang, sous les regards d'une Serpe, en forêt verdoyante. Partie centrale du tableau de Rubens exposé au Musée des Conservateurs au Capitole Rome.

Nom du copiste Un peintre italien du XVIII siècle, influencé à l'école de Van Dyck.

Prix d'achat Six Livres Sterling.

Cadre et prix du cadre Cadre en bois noir, une file d'or, sur le haut vitreux - le cadre est composé de six -

Observations Cette copie a été achetée en 1908 à Paris, par M. Jean L. D. Ch. Viguerie, qui l'a fait restaurer et encadrer à Paris. Il l'a cédé au Musée Impérial au prix de 100 francs en 1916.

Fig. 1.20: Âsâr-1
Nakşiye Inventory
Logbook, first entry by
Halil Edhem [Eldem],
1910



N° d'ordre

22

15*

Date d'entrée

Octobre 1911/1937

Désignation du tableau

La Bohémienne

Nom du peintre

Hals (Franz)* (1580-1666)

École

Néerlandaise

Lieu où est conservé l'original

Musée du Louvre, Paris, N° 2584

Caractéristiques et dimensions

Peint sur toile. H. 0.733, larg. 0.562

Description

Souriante, les yeux regardant à droite.
 Ses cheveux bruns tombent en désordre sur
 ses épaules. Corsage rouge, chemise blanche
 sautoir en la gorge.

Nom du copiste

M^{lle} Mihri Rasim

Prix d'achat

Six cent francs

Adresse et prix du cadre

C'est un cadeau de
 ma :

Observations

Fig. 1.21: Logbook page showing Ottoman painter Mihri Rasim [Müşfik]'s copy of Franz Hals's *The Gypsy Girl* (1628), 1911

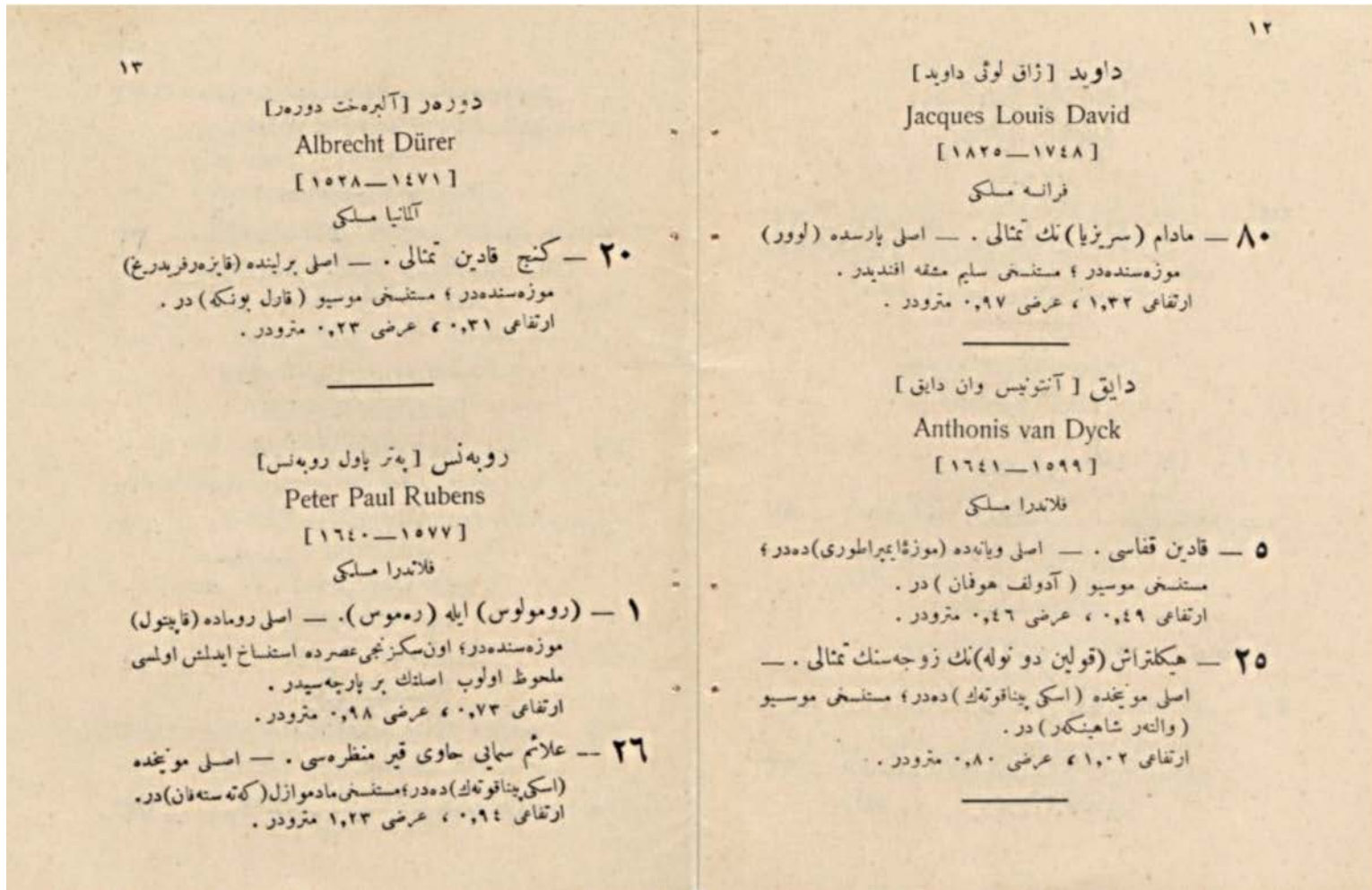


Fig. 1.22: *Âsâr-ı Nakşiye* exhibition brochure, sample double page, c.1915



Fig. 1.23 İnkilap Salonu [The Revolution Gallery] in the Istanbul Museum of Painting and Sculpture, with İzer's *On the Road to Revolution* (1933) in the center, Dolmabahçe Palace, İstanbul, 1937

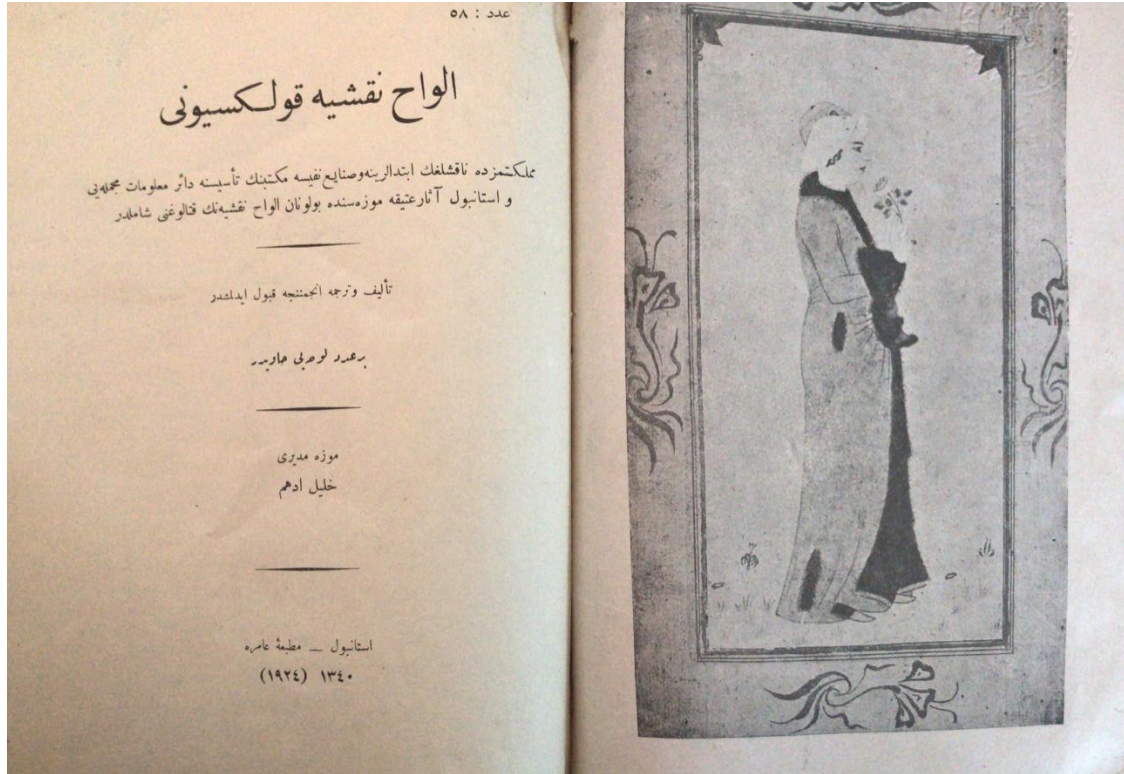


fig. 1.24 The first two pages of Halil Edhem's *Elvah-ı Nakşiyeh* book, first edition (1924)

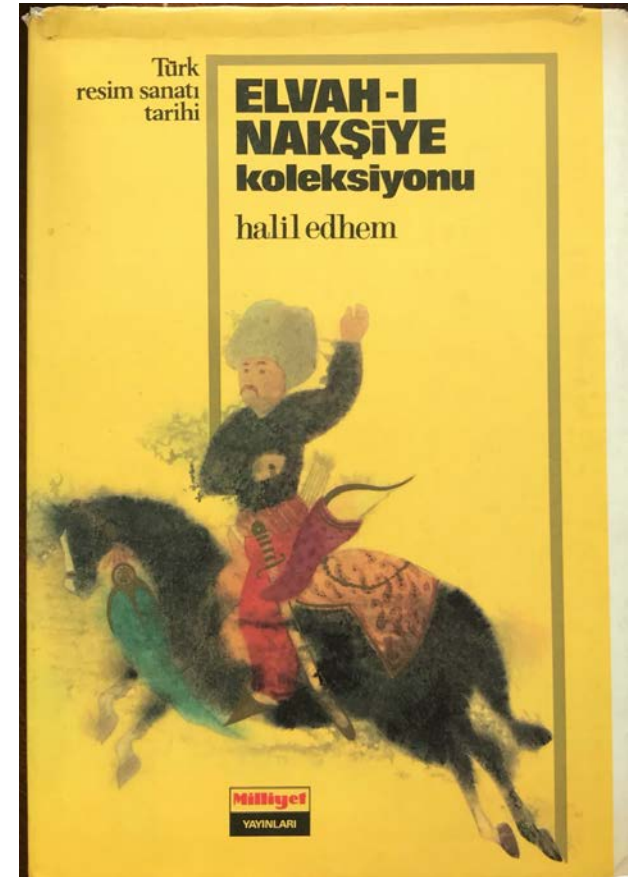


Fig. 1.25 Cover of Gültekin Elibal's 1970 transliteration of Halil Edhem's *Elvah-ı Nakşiyeh* from Ottoman Turkish to Turkish



Fig. 2.1

Students in front of École des Beaux Arts: İbrahim Çallı (first row, third from left), Nazmi Ziya (in top hat in the center framed with brooms), Ruhi to their right (with his hand on the collar of his jacket), 1912, Paris.

Fig. 2.2
 Ramiz Akbaba,
 no:66, July 23, 1923.



They call this a display but they are boring us! Where are the emotions, the watermelons?

- This painting must be by Rembrandt.
 - How do you figure?
 - The clothes are very old-fashioned!

- I find these pictures of fruit to be a bit devoid of life.
 - They are called still-lives! Of course they are a bit still!

And they used to say where there are pictures, there can't be angels.

Fig. 2.4
 Haydar Şevket, *Ayine*, no:52 August 16, 1922

“In front of Cem’s statue at the painting exhibition:

- Mother, why has this man turned into stone?
 - He talked back to his elders, that’s why!”



Ramiz, *Akbaba*, no:57, July 20, 1922 **Fig.2.3**



“In front of Namık İsmail’s painting titled “Shame”:
 - Might have as well given her address...”



fig. 2.6: Namık İsmail, *Sedirde Uzanan Kadın* [Woman Reclining on a divan], 1917, IRHM

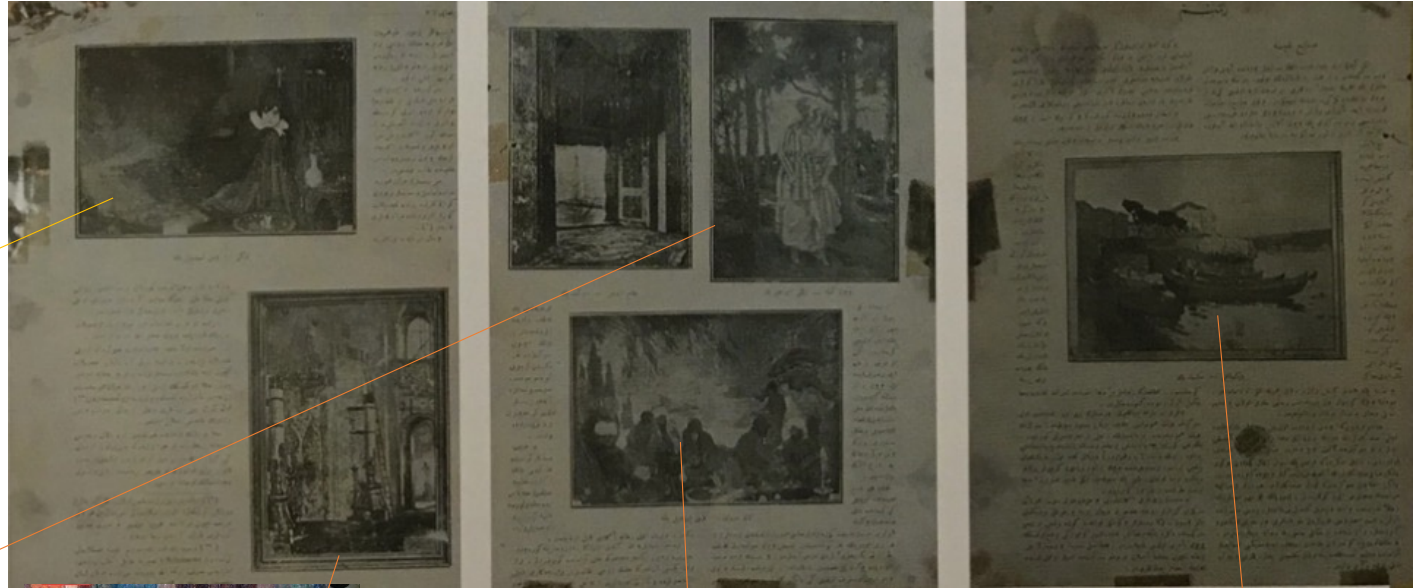


Fig. 2.5: *Yeni Mecmua* no:8, August 30, 1917



Fig. 2.7: İbrahim Çallı, *Adada Çamlar Arasında* [Among the pine trees on the island], c. 1917, private collection



Fig. 2.8: Şevket Dağ, *Rüstem Paşa Camii*, 1918



Fig. 2.9: Namık İsmail, *Devr-i Nedim* [The Era of (Poet) Nedim] also known as “Lale devri” [The tulip era], 1917



Fig. 2.10: Hikmet Onat, *Manzara Kabataş'tan* (similar work as standing in), 1924

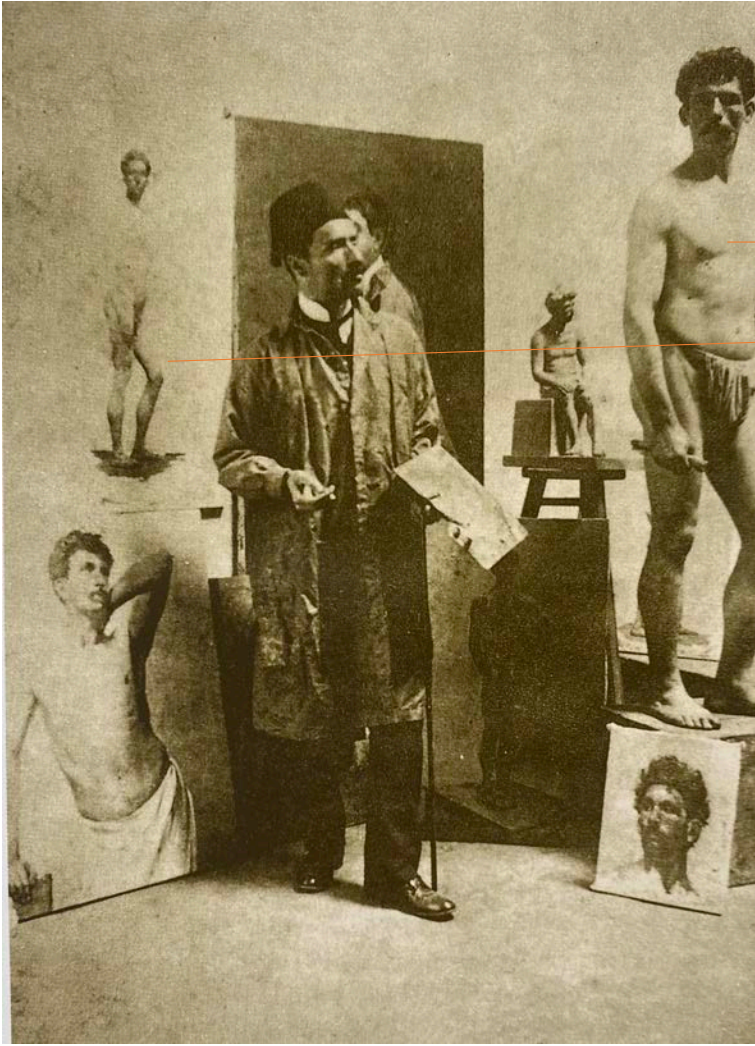


Fig. 2.11: Painter Ali Cem'al at the painting studio in the Istanbul School of Fine Arts with model (undated)
Image from Adnan Çoker, *Osman Hamdi ve Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*



Fig. 2.12: Hikmet Onat, *Untitled*, (undated)
(same model as in the photograph)



Fig. 2.13: Hikmet Onat, *Untitled*, 1910



Fig. 2.14: Namık İsmail, Hikmet Onat, İbrahim Çallı and Feyhaman Duran in Paris during their student years (circa 1911-1913)
Adnan Çoker Archive



Fig. 2.15: 1912 Paris: İbrahim Çallı (second from left), Ruhi (third) and Hikmet (sixth Esin Arel Tunalıgil Archive

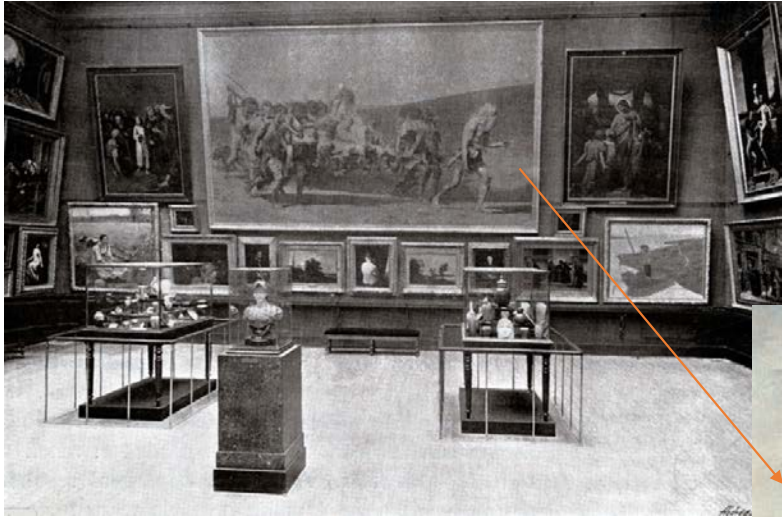


Fig. 2.16: Room 1 at Musée Luxembourg, 1887
Also presented in this room was the work of J.-P. Laurens.



Fig. 2.17: Fernand Cormon, *Cain flying before Jehovah's Curse*, 1880, Musée d'Orsay Collection, Paris



Fig. 2.18: Hikmet Onat, figure study, 1912, pencil on paper, made in Fernand Cormon's atelier, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

ARTAM auction no: 352, lot 94



Fig. 2.19: Hikmet Onat, figure study, 1914, charcoal on paper, made in Fernand Cormon's atelier, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.

ARTAM auction no: 362, lot 48





g. 2.20: Avni Lifji, Untitled (male nude with notes), c.1909-11 Pencil on paper, 1x36cm, IRHM Collection

Saturday, February 27, 1909

Today at the studio, a Frenchman whose name I do not know greeted me with a few polite words, gave me a note, and said: When you enter the Bonaparte street, to the left you will see Jacob street. On this Jacob street is a shop that sells paints and brushes. Number 20. Please go there and present this paper. They will give you a roll of *terre de siene naturelle*. Bring it to me. I had to agree, because I was new here. As I went to put on my coat, a young Frenchmen helped me. Before I could say thank you, he explained: It is customary in this studio to play jokes on newcomers, and to give them chores. Take it well. One of these days you can ask those who will have arrived after you to run your errands. This is customary. I said very well. I know of this custom, and I oblige. But this year it is already too late, there will not be any newcomers and I will not be able to get back at them by having my chores done. They said no, there is still time. When I got back, Cormon had arrived.

There was no more whistling or singing. When he approached me, he asked my name, to which I responded.

- You are Turkish, aren't you?
 - Yes monsieur.
 - Sent by Hamdi Bey?
 - Yes monsieur.
 - I know Hamdi Bey well, I made his acquaintance in Istanbul.
- He is a very polite individual, isn't he?
- Yes monsieur, he is very kind.

Then, Cormon corrected this drawing. He drew line C to show that the right arm should be away from the body. But when I was drawing, the model had his arm next to his body. Then he drew line E. Then line B, and he drew two lines down the straight leg. He advised me to pay a little more attention, and then turned over to the other students.

They gave my chair to him. He sat down and looked at the pictures they had made outside. He criticized them, and then talked about this and that for about 15-20 minutes. He told us a short, very short story. And finally, he left.

Hüseyin Avni



Fig. 2.21: Joseph Warnia-Zarzecki, *Portrait of a Young Woman*, 1897, oil on canvas, 42x34.5 cm (oval), IRHM Collection



Fig. 2.22: Salvatore Valeri, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1898, oil on canvas, 64x54 cm, IRHM Collection



Fig. 2.23: Mehmed Ruhi, *Untitled*, signed and dated: (May 1325=1909), İstanbul



Fig. 2.24: Mehmed Ruhi, *Untitled*, c. 1910-14, Paris, Sabancı Museum



Fig. 2.25: Mehmed Ruhi, *Nude*, 1913, Paris 79x49cm, Bozlu Art collection

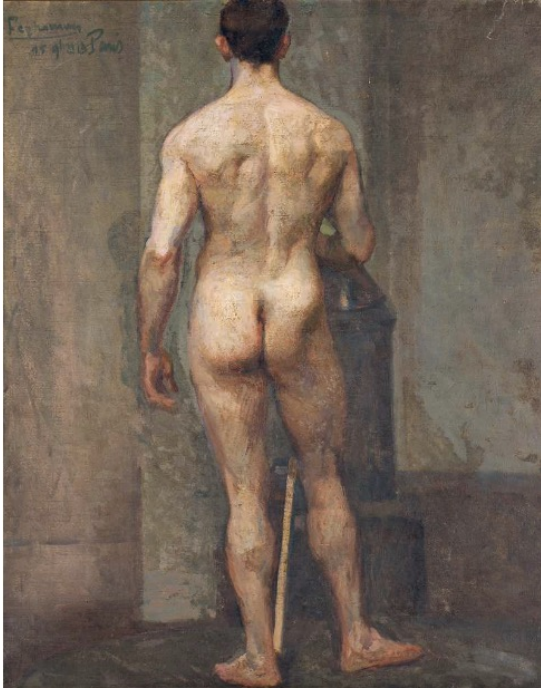


Fig. 2.26: Feyhaman, nude study, (1913?), Paris



Fig. 2.27: Namık İsmail, nude study, 1918 (possibly from his time in Munich)

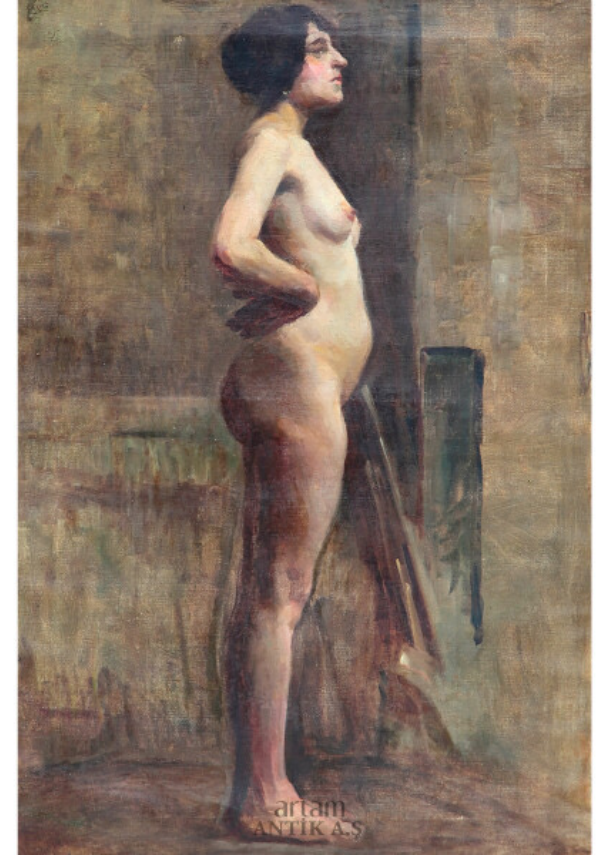


Fig. 2.28: Hikmet, nude study, undated, ARTAM A.Ş. auction no:362 lot 47

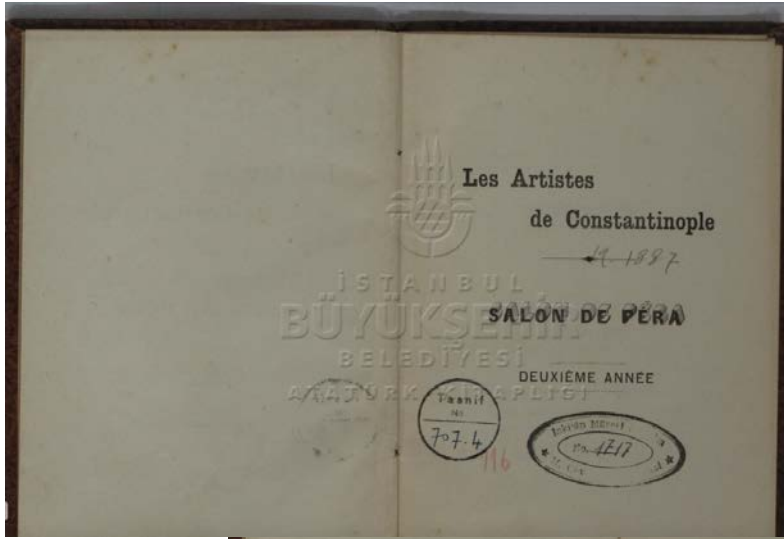


Fig. 2.29: Salon de Pera, Deuxieme Année, 1903, exhibition brochure. IBB Ataturk Library Digital Collections



Fig. 2.30: Exposition de Galata-Serai Alumni Club Painting Exhibition, 1917 IBB Ataturk Library Digital Collections

رسمی	آپلورک موضوعی	آپلورک نومردی	رسمی	آپلورک موضوعی	آپلورک نومردی
نظری حیا بک	نیشان	۸۵	عزت حیا بک	سعدال بیابان	۶۴
»	بیدی آله منظرسی	۸۶	»	موزه بنگ ساجلی	۶۵
»	آسکر آرد بر شروب	۸۷	»	باز دگری	۶۶
»	شیاط	۸۸	»	پوچی جزر-جسکر	۶۷
»	آشده دانته لاس	۸۹	»	دگر وکتده	۶۸
»	باشملی بر خام	۹۰	»	شکر	۶۹
»	عمادان بن وھی بک	۹۱	»	زمن	۷۰
»	فرنگیان آندی	۹۲	»	اُم عشق	۷۱
»	بنایان آندی	۹۳	»	قیار نوژنده	۷۲
»	کلی بای چیقاران قادیار	۹۴	»	خانه	۷۳
»	چاق لاقی	۹۵	»	قوون	۷۴
»	بر تصویر	۹۶	»	قاپوز	۷۵
»	اشراحت	۹۷	»	اوزوم	۷۶
»	کاشفلی قادیار	۹۸	»	میوه	۷۷
»	فیهو ایچرکن	۹۹	»	آسکار اشکهنده قاپوز	۷۸
»	بر تصویر	۱۰۰	»	آسکار منظرسی	۷۹
»	بر قادیار تصویر	۱۰۱	»	آسکار ساحلده بر قادیار	۸۰
»	بر قادیار تصویر	۱۰۲	»	اوزوم	۸۱
»	والدهنک تصویر	۱۰۳	»	بنادده بر خان	۸۲
»	کندی تصویر	۱۰۴	»	بنادده اتم کاتم جایی	۸۳
»	بدم	۱۰۵	»	بنادده بر سواقی	۸۴



Fig. 2.31: Hikmet Onat, *Siperde Mektub Okuyan Asker* [Soldier Reading a Letter at the Trenches], 1917



Fig. 2.32: İbrahim Çallı, *Türk Topçuları* [Turkish Artillerymen], 1917



Fig. 2.33 Ruhi Arel, *Çanakkale'de Mehmetçik* [Mehmetçik at Gallipoli], 1917, location unknown
Image courtesy of Esin Arel Tunalıgil, Arel Family Archive



Fig. 2.34 Exhibition poster. Courtesy Imperial War Museum, Vienna
© IWM Art.IWM PST 6732



Fig. 2.35 Feyhaman Duran, *Ressamlar Grubu* or *Sanatkâr Dostlar* [Group of Painters or Artist Friends], 1921, 133x162 cm, İRHM Collection
Made during the only year it was active, the painting shows the founding members of the Society of Turkish Painters (from left to right): Sami (Yetik), İbrahim (Çallı), Feyhaman Duran, Şevket (Dağ), Hikmet (Onat)



Fig. 2.36 Panos Terlemezyan, *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 1911, Oil on canvas 48 x 79 cm, National Gallery of Armenia



Fig. 2.37 Hikmet Onat, *Morning at Toygartepe*, 1956, Oil on canvas, 54x72cm

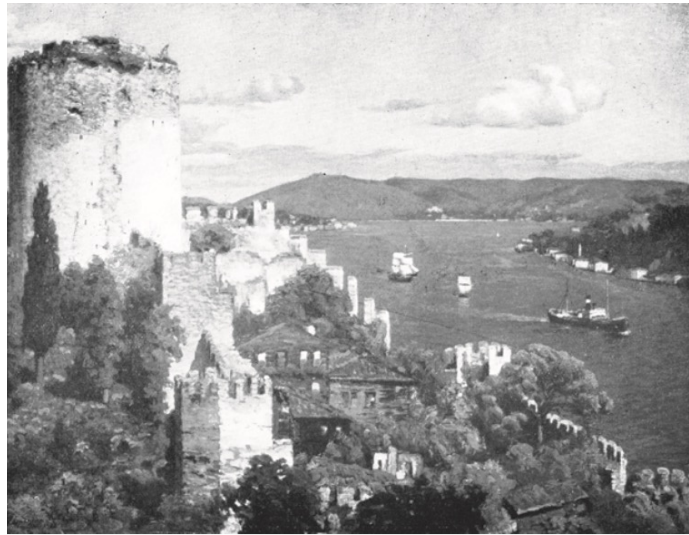


Fig. 2.38: Panos Terlemezyan, exhibited at the International Munich Exhibition in 1913, current location unknown



Fig. 2.39: Şevket Dağ, Rumeli Hisarı ve İstanbul Boğazı [Rumeli Fort and the Bosphorus], 1934



Fig. 2.40: Şevket Dağ, Rumeli Hisarı ve Boğazı [The Rumeli Fort and the Bosphorus], 1943, oil on canvas, 30x40cm, private collection



Fig. 2.41: Hüseyin Avni [Lifij], *Alegori* [Allegory of War, 1917



Fig. 2.42: Eugène Delacroix, *The Massacre at Chios*, 1824, oil on canvas

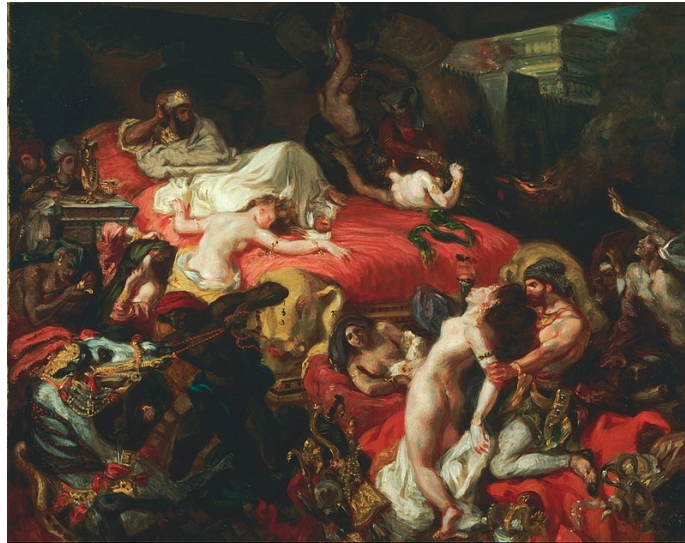


Fig. 2.43: Eugène Delacroix, *The Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827, oil on canvas



Fig. 2.44: Hüseyin Avni [Lifij], *Allegory of War*, 1917, oil on canvas



Fig. 2.45: Feyhaman Duran, Portrait of Dr. Akil Muhtar, 1916, Collection of the Museum of Medical History at Cerrahpaşa Medical Faculty, İstanbul University



Fig. 2.46 Edouard Manet, *A Bar at Folies-Bergere*, 1882



Fig. 2.47: Namık İsmail, *Tefekkür* [Contemplation] also known as *Sedirde İzzanan Kadın* [Woman Reclining on a divan], 1917



Fig. 2.48: Halil Pasha, *Yatan Kadın* [Reclining Woman], 1896



Fig. 2.49: İbrahim Çallı, *Türbe*, c. 1920-21



Fig. 2.50: Alexis Gritchenko, *Hagia Sophia*, 1920



Fig. 2.51: Nazmi Ziya, *Women in Pink on Chaise-Longue*, 1917



Fig. 2.52 İbrahim Çallı, *Kayıkta Sevgililer* [Lovers on Caiques], nd.



Fig. 2.53: Feyhaman Duran, *Anadolu Hisari*, [The Anatolian Fort], 1913



Fig. 2.54: Namık İsmail, *Untitled*, 1925, İRHM



Fig. 2.55: Sami Yetik, *Peyzaj* [Landscape], 33x19cm, 1914-15, İRHM



Fig. 2.56: Mehmet Ruhi, *Bağ Dönüşü* (Return from the Vineyard Bacchus), 1914, İRHM



Fig. 2.57: Feyhaman Duran, *Untitled*, 1913



Fig. 2.58: Avni Lifij, *Landscape*, 1916-17, 15.5x34cm, İRHM



Fig. 2.59: Hikmet Onat, Kabataş İskelesi'nden Mavnalar [Barges from the Kabataş Quay], 70x116cm, 1922, İRHM



Fig. 2.60: Nazmi Ziya, İstanbul Limanı [Port of İstanbul], nd, 119x27cm, İRHM



Halil İbrahim, The Courtyard of the Nişancı Mosque

Nurullah Cemal, Composition

Fig. 3.5 Süs

Elif Naci, Bahar [Spring]

Mehmet Turgut, Mar playing the Viola

Hamit Necdet, An Excursion on the Bosphorus

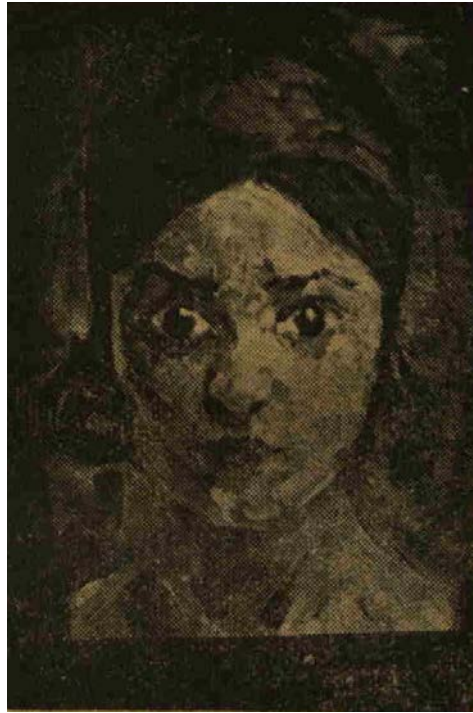


Fig. 3.6
İale Asaf, Self-portrait, c. 1924



Fig. 3.7
Hale Asaf, Self-portrait, c. 1924-25,



Fig. 3.8 Şeref

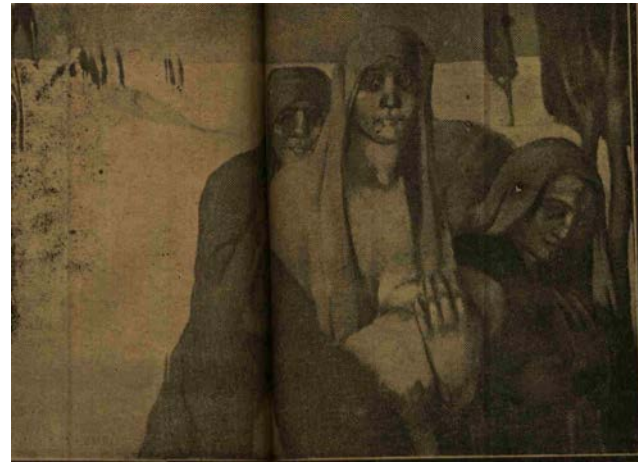


Fig. 3.9 Nurullah



Fig. 3.10 Belkis



3.11 School of Fine Arts at its new location, c. 1926-29
Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı Archive, SALT Research



3.12 Sabiha Bozcalı, in the middle, with atelier friends
Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı Archive, SALT Research

3.13 Cevat Dereli,
Mahmut Cuda,
Refik Epikman,
Muhitin Sebati,
Şeref Akdik, Hale
Asaf, İsmail Hakkı
Oygar on the ferry
Tadla, arriving in
Istanbul from
Paris, July 16,
1928





Fig. 3.14 *Milliyet*, July 31, 1927



Fig. 3.15 Zeki Kocamemi, sketch made in Hofmann's school, IRHM collection



Fig. 3.16 Ali Avni Çelebi, sketch made in Hofmann's school, IRHM collection



Fig. 3.17 "Biraz da Şaka: Resim Sergisinde Kübist Resimler Münasebetiyle..." [A little joke: On the Cubist Pictures at the Painting Exhibition] *Cumhuriyet*, August 4, 1927: 1.



Fig. 3.18 Hans Hofmann, *Green Bottle*,
1921 Museum of Fine Art, Boston

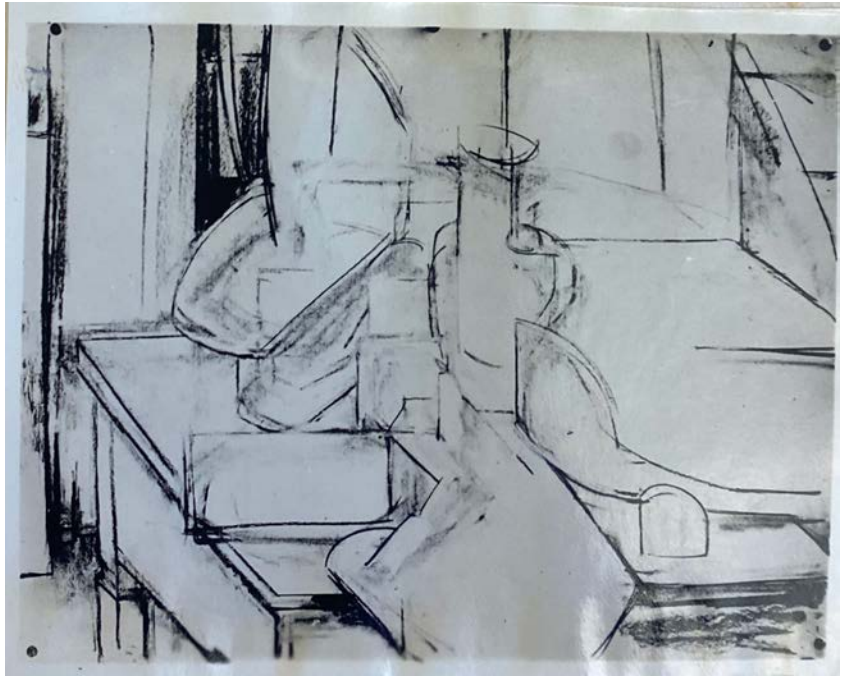


Fig. 3.19 A sketch by Hofmann himself(?)

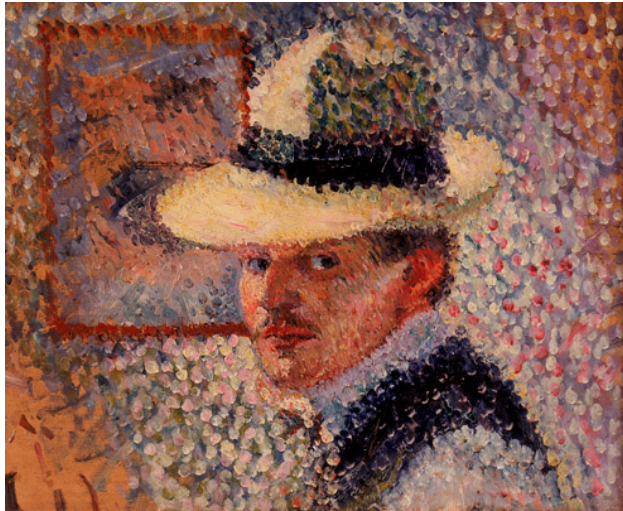
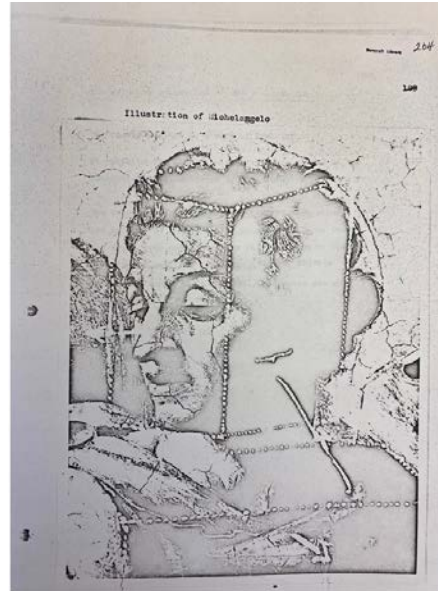
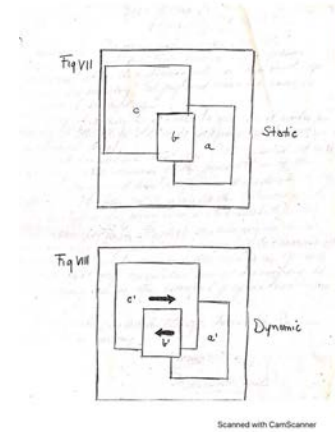


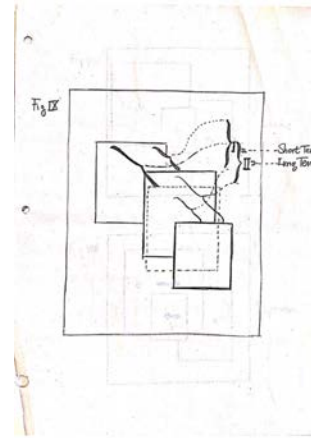
Fig. 3.20 Hans Hofmann, Self-portrait, 1902, location unknown



Scanned with CamScanner



Scanned with CamScanner



Scanned with CamScanner

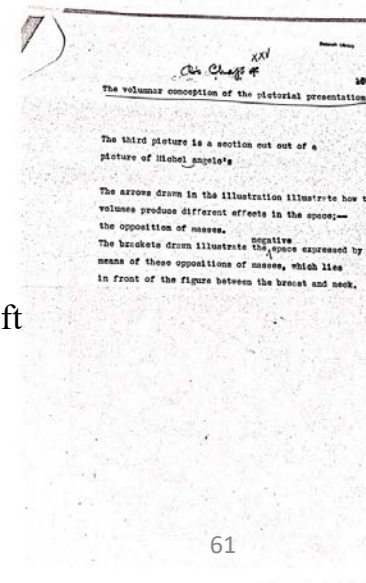


Fig. 3.21 Hoffman's *carte visite* for the school in Munich



Fig. 3.22

Illustrations from Hofmann's first lecture in the US, delivered at the University of Minneapolis, Bancroft Library Hans Hofmann Papers



Scanned with CamS

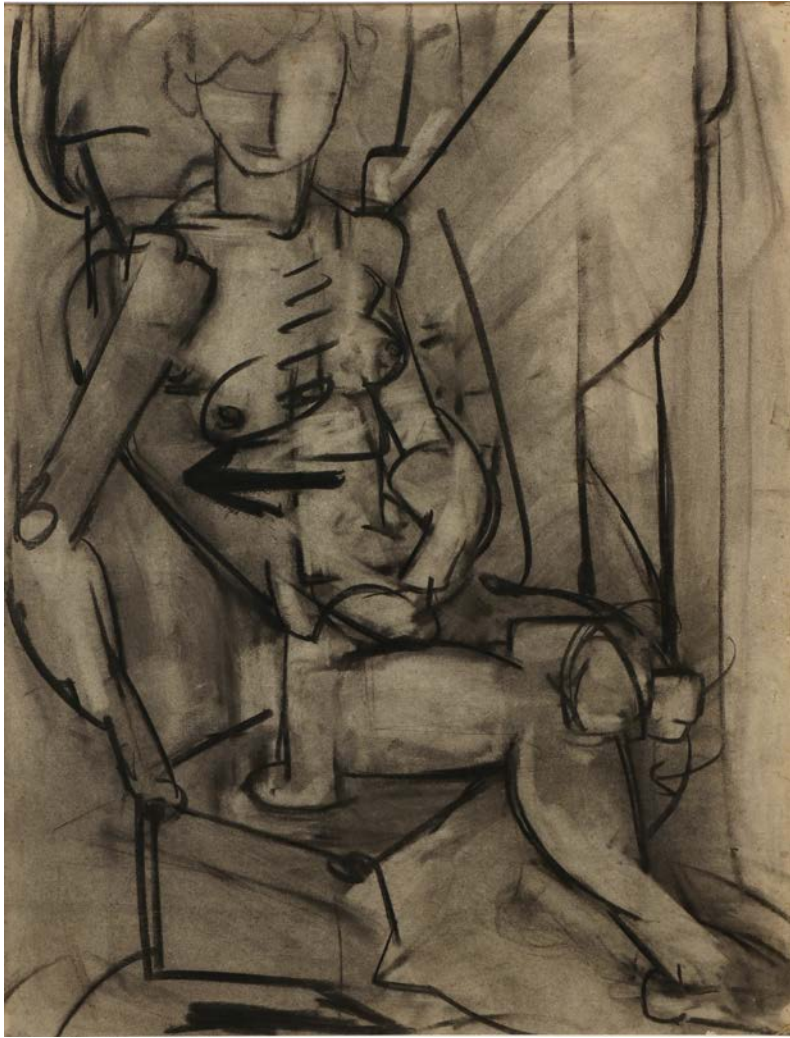


Fig. 3.23: Cemal Tollu drawings have many Hofmann markings and arrows, circa 1932



Fig. 3.24
Zeki Kocamemi, sketch,
1920s



Fig. 3.25 Ali Avni,
sketch made in
Hofmann's school,
pre-1932

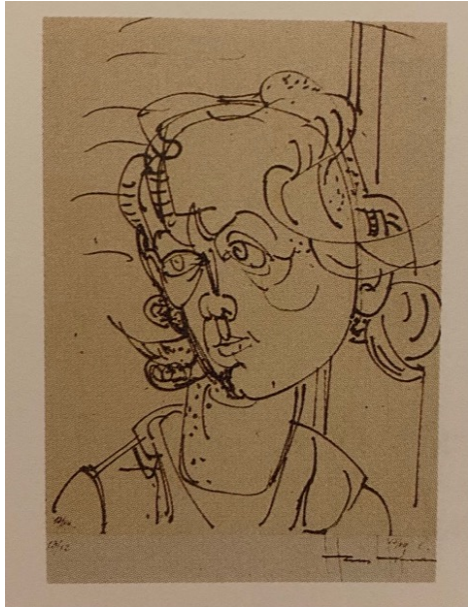


Fig. 3.26 Hans Hofmann, untitled collotype, IRHM
The collection catalog misattributes the work to Cemal Tollu, who possibly donated it to the collection.



Fig. 3.27 Unknown Turkish artist, reproduced in *Ulus* with the caption “a crazy work at the exhibition”, *Ulus*, art supplement 1939.



Fig. 3.28 Drawing by Ali Sermet, undated, location unknown.
Reproduced in Giray, misattributed to Ali Avni.



Fig. 3.29 Photographs of work by Hans Hofmann students and photographs of studio still-life set ups, Hans Hofmann Papers, HA 1971.3 80/27C Hofmann Box 1 Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, CA

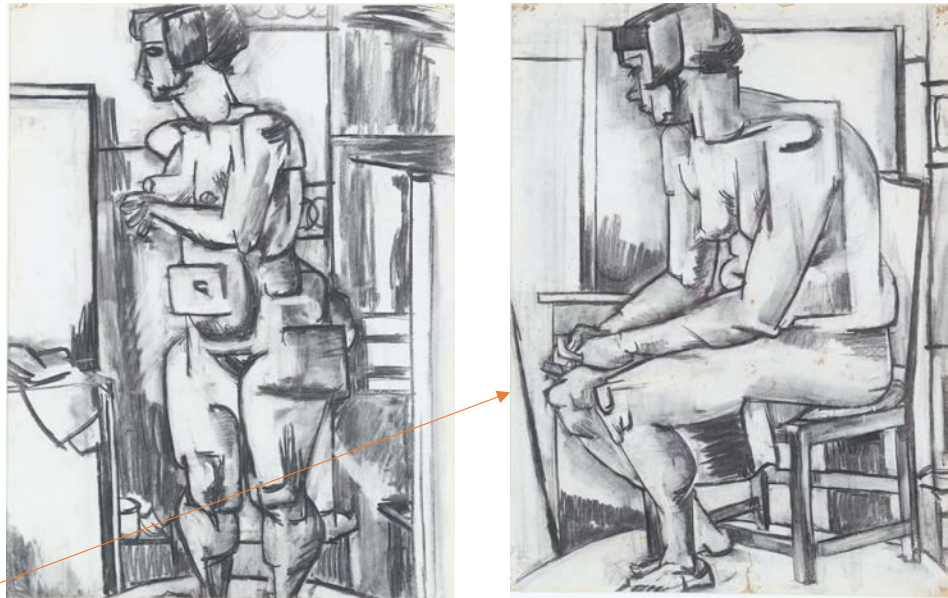


Fig. 3.30-3.31 Ali Avni, untitled drawings made in Hofmann's school, pre-1933, IRHM Collection



ig. 3.32 Cemal Tollu, 1932



fig. 3.33 Made by “Connor” photograph of a Hofmann student sketch



g. 3.34 Zeki Kocamemi



fig. 3.35 Hofmann student sketch, unknown artist

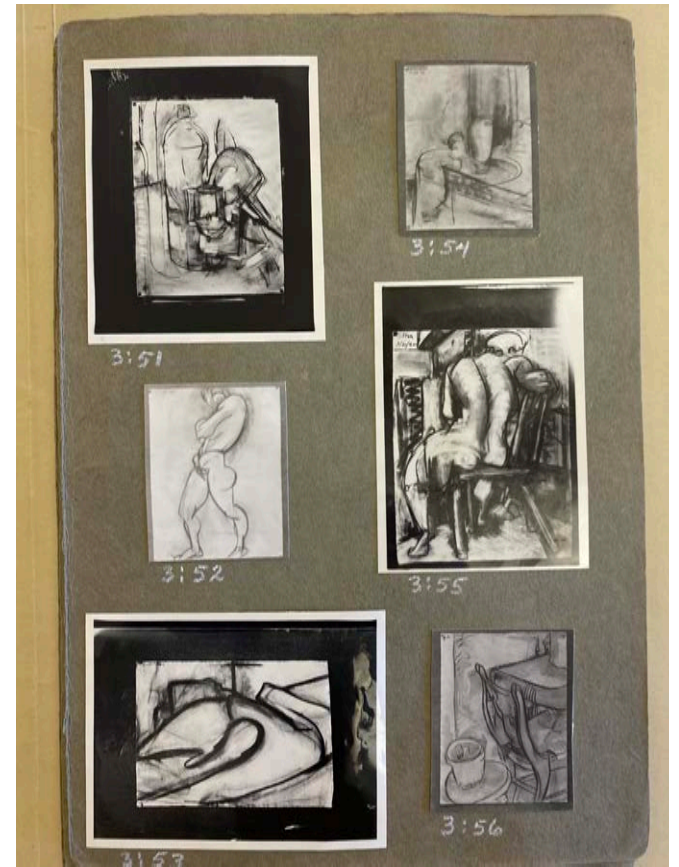
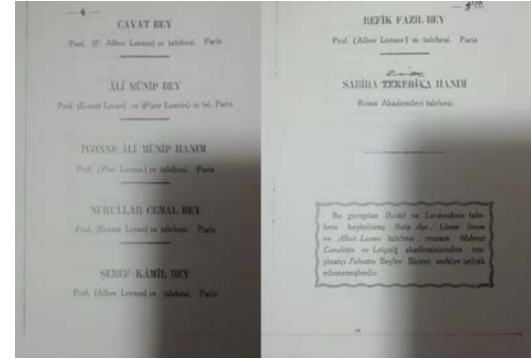
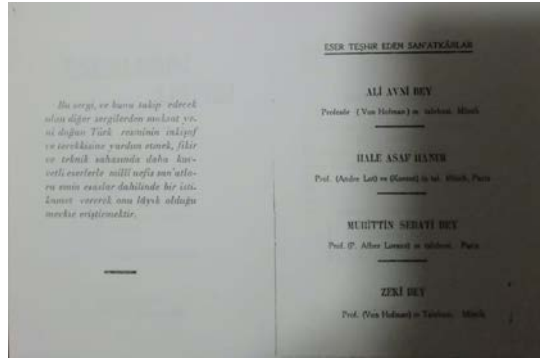
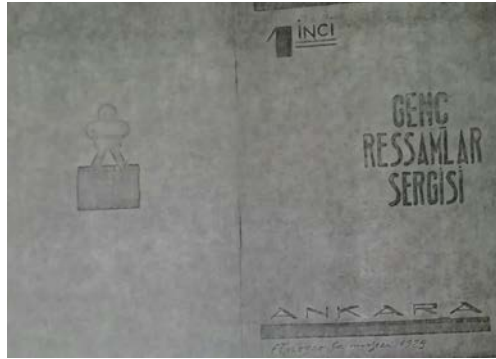


fig. 3.36 copies of Hofmann’s photographs of student work



Fig. 3.37 Photo taken during Hofmann's 1930-31 summer classes at Berkeley



List of artists:

Fig. 3.38 *İnci Genç Ressamlar Sergisi* [First Exhibition of Young Painters] exhibition brochure

Ali Avni Bey (student of Prof. von Hofmann, Munich)

Hale Asaf (student of Prof. Andre Lot and Korient, Paris and Munich)

Muhittin Sebati (student of P. Alber Lorans, Paris)

Zeki Bey (student of Prof. von Hofmann, Munich)

Cavat Bey (student of P. Alber Lorans, Paris)

Ali Münip Bey (student of Ernest Loran and Piyer Lorens, Paris)

İvonne Ali Münip (student of Pier Lorans, Paris)

Nurullah Cemal Bey (student of Ernest Loran, Paris)

Şeref Kamil Bey (student of Alber Lorans, Paris)

Refik Fazıl Bey (student of Alber Lorans, Paris)

Sabiha Zekeriye Hanım (student of Rome Academies)

Note: From this group, student of Burdel and

Landowski Ratip Aşır and

student of Lüsien Simon and Albert Lorans [sic]

Mahmut Cemalettin and

decorator Fahrettin Bey from Leipzig Academy

could not participate

in this first exhibition.



Fig. 3.39 Ali Avni, *Vitrin*, c. 1926-27, 90x73 cm, Kemal Bilginsoy Collection

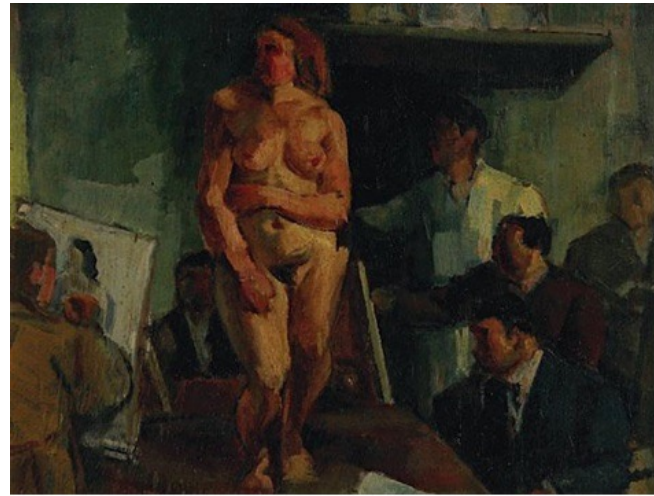


Fig. 3.40 Zeki Kocamemi, *Ateliye Dahili*, undated, 33 x 43 cm, private collection



Fig. 3.42 Rue de Rennes, where Lhote's académie was located. The entrance to the académie.



Fig. 3.43. The stairway leading to the Académie Lhote



Fig. 3.44 Hamit Görele [third from left, seated, in the dark suit and tie] is in the mezzanine studio at André Lhote's academy.



Fig. 3.45 André Lhote, *Le peintre et son modele* [The Painter and his Model], 1920, oil on canvas, 97 x 130 cm



Fig. 3.46 Sign for Académie Lhote hung at the entrance to the atelier



Fig. 3.47 André Lhote, *Le partie de Plaisir*, 1910-11, oil on canvas



Fig. 3.48 André Lhote, *Paysage français* [French landscape], 1912, oil on canvas, 89x116cm, Dominique Bermann-Martin Collection 71



Fig. 3.49 André Lhote, *Nature morte à la tasse de café*, 1913, oil on canvas, 30x23cm



Fig. 3.50 André Lhote, *Rugby*, 1917, oil on canvas, 127.5 x 132.5cm



Fig. 3.51 André Lhote, *Hommage à Watteau*, c. 1918, 73x60cm, Arkas Collection, İzmir



Fig. 3.52 André Lhote, *Seated Nude*, 1918, oil on canvas, 116x89 cm Arkas Collection, İzmir

Fig. 3.53 André Lhote, *Escale*, 1913, oil on paper mounted on canvas, 217 cmx190 cm, private collection



Fig. 3.55



Fig. 3.54 André Lhote *Juillet 14* [July 14th], 1930



Fig. 3.55 André Lhote's atelier, Paris
Zeki Faik and Cemal Tollu are to the left of the teacher c.
1931



Fig. 3.56 André Lhote's atelier, Paris
Bedri Rahmi and Ernestine Letoni right behind the teacher to the right,
c.1931-33

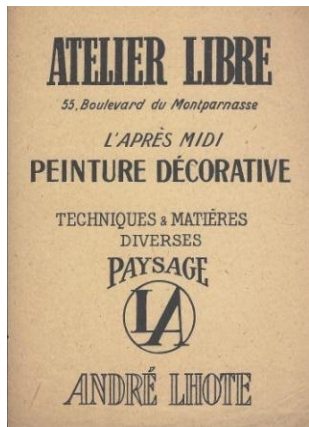


Fig. 3.57-58 Posters for Atelier Libre

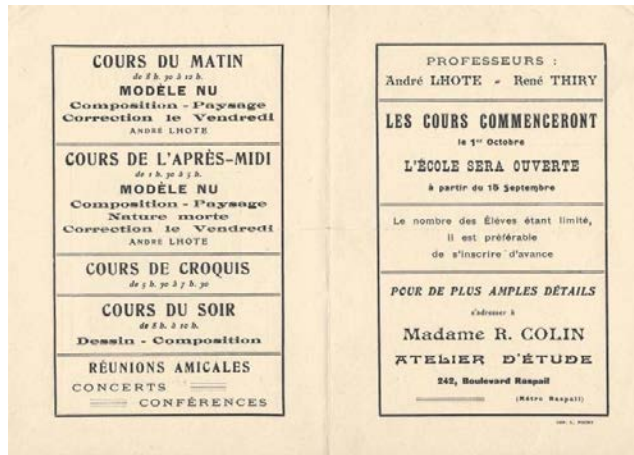
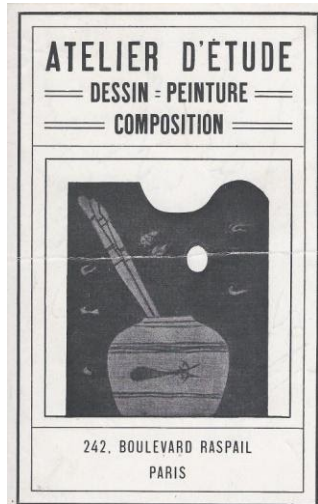


Fig. 3.59-60 Posters for Atelier d'Étude

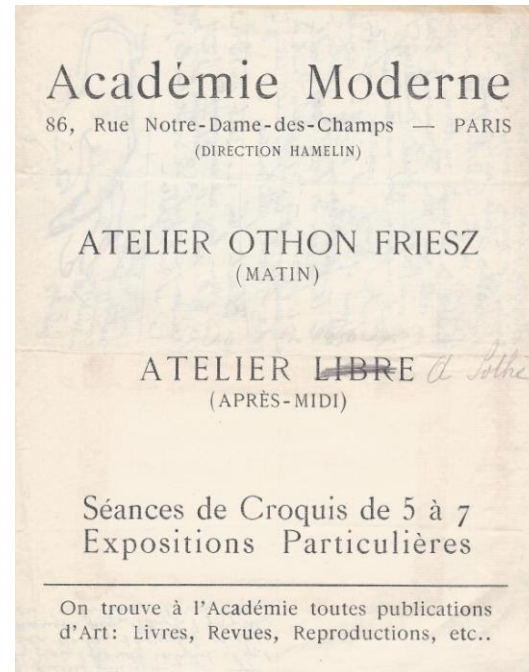


Fig. 3.61 Poster for Académie Moderne



Fig. 3.62-63 Posters for Académie Montparnasse, also called Académie Scandinave

techniques

Peindre, c'est vivifier le dessin, c'est faire fleurir la forme.

On n'apprend à peindre qu'en dessinant, car :

Dessiner, ~~est réservé à l'avant~~ ^{c'est réservé à l'avant} sa place à la couleur

- Pour déterminer la place exacte où la couleur doit faire entendre sa voix ^{suprême} ~~elle~~, il convient de ^{separer et de} disposer d'une certaine façon les éléments picturaux dont la superposition évidente constitue la réalité banale. Ces éléments sont :

Les ornements,

Le clair, le demi-teinte et l'obscur (*éléments de dessin*)

La couleur, qui se divise en tons et en teintes. (*élément rebelle à la disposition in part et part de la main*)

- Chacun des deux premiers éléments demande une étude particulière, séparée, car la superposition ^{même} en blanc et noir, de l'ornement sur le clair-obscur, reconstruirait la réalité banale. (*les cils, ornement, et l'œil modèle*)
- L'introduction finale de la couleur, sur cette première superposition ornementale, aboutirait à une véritable photographie, c'est-à-dire au retour absolu à cette ^{impersonnelle} réalité ~~banale~~ dont il s'agit de s'éloigner pour arriver à une réalité supérieure.
- Cette réalité supérieure s'obtient par la hiérarchisation des éléments précités, l'un d'eux ayant sur les autres la plus forte prédominance possible.
- Toute expression artistique implique donc le choix primordial et tyrannique d'un élément plastique aux dépens des autres. Il s'agit, avant toutes choses, d'organiser un système de préférences.

(A titre d'exemple, les Frères Le Nain et le Gréco établissent la dominance du clair-obscur sur la couleur et sur l'ornement. Ils modèlent les formes dans les tons gris et renoncent aux effets de trompe-l'œil décoratif des primitifs. ^{plus encore que les primitifs} Les orientaux réduisent ~~le modèle~~ pour le remplacer par l'ornement, ^{comme cisele} ~~le modèle~~ dans tous ses détails: feuilles, cailloux, etc.)

Chaque, muscles, ravins, lavis; décoration de, etc.

~~l'usage des oiseaux; etc.~~ Ici, les choses sont réduites à l'ornement absolu.

Le couleur est trop pure pour supporter l'imitation en relief de quoi que ce soit! C'est pourquoi les objets sont signifiés au lieu d'être imités.

Tout ce qui tourne est dessiné courbe, au lieu de s'arrondir par un dégradé qui, superposé à la couleur, paraîtrait odieux ^{très réel}, pour être hors de la région adéquate.

Car la Vérité, en art, n'est pas la reconstitution (comme pour une expérience de justice on reconstitue un crime) d'un événement naturel. La Vérité, (qui demeure le but final de l'art) est ^{un événement immuable et géométrique, jamais} ce qui est convaincant, ce qui, par l'ensemble des moyens mis en jeu, par leur conspiration, suggère une réalité jamais encore vue, de façon irrésistible.

André LHOTE.

Fig. 3.64 "Les Commandements de l'Académie André Lhote"



Fig. 3.65-66 Letter from Hasan Kavruk to André Lhote with photographs attached.

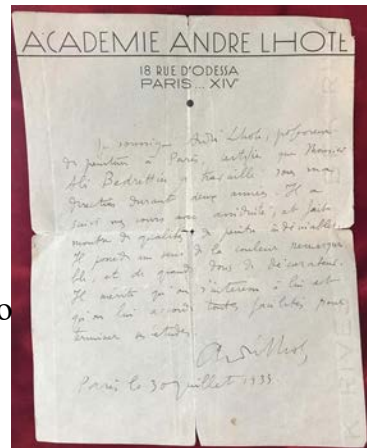


Fig. 3.67 Lhote's letter certifying Bedri Rahmi's attendance at his classes for two years. July 30, 1933 Eyüboğlu Family Archive



Fig. 3.68 Cemal Tollu (far right) at Lhote's mezzanine painting atelier



Fig. 3.69 Nurullah Berk, drawing with pencil on paper, early 1930s



Fig. 3.71 Nurullah Berk, untitled, oil on canvas, early 1930s



Fig. 3.73 Nurullah Berk, *İskambil Kâğıtlı Natürmort* [Still Life with Playing Cards], 1933

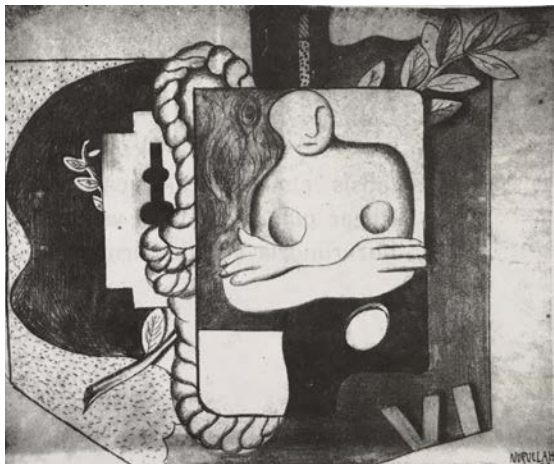


Fig. 3.70 Nurullah Berk, drawing with pencil on paper, early 1930s



Fig. 3.72 *Çömlek ve Kabuklu Natürmort*, oil on canvas, 1968



Fig. 3.74 Nurullah Berk, *İskambil Kâğıtlı Natürmort* [Still Life with 79 Playing Cards], 1933, oil on canvas



Fig. 3.75 Photo of Müstakiller members



Fig. 3.81
Refik Epikman,
Bar
(Fokstrot),
circa 1931



Fig. 3.76 Hale Asaf,
Self-portrait, 1924



Fig. 3.80 Tea party with dancing
at the painting exhibition



Fig. 3.79 Third exhibition of
Müstakiller, 1932

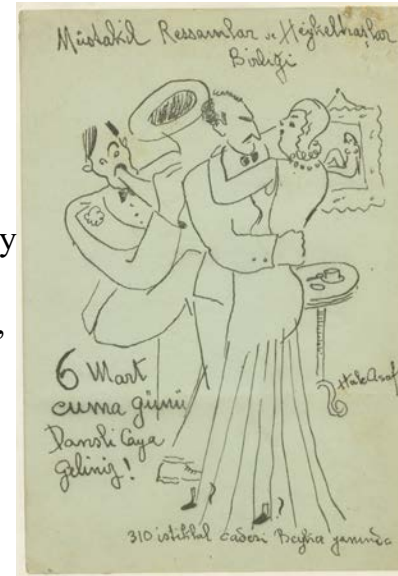


Fig. 3.77
Invitation to the tea-
dance party for the 4th
exhibition,
drawn by Hale

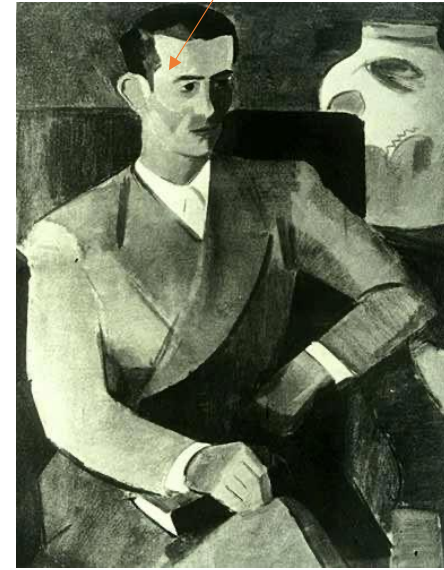


Fig. 3.78 Hale Asaf, Portrait of
Burhan Ümit, circa 1931, location
unknown

NX
180
.56
B35
1331

İSMAİL HAKKI
İstanbul Darülfünun Mütterelerinde

DEMOKRASİ VE SAN'AT

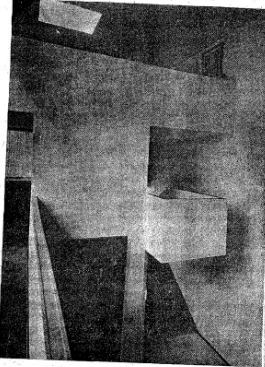
İsmail Hakkı
13 Ocak 1945

İSTANBUL
SANAYİ NEFİSE MÜBAAZASI

İSTANBUL BİLGİ
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Nahri:
KANAAT KÜTÜPANESİ
1931

DEMOKRASİ VE SAN'AT



Le Corbusier ve P. Jeanneret, En.

34

35

SAN'AT VE CEMİYET

zanife, ibtiraz, kahramanlık, hüriyet, ihtiyatsızlık, gurur gibi be-
şerî kuvvetlerin mütaleasından başka bir şey değildir. [1]

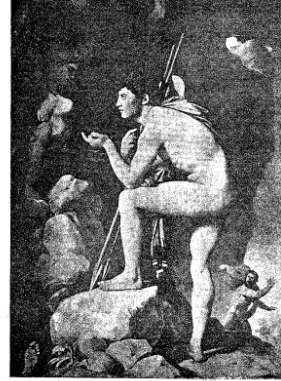
Yunan an'anesini takip eden Romalılar maziyi kendi mane-
vîye niyetlerine göre taahh ve taahhî ettiler. Kudret ve hâkimiyet
fieri bu san'atın canıdır.

Katedral acı duyan, dünya sanedini istemeyen, sefalet, kan,
ve mahrumiyetle yugurulan, rehasan toprak üzerinde bulamayan
betbaht bir insanîyetin melcedir. Mînasat bu insanîyetin yergine
ümit ve teselli ve müdâaa silâhidir. Katedralde bu grup çarçur-
gig tazezi haşşesini veren inandır. Katedral insana değil, Allah
mevzu edilmişdir. Çünkü gotik kymetlerini tabiat maverasından
toplayan külli bir dinin medeniyetidir. İsa bu dinin üçüştür.

Michelet gotik san'atının noksanını mantıkla bilmeyen-
tur. Bir mînelim dediği gibi [2] katedral de mantıklı bir eserdir.
Bütün inşaat mekâl ve mantıklı olmak mecburiyetindedir. Katedral
böyledir, fakat katedral'in müküllüğü yunan mabedimkinden başka
tîrül, kendisine mahsus bir tarzıdır. Bence gotik katedrali taş
insanıyla icat edilmiş bir fakülte'dir. İnkilâpın mantığı enfilat ka-
nunsular, akademi'dir mantığıdır. Bu bir aevî duygu mantığıdır. Bu
maksalede mantık alâkı bir hakikatı tabii için bir vassatı değil,
enfilat bir hakikatı ispatı yarayan sadece bir alettir. Hristiyanlık
bütün Ortazaman dinî harâerî gibi emaniyeti, izafiyi istikhar
ediyor, tabii üstünde bir mevzuatı lâhî ihtifal ediyor. Hristi-
yanlık insan-eti ve kemâle-içinde bulduğu bir âlemde koyup
ayrarak istiyor, bunun için emaniyeti sonuna kadar diliyor
ve bu cisim ve cesetten ruha çıkarmak istiyor. Bu inikat
insan için bir paradoks ve belki bir mahaldir. İşte Hristiyanlık
hayat telâkkisinde bu davayı ispatı, bu mahali mümkün kılmağa
çalışıyor. İşte katedral bu âkâdeminin taş vassatıyla müdâaa'dır.
Katedral toprakta, cözbenin âkâdeminde, kevî kanunlarda kur-

[1] A. et M. Croiset, Histoire de la littérature grecque, Paris 1891.
[2] Henri Ed. Focillon, Essai sur le goth, Oslod, 1924.

62 DEMOKRASİ VE SAN'AT



Ingres (1808)

sistlerin her ne'inde ve safhasında bulan dar bir kıymetle

DEMOKRASİ



Seurat

meccması olmaktan kurtulmuşlar. Medeniyet fikri bilhassa teknik
müesseselere ait bazı benzerlik fikirlerinin kemani bir yekünü
değildir. Bilakis mevzu medeniyet fikri, ahlikt, hukukt, iktisadi,
teknik ve bedii müesseselerin esaslı iştirak noktaları üzerinde
durmaktadır. Bu gün aynı müilletlere mevzu Avrupalıların ancak

DEMOKRASİ VE SAN'AT

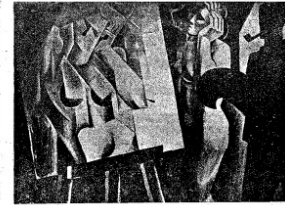
66

Halkın motif ve dekorasyon fikri ırsat, yalın, rüya,
tereddidi, ölüm fikridir. Yeni vicdanın ise sadelik, samimî-
lik, doğruluk fikirleriyle yugurulmuştur. Onun için köhüm, motifler
bir san'at hâslesi olarak teselli ediyor. Ormanın için ormanın
olmadığı gibi, bîraz sarın mimarı insanından «tezyin san'atları»
tabiri de kalkıyor. Çünkü tezyin denilen san'atlar güzel olmak
için «tezyin» olmasa muhtaç değildiler. San'atte güzelliğin ter-
kipte, bünyesindedir, ekle ve süsle değildir. Bu güzelliğin güzel-
likle münasebeti olmayan şeyler çıkın olan bir şey motif ve
dekorasyon vassatıyla eklenen bir şey değildir. İşte daima süs, ek,
yasa, gösteriş vasıflarını taşıyan dekorasyonun san'at güzelliği
ile temenedir bir münasebeti yoktur. Onun için «tezyin san'atı»
tabiri sakattır.

Şimdi Avrupada köhüm cereyanının nasıl doğduğunu tetkik
edelim: On Dokuzuncu asrda başlıca iki mimarlık telâkkisi, iki
nevi zihniyet görüyoruz. Bir Akademizm zihniyeti, diğeri Romantizm
zihniyetidir. Akademizm, Rönesans ile başlayarak On Yedinci asrda
Fransada kenallini bulan bir cereyandır. Eksen istiyen oridatörün
Akademi'dir Yunan. Roma ve Rönesansın mevcut olan nümeleri
aldın mîmekim nümeleri gibi anıyorlar ve yeni ihtiyatlarla
bileşleştirilmesini çağırıyorlardı. Romantikler ise başka mülahazaları
gotik unsurları kullanıyorlardı.

Akademizm ile Romantizm birbirlerine zıt iki mektep ve iki
iştirak olarak çalışmaması müstesna bir fikirdir. Köhüm motif bir
çünkü iki cereyanın da esası şuydu: Hale ait olan mevzuatları ma-
niye ait olan şekillerin için sokmak. Halbuki mimarlık san'atında
şekillerin tekdikler haricinde bir varlıklar olmayacağı dispo-
nülünce iki teşebbüsün de temeli çürük olduğu görülür. Bu nok-
tai nazardan kubbe fikri ancak teknik bir fikirdir. Köhüm motif bir
motif değil, belki sanatın feryatı ettiğdiği bir yapı tarzıdır. Şu
halde köhüm motif yapmak mümkün iken köhüm motif sarıştı-
rmaç çıkarmak hiç de akilce bir hareket olamaz.

DEMOKRASİ



Lhote (1918)

İşte On Dokuzuncu asrın son yarımında bu eklenme mimar-
lığının birçok garip nümeleri görüldü. Bu devirde mimari
kendi zamanını ifade edecek yerde maziyi parça parça ve bonak
bir halde ifade eder oldu. Aynı eserde muhtelif devirlere ait
motifler ve tekdikler görüldü. Eser bir bütün olarak yerde bir
toplama ve eklenme manzaranı taşıyor. Bu devirde mimar
varlığını cepheyi yunaklaştırmak yahut gotikleştirmekten ibaret
bir resimci işi zannediyor, binanın köleden, urvetten ibaret
olan hakikatle doğrudan doğruya temas kaybediyordu. Bu
suretle yapıcılık bir nevi resimcilğe dönüyordu...

San'atların bu heyecan esnasında hiç memnun olmayan
halk arasından varlığı sarıştıran kavrayan ve inah eden bazı
fikir adamları çıktı. Daha On Dokuzuncu asrın başında Fransada
Frenin ve onu müteakip Frenier mimarlığı surf üslup ve edir
mes'lesi haline getiren zihniyeti temkil ediyordu. Bununla beraber

Fig. 3.83 Gathering for
André Lhote at Café
Cuppole, Paris
Archive André Lhote

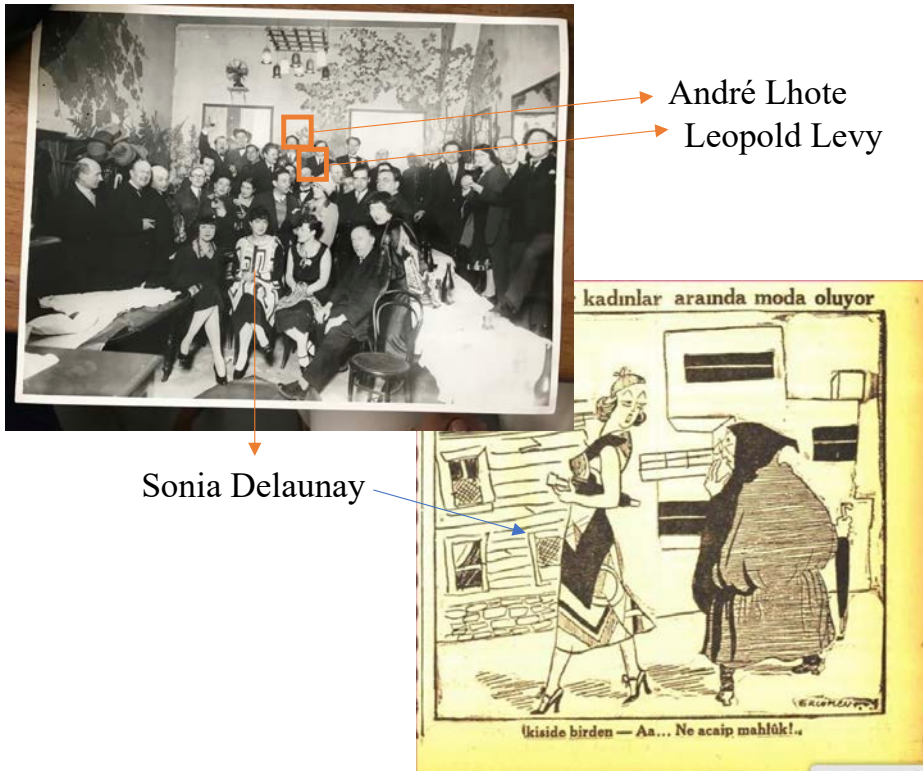


Fig. 3.84 “Kübic kaşlar kadınlar arasında moda oluyor” [Cubic eyebrows are becoming fashionable among women: Both say— Oh, what a strange creature!], *Cumhuriyet*, May 24, 1932, first page.

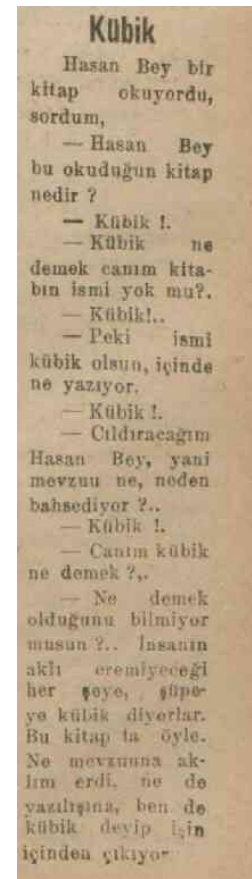


Fig. 3.85 “Kübic”
[Cubic]
Son Posta, August 9,
1932: 7.

- Hasan Bey was reading a book, I asked:
- Hasan Bey, what is this book you are reading?
 - Kübic!
 - What do you mean cubic, doesn't this book have a name?
 - Kübic!
 - Alright, let its name be cubic, what does it say?
 - Kübic!
 - I'm going to go crazy Hasan Bey, I mean, what is its subject matter, what is it about?
 - Kübic!
 - Dear, what does cubic mean?
 - You don't know what it means? They are calling everything that lies beyond one's ken cubic! So is this book. I can neither grasp what its about nor how its written, so I wriggle myself out by calling it cubic!

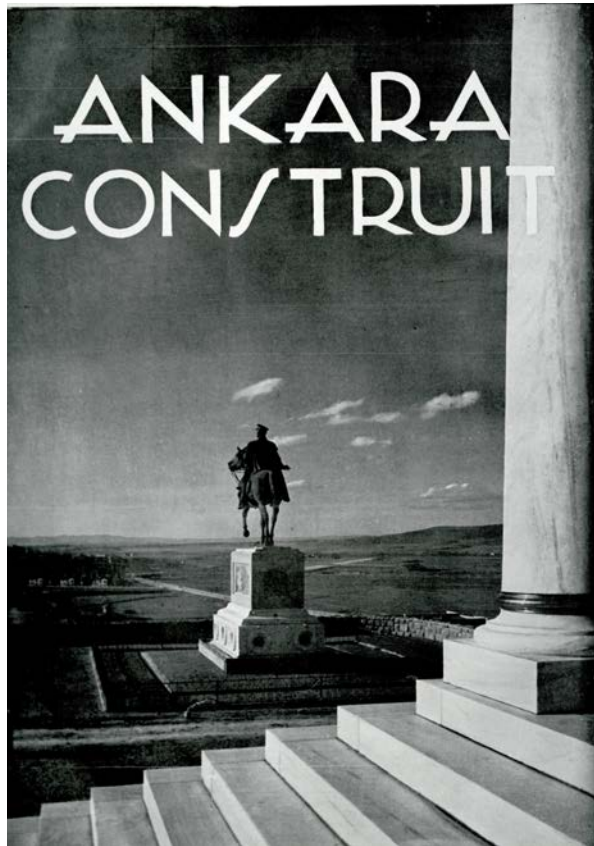


Fig.C.1 Pietro Canonica, Atatürk Monument, Ankara, 1927



Fig.C.2 Pietro Canonica, *The Republic Monument*, Istanbul



Fig.C.3 Pietro Canonica, Atatürk Monument, İzmir, 1932



Fig.C.4 Arthur Kampf, Atatürk, 1927



Fig.C.5 Arthur Kampf, Atatürk, 1927



Fig.C.6



Fig.C.7



Fig.C.8



Fig.C.9



Fig.C.10

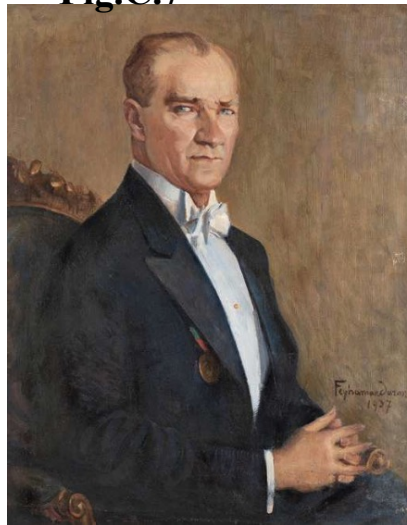


Fig.C.11

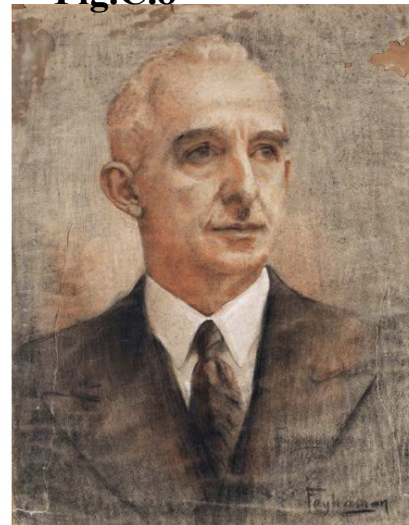


Fig.C.12



Fig.C.13

Fig. C6-9:
Portraits of Atatürk by İbrahim, Namık İsmail and Nazmi Ziya, Portrait of Field Marshall Fev Çakmak by Hüseyin Avni

Fig. C10-13:
Portraits of Atatürk by İbrahim, Feyhaman, Portraits of İsmet İnönü by Feyhaman and İbrahim

Un de De votre vos élèves que vous
 m'avez appelé je me tins.

Istanbul
1-7-1936

Mon cher professeur.
 J'espère une très bonne nouvelle. 12 000 frs par mois.
 Après 6 ans de travaux, de discussions et de souffrances je
 suis arrivé à un heureux résultat. On a fondé une
 direction de Beaux-Arts à la ministère et que notre
 pays manquait depuis ^{tant} ~~combien~~ de siècle.
 C'est déjà quelque chose ~~en soi-même~~ n'est-ce pas cher
 maître... Nous demandons une réforme à l'École des
 Beaux-Arts de Istanbul... Il ya 20 ans que les élèves
 de Gormon sont encore là... professeurs... J'ai toujours
 été votre haute compétence et votre dignité pour la patrie.
 Votre qualité de bon causeur et vos polémiques nous ~~ont~~ ^{ont tout à fait} ~~ont~~ ^{ont} beaucoup
 enrichis... Enfin on vous a adressé un appel dans lequel
 on vous propose de venir à Istanbul comme ~~professeur~~
 professeur à et côté et à la fois faire une réforme.
 J'espère vous allez accepter sa pour 12 000 frs par mois.
 L'Orient, un nouveau monde et horizon...
 Mon cher professeur si vous acceptez demandez une auto-
 risation et une pleine pouvoirs pour faire tout cela.
 Nous vous aiderons ~~accablés~~ sans doute ici... Mais il me sera
 pas nécessaire parce que votre intelligence et votre expé-
 rience personnelle vous fera gagner nos intellectuels.
 Si vous n'acceptez pas cette mission app la honte de nous
 recommander. Derais... mes hommages Hamit
 1-7-1936

Fig. C.14 Letter from Hamit Görelé to André Lhote dated July 1, 1936

T. C.
KÜLTÜR BAKANLIĞI
ÖZEL SANATLAR
AKADEMİSİ

ÖZ

1e 16 Juillet 1936

Says

Cher Maître,

Votre lettre du 9 Juillet m'a fait grand plaisir. Je vous remercie de l'intérêt que vous portez à notre pays et à notre école. Je regrette seulement que vous ne puissiez demeurer que trois mois avec nous. Comme dans de telles circonstances le Ministère décide, une copie de votre lettre a été envoyée à Ankara. Je vous ferai savoir la réponse dès que je recevrai les ordres du Ministère.

Veuillez agréer, cher Maître, l'expression de mes sentiments dévoués.

Directeur
 de l'Académie des Beaux
 Arts d'Istanbul
Burhan Toprak

Burhan Toprak
 Directeur de l'Académie
 des Beaux Arts d'Istanbul
 Turquie

Fig. C.15 Letter from Burhan Toprak to André Lhote dated July 19, 1936

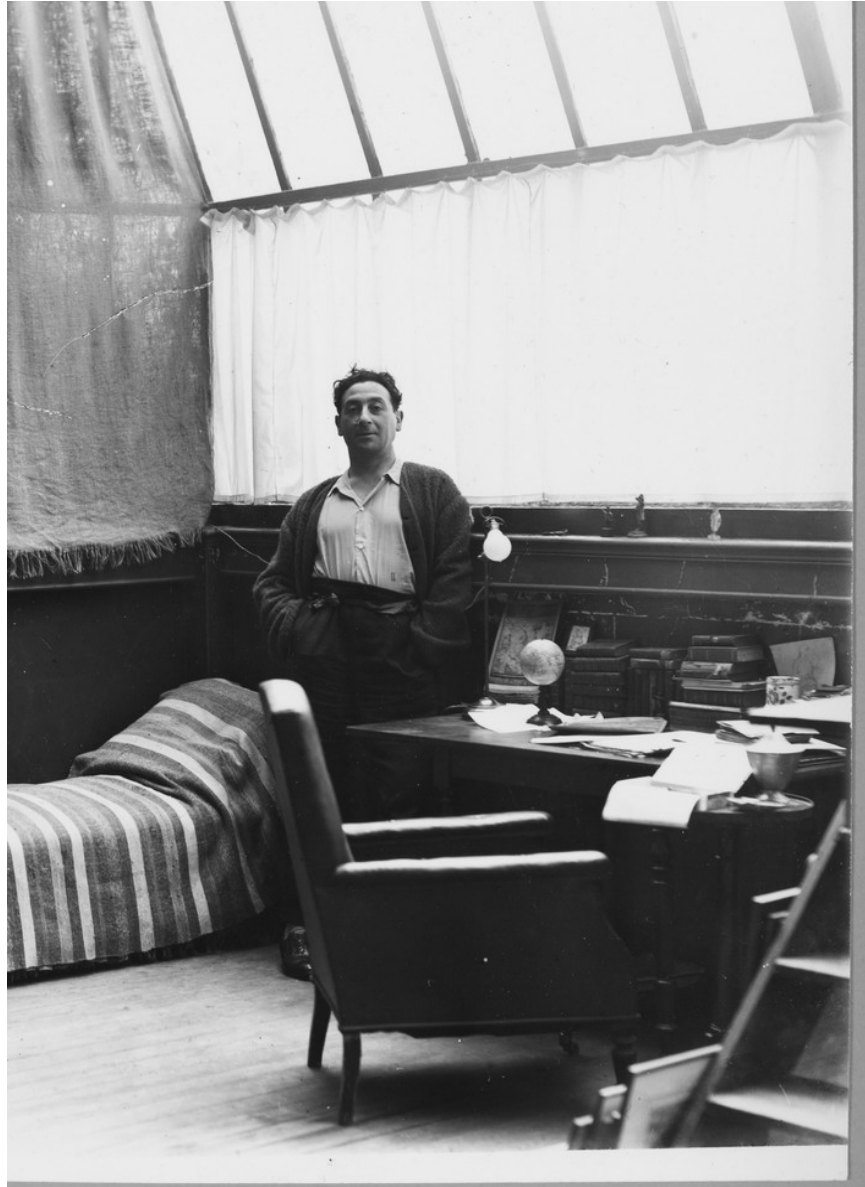


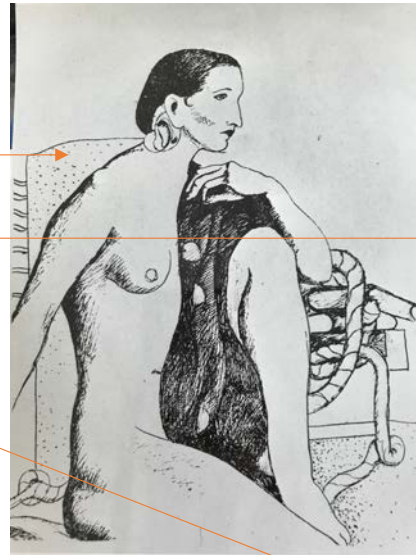
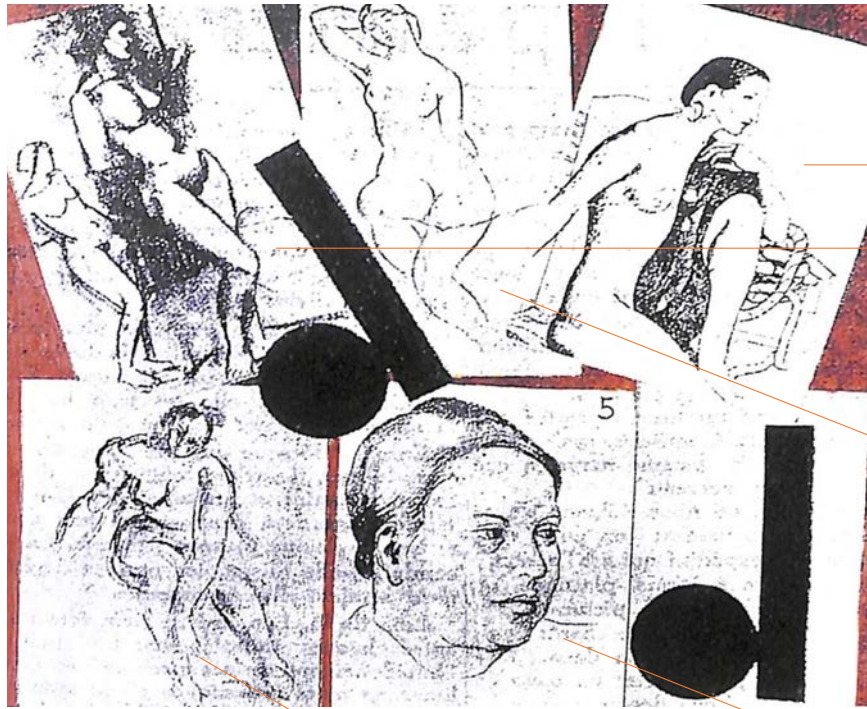
Fig. C.17 Sabri Berkel, Léopold Lévy, Cemal Tollu at the Istanbul Fine Arts Academy, undated
Yusuf Taktak Archive, SALT Research

Fig. C.16 Léopold Lévy in his studio, boulevard Auguste Blanqui, Paris, 1928.
Photograph - Marc Vaux.
Archives Centre Pompidou



C.18 Group D members pose in front of the Mimosza Hat Shop, where they opened their first exhibition.

From left: Salih [Urallı], Halis [Doral], Cemal [Tollu], unknown, Zühtü [Müritoğlu], Elif Naci, İ, Galip [Arcan], Nurullah [Berk], Cemal Nadir [Güler], Theatre Director Suphi Bey, *Hürriyet* newspaper photographer Ali, Abidin [Dino]



Nurullah Berk, untitled drawing, pencil on paper, early 1930s



Cemal Tollu, 1932

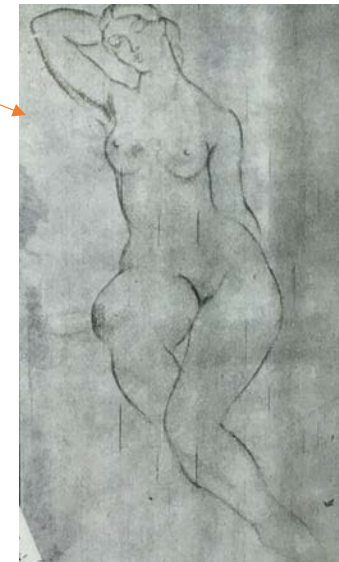
2.19 *La Turquie*'s reproductions from works in the first exhibition of Group D



Zeki Faik



Elif Naci



Zühtü



Fig.C.20 Second exhibition of *d Grubu*, Beyoğlu Halkevi, İstanbul



Fig.C.21 Third exhibition of *d Grubu*, Taksim Dağcılık Kulübü, January 8, 1934



Fig.C.22 News clipping on the fifth exhibition of *d Grubu*, Şehir Tiyatrosu, 1935



Fig.C.23 Works from the 5th exhibition reproduced in *Arkitekt* magazine



Fig.C.24 Zeki Faik İzer, *İnkilap Yolunda* [On the Road to Revolution], 1933



Fig.C.25 Nurullah Berk, *Tayyareciler* [Aviators], 1934



Fig.C.26 Nazmi Ziya, Title unknown [Triptych], 1935, Ankara Halkevi



Fig.C.27 Taksim Meydanı,
73.5 x 92 cm
Sabancı University Museum
Collection

Fig.C.28 Nazmi Ziya,
*Kemeraltında Nargile
İçenler* (similar work
as stand in)

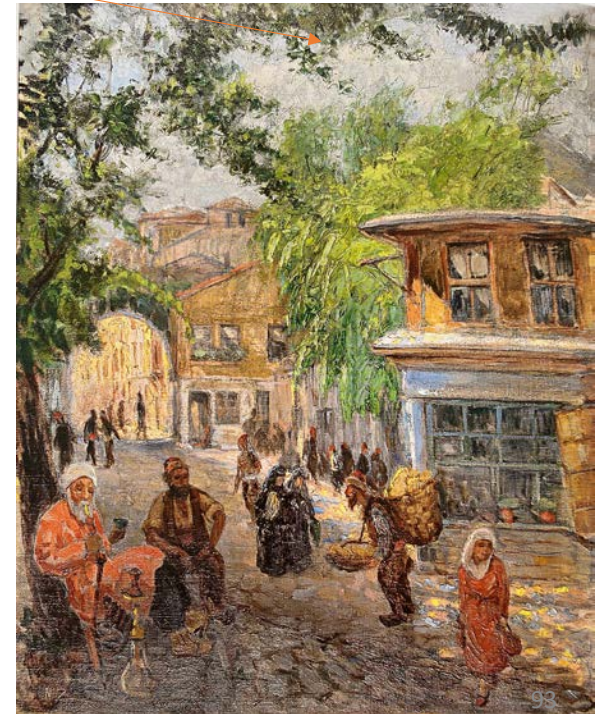




Fig.C.29 Şeref [Akdik], *Köy Mektebinde Talebe Kaydı* [Student Registration at the Village School] (1935) and Nazmi Ziya, Title unknown [Triptych], 1935, Ankara Halkevi



Fig.C.30 Cemal Tollu, *Portrem or Sanatkarın Kendi Portresi* [My Portrait or The Artist's Own Portrait], 1933



Fig.C.31 Cemal Tollu, *Bir Öğretmen Portresi* [Portrait of a Teacher], 1933



Fig.C.33
Marcel
Gromaire,
La Guerre
[The War],
1925



Fig.C.30 Cemal Tollu, *Portrem or Sanatkarın Kendi Portresi* [My Portrait or The Artist's Own Portrait], 1933



Fig.C.31 Cemal Tollu, *Bir Öğretmen Portresi* [Portrait of a Teacher], 1933

Fig.C.32 Cemal
Tollu, Portre, 1932



I. inci Devlet Resim
VE
Heykel Sergisi



ANKARA
Ulus Basımevi
1939

C. H. Partisinin ikinci defa olarak yurdun muhtelif yerlerinde çalıştırdığı (10) ressamı ait eserler

Abidin Dino

D — Gurubundan
Gittiği yer: (BALIKESİR)

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 — Köylü kızı | 6 — Balıkesir |
| 2 — Köylü | 7 — Balıkesir |
| 3 — İşçi | 8 — Balıkesir testisi |
| 4 — Harp | 9 — « |

Âli Karsan

Gittiği yer: (BOLU)

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 10 — Abat gölü | 16 — Orman |
| 11 — « | 17 — Seben dağı |
| 12 — « | 18 — Akçe Kavak |
| 13 — « | 19 — Yumru Kaya |
| 14 — Balıkcı kulübesi | 20 — Boluya giriş |
| 15 — Orman | 21 — Bolu |

Ayetullah Sumer

Müstakil Ressamlar Birliğinden

Gittiği yer (AFYON)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 22 — Zafer âbidesi (Afyon) | 27 — 30 ağustos (Dumlupınar) |
| 23 — Emirdağlı Tahir Efe | 28 — (27 ağustos) Afyon'a |
| 24 — Afyon | Türk erlerinin giriş |
| 25 — Afyon (Ay batarken) | noktası |
| 26 — Koca Mustafa (Bel Karaca Örenli) | 29 — Akşam |
| | 30 — Orta servi |

Cevat Dereli

Müstakil Ressamlar Birliğinden
Gittiği yer: (SINOP)

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 31 — Şehit Bilâl camisi (Sinop) | 36 — Kale üstünde evler (Sinop) |
| 32 — Sinop limanı ((Sinop) | 37 — Kumtepe (Sinop) |
| 34 — Kale yazusu (Sinop) | 38 — Yesarı Bahadan |
| 35 — Fırkanın penceresinden | 39 — Kale Bağ (Boyabat) |
| | 40 — Boyabat kalesi |

Malik Aksel

Hiç bir guruba dahil değildir
Gittiği yer: (SIVAS)

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 41 — Sivaslı kız | 47 — Gök medrese |
| 42 — Kale mahallesinden | 48 — Sivas'tan manzara |
| 43 — Sivas'ta sabah | 49 — Çifte minare |
| 44 — Halı dokurken | 50 — Sivas parkından |
| 45 — Harman yeri | 51 — Sivas kongre salonu |
| 46 — Kale mahallesinden | |

Refik Epikman

Müstakil Ressamlar Birliğinden

Gittiği yer: (HATAY)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 52 — Hatay eski türk erkek kıyafeti | 57 — Hatay Bityas köyü |
| 53 — Değirmen | 58 — Kale yolu |
| 54 — Defne şelâlesi | 59 — Âsi kenarından |
| 55 — Keldağ (Süveydiye) | 60 — Antakya dağları |
| 56 — Köprü (Hatay) | 61 — Kadın kıyafeti |
| | 62 — Âsi nehri |

2

Fig.C.34 Pages from the brochure of the first State Painting and Sculpture exhibition, with the list of artists who participated in the first Homeland Tour



Fig.C.35 View from the 1st State Painting and Sculpture Exhibition

Sabiha Bozcalı

Müstakil Ressamlar Birliğinden

Gittiği yer: (ZONGULDAK)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 63 — Sömkök fabrikası (Ugulmez muntakası) | 68 — Skip tesisatı (İhsaniye) |
| 64 — Sömkök fabrikası | 69 — Varagel (İhsaniye) |
| 65 — Elektrik santrali (Kozlu) | 70 — Demir ve çelik fabrikası (Karabük) |
| 66 — Asansör (İncir harmanı) | 71 — Demir ve çelik fabrikası (Karabük) |
| 67 — Asansör makinesi « | |

Seyfi Toray

Hiç bir guruba dahil değildir

Gittiği yer: (DIYARBAKIR)

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 72 — Armağan | 77 — Ağanın kızı |
| 73 — Kırmızı yemenili kız | 78 — Portre |
| 74 — Yeşil yemenili kız | 79 — Karpuz dilimi |
| 75 — Siyah püsküllü kız | 80 — Camii Kebir |
| 76 — Portre | 81 — Kaleburnu |

Turgut Zaim

Hiç bir guruba dahil değildir

Gittiği yer: (KAYSERİ)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 82 — Avşarlar yaylaya doğru | 86 — Honat Hatun türbesi |
| 83 — Manzara Ürgüb | 87 — Kranordi bağevi, |
| 84 — Erciyas | 87 — a : Ürgüb |
| 85 — Pınarbaşı Avşar gelinleri | 87 — b : Ürgüb |
| | 87 — c : Avşarlar |

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Zeki Faik İzer

D — Gurubundan

Gittiği yer: (ESKİŞEHİR)

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 88 — İnönü | 95 — Seyitgazi |
| 89 — Eskişehir | 96 — Eskişehir |
| 90 — Kuyu başı | 97 — Harman (Sarıca İtyas köy) |
| 91 — Şeker fabrikası makine dairesi | 98 — Tarla |
| 92 — Ahlat ağaçları | 99 — Şecaattin köyü |
| 93 — Pancar tarlası | 100 — Tuğla fabrikaları |
| 94 — Yazılı Kaya | 101 — Karaca Şehir yolu |

97



Fig.C.36 Covers of *Ülkü*
between 1942-1946
Exhibition view from
*Idealist School, Productive
Studio*, SALT Galata, 2019



Fig.C.37 Hittite bas relief of warriors, 900-700 BCE, Anatolian Civilizations Museum, Ankara

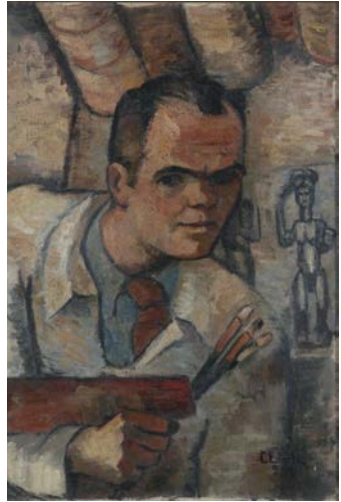


Fig.C.38 Cemal Tollu, *Portrem*, [My Portrait], 1933



Fig.C.39 Cemal Tollu, *Ayakta Çıplak* [Standing nude], c. 1931-32



Fig.C.40 Cemal Tollu, *Hatay'da Portakal* [Oranges in Antioch] and



Fig.C.41 Cemal Tollu, *Hatay'da Portakal* [Oranges in Antioch], 1958



Fig.C.42 Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, *Yavuz Geliyor Yavuz* [Here Comes Ferocious],



Fig.C.43 BRE, *Interior*, (pre-1939)
50x68cm



Fig.C.44 BRE, *Peasant Family*, nd. (pre-1937)

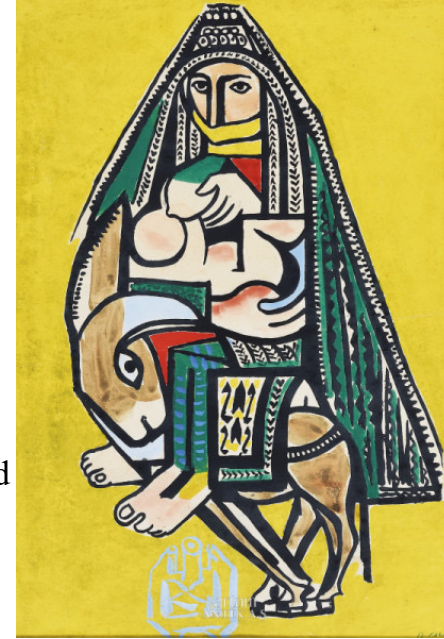


Fig.C.45 BRE, *Anne ve çocuk* [Mother and Child], 1951, Mixed media on paper, 58x40 cm, private collection



Fig.C.46 BRE, *The Bosphorus*, 1962, ceramic and glass mosaic, Collection of University of Berkeley, CA



Fig.C.47 Berk, Paletli Natürmort, 1933,
pencil drawing
In the artist's own collection
Photo: Adnan Çoker Archive



Fig.C.48 Nurullah Berk,
Köylü Kadın [Vilager
Woman], 1938



Fig.C.49 Nurullah Berk,
Ayakta Çıplak Kadın,
etüd, 1947
[Study for a Standing
Nude]



Fig.C.50 Nurullah Berk, *Carpet Weavers*, 200x300cm, oil on canvas, 1954
Yapı Kredi Bank Collection



Fig.C.51 Ruhi Arel, *Bahçede Gergef İşlerken* [While Embroidering in the Garden], nd. (c.1922-23)

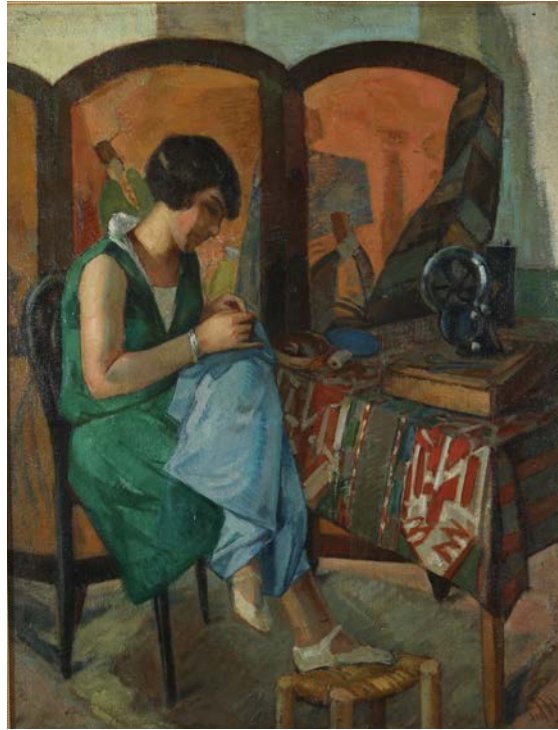


Fig.C.52 Çallı İbrahim, *Dikiş Diken Kadın* [Woman Sewing], 1927

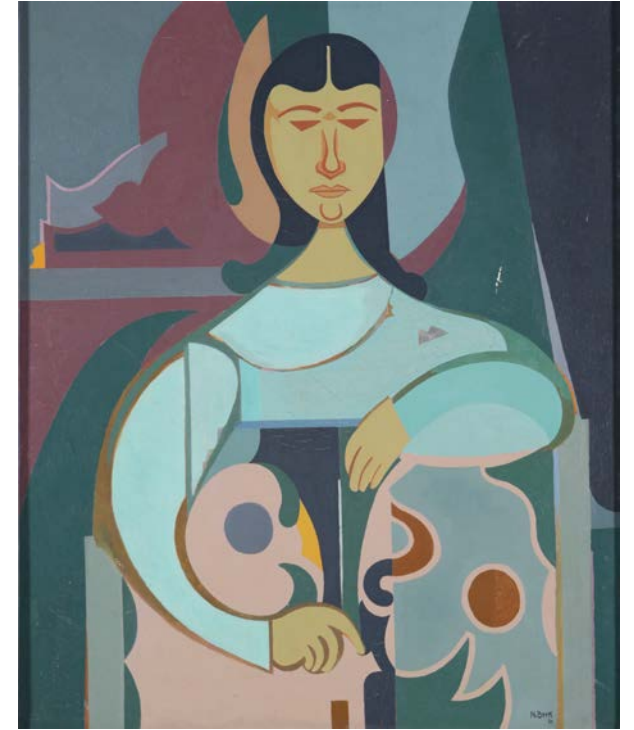


Fig.C.53 Nurullah Berk, *Gergef İşleyen Kadın* [Woman Embroidering], 1958