The Construction of Turkish Modern Architecture in Architectural History Writing

By

Bilgen BOYACIOĞLU

A Dissertation Submitted to the
Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

Department: Architecture
Major: Architecture

İzmir Institute of Technology
İzmir, Turkey

September, 2003

We approve the thesis of **Bilgen BOYACIOĞLU**

Date of Signature

....   **11.09.2003**
Assist. Prof. Dr. Özlem ERKARSLAN
Supervisor
Department of Architecture

....   **11.09.2003**
Prof. Dr. Cemal ARKON
Department of City and Regional Planning

....   **11.09.2003**
Prof. Dr. Gürhan TÜMER
Department of Architecture

....   **11.09.2003**
Prof. Dr. Cemal ARKON
Head of Department

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study concentrates on architectural historiography, which functions as an independent medium of activity and production within the discipline of architecture, and affects architectural practice directly or indirectly. Historiography, which has been handled as one of the realms of discourse production, has been evaluated in terms of the formation of conditions in the framework of this study. Besides restrictions that stem from discourse's own structure, the compelling factors, which are caused by these formative conditions, have been examined, and extant methods to overcome these problems have been discussed in the realm of architectural historiography. In this framework, this study claims that history writing of architecture has to be handled in terms of its own epistemology in order to attain efficacy. The study aims at evaluating the historiography of Turkish modern architecture in the frame of the phenomenon of an emergent discourse as the indicator of the nation-state ideology and its exclusions.

Within the scope of the study, the historiography of Turkish modern architecture has been evaluated critically, and different conceptions of modernity have been interrogated. The concept of modernity, which is a self-generating social process that started in the Ottoman Empire, and the concept of modernity, which was produced by nation-state ideology and based on the physical indicators of the process of Western modernization, have been comparatively evaluated in terms of how they handled the realm of architectural historiography. The study argues critically that one of the two different architectural practices, which were developed the different conceptions of modernity, found focus on in architectural historiography. Thus the other was excluded. As a result of this evaluation, the study proposes that a different architectural historiographic method, which includes what was so far been the excluded, has to be developed.

Keywords: historiography, architectural historiography, modernism, nation-state, historiography of Turkish modern architecture

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, mimarlık disiplinin bir etkinlik ve üretim alanı olan, mimarlık pratiğini doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak etkileyen mimarlık tarihyazımını konu alır. Söylem oluşumunun bir alanı olarak ele alınan tarihyazımı, çalışma kapsamı içinde oluşum koşulları açısından değerlendirilmiştir. Söylemin kendi yapısından kaynaklanan kısıtlamaların yanında, bu oluşum koşullarının da getirmiş olduğu sınırlamalar üzerinde durularak, mimarlık tarihyazımının bu problemleri aşma yolları tartışılmıştır. Bu çerçevede çalışma, mimarlık tarihyazımının etkinliğini arttırmak açısından kendi bilgi kuramı içinde ele alınması gerekliliğini öne sürerek; Türkiye'deki modern mimarlık tarihyazımını ulus-devlet ideolojisinin bir göstergesi olarak ortaya çıkması ve oluşturduğu dışlamalar çerçevesinde değerlendirmeyi amaçlar.

Çalışmada ülkemizde formal anlamda kısa bir tarihe sahip olan modern mimarlık tarihyazımının eleştirel bir değerlendirilmesi yapılarak, farklı modernite anlayışları sorgulanmıştır. Geçmişi Osmanlı İmparatorluğu zamanına dayanan, kendiliğinden gelişen modernite anlayışı ile ulus-devlet anlayışının Batı'daki modernleşmenin fiziksel göstergelerini temel alarak geliştirmiş olduğu modernite anlayışı tartışılarak; bunların Türkiye'deki modern mimarlık tarihyazımında ele alınma biçimleri değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışma bu farklı modernite anlayışlarının sonucunda gelişen iki farklı mimarlık pratiği düzleminin sadece bir tanesinin tarihinin yazılmasını eleştirel bir şekilde değerlendirir. Bu değerlendirmenin doğal bir sonucu olarak da dışlananlarının dahil edildiği bir mimarlık tarihyazımı yaklaşımı geliştirilmesi gerekliliğini ortaya koyar.

Anahtar sözcükler: tarihyazımı, mimarlık tarihyazımı, modernizm, ulus-devlet ideolojisi, Türk modern mimarlık tarihyazımı

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Definition of the Problem

Having an important mission in every period of history, the concept of historiography is being interrogated more strongly today than it ever has been. Each discipline's own history is being studied, and the interrelations among disciplines have become quite crucial in recent times. The important role of historiography in terms of the developing process of disciplines appears as an open reality today when the disciplines' boundaries have started to disintegrate along with the thought of modernity. History is a plane of knowledge that includes the discipline's own knowledge belonging to the past, and carries on into the future, and discusses thresholds and circumstances of its own formation. In this context, the discussions about how the plane of knowledge can be constituted contribute directly or indirectly to the discussions directed towards architectural practice.

The correspondents of this efficient role of historiography in the field of architecture have been studied extensively with respect to the cases in the 'historiography of architecture' in the West. Especially the studies on historiography of modern architecture show that the production of various discourses played an important role in terms of architectural practice and architectural education in that period. On the other hand, representing the modern architecture, these history books had also a crucial mission in the condition of spreading modern architecture deriving from to West European bases other countries. This condition put forth the power of history for consideration in the context of affecting architectural practice and architectural theory of the periphery.

In contrast to the studies in the realm of historiography in the West, there is a lacuna in the same field in Turkey. The architectural historiography that emerged under the influence of the nation-state ideology pragmatically has passed through different phases.

The power that history embodies in its own structure has been utilized in the aim of legitimising the nation-state ideology rather than for the discipline's own improvement. In opposition to the Western architectural historiography, Turkish historiography has to struggle with problems that are outside of its own epistemology. Nevertheless, although Turkey, like other Third-World countries, imported the modernity and nation-state from the West, among them it is the only country that constituted its own history writing as Tanyeli mentions. In this context, historiography of architecture in Turkey, which has a complex structure, is a field that has to be studied.

The production of the history-writing discourses of the Turkish modern architecture increased especially in the period between 1960 and 1980. The present study focuses on how Turkish modern architecture was constructed in these texts. Not being inside of the process of modern architecture, these discourses become significant in terms of founding the grounds of current historiography of modern architecture in Turkey.

1.2. Aims of the Study

This study primarily concentrates on the historiography of the Turkish modern architecture that has not been studied. Analysing the texts were written between 1960 and 1980 about Turkish modern architecture in the Early Republican Period, its main aim is elucidating how Turkish modern architecture was constructed. Within an outlook that studies architectural history writing from the early years of the Republican Period to the present, the status of this period of 1960-1980 will be discussed. The other parts of the study will be handled in order to help form a ground for this analysis.

Being one of the realms of discourse production, historiography comprehends all problems of discourse in its own structure. It is necessary to focus on the examination of the discursive problems in order to analyse the discourses of Turkish modern architecture. Therefore, doing this, analysis expands its own boundaries, and it contributes to discussions about how the studies of architectural historiography will be in the future. For that reason, this study also aims at examining the problems of discourse production and methods of overcoming these problems. Analysis of the discourses of modern architectural historiography in the West, discussion of the status of historiographic discourses in Turkey.

Concentrating on the historiography of modern architecture in Turkey, the study also aims at analysing the conceptions of modernity of the historians. In this context, the various conceptions of modernity will be displayed and the nation-state ideology that emerged along with modernity will be examined. Having a different conception of modernity with respect to the nation-state ideology, the modernization process in Turkey will be handled in terms of the influence of the nation-state ideology on modernism. However, bringing the nation-state ideology to Turkey, the Republican Period will be tried to be analysed in order to discuss whether it constituted a threshold or not.

1.3. Method of the Study

This study primarily aims at examining how the Turkish modern architecture was constructed on the basis of the texts of modern architecture. In this framework, the texts of historians pursuing similar methods in the period of 1960-1980 are focused on, since the number and variety of Turkish modern architectural texts increased considerably and the texts that had a theoretical ground emerged in the said period. Four of them are selected in the context of this study in terms of forming the groundwork for the current studies and bearing effective roles in architectural education.

Being described as discourse analysis, this study is primarily required to bring up the problems of discourse production. For that reason, problems attendant on it and means of overcoming methods these problems are discussed. The pragmatic usage of history emerges as a second field of problems in discourse production. Especially the history of architecture in Turkey that has been used in order to legitimise the nation-state ideology necessitates stress in this context. Discussions about methods to these overcome problems are examined, aiming at forming a ground for studies of the architectural historiography of the future. Inasmuch as not only critiques of discourse production, but also differences of the concept of document have expanded the limits of architectural history writing. After this evaluation of the historiography, this study focuses on history writing of the modern architecture in the West in order to compare the discourses of Turkey and the West. It also concentrates on determining the situation of Turkey in discussions of modern architecture that were constituted by the West.

The texts of modern architectural history that are encompassed by the present study are those texts which were produced in the Early Republican Period. Although the architecture of this period is itself excluded from the study, analysis of the period, which constituted transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, becomes necessary due to the fact that it was constructed as a threshold in the continuity of the history by the historians. On the other hand, the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of Republican Period display continuity in terms of architectural products. In this context, it is emphasized that the modernization process in Turkey started before the Republic. For that reason, bringing up different conceptions of modernity in the West, this study emphasizes that there is not only a modernity imported from the West distinguished by its physical indicators, but also a modernity that developed simultaneously in Turkey.

It is determined that 'the historiography of Turkish modern architecture' which stands next to the subject of 'modern architecture imported from the West', and the tradition of architectural historiography are analysed from the Early Republican Period to the present in the fourth chapter. Four texts examined within the scope of the study will be handled in the said framework. Besides this general context, the historians are also elaborated on in terms of their discourses, the mechanisms of persuasion they use, the conception of modern and of modern architecture, how they classify Turkish modern architecture, which references they indicate, and the use of the visual materials. However, the reduction of the modern architecture to the Cubism of the West is also included within the scope of the study because of the fact that modern architecture is described by referencing Cubism in these texts.

1.4. Assumptions and Limitations

The texts of modern architectural history, which are about the Early Republican Period architecture, are restricted to the period of 1960-1980 due to the fact that the number and variety of Turkish architectural history-writing texts considerably increased and the discourses that had theoretical ground started to be produced. This study focuses on four texts from this period. Besides well expressing fundamental characteristics of the historiography of the period, they are selected by virtue of their respective roles in

architectural education and by virtue of being the most referenced texts in the current a concern with history writing of Turkish modern architecture. This study includes only how the Turkish modern architecture was constructed in these texts. Thus the Early Republican Period's modern architecture is excluded from the scope of the study.

This study is best described as a discourse analysis that methodologically resorts to Foucauldian vehicles in the level of discourse criticism. Foucault's model of historiography has closely affected studies in other disciplines; having especially become effective in the realm of architectural historiography and criticism. In the context of this effective role Foucault has played, this study accepts his studies in discourse analysis as sufficient for its scope.

The discussion of modernism is handled as forming the groundwork for text analysis in scope of this study. In order to analyse the conception of modernity of the historians, conceptual explanations are accepted as adequate. As similar to examining the conception of modernity in the West, discussion of modernism in Turkey is also excluded. Due to the fact that the Early Republican Period was handled as a threshold in the texts, this study only examines the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. In this context, this period is evaluated in terms of explicating changing and unchanging conditions.

Chapter 2

THE CONCEPT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN WEST

2.1. The Concept of Historiography

> History is not merely a therapy. By questioning its own materials, it reconstructs them and continuously reconstructs itself.
>
> Manfredo Tafuri

'Historiography' which means 'the writing of history' is an important subject which has been discussed in the last forty years. In this subject, in whose context the relationship between the disciplines and their history has been examined, important developments have occurred after the 1960s and these discussions also caused the discipline of history to examine its own boundaries. 'History' had grown as a professional discipline in the nineteenth century and in its development period it sometimes acted as a scientific subject and sometimes had a place next to literature. In this period 'historiography' was written under three main criteria, but after the 1960s it can be seen that these criteria had been out-discussed and new techniques searched for. These criteria may be described as the 'concealment of reality', 'writing history over people' and the diachronic (one dimensional) time concept of historiography (Iggers, 1996, p. 3). Contemporary studies, which work on critical history and the philosophy of history, discuss the time concept of history, excluding data structure, the place and the subjectivity of the historian. While these studies work on the subjects listed above, they look at early historiography explicating concepts in a critical way. In this chapter, conceptions and approaches the contemporary history will be discussed and the way of the elaboration of the discipline examined.

Historiography is always a construction as well as a reconstruction. It is the rebuilding of the history over the non-living traces of the past in a different thought plane–text plane–. This building process, which has been made over the knowledge of the history (*historia rerum gestarum*) instead of the history itself (*res gestae*), brings out the need

for the development of a different comprehension. Roland Barthes, in "The Discourse of History", defines this ambiguity as the double operation of historical discourse. In the first phase, the referent is projected into a position as if it were exterior to the discourse and preceding it: "This is the phase of *res gestae*, and the discourse simply claims to be *historia rerum gestarum*" (Korkmaz, 1998, p. 10).

The demystification of the past without proposing new myths is a method which happened to find place in a different thought plane, is the base of the contemporary works prepared on this subject. The historiography, through which the reality of the past has been rebuilt in the textual plane, has a many-layered structure. So the process of demystification should be arranged in a way that can answer all the needs of the layers of the structure: "History is seen as a production" wrote Tafuri,

> in all senses of the term: it is a production of meaning, starting out from the meaningful traces of events; an analytical construction which is never definitive but always provisional: an instrument for the deconstruction of a certain reality. As such, history is both determined and determining: determined by its own traditions, by the objects it analyses, by the methods it adopts; also determining its own transformations as well as those of the reality it deconstructs (Tafuri, quoted by Korkmaz, 1998, p. 10).

The 'concealing the past' theory of classical historiography has been relegated to second place according to the stance described above. The history, which has been produced upon the traces of the past, offers the possibility for the production of many texts. Because of this reason, the one and only "great saying" of classical historiography has been losing its meaning. Now, the historiography, which has been comprehended in a different thought plane, has a theoretical state, which overcomes the traces worked on. "The writing of history is not hermeneutics, however completely it goes about comprehending its subject, and its goal is not to reveal truth, but to go beyond itself" (Ockman, 1985, p. 182). Porphyrios briefly explains such a of history in the following terms:

> Critical history is not a theory of historical relativism. It is a project of demystification as a gnoseological tool. The gnoseological contribution of critical history, of course, is not similar to the gnoseological contribution of empirical science. The aim here is not to prove, not to explain, not to verify, not to create models that are intended to prognosticate. The aim of critical history.... to make one see the realm of the forbidden, to see the deafened words the censures (but

also to see utopia as a process of reification); so that one might achieve a state of freedom of consciousness (that is, a state neither of power, nor of doubt, nor of utopia; but of understanding) (Porphyrios, 1985, p. 20).

In such perception, although the tracing of the past is an important fact, today the place of the historian himself/herself has become effective as well:

> In the experience of history we find that the ideal of the objectivity of historical research is only one side of the issue, in fact a secondary side, because the special feature of historical experience is that we stand in the midst of an event without knowing what is happening to us before we grasp what has happened in looking backwards. Accordingly, history must be written anew by every new present (Gadamer, 1989, p. 24).

Gadamer here emphasizes the importance of the day (today) in the placement of the historian, rather than the retrospective look.

The need of the history to be written in the light of the ever new present is related to the current changes in the epistemological structure of historiography which new approaches and paradigms have produced by the effects of these new subjects, rather than the cause of including subjects which had been ignored before in historiography. "Simply adding new stories is not enough. There is a difference between rewriting history by adding the forgotten or repressed contributions of (for example) women and retheorizing history by using gender or race as categories of analysis" (Borden, Rendell, 2000, p. 8).

Besides the relationship between history and the other disciplines, the state of examination of each discipline's framework work in itself in relation to the modern movement also caused history to spread out and consider those subjects which had been ignored before. These developments which we may also observe in the historiography of architecture, derived many other different remarks about this subject. In the following paragraphs, the theories which have been produced about the historiography of modern architecture will be analysed. But first of all, let us take a look at the framing identities, which have been produced by the theory even before the theory had been stated.

2.2. The Problems of Historiography

Historiography as text production is accepted as one of the realm of discourse production, and it includes everything which discourse has. Thus, including also the problems of production of discourse, historiography in its own fabric has to examine them. Each production of discourse has an ideological and subjective structure that is based on exclusions because of the necessity to be consistent. The work of post-structuralist intellectuals who focus on the restrictions of discourse has to be examined due to the fact that this study's basic aim is discourse analysis. Michel Foucault, who is one of the important post-structuralists, will be examined because his work is a threshold in the fabric of historiography and has affected other disciplines' historiography methods.

Problems that emerge on the level of constitution of the historical reality on the plane of text are production of meaning, the role of the historian, how the time concept is perceived, the ideological and pragmatic uses of history, how historical traces and documents are used, and which are the external and internal problems. Although these problems have been dealt with for a long time, especially in the 1960s new suggestions, which tried to transcend the former, were produced. "Histories are not innocent texts" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 2) and studies on historiography have tried to reveal this point of view and focus on solutions to these problems. Most of the problems emerge on the level of the production of the discourse, and its consistent, whole, and found-based structure. "For Foucault, to draw limits of work, to attribute a work to an author, and to get commentary out of it are not neutral activities. Controlling, selecting, organizing, and redistributing discourses, these activities have restrictive and compelling function" (Chartier, 1997, p. 121).

2.2.1. The Construction of the Discourse

Foucault separates restrictive and compelling factors on discourse into two distinct parts as external rules and internal rules. External rules are prohibited, the opposition between reason and folly as a division and rejection, and the opposition between true and false as the will to truth. Internal rules are other systems of control and the delimitation of discourse are commentary, the author "as the unifying principle in a

particular group of writings or statements, lying at the origins of their significance, as the seat of their coherence" (Foucault, 1991, p. 141), and "another relative, mobile principle, one which enables us to construct, but within a narrow framework" (Foucault, 1991, p. 142).

The prohibition, which in fact includes three types of prohibition functions with in a complex web which these three types of prohibition assembled. These are, "covering objects, ritual with its surrounding circumstances, the privileged or exclusive right to speak of a particular subject" (Foucault, 1991, p. 135). Being another principle of exclusion, the opposition between reason and folly can be seen throughout history: "From the depths of the Middle Ages, a man was mad if his speech could not be said to form part of the common discourse of men" (Foucault, 1991, p. 136). Although Foucault sees the acceptance of the opposition between true and false as the third system of exclusion that is a little risky, he displays its pressure when he puts the question in different terms: "Asking what has been, what still is, throughout so many centuries of our history; or if we ask what is, in its very general form, the kind of division governing our will to knowledge – then may well discern something like a system of exclusion (historical, modifiable, institutionally constraining) in the process of development" (Foucault, 1991, p. 137).

The controlling and delimitation of discourse include internal rules, which are more important than the external rules in view of this study. These are the rules where discourse exercises its own control, "rules concerned with the principles of classification, ordering and distribution. It is as though we were now involved in the mastery of another dimension of discourse: that of events and change" (Foucault, 1991, p. 139).

Commentary is one of them. It is a method of producing text again in the different plane, and "a single work of literature can give rise, simultaneously, to several distinct types of discourse" (Foucault, 1991, p. 140). Heidegger mentions 'hermeneutic circle' among these different planes: "The hermeneutic circle says that in the domain of understanding there can be absolutely no derivation of one from the other, so that here the logical fallacy of circularity does not represent a mistake in procedure, but rather the most appropriate description of the structure of understanding" (Gadamer, 1989, p. 22).

The opposition to the hermeneutic circle which is a search for transcendental meaning, Foucault says that commentary's only role is "to say finally, what has silently been articulated deep down" (Foucault, 1991, p. 140). This point of view is based on why the existence of thought is so that one particular statement appears rather than another: "To interpret a text means to explain why these words can do various things (and not others) through the way they are interpreted" (Eco, 1992, p. 24).

On the other hand, interpretation is more than merely a procedure to uncover a given meaning. It can also be seen in the process of theorizing and interpreting architecture: "Interpretation is not simply a matter of what can be discovered at the interior of a composition. A reconsideration of critical methods is required if one takes account of the specific conditions which determine the organization of the artistic texts and their readings at the present time; that is, the temporary exhibition and its associated field of publications–the catalogue, the art book and the magazine" (Kelly, quoted by Colomina, 1988, p. 17).

In contrast to different commentary conceptions, the control mechanisms of commentary in the discourse emerge as changing their status:

> There is no question of there being one category, fixed for all time, reserved for fundamental or creative discourse, and another for those which reiterate, expound, and comment. Not a few major texts become blurred and disappear, and commentaries sometimes come to occupy the former position. But while the details of application may well change, the function remains the same, and the principle of hierarchy remains at work (Foucault, 1991, p. 140).

Another principle of rarefaction and the second plane of discourse that is under the influence of subjectivity is the author: "The author is he who implants, into the troublesome language of fiction, its unities, its coherence, its links with reality" (Foucault, 1991, p. 141). Foucault, who is opposed to the notion of the continuity and unity of discourse and believes that they have to be broken, sees the author as one of the pressure elements of discourse in the context of constituting continuity. "Commentary limited the hazards of discourse through the action of an identity taking the form of repetition and sameness. The author principle limits this same chance element through the action of an identity whose form is that of individuality and I" (Foucault, 1991, p.

142). The objectivity of the author as a historian is discussed in the context of this subjectivity.

Critical history conducts an objective analysis: "objective inasmuch as the critical historian lies outside the discourse that he analyses" (Porphyrios, 1985, p. 19). At this point, the objectivity of the view at history can be mentioned, and it is only the historical stance rather than the subjective stance. It is related to the *prise de position* of the historian (Porphyrios, 1985, p.19).

> The historian, an empty subject of the speech-act gradually fills himself with various predicates intended to establish him as a person, provided with a psychological plenitude, with a countenance... This occurs when the historian intends to absent himself from his discourse and where there is, consequently, a systematic absence of any sign referring to the sender of the historical message: history seems to tell itself (Barthes, quoted by Korkmaz, 1998, p. 5).

The objectivity of the historian is related to how far he is from his discourse. However, one can see the limitations brought by the subjectivity without thinking the texts written after the 1960s. The subjective determination of the limits of discourse, or neglecting samples which required interrogation of frameworks drawn by the historian in the name of consistency, are indications of the subjectivity of the historian. On the other hand, the author's own subjectivity has emerged as a label becomes problematic at the point that the text transcends itself. "What is at stake, in fact, is not the authority of the historian but the objectivity claim of the historical discourse. It is not the history speaking, but a human narrator speaking on/about history" (Korkmaz, 1998, p. 6).

Although the third restriction mechanisms of the organization of disciplines objects author and commentary, it creates its own limitations:

> Opposed to that of the author, because disciplines are defined by groups of objects, methods, their corpus of propositions considered to be true, the interplay of rules and definitions, of techniques and tools: all these constitute a sort of anonymous system, freely available to whoever wishes, or whoever is able to make use of them, without there being any question of their meaning or their validity being derived from whoever happened to invent them. But the principles involved in the formation of disciplines are equally opposed to that of commentary. In a discipline, unlike in commentary, what is supposed at the point of departure is not some meaning which must be rediscovered, nor an identity to

be reiterated; it is that which is required for the construction of new statements (Foucault, 1991 p. 142).

Having been brought by the internal controlling mechanisms of discourse itself, restrictions determine the limits of discourse, and become an indicator of what is excluded, and what is included: "In order to belong to a discipline, a proposition must fit into a certain type of theoretical field" (Foucault, 1991, p. 143). In this context, functioning as an exclusion mechanism, discipline constitutes a very large area outside of its limits and neglects it. This state of enclosure that brought by the autonomous structure of discourse causes to break off all relations with other disciplines. Autonomy, as Eagleton has put it, is "social functionlessness" (Eagleton, 1989, p. 370). It becomes, in the realm of art, a structure that ends art. "Art is now autonomous of the cognitive, ethical and political; but the way it came to be so is paradoxical. It became autonomous of them, curiously enough, by being integrated into the capitalist mode of production". For that reason "its form will become its content" (Eagleton, 1989, p. 369).

This enclosure of disciplines brought by autonomy is as it were transcended in recent studies. In the realm of architectural historiography, "other theoretical territories" (Borden, Rendell, 2000, p. 7) have been realized, and the "institutional confines of architecture" (Ghirardo, 1991, p. 10) have started to interrogate the conventional:

> Does history's work ultimately by undermining the very foundations, framework, constitutive presuppositions, of the specialized disciplines themselves not in order to erase such disciplines but to disclose an Other of the discipline, an outside, a limit, the revelation of the extrinsic, which it is felt to be scandalous and unscholarly to introduce into a carefully regulated traditional debate (Jameson, quoted Borden, 2000, p. 8).

"To distinguish between architecture and building" (Frampton, 1991, p. 17): that architecture's own limits form this distinction causes neglect of a large class of buildings:

> In fact, the institutional production of architecture itself must be called into question. One could ask a range of questions about the institution, for example: what does it reward, what does it penalize, whom does it include and exclude, what mechanism are operative to exclude or discount certain questions, excluding a certain class of questions and buildings also means to facing up to the whole range of problems they present (Ghirardo, 1991, p. 13).

Consequently, restrictions of disciplines affect the production of discourse negatively because, "it is always possible one could speak the truth in a void; one would only be in the true, however, if one obeyed the rules of some discursive policy which would have to be reactivated every time one spoke" (Foucault, 1991, p. 144). Having the property of controlling discourse, "disciplines constitute a system of control in the production of discourse, fixing its limits through the action of an identity taking the form of a permanent reactivation of the rules" (Foucault, 1991, p. 144).

2.2.2. The Ideological and Pragmatic Aspects of Historiography

Ideological and pragmatic usage of history has been seen since nineteenth century, which is when history was founded, as a professional discipline. The tension between the profession's scientific ethos that required freedom from all prejudices and value judgment, and profession's political function that accepts the determined social order without interrogation have created the problematic conditions in the foundation of the discourse (Iggers, 1996, p. 23). This problem could not be solved even today in the realm of the historiography of some disciplines'. The amazing point is that professionalism with its scientific ethos paves the way for historiography to become ideological. Historians look through the archive with the aim of supporting their nationalism, and legitimising their existence by transforming them into scientific facts (Iggers, 1996, p. 29).

The pragmatic aspect of nation-state historiography has become important in the process of the conception of the nation-state that came on the scene in tandem with modernism and spread throughout the world. Though starting by being objective and scientific, this method of historiography has a structure of excluding in the context of identity production. "National historiography constitutes a myth in the aim of nationalism rather than founding historiography" (Tekeli, 1998, p. 104). Another problem of the national historiography is the legitimising of the current social structure by looking through the past and locating it in the present. "As Eric Hobsbawn has put it, the desire to insert present in the past, in other words anachronism, is a simple method which responds the necessities of imagined communities that is not described nation" (Chartier, 1997, p. 17).

The history of architecture is also used as a tool in the context of national historiography. Having a symbolic meaning in terms of leaving a mark memory of society, architecture has been used as a tool by the people who have power when its own ideology and its effects on society combined:

> A given architectural discourse is but a form of representation that naturalizes certain meanings and eternalises the present state of the world in the interests of a hegemonical power. Architectural discourse, in that sense, is totally transparent to ideology. Its status as ideology derives from the fact that it reflects the manner in which the agents of an architectural culture live the relations between architecture as production and architecture as institution. Thus architecture as ideology has a social function: to insert the agents of an architectural culture into practical and aesthetic activities that support or subvert the hegemonical power (Porphyrios, 1985, p. 16).

2.3. Changing Concepts in Historiography

2.3.1. Differences Rather Than Wholeness

The structure of traditional historiography, which is whole, unique, and consistent, has been started to break. Criticizing its closed, autonomous structure, its limits have begun to be interrogated and have been pushed in new directions to expand these limits: "What is important in the work of historians who carries out realities that is inserting discontinuity systematically in discourse rather new subjects are found. It distinguishes fundamentally from history which the narrative of continuity and expression of dominance of conscious" (Chartier, 1997, p. 125).

In this context as Foucault says "we must rid ourselves of a whole mass of notions (continuity)" and we must include "concepts of discontinuity, rupture, threshold, limit" in historiography (Foucault, 1972, p. 21). The notion of arriving at ideal history which is based on cause and effect relations is interrupted. "When becomes wholly absorbed in finding its origin, history sanctifies many prejudices without consciously. It is said that every historical instance which is equipped unique and ideal meaning in every expression is identical whole. It is suggested that historical future is consisted of continuity where events occurred in the context of cause and effect relations" (Chartier, 1997, p. 123). What the required is "to question those ready-made syntheses, those groupings that we normally accept before any examination" (Foucault, 1972, p. 22).

At this point, Foucault determines four methods. Following them the main question is, "how is it that one particular statement appeared rather than another?" (Foucault, 1972, p. 27). This important question, which Foucault brings up in view of analysing historiography, is a question whose answer is searched in the other disciplines history analyses. The methods Foucault suggests will produce answers to this question are the principles of reversal, discontinuity, specificity, and exteriority. The principle of reversal, first of all. This method is based on the necessity of discussing prejudices which are accepted without interrogation. Turning the origin of the discourse which was constituted by author and the will to truth in the traditional history, "we must rather recognize the negative activity of the cutting-out and rarefaction of discourse" (Foucault, 1972, p. 27). Next, the principle of discontinuity. Discourses must be treated as discontinuous activities, which they sometimes articulate but at the same time exclude: "The principle of specificity; we must conceive discourse as a violence that we do to things, or, at all events, as a practice we impose upon them; it is in this practice that the events of discourse find the principle of their regularity" (Foucault, 1972, p. 28). The fourth principle, that of exteriority, is based on the notion of the interrogation of its limits and expands through the area which it excluded: "It holds that we are not to burrow to the hidden core of discourse, to the heart of the thought or meaning manifested in it; instead, taking the discourse itself, its appearance and its regularity that we should look for its external conditions of existence, for that which gives rise to the chance series of these events and fixes its limits" (Foucault, 1991, p. 149).

In Foucault's method, this question expands its limits and it is not closed in the limits of discourse. Being a "relations philosophy" (Veyne, qutoed by Chartier, 1997, p. 143) rather than a philosophy discourse of Foucault's philosophy interrogates discourse relation to the area excluded: "We must show why the statement could not be other than it was, in what respect it is exclusive of any other, how it assumes, in the midst of others and in relation to them, a place that no other could occupy" (Foucault, 1972, p. 28). It is a critical stance to the separation of the apprehension, which puts reality at one side, and intellectual formations at the other. In contrast to this twofold separation "archaeology provides revealing the relations between theoretical foundations and non-theoretical fields (institutions, events, economical applications and process)" (Chartier, 1997, p. 128).

The expansion of interrogating realms of discourse requires analysis not only of the structure of discourse, but also of the context where discourse is produced. Each field is examined critically with the help of these new methods which provide is foundation of different relations. Especially in the realm of the historiography of architecture, the traces of Foucault's interrogation methods can be found and the realities which are accepted without interrogate have been demolished and replaced.

2.3.2. The Conception of the Document

The different concepts of discourse production, and of historiography, reach over to the conception of the document in the layered structure of the history. Although the concept of the document has been expanded, interrogation methods have changed. The traces of the past, which had not been accepted as a document, have been included in the content of the document. On the other hand, new methods have been developed about documents. Handling the physical conditions of written document in conjunction with its informative content, including non-verbal and non-book texts, increasing the discussions about the usage of visual material in the realm of architectural historiography are the new directions of the document apprehension:

> Modernity, then, coincides with the publicity of the private. But what kind of space results from this redrawing of boundaries? The space of archive is very much affected by this transformation. In fact, this new reality is first and foremost a question of the archive. The archive has played an important role in the history of privacy, even in the history of history. The archive is private; history is public. Out of the archive history is produced, but when writing history the utmost care is traditionally placed on producing a seamless account of the archive, even though all archives are fractured and partial. The messy space of the archive is thus sealed off by a history. History then is a facade (Colomina, 1994, p. 9).

Expanding the boundaries of the archive have provided that the traces of the past, which was not accepted as a document, have come on the scene: "The immensity of the traces makes the research a never-ending process, with new traces, or rather new ways of looking at these traces or even seeing them as traces for the first time, always producing new interpretations that displace the old" (Colomina, 1994, p. 11). Historians have accepted that they are also "text producers" (Chartier, 1997, p. 16) with the help of understanding the representation of the traces that are the indicators of the reality in the plane of text. However, besides how the traces are used, the problem is forming the

context of them. In as much as, "traces are present vestiges of an absent context and the inferential reconstruction of the image of the reality on these traces is a textual production based on imagination" (Korkmaz, 1998, p. 8). Recent studies emerge to necessitate determining the context of the traces. Accepting the historical account is always more than the sum of its informational content, historians have started to evaluate document's context in terms of "its own physical and theoretical forming, the conditions where they are produced and strategic usage" (Chartier, 1997, p. 15).

The expansion of the text category, and disintegration of the link between text and book are the developments which can be seen in the realm of text sociology. Non-book texts and non-verbal texts have become a document. "Verbal announcement, computer or numerical data are non-book texts which use the possibilities of language. However, pictures, geographical maps, music are the non-verbal texts which do not use verbal language" (McKenzie, quoted by Chartier, 1997, p. 251). Expanding this point of view, Foucault describes archive as, "the rules game that determines emerging and disappearing of expressions; continuity of things and paradoxical existence in culture, neither all texts which were protected by any civilization nor all ruins of saving from destruction of any civilization" (Foucault, 1972, p. 9).

Starting with the forms' influence on meaning, McKenzie claims the necessity of elaborating on the book as an object. These physical indicators, which form the ground of commentary, are the conditions that determine the context of text. "The format of book, the order of paper, divisions of the text, the rules about printing have got a function related with meaning and they provide the production of the meaning" (McKenzie, quoted by Chartier, 1997, p. 251). In contrast to defining the texts in view of semantics, indicators and their symbolic value become important. Studies on analyses of texts have been evaluated seriously in all disciplines. The physical indicators of published texts, number of press, differences between presses, how the photograph is used in the text, etc. are the developments in architectural historiography.

2.4. Historiography of the Modern Architecture

Architectural theory has an important role in the developing process of the discipline of architecture. It can be seen clearly in the realm of architectural historiography that it has

the tendency of directing the architectural practice. This state of influence, which can be described as the synchronization of theory and practice in, shows itself in the historiography of the modern architecture in the West. Having a critical historical stance which was constituted by modern thought, text producers as historians have expanded the limits of architectural history writing and have affected architectural practice. In this context, discourses that are different from each other emerged in the West. "This is not to say that there are as many modern movements as there are historians and critics, but that there are many different discourses about the same real objects, and that none of them tells the truth: none of them is History" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 222).

Early historians of the modern movement who have German-centred approach are followers of the tradition of art history. For that reason, they handle architecture as a branch of art and see the history of architecture as the history of art. In the 1950s and the 1960s, historians of modern architecture started to criticize historiographic methods of their forerunners, and "history was presented as a medium for theoretical thought whose purpose, unlike that behind all the genealogies of the thirties, was to demonstrate how fragile the historical foundations of the modern movement had been and to restore thinking about difference to the logic of identity" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 230). The historians of this period who generally follow a negative method, were not only how the modern movement had been constituted, but also started architectural archaeology. Paralleling the debates of avant-garde work that was based on deconstruction, they developed their own critical discourses. Fundamentals of this critical view have not broken off relations with social life.

Although the historians of modern architecture have discussed what current architecture ought to be, they have also faced the past. Some of them have constituted the past as the anti-thesis of the present; thus throughout the history they have defined the modern architecture as a rift. On the other hand, some of them have defined modernity without constituting a polemical structure as the usual result of the past. However, both spheres face the past.

> "For many decades, the perception of modern architecture was regulated by the logic of identity, a form of thought that reconstructed the other (the past) by elevating it to the level of the same (the present). This diminution of the differences allowed the historians of the modern movement to discover, at any point in time, projects that were identical to those of the present by selecting and

interpreting them so as to create direct links with contemporary existence. In this way, the projects of the past could be perceived as a kind of anticipation of modern architecture" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 251).

2.4.1. Historiography of the Modern Architecture from 1920 to 1950

Historiography of modern architecture in the 1920s differs from that of the other periods in terms of the conception of modernity. Throughout history, modern architecture has represented a breaking point in these texts. This conception, which was accepted specially for several countries in the Western Europe, both included exclusions and was necessary to be universal. In other words, breaking with their own tradition early historians of the modern movement tried to constitute the grounds of architecture on different levels and to establish a new tradition (as can be seen clearly especially in Giedion's discourse). They constituted it as being based on the relationships between architecture and society that parallel the developments of the period, which gave a priority to the concept of Spirit of the Age (*Zeitgeist*): "Early historians of the modern movement were eager to link form and society, neither attempted to penetrate the myths on which their messianic faith was based, or to analyse systematically the connections between design and material process" (Mcleod, 1985, p. 3).

Although these architectural historians as art historians pursued a method that rescued art from its autonomy, they handled architectural product as an art object. Consequently, they improved the conception of architecture that had been founded on forms and masses rather than on the quality of space. On the other hand, they used history pragmatically in order to legitimise their thought that the current architecture had been a rift throughout history. Starting with the present, their discourses turn their attentions to the past, and represent the objects of the past and the conception of architecture as negative. They were developed as based on how the future architecture could be constituted. This conception of architecture that can be described as operative is an effective method, which is used to render their discourses consistent and to constitute a new tradition of the architecture of the future.

Adolf Behne, Gustav Adolf Platz, Bruno Taut, Walter Curt Behrent, Henry Russel Hitchcock in between 1920-1930, Emil Kaufmann ve Nikolaus Pevsner in between 1930-1940. Giedion in the 1940s are important historians of the modern architecture.

Among them, Pevsner, Kaufmann and Giedion, whose methods resemble the each other, are historians that give character to the period. In this part of the study these historians' methods will be focused on, and others will be mentioned more generally.

Adolf Behne's "Der moderne Zweckbau" was published in 1926 and is among the first books on the establishment and conception of the modern movement. Having German-centred approach, Behne's text is a polemical text as a manifesto. However, in Platz's text, "Die Baukunst der neuesten Zeit," which was published in 1927, "Platz allows his pages to be dominated by the concerns of architects, assembling and classifying information to help them keep up to date on developments, gain a better understanding of contemporary processes, and thus determine their own design practices" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 8). In the same period, although Bruno Taut, in the text "Modern Architecture," elaborated on modern architecture, he focused on his own architectural practice. In this text which was published in 1929, Taut constructs the past as "on the level of timeless ideas," (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 11) and he does not use as basis for the present upon. Publishing in 1937 Behrent's text, 'Modern Building' is a critical and architectural text which does not face the past, and its basic problem is to explain the present. "Rather than a history of modern architecture complete as to names and biographical data, this book is an essay on the spirit of modern building" (Behrent, quoted by Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 12).

2.4.1.1. The History-Writing Methods of Pevsner, Kaufmann and Giedion

Having a German-centred approach, Pevsner, Kaufmann and Giedion emerge in the realm of historiography of the modern architecture as important historians. They produced their texts in the period when the process of modernity continued and going on the discussions in the field of practice and theory of architecture were going on. Thus, not only in that period, but also after it, they have continued their impact on modern architecture. Kaufmann's "Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier: Ursprung und Entwicklung der Autonomen Architektur," which was written in 1933, Pevsner's "Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius," which was written in 1936, and Giedion's "Space, Time and Architecture," which was written in 1941 are the crucial texts about modern architecture.

In the context of constructing the modern movement and constituting its different genealogies, they have similar methods. Although they have constituted different discourses, the fact that they have the same origin (art historian) is the basic factor to this resemblance. For that reason, "the spirit of the age (*Zeitgeist*), morphological analysis, a rising scale of historical periods, and the precedence of the universal over the individual" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 22) form the basis of their discourses. They represent "what the architectural expression of their age actually is and what it ought to be" as a problem that has to be answered. In order to solve this problem, displaying the past as a negative field, they constitute the present as based on this negative field. By following an operative method to face the past, they intend not only to establish the historical foundations of the modern movement, but also to legitimise modern architecture. In parallelism with their similar historiographic methods, they also share two points. These are "a wholesale rejection of eclecticism and a minimalizing of the role of function" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 47).

The texts contain potential architectural projects which some architect might one day construct. In this context, Pevsner's and Giedion's texts can be seen as guides for architects. On the other hand, Kaufmann's book functions as a manifesto rather as a guide because he establishes the foundations of the modern movement without actually describing it (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 22,23). In order to function as a guide or as a manifesto, these texts include consistency, legitimacy of the unity, and are necessary to the development of convincing mechanisms which any discourse contains. In fact, critics of these texts have based their critique on these mechanisms of demonstration and persuasion. In this part of the study, these texts that include differences and the historians' history-writing methods will examined.

Pevsner perceives modern architecture in the context of the Spirit of the Age (*Zeitgeist*) in which everything is integrated. This conception of unity emerges on different grounds in Pevsner's discourse. His glance through history, modern architecture, and historiography shows traces of this unity: "For Pevsner, the unity of modern architecture exists, is substantial, and of necessity is closely bound up with time and the community. The architect's duty is to express his own age and to pave the way for progress in his pioneering architecture; if he does anything else, he is being reactionary" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 35). Therefore, honest and simple forms of the modern movement are

unavoidable results of social, economical, and political developments which are the initiator of architecture. In this context technology, function and aesthetics coexist in architecture.

Pevsner's explanation of modern architecture as the natural result of progress is an intimation of Pevsner's view of history that includes continuity and unity. "Historical process is a process of articulation within the integration of all the parts into a spiritual unity; this is an evolutionary process within the integration of all the phase is always purported to be superior to the last" (Korkmaz, 1998, p. 29). Although his history-writing method appears as optimistic, at the same time it includes mechanisms of exclusion and getting rid of differences. He has a conception of history legitimisation current architecture. In this context, Pevsner constitutes history geared to the pragmatically: "The text is constructed in a linear progression from past to present, it is construed within the present, tracing back the clues of the present problematic" (Korkmaz, 1998, p. 28).

Rejection of subjectivity can be seen in Pevsner's discourse Giedion's and Kaufmann's discourses. Excluding subjective values because of damaging the whole unity of the *Zeitgeist*, this conception is based on the notion of a style, which expresses unity. "Since the Zeitgeist presents itself as a totality, its manifestation cannot be thought as the sum of the work of individuals, but as the style of the collective work: the new style, the genuine, and legitimate style of our century" (Korkmaz, 1998, p. 31). However, Pevsner focuses subjectivity in some cases. Seeing that painting as having effective role in the development process of architecture, Pevsner concentrates on impressionism, Rousseau, and expressionism. It is especially interesting to his concern of impressionism that focuses on subjectivity and has a tendency of emotion which damages the equilibrium of thinking and feeling. At the same time, in the context of modern architecture, he focuses on the architecture of Walter Gropius. Thus diminishing of the modern architecture to one architect's work, he is in contradiction with his own belief.

Kaufman also follows a similar method to Pevsner's historiography. Although they focus on different architects in the context of both past and present and develop different genealogies, they have similar methods. Kaufmann is a follower of the

Viennese school of traditional art history tradition. He studied with Max Dvorak, Joseph Strzygowski and Hans Semper. "But it was the work of Riegl and Wickhoff which made him an adherent of the so-called formalist school of art history" (Teyssot, 1981, p. 25). His method of formalist interpretation, the notion of autonomous architecture, and the fundamentals of his architecture that are related to *Zeitgeist* are based on this art-historical tradition.

"He mapped the regularity matrix of architectural production and reception in modern period more thoroughly and precisely than anyone had before; he scrutinized its internal contradictions, confused mixtures, and problematic transumption of the past into the system of modern production; and he struggled for an ethical relationship between self and other within it" (Mertins, 1997, p. 230). Kaufmann who has the notion of programmatic modernity elaborates a system. The system is primary, but the forms are secondary. Since, according to him, "what determines architecture is not so much the forms as the way they are assembled, each epoch constructs its own relationship between the forms and the system" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 38).

In Kaufmann's discourse, the past that is also handled as operative is used to legitimise the current architecture. Focusing on Ledoux's and Boulee's work, he reads them in the framework of individualism, revolution, and republicanism, and "he identified a new architectonic system of self-determined, cognitively transparent elements assembled like a toy into geometrically regulated freestanding buildings in which the relationship between parts would similarly be free and immediately legible" (Mertins, 1997, p. 221). He expounds Ledoux's and Boulee's work in order to legitimise current architecture operatively: "The projects of the circle around Ledoux and Boulee have an astonishing similarity to the architecture of today (1929)" (Kaufmann, quoted by Teyssot, 1981, p. 25).

Tournikiotis develops a different point of view about this operative conception. This conception which can be seen in other historians' discourses, reads Morris's or Ledoux's work in parallelism with Le Corbusier's or Gropius's work: "Morris and Ledoux were in some sense a reconstruction of Gropius and Le Corbusier" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 224). In this context, "the beginning is a reconstruction of the end". Because, "the genealogies of modern architecture always start in the present and

turn back to the past until they reach the source of the present state of affairs, from which the narrative ultimately begins" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 224).

Kaufmann starts with Kant's "architecture in itself" (Mertins, 1997, p. 221), and he justifies an autonomous architecture. "At the time when Kant rejects all the moral philosophies of the past and decrees the autonomy of the will as the supreme principle of ethics, an analogous transformation takes place in architecture. In the sketches of Ledoux these new objectives appear for the first time in all their clarity. His work marks the birth of autonomous architecture" (Kaufmann, quoted by Teyssot, 1981, p. 28). On the other hand, in Kaufmann's discourse this autonomy becomes a new structure which includes some flexibility rather than limits: "Despite his apparent codification of autonomous forms, elements, and types, Kaufmann was concerned that autonomy not collapse into mechanism, and that instead it transform technique and labour into the free play of aesthetic judgment" (Mertins, 1997, p. 222).

Running into four editions and translated into eight languages, Giedion's book, *Space, Time and Architecture* is a product that has determined agenda of modern architecture for a long period. In the context of serving architects as a guide and being a seminal text for students of architecture, it is still an important book: "Sigfried Giedion is the latest representative of the Swiss historical school which was, from it's beginning, in opposition to the romantic historiography stimulated by the teachings of Hegel" (Rykwert, 1986, p. 88). Giedion who produced a conception of historiography under the influence of Wölfflin also affected Dorner. Dorner's innovative ideas may be seen in Giedion's discourse in terms of importance of time concept in perception of space, and the relationships between architecture and other disciplines:

> It is also clear that Dorner's theory of modern space as set out his writings of the late 1920s and early 1930s bears comparison to Giedion's central thesis in Space, Time and Architecture (1941), written in the mid-1930s. In the section of Giedion's book, entitled 'The New Space Conception: Space-Time', the resemblances to Dorner's argument are more than coincidental (Ockman, 1997, p. 90).

Giedion's aim was to solve problems of the modern period, and to create a whole project about society that included architecture. In this context, he explains current problems about architecture and turns his attention the past in order to find the

fundamentals of the present. "twentieth century is a spiritually fractured era; shattered to pieces as the result of the modern split between thought and emotion" (Frampton, 1981, p. 46). This split between thought and emotion is reason for many problems, and they have to be reintegrated. "The secret synthesis of the present state of the culture" (Korkmaz, 1998, p. 50) is focused by Giedion and he finds the conditions of this synthesis in the *Zeitgeist* which every realm of knowledge has to be related with: "He had been working for the past several years on a history of the development of the modern era in terms of the various fields of knowledge and the relationship between life, architecture, and art, hoping to make a contribution to the self-consciousness of the age" (Mertins, 1997, p. 214). Thus he describes modern architecture as consistent and appropriate to the *Zeitgeist*: "Modern architecture was right when it declared that it was not a style" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 47).

Hallmark of Giedion is his role as historian. His conception of history can be summed up in three positions:"History is not static: it is dynamic, the historian is imbued with the spirit of his age, and the historian's objectivity is nonexistent" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 45). His discourse, in which can be seen historian's power and power demand, is effective in terms of convincing mechanisms. In this text Giedion presents his thought as an absoluteness, so from its beginning, and obstructs discussions about it: "The text intends to be more than a catalogue of the past events becoming an active agent in the crystallization of a theory of architectural practice as a clarifying, controlling, hence form-giving authority: this is the legitimising power of history" (Korkmaz, 1998, p. 50).

2.4.2. The Historiography of Modern Architecture after 1950

The 1950s is the period when modern architecture was constructed again as different from the art-history based construction. These developments constituted a ground for the 1960s, which was the breaking point of the historiography of the modern architecture. Among them especially Zevi, Benevolo, and Hitchcock constitute this ground, and Banham, Collins, and Tafuri form their discourses after these developments. The 1930s, see the positive foundations of a historical discourse about the architecture of the modern movement. This prepares the openly critical and negative method of the 1960s. In this period, history is presented as a milieu of theoretical thought, thus it includes the critical approach not only through the past, but also through

the present. What the 'logic of identity' starts to interrogate is the hallmark of this period. Consequently, early historians of the modern architecture who constituted the logic of identity are discussed. "Banham, Collins, and Tafuri, who during the sixties dismantled the meaning of the modern movement, introduced new terms, and new directions, causing the heritage of the modern movement to explode, and ultimately, opening up new horizons" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 231).

Bruno Zevi's *Storia dell'architettura moderna* of 1950 is an important text in the context of the historical, critical and theoretical methods "a work which, on account of its breadth of information, its insistence on updated historiographic material, and its decisive polemic against the lingering establishment of positivist art history, had surely surpassed all previous literature on the subject" (Seta, 1981, p. 41). He has a method that read the past again from a different point of view, and interrogated the relations between architectural practice and architectural history. It is a modern view that he perceives as contemporary: "He sees history through contemporary eyes, seeking in the past for elements of inspiration and confirmation for the architecture of our time" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 60).

In this context; Zevi who works with the notion of operative history, supports the thesis that earlier eras should be interpreted in a modern way. This point of view includes also the criticism of early modern history-writing methods, because although he follows an operative method, he focuses on a modern history of architecture rather than on the history of modern architecture:

> The modern language emerged and matured out of a simultaneously creative and critical commitment which, on the one hand, stands for the right to speak architecture in a way that differs from the classical and, on the other, explores history in the search for new roots in the past. We write architecture in a different language because we read it in a heterodox framework of mind. The impulse to write coincides with that of rereading the ancient texts and thus avoiding false interpretations (Zevi, 1978, p.91).

Although Leonardo Benevolo's text *Storia dell'architettura moderna*, is not his first book about modern architecture, it launched him as an historian of international calibre. It was written in order to confirm the cohesion and unity of the modern movement. In this text, modern movement is presented as a revolutionary experience and the

Industrial Revolution is described as a rift in the continuity of history. This rupture between two planes which Benevolo describes as opposite planes is posed as a preparing ground for the modern movement and as a reality that separates it from its own past. Although on each of the planes, events take place in a continuous flow, transition from one plane to the other is a true instance of discontinuity. This polemical structure emerges as a narrative of failure and narrative of success (Tournikiotis, 1999).

It can be seen in Benevolo's discourse which works with the concept of operative historiography, that he looks through the past in order to solve the problems of the present. Thus he follows the pragmatic method to vindicate the modern architecture. Hallmark of his method is his conception of history: "The starting point can be chosen at will, but the finishing point is the present moment which is important because it is the context we must operate in" (Benevolo, quoted by Seta, p. 42). Benevolo elaborates on the past in order to show references to the current architecture, because he thinks that the history of the modern movement is located in the present. "The past he invokes is not there to interpret the present; in fact, the present is enlisted to interpret the past" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 92).

Under the influence of Weber, Benevolo's discourse separates itself from other historians' discourses. The most important point is his sceptical approach to idealism. "He has shed away all idealism and with the belief in the self-sufficiency of art; at the same time he has distrusted all positivist thought and with it the deadening effects of determinism" (Seta, 1981, p. 42). This text is important because it produces a different point of view about idealism. "In direct contrast to his predecessors, Benevolo's history is not a sequence of the biographies of the masters of the modern movement: his history is one which consciously burns the bridges to all modes of neo-idealism. This is the philosophical foundation of his historiography" (Seta, 1981, p. 41).

Henry-Russel Hitchcock is one of the important historians who affected the foundations of modern architecture. Differing from other historians, he occupies two different positions, one at the start of the modern movement and one at the end. These are *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (1929) and *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922* (1932) which were written before Pevsner and Giedion, and *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (1958). He is distinguished from

other historians not only his different location, but also in the context of his discourse: "He strove to explain the facts without expressing polemical positions and to draw conclusions about the genesis and nature of the new architecture through direct field information and his personal classification of the object of the study" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 114).

Not having a polemical position is a conception that supports his objective position in conceptual structure. In contrast to other historians, he does not define the present in terms of its opposition to the past. For him, "the present is simply the most recent implemented point along the continuum of history" (Hitchcock, quoted by Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 127). The developing process of history does not comprise the concept of a continuous rise from lower levels to higher ones. Hitchcock, who opposed the developing history, is against the understanding of style whose beginning and end are strictly determined. "Units of styles are superimposed upon one another" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 128).

The social and cultural background of architecture is not come across in the discourse of Hitchcock. Reading architecture in its epistemology, he advocates the modern architecture that is founded on architects. He presents architects' work as reflecting the *Zeitgeist* and brings up the evolution of styles that are only realized in the concrete circumstances of their work. Consequently, he sets out from their work: "Architects are the true protagonists of this history of architecture" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 125). Fundamentally distinguished from other historians in terms of the concept of time, conception of history and architecture, Hitchcock is an important historian in the historiography of modern architecture. He constituted the ground for studies about historiography in the future because of his different approach.

The year 1960 can be seen as a threshold of the questioning of the modern movement when the content and influence of Banham's *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* is examined. In the dual capacity of historian and critic of contemporary architecture and in the context of pop culture, Banham settles in a different location. His book *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age,* which is a "denunciation of the myths on which the history of the modern movement was based from 1930 to 1960," is also a referent of dismantling the meaning of the modern movement. A new

interpretation of the relationship between the modern movement and its past, this work serves as a kind of guide for the future, in spite of the absence of a definition or a morphological description of the positive object (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 145-165).

"The discourse that Banham articulates tells the truth and it is embroidered on a fabric of an operative nature. Its structure is polemical and based on a dichotomy in the cognitive discourse in which we see first a narrative of failure and then a narrative of success" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 51). What distinguishes Banham's discourse from the others' is the handling of two different planes. Although the narrative of failure has a symbolic position as a starting point in order to provide explanation of the existence of narrative of success in the discourses of the 1930s, in Banham's discourse, the narrative of failure constituted the core of the book and the narrative of success occupied symbolic position: "His generalizations have indeed been effective in their aim of sweeping the here-and-now into a comprehensible story, a story often admonitory, often controversial even, but issuing from his sensibility as a critic rather than from the rectitude of a historical methodology" (Maxwell, 1981, p. 55).

Banham's concept of history developed under the influence of his teacher Pevsner and the fundamental concepts of German art history. "Banham sees the presence of a spirit of the age in every period, one that ought to be expressed in all the creations and activities of that period" (Maxwell, 1981, p.56). Banham's key concept is the machine age in his history of modern architecture which was examined on the plane of the narrative of success. "His hope that architecture would consistently evolve closer to engineering technology and away from formal games is not invalidated by the fact that it seems to be reverting to formal games and anti-technological attitudes" (Maxwell, 1981, p. 56).

In the beginning of the 1950s, suspicions about the history of modern architecture, founded at the beginning of the century, started to increase. On the other hand, the 1960s emerged as the threshold of historiography of the modern architecture, and especially with Banham's text, the open questioning started. Subsequent generations of the history of modern architecture have developed new conditions and directions by the help of these critiques. Consequently the dismantling the concept and unity of modern architecture were concretely.

One of these is the book of Peter Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture 1750-1950,* which was published in 1965. Writing a negative criticism of the modern movement, Collins constructs his discourse with the aim of reintroducing the theory of building into architectural practice. He is interested in the reintegration of history and theory on the plane of architectural practice. In this context, Collins studied on architects' and architectural historians' texts. He criticizes negatively studies of the history of architecture and the architecture that focuses on forms. He handles Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius and architects of the International Style as form-givers who distorted the fundamental principles of architecture. In tandem with them, he criticizes Giedion and Pevsner "for founding the genealogy of this architecture on the evolution of forms and thus establishing a rift between modern architecture and the historical styles of the nineteenth century" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 169). For that reason the book does not record, classify, or even describe the buildings of modern architecture.

Focusing on the concept of experience, Collins asserts that architectural events should not be reduced to the level of mere physical phenomena. He is interested in changes about ideals, so he criticizes negatively form-based readings. For the same reason, he also objects to reading architecture in view of art. According to him, architecture is not one of the branches of art. Consequently, his criticism about early historians of the modern architecture is founded on this conception of architecture. "The reuse of forms from previous periods, he argues, is not necessarily contrary to the principles of modern architecture. This divorce of forms from principles was to become the theoretical support for the critique of the modern movement during the sixties and for the development of subsequent architectural tendencies" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 176).

Among historians, Manfredo Tafuri is one who considers the critique of architecture important. Historical activity becomes criticism of architectural ideologies in his discourse:

> This was because I was pursuing two distinct aims. The first was to use the discipline as a means of testing its tools; the second followed on from the discovery that the discipline itself was rotten to the core. It wasn't so much that we were in crisis, but that all history had to be reassessed from the bottom up, in order

to discover its theoretical foundations (Tafuri, quoted by Tournikiotis, 1999, p.195).

Llorens interprets Tafuri's book *Teorie e storia dell'architettura* published in 1968, as follows: "In my opinion this book should be approached as a palimpsest, a document where the successive and often contradictory discourses of a crisis are superimposed, rather than fused. It also coincides with the end of a cycle of modernism as well as with the victory of the neo-avant-garde attitudes in every field of the arts as well as in architecture" (Llorens, 1981, p. 85).

According to Tafuri, the architect/critic is an intellectual who does not propose solutions and in this context "there are no solutions to history." However, the architect/critic as a member of the avant-garde who will struggle for liberated society becomes important for Tafuri. Thus "Tafuri's architecture is in effect incorporeal; the aspect of building has been completely erased from it" (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 199). Seeing the architect/critic from this point of view, Tafuri is frequently negative, rarely positive, and very often ambivalent. Tafuri who has a polemic and operative history-writing method handles history as a broken line rather than free and continuous line.

Being a theoretical guide, this text proposes an interpretation of the emergence of the modern movement:

> In fact he is not talking about the fifteenth or the eighteenth century at all, but about the twentieth. His references to the past and his comments on the significance of history of Brunelleschi, Borromini, or Piranesi function primarily as arguments to prove his own position about the present. The avant-gardes of the twentieth century, enveloped in a unique aura, are the axis around which his researches and his positive affirmations resolve (Tournikiotis, 1999, p. 201).

It can be described as operative, and it is the basis of Tafuri's discourse. He turns to the past in order to lay the foundations of his position with regard to the present. "Operative criticism plans past history by projecting it towards the future. Its verifiability does not require abstractions of principle, it measures itself, each time, against the results obtained, while its theoretical horizon is the pragmatist and instrumentalist tradition" (Tafuri, 1976, p. 141). Tafuri's operative criticism, which emerges as the radical clarification of the past, is a demystification of the past without proposing new myths.

Chapter 3

THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION PERIOD IN TURKEY AND ITS REFLECTIONS IN ARCHITECTURE

3.1. Concepts of Modern, Modernization and Modernity

In order to understand the modernity and modernization we should first draw the frame of what the modern is. Etymologically speaking, there are three basic levels of meaning of the word 'modern'. These are the current, the new, and the transient (Heynen, 1998, p. 8):

> In the first and oldest sense it means present, or current, implying as its opposite the notion of earlier, of what is past. The term modern was employed in this sense as long ago as the Middle Ages. A second meaning of the word is the new, as opposed to the old. Here the term modern is used to describe a present time that is experienced as a period, and which possesses certain specific features that distinguish it from previous periods. It was this sense of the term that began to prevail in the seventeenth century. The notion of modern then acquired the connotation of what is momentary, of the transient, which its opposite notion no longer being a clearly defined past but rather an indeterminate eternity (Heynen, 1998,p.8).

All three of these levels of meaning of the modern can be seen in the concept of modernity. This implies that there are different approaches to modernity and the modernization processes, which exist at the same time. Modernity as an intellectual concept has included some concepts and the differentiation among these has caused different approaches to modernity to emerge. These are "the view of time," "being a break with tradition," and "critical reason" (Heynen, 1998,p. 9).

According to Octavio Paz, "modernity is an exclusively Western concept that has no equivalent in other civilizations" (Heynen, 1998,p. 9). One of the reasons of the difference is "the view of time that is peculiar to the West, by which time is regarded as being linear, irreversible, and progressive" (Heynen, 1998,p. 9). Other civilizations base time on a static concept or a cyclical one. At the same time, "modernity is what gives the present the specific quality that makes it different from the past and points the

way toward the future" (Heynen, 1998,p. 9). It means that the concept of modernity time has also included an 'operative' view towards history.

Critical reason is the most important feature of modernity. This point of view has distinguished the process of the modernity in the West and other civilizations. Lack of critical reason is one of the most important reasons that have brought about the dialectic of the centre and the periphery:

> Critical reason accentuates temporality. Nothing is permanent; reason becomes identified with change and otherness. We are ruled not by identity, with its enormous and monotonous tautologies, but by otherness and contradiction, the dizzying manifestations of criticism. In the past the goal of criticism was truth; in the modern age truth is criticism. Not an eternal truth but the truth of change (Heynen, 1998,p. 9).

Modernity, which had been an intellectual concept until the nineteenth century gained ground in the economic and political fields. Modernity was born in the West. Thus the theory and the practice are inseparable and they are supported by each other. This is another reason of the differences of the West and other civilizations.

The distinction between modern and its derivations (modernity, modernization, modernism) should be drawn after when modernity took place through the daily life ontologically. Although it has a crucial role in theoretical discourse, it is also important to determine what the modern object is. "The term modernization is used to describe the process of social development, the main features of which are technological advances and industrialization, urbanization and population explosions, the rise of bureaucracy and increasingly powerful national states, an enormous expansion of mass communication systems, democratisation, and an expanding world market" (Heynen, 1998,p.10). This study will focus particularly on the emergent powerful national states in order to analyse the process of modernization in Turkey.

Bermann cites "the unity of divisions" (Bermann, 2000, p. 32) to explain modernity and powerful national states are the most important feature of the divisions. "Modern milieus and experiences go beyond the boundaries of geographical and ethnic, social class and nationality, religious and ideological. In this context, it can be said that

modernity unites humanity. However, it is paradoxical unity, the unity of divisions" (Bermann, 2000, p. 34).

This division "based on not only on the belief that humanity can naturally be divided into nations, but also on the fact that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government" (Ergut, 1998, p. 22). Although it seems racial at first glance, it is relevant to power. By the help of power, the European experience of nationalism as a modern phenomenon provided a model for its diffusion throughout the world (Ergut, 1998, p.22). The model, which has been imposed on other civilizations by the West has become the "reification of nations"(Brubaker,quoted by Ergut,1998, p. 22).In the modernisation period of Turkey, which started in the sixteenth century application of the model, can be observed.

> Modernity refers to the typical features of modern times and to the way that these features are experienced by the individual: modernity stands for the attitude toward life that is associated with a continuous process of evolution and transformation, with an orientation toward a future that will be different from the past and from the present. The experience of modernity provokes responses in the form of cultural tendencies and artistic movements. Some of these that proclaim themselves as being in sympathy with the orientation toward the future and the desire for progress are specifically given the name modernism (Heynen, 1999, p.11).

Heynen distinguishes among different concepts of modernity. In her view, a first distinction can be made between the programmatic and transitory concepts of modernity. The second one can be made between pastoral and counterpastoral views. The programmatic view stresses the first level of meaning implied in the modern: the new. It views modernity as a project of progress and emancipation. According to Habermas this aspect of modernity includes two different domains. One of them is "irreversible emergence of autonomy," and the latter is seeing modernity as a project. The former accentuates the "inner logic" of the domains; however the second one implies the relationship between these autonomous domains. Their potential use for the "rational organization of everyday social life" is the hallmark of the second one (Heynen, 1999, p. 11). On the other hand, the transitory concept views modernity from the perspective of the transient and momentary. "The desire for innovation and the rebellion against the pressure of tradition are part of the generally accepted ingredients of the modern" (Heynen, 1999, p. 13).

A second distinction, which is formed by the pastoral and counterpastoral concepts, seems to be based on constructiveness and destructiveness. Although,

> a pastoral view denies the contradictions, dissonances, and tensions that are specific to the modern and sees modernity as a concerted struggle for progress, uniting workers, industrialists, and artists around a common goal, a counterpastoral view regards modernity as characterised by irreconcilable fissures and insoluble contradictions, by divisions and fragmentation, by the collapse of an integrated experience of life, and by the irreversible emergence of autonomy in various domains that are incapable of regaining their common foundation (Heynen, 1999, p. 14).

What makes modernity so ambiguous is the relationship among all these divergent aspects, programmatic and transitory, pastoral and counterpastoral. Throughout the history of modern architecture, some of these have been viewed at the same time, especially in avant-garde work. Negative and positive aspects of avant-garde movements which accelerated with modernity and spread it, provide the explanation of their importance in modern history-writing. The hallmark of avant-garde movements is the logic of negation. "All norms, forms, and conventions have to be broken; everything that is stable must be rejected, every value negated" (Heynen, 1999, p. 27). In the context of negation, not only is the transitory concept of modernity emphasized, but also a second meaning of the word, new as opposed to the old, stressed. Although the transitory concept of modernity was important for the avant-garde, at the same time, according to Peter Bürger, "the intense energies of the avant-garde did have a programmatic intention." The negative logic of the avant-garde has in his view clearly defined aim: to put an end to art as something separate from everyday life, as an autonomous domain that has no real impact on the social system (Heynen, 1999, p. 28).

"The issues and themes around which the modern movement in architecture crystallized are related to the avant-garde logic of destruction and construction" (Heynen,1999, p. 28). The history of the Modern Architecture has been a story of this avant-garde logic of destruction and construction. Generally, the conflict among avant-gardes has been emphasized but others have not been mentioned. Although the avant-garde has appeared in the field of history writing, the West has viewed traces of the other's field as popular culture. As long as popular culture has constituted the sub-text of the avant-garde, it comes possible. However, popular culture has not coincided with avant-garde in the

field of history writing in Turkey. Thus, the policy of otherness was more determined, and it appeared as a dangerous field.

Nevertheless, in the field of history writing, "it would be a conceptual misunderstanding to identify the modern movement as the architectural avant-garde of the twenties and thirties," because "the architectural vanguard did not become as uncompromising and as radical as its counterparts in art and literature"(Heynen, 1999, p. 28-29). "The avant-garde aspirations from the beginnings," writes Heynen "which were influenced by a transitory concept of modernity, became reforged into a fairly univocal program in which the need for a permanent redefinition of one's own aims no longer played a crucial role. A symptomatic manifestation of this evolution can be detected in the work of Sigfried Giedion" (Heynen, 1999, p. 29). Giedion has played crucial role in the historiography of the Modern Architecture; because his book *Space, Time, and Architecture* was accepted as canonical. Published first in 1941, the book was revised and became current several times until 1967. Giedion's linear view of history and the programmatic and pastoral concept of modernity can be observed clearly in architectural history writing in Turkey.

3.2. The Process of Modernisation in Early Republican Period

When the modernisation processes of Western Societies and Turkey (starting with the Ottoman Empire period) are examined, basic distinctions in different planes may be discerned. In Turkey, at the beginning, pioneers of modernisation perceived the course of modernisation as a process which "one of two societies headed in the same direction, had experienced before" (Kılıçbay, p. 147); whereas nowadays it is conceptualised as in the following words of Edward Said: "Hybridity and complexity of Eastern societies, which have peculiar features of modernity and do not have to pursue the industrialised Western Style" (Said, 2000, p. 73). As a result of the latter approach, it is obvious that especially in Eastern societies the modernisation processes needs to be examined under different circumstances.

Modernisation has been used synonymously with Europeanisation, Americanisation and especially Westernisation in Turkish modernisation process as well as in other societies which are not Western (Meriç, p. 234). Moreover, modernisation and westernisation

were called, as *muasırlaşmak, garplılaşmak, asrileşmek* and *çağdaşlaşmak* (Kılıçbay, p.147) in the transformation process of intellectuals and in Turkish. Tanyeli explains the synonymity between modernisation and westernisation by the idea that, "conceptual tools which will separate them could not be improved due to several historical reasons" (Tanyeli, 1998, p. 247). However, avoiding this synonym constitutes the base of the idea of "remaining itself, modernizing" (Tanyeli, 1998, p. 247), which is at the same time the process desired by Eastern Societies. This idea is based on the fact that modernity does not have to be only of Western origin; on the contrary, every society can constitute its own modernity. Achieving this goal means the internalisation of modernity. "Social practices and the discourse related to it" (Tanyeli, 1998, p. 247) provide Western Societies the ability to reach this point on their own, consciously.

The internalisation of modernity in the West and making it a conscious process are related to "isochronicity between concept and practice" (Timur, p.139). The relation between concept and practice follows a different process in Eastern Societies. For instance, taking Tanzimat Period's conception of history into consideration, it is observable that the religious conception of history, which had been dominant until then, was replaced with dynastic history. The initial purpose of this historical conception was to unify various nations around the Ottoman Dynasty without discrimination of race and denomination and thereby, securing Ottoman Empire's wholeness, and thus preventing it from collapse (Arıkan, 1589). Briefly, the conception of history of the Republic Period (the Turkish Language Association, and the Turkish Historical Association) has a pragmatic structure. In this context, the discipline has a dependent structure that prevented it from moving to its own internal rules. As may be realized from this example, the ideology of centric power, which was represented by the top of the empire, nationalist elite and military bureaucrats, formed the main axis of modernisation and spread it to the whole of social practices.

The ideology of centric power in the Turkish modernisation process, as mentioned before, began with "a pragmatic approach" (Ortaylı, p.134), (the process that constituted the basis of the Turkish modernisation, starting with the Tulip Era in the Ottoman Period and later on continued until Selim III, Mahmut II, the Tanzimat Movement, the Reform Decree, the First Parliamentary Monarchy, and the Second Parliamentary Monarchy), and afterwards carried on its pragmatic structure under the ouspices of the

nation-state. These pragmatic practices in fact indicate the "continuity between Ottoman modernizers and the founders of the Turkish state" (Keyder, 1997, p. 39). Bilgin states that the interruption of this continuity occurred after 1950 (Bilgin, 1998, p. 257). From this standpoint, the last periods of the Ottoman Empire and the first years of Republic coalesce even more closely.

In respect of concrete indicators, Bozdoğan explains this continuity in the following fashion:

> The transformation of upper-class domestic culture and family life along European models predated the Westernizing reforms of the Kemalist republic by at least half a century. European (and more specifically French) culture, table manners, tastes, and bourgeois decorum had penetrated the houses of Istanbul's commercial and bureaucratic elite from the Tanzimat reforms of 1839 onward (Bozdoğan, 2001, p.193).

From this point of view, modern and eastern life styles mixed with one another in the traditional furniture of Turkish houses: "Modernized–that is, Westernized– lifestyles and small nuclear families did not appear suddenly with the republican reforms; the reforms merely coincided with societal changes already under way in Turkey" (Behar and Duben, quoted by Bozdoğan, 2001, p. 195).

The nation-state ideology, which occurred simultaneously with modernisation, shores up the imposition from-above logic of centric power. "It is the nation-state that can most effectively provide an apparatus to put the process of nationalism into action" (Ergut, 1998, p.16). However, according to Anderson's expression, nationalism is "the pathology of modern development history" (Anderson, 1995, p.19). The process which nationalism has followed is parallel to modernity as well. That is to say: as it was the same in modernity, these cultural products, which were created around the end of eighteenth century (nationalism, nationality, nation), emerged as "the product of a self-distillation process occurring at the intersection point of different historical powers" (Anderson, 1995, p. 18). As to Said's expression, "nationalism originated in Europe as a modern phenomenon, and that European experience provided a model for its diffusion throughout the world, may lead to an understanding of a confused and limiting notion of priority allows that only the original proponents of an idea can understand and use it" (Ergut, 1998, p. 29).

The idea of the expansion of nationalism in the societies outside of Europe as a model, compels the societies, which spontaneously do not display a progress in this way, to follow an authoritarian process of imposed modernisation in modernity as well. That is, according to Chattrjee's expression, the postcolonial world consists of "perpetual consumers of modernity" (Ergut, 1998, p. 29). Although a resistance has emerged against this process in Eastern Societies, "nationalist elites feel the necessity of embracing the modern if their society is to survive in the new world" (Chatterjee, quoted by Keyder, 1997, p. 42). Nevertheless, while realising this, it should also establish a basis on which new formation could meet the public. This nationalist elite society pragmatically constitutes the said basis by translating "transcendent logic of the modern" (Keyder, 1997, p. 43) into a comprehensible language in order to legitimise itself.

In fact, this situation reveals the truth that "the crucial difference between modernization-from-above and modernization as a self-generating societal process is that the modernizers wield power and are agents with their own interests" (Keyder, 1997, p. 39). At this point, the crucial problem is this potential conflict between the full unfolding of modernity and the circumscribed version that the modernizers would like to see realized what defines the principle problem implicit in the formula "modernization-from-above" (Keyder, 1997, p. 39). The limitation idea mentioned before was pragmatically and operatively formed within a framework of the concept of choice, ignoring and otherness. The basis of the legitimisation of this phenomenon was exposed in a way so as to constitute a national identity. The interesting point in the period of the Turkish Modernisation is that although Turkey has never been included in the West, the desired national identity structure is a Western-based international one (Ergut, 1998, p. 44).

The Foundation of the Turkish Historical Association, founded in 1931, and The Turkish Language Association, founded in 1932, are important advances for constituting the basis of national ideology and ensuring its permanence by carrying it to future generations. Consequently, "nationalism, seeking to abolish the distinction between state and society, strives not only to achieve national unification, but also to maintain it" (Ergut, 1998, p. 37). Studies performed by these two associations one observed to have examined the Turkish language and Turkish history down to their

origins while ignoring all the people except Ottoman and Turkish ones. The idea of examining these origins results from an operative approach, which aims to legitimate the apprehension of the West or the idea of being like the West and which tries to find similarities with the West. "Accepting the roots as identical, it became easier to turn towards and take elements from the West" (Ergut, 1998, p. 49). In this context, architectural history writing also trails a pragmatic approach which exclude othernesses Ottoman Architecture. Especially by ignoring Greek and Armenian Architecture existing inside the Ottoman borders, it displays a style which centric power has defined and desired.

These associations, which form one part of "the perpetuation of a tendency to conceptualise social change as promoted by projects" (Mardin, 1997, p. 65), could not have an effect on removing the rupture between the nationalist elite and society. As to Mardin's expression, "the Western, foreign source of republican reforms –that is, imitation– impeded deeper cultural moorings for the new methodology, a foundation that, in the past, had been provided by Islam as ideation" (Mardin, 1997, p. 65). Parallel to this idea Smith states that, "to create a modern nation, a unit of population requires not merely a territory, economy, education, system and legal code to itself, but also needs an ethnic foundation in order to mobilise and integrate often diverse cultural and social elements" (Ergut, 1998, p. 35).

Negligence of the macrostructures constituting "noninstitutional links as discourse between state and the common folk" (Mardin, 1997, p. 72), between state and society or withdrawal of these structures, classified as individual works, from the life of the society and non-replacement of something else instead of them constitute the most important problems of the Turkish Modernisation. This includes religion, ethnicity, origin, different identity structures and the like). However, when the theory of Western Society is examined more closely, it can be easily noticed that links between the macrostructure and the microstructure have been significantly contemplated. Besides, the modernising elite in Turkey has appropriated "the latest twists in Western social analysis" (Mardin, 1997, p. 66) and has neglected the idea situated under it, the handling of 'society as a whole'.

Towards such an attitude, it could be discerned that society has participated in Turkish modernisation in a manner of "silent partners" (Keyder, 1997, p. 43); in other words, as "passive recipients" (Keyder, 1997, p. 43). The rapid change of social life, deportation and exchange of Greek, Armenian and Christian peoples who had lived side by side with Turkish people for centuries, created an apparent unease in society. The reaction of society to this event seems to have been withdrawal into itself. However, it is known that the situation of being "ironic, contradictory, choral and dialectic" (Berman, 2000, p. 38), which are the proper characteristics and structure of modernisation, emerges only in those planes where effective contradictions exist. Modernisation was carried out by the people who had "the power to change the world altering them, the power to find their way in the whirlpool and the power to look after it" (Berman, 2000, p. 29). In addition, modernisation has continuously remained standing along with the existence of "social mass movements resisting this modernisation from above with the help of their own modernisation from below styles" (Berman, 2000, p. 32).

Although Jansen has stated that, "the castle and the mosaic-like, wooden frame, filled up wall Turkish houses around the castle must always remain as the pupil of capital," the stance which claims that, "in new city planning style it is necessary to separate the establishment of new city parts from old city spread completely. Moreover, a glass panel should cover old city theoretically," exposes the characteristic of modern Ankara's official story silencing the other stories (Nalbantoğlu, 1997, p. 195). Towards such an attitude, withdrawal of society in order to live its own modernity could be viewed indeed as a normal reaction.

Nationalism, which tried to get rid of the distance between society and state in Turkish Modernisation, could not be a solution for it and the gap between them increased more and more. In this sense, the fact emerges that different modernities have been experienced in the same geography. Tanyeli claims that the Turkish Modernisation could be perceived as a social process starting nearly already in the eighteenth century and developing on its own accord. He also says that there is a tense relation between modernisation perceived or defined by elites and "real modernisation" becoming real in a given society. Furthermore, he adds that this relation is on the way to denying each other. In this context, he defines the modernising elite as a group that says, "let us modernise the one who is already modernising" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 49).

In tandem, it can be said that both of the last two phases of the classification, which Berman has executed by dividing the history of modernity into three phases, exists in Turkey. Berman describes the first one as follows: "It starts in the 1790's. A modern public appears. In this revolutionary time, this public awakens the feeling of living in an era, which brings about some explosions and being upside-down situations in all dimensions of personal, social and political life. The modern public space of 19th century reminds people what living in non-modern worlds materially and spiritually looks like. This internal duality brings about and settles down the feeling of living in different two worlds at the same time and the ideas of modernisation and modernism" (Berman, 2000, p. 29). The situation mentioned above is that modernisation form which people living in Turkey have been experiencing for years. These dynamics and contradictions that are accommodated by modernism at the emerging level could be observed at this point. They also assure that modernism is not a stable formation. On the contrary, it is an active formation that continuously renews itself. These are the factors that sustain this process' unto-itselfness and self-containedness.

Meanwhile, in the second period, Berman describes the modernisation that came into being in the course of the twentieth century and this is the stereotyped modernity which Eastern Societies have taken as a model:

> In the twentieth century modernisation process spread out nearly to the whole world and progressing modernist world culture had glamorous achievements in art and thought fields. On the other hand, modern public breaks into lots of parts, which speak so many special languages that could not be counted while widening; modernism idea considered in countless and shattered forms loses too much from its liveliness, tone and deepness; it loses the ability of organizing and giving meaning to its life (Berman, 2000, p. 29).

The nationalist elite neglects the "identity processes, the noninstitutional basis of religion, and personal histories as colorings of social processes" as describing "frothy surface events without substantive content" (Mardin, 1997, p.66). Parallel to Gidden's opinions, Mardin states that the process experienced in the said situation of Turkey, which should have a social dynamic putting forward the processes on the micro level (depending on Islam's social discourse) and where there is a 98 percentage of Muslim, is surprising (Mardin, 1997, p. 66).

Republican ideology refuses to be the "cement of society" (Mardin, 1997, p.70) of Islam, which constitutes a very important part of the macro structure as a discourse. Therefore, it ignores the hidden runners living in the Ottoman societal regime, who take "their force from the many layers of an Islamic cultural funnel" (Mardin, 1997, p. 72). These surreptitious operativities indicate that religion has not functioned only as an institution in Ottoman Society. Mardin relates the conjunctive duty among social groups, spontaneously performed by Islam, to the existence of "a common language shared by upper and lower classes" (Mardin, 1997, p. 71).

The reason is that Islam was responding to problems of existence as well in other sacred literary languages. The continental solidarity of Christianity, Islam community and other religions exists because these literary languages are "the inseparable parts of reality"(Anderson, 1995, p. 51). According to Anderson, these languages were serving the creation of a congregation based on signs, not sounds. In addition, their purpose was to reach "a pure world of signs" (Anderson, 1995, p. 27). These signs are not arbitrary and they are connected to reality. As a result, these sacred literary languages, which are called the "reality language" (Anderson, 1995,p. 29), play vitally important role in social life.

Parallel to the Islamic example, given for the purpose of determining the importance of microstructures in social life, the subject may be expanded with the help of the avant-garde discussion in architecture. The spectrum running from avant-garde to kitsch in the Western artistic atmosphere and the spectrum in the periphery are different from each other. At this point, the most significant difference is the communicational distinction between the avant-garde forming the edge of high culture and the kitsch forming the edge point of popular culture. As to Huyssen's expression, while mass culture is always forming the sub-text of the modernist project (may be called high culture) in the centre, it is impossible to talk about a communication between the two spectrum edges in the periphery (Tanyeli, 2003, p. 51). Other components of the spectrum except high culture, constituting an important part of microstructures, were neglected in the modernisation process of Turkey. Consequently, this negligence has inevitably caused high culture to remain within a very limited domain.

Not only 'the infinite government struggle of avant-garde intentions' in the centre but also the struggle with popular culture could be mentioned. However, generally in the periphery and consequently in Turkey, high culture constitutes two sub-texts instead of dealing with the practices of popular culture. One of them is its own traditional culture believed that it has lost with modernism, the other one is Western culture. In the first periods of Early Republican Era's Turkish architectural history it is seen that there is a mutual deal with Western culture. Afterwards, the concern with a different way is observed in the turning to the traditional. From this point of view, Western architectural history may be called the history of the avant-gardes' power fight. (However, it also involves popular culture inside). On the other hand, history-writing of architecture in Turkey may be called the face-off carried out by the formation of two "empty categories", which never take micro-structures into consideration and which do even not discuss their existence.

The position of being unable to establish the connection between infra-structure and supra-structure that emerge in Eastern Societies, is also discerned in the Turkish modernisation process. Nevertheless, this is an inevitable situation and it is also a process in which the realization of all the required facets' ratification could not be expected in such a short period time. Kemalism seems to have got itself out of the rigidities which the nation-state approach and transfer of modernisation had dictated. The revolutions, which are fundamental and the unchanging principles, constitute the main component of the modernisation project programmatically carried out via projects. Even if these projects are seen as very rigid and unchangeable, they could be interpreted and could bring about different results. "Kemalism seems to have remained as an amorphous ideology, not a strictly defined one, that could be adapted for various ends" (Ergut, 1998, p. 52). Mardin explains this phenomenon with reference to Atatürk's "basic optimism" and the fact that there is, a sense of "personal honour behind it" (Mardin, 1992, p. 18). "In Atatürk's own period, although fascism and communism were developing against parliamentarism in the West, having the intelligence that avoided systematic selectiveness or public dictatorship is remarkable" (Mardin, 1992, p. 18).

As a result, in the process of a modernisation imposed from above it is observed that the main change is carried out in 'micro' structures, whereas there are not as many large

differences in the 'macro' structure. New government takes over the former government ideology by saving it to a great extent, whereas it brings about very important divergences in belief and the sphere of life.

Mardin argues that hegemonic class-society linkages in fact consist of three communication loops: first, the state machine; second, cultural institutions; and third, the complex scheme of language as discourse, sources of self, identity markers, and tacit understandings that underlie both of the other loops and have a structuring force of their own. He describes this condition in terms of loop one's constancy, loop two's having been taken over from a foreign culture, and the fact that loop three is missing (Mardin, 1997, p. 66).

When we look at the realm of architecture, we see that architecture is included in the second loop so that it is located in the condition of having been appropriated from a foreign culture. The missing of the micro component of social dynamics has also been seen in the realm of architecture and architectural history writing. The secret components of architecture that are the acceleration of architecture were neglected. The missing of them caused the fact that modern architecture was constituted on the basis of certainties rather than the ambivalence and excitement of modernization.

Chapter 4

TURKISH ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIOGRAPHY DURING THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS

4.1. The History Writing Methods of Turkish Architectural Historians

Art history and architectural history emerged as disciplines in the academic milieu and in terms of their own epistemology before nationalism in the Western world. The disciplines' emergence "can be described as a special history-writing realm which emerged with noticing the historical values of architectural artefacts consciously that started with Blondell in the late seventeenth century" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 69-70). Being an independent discipline, the history of art and architecture possesses the kind of structure that enables it to overcome its own problems. In this context, it does not serve any constitution, person, or institution. It thus has the tendency of resisting pragmatism.

These characteristics of the discipline, however, may be opposed to the process in Turkey when the developing process of art history and architectural history are analysed. Being taken out of their own epistemology and endowed with political claim, these disciplines came on the scene as pragmatically in the context of the construction of the nation (Tanyeli, 2001, p. 3). The reason of the usage of architectural history as pragmatical is the belief of the "dependency of the existence of the products which prove the historical existence of the nation" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 70). On the other hand, production, controlling, and spreading of "a visual culture of modernity" (Bozdoğan, 2002, p. 74) as official, constituted one of the most important aims of Republican ideology. Architecture had also an important role in terms of being a symbol and "the assumption of the ability of the form to transform the content" (Bozdoğan, 2002, p. 73). For that reason, architectural history was utilized not only to find the roots of the national architecture under the influence of nationalism, but also how that architecture would be in the future.

The use of architectural history for ideological and pragmatic purposes has caused encounter with some problems in the realm of this special history writing. These

problems have become a pressure component, which blocked the discipline's independence and its access to its own autonomous epistemology. The problem that was the process of the nation's construction was reflected directly in the scope of architectural history (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 70). One of these is the "problem of the West," and the second one is the negative causes of the "irredantalist tendency" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 70).

Running parallel to the assumption of "the modern as a category only belonging to Europe which merely non-Western others can be imported, appropriated, or insisted on, but never reproduced inside" (Bozdoğan, 2002, p. 21), architectural history faced a location problem in a milieu that maintained historical categories that had been constituted by the West. The question of "where in history could a model be located which had been constituted not to be considered in its own reality?" (Tanyeli, 2001, p. 2) is still debated and it is a problem which has occupied the architectural-historical milieu.

Not facing this problem adequately, but living its contradictions, architectural history writing in Turkey has kept its pragmatic formation for a long time. The pragmatic approach in all realms which focused on "the question of being Western, and constructing the Western nation in spite of West" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 70) was materialized in the realm of architectural history to transfer the models, which encountered in Western architectural historicity. For example, the myth of the genius artist is one of them. However, there can be seen divergences of the concept of genius, or it may be taken up in the field of architectural history-writing like all imported concepts. In the West there is synchronization between the concept of genius and the person who is described as a genius. Nevertheless, it can be observed in Turkish architectural history-writing that the person was selected to be placed under retrospective viewing was to become the genius (Tanyeli, 2001, p. 3). This also puts forth the anachronic method of architectural history writing for consideration and appears as a dangerous field due to the fact that it includes deliberate selectiveness.

The Euro-centric and Orientalist point of view began to change in all the disciplines of the humanities in the last years of the 1970s. "Because providing firstly the construction of the East, and then introducing it to the West, Orientalism was a science of inclusion;

its equivalent in the political realm was making East a colony and capturing it. The challenge to the Orientalist and the colonial age which is an organic part of it, was a challenge to muteness that had been an obstinate characteristics of the Orient as an object. Consequently, the Orient was the silent otherness of Europe rather than its equivalent" (Said, 2000, p. 73). The challenge to this muteness was based on the differences and probability of a different modernity. It focused on the "hybridity and complexity of non-Western societies which have their own modernity and don't have to follow the way that was drawn by the industrialized West" (Bozdoğan, 2002, p. 21). In this context, studies on modern architecture rebutted the idea of the "rational and universal aspects of the modernism which all countries' architecture imitated" (Bozdoğan, 2002, p. 21).

Although from the perspective of today we criticize modernity in Turkey in terms of Euro-centrism or architectural history writing in view of focusing on Western historiography, modernism according to its contemporaries was an expression of the "desire of being a subject of making its own history and objection of other cultures to their own otherness" (Bozdoğan, 2002, p. 23). Nonetheless, upon pursuing policy of otherness by themselves, the problem emerged despite the fact that they objected to their own process of otherness. Forming the second pressure point in an irredantalist tendency, which was confronted when the nation had been constructed and reflected directly onto the realm of architectural history, constituted the important part of this policy of otherness.

The irredantalist tendency, which means "not assuming a claim outside of the political boundaries" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 70) can be taken as a reliable political manner. However, it can be seen that this reliable political manner was reflected unreliably in the field of art history. "Constituted by coincidence, Republican boundaries drew our tradition of art history and architectural history" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 70). The boundaries of architectural history were also determined by the logic of from-above from the beginning, rather than through its own dynamics. Thus unchangeable forms and the sharpness of the boundaries emerged. Nevertheless, modernity expresses the wish to be handled, changed, and to become transparent to all boundaries from the beginning. The sharpness of the limits brings together not only the selectiveness of the people, attitudes, institutions that are located inside the boundaries, but also pretending not to see and

becoming otherness outside of the boundaries. The Turkish national identity which is described by Tanyeli as "the identity that was constructed for being based on the concept of the Muslim in the Ottoman Empire without carrying ethnic content and was created to be cleaned slightly of its religious feature" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 71), describing the people who feel outside this description as being 'other'. In the context of the Turkish national identity, context of the, even though the Turkish architecture in Ottoman Empire, Arabian Architecture in the Ottoman Empire, and Albanian Architecture in the Ottoman Empire are not mentioned, Armenian Architecture in the Ottoman Empire, and Greek Architecture in Ottoman Empire are mentioned (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 71). What we cannot cope with are the products of Christians who had lived inside the Empire's boundaries and left many traces, so they are the ones we made 'other'.

The disadvantages of the ideological and pragmatic characters of the architectural history writing have been displayed. In this context two further important points can also be mentioned. One of them is the linear and progressive modernity process. As stated by Kasaba: "Reformists envisaged everyone who lives in Turkey to pass regular and linear modernity process. It implies the thought of progress. Nonetheless, although the thought of progress wasn't seen as special to any culture, nation, or geography in Enlightenment of Europe, it was used on the purpose of otherness in the process. Progress was utilized as a tool of accusing a group which was determined undeveloped and division of community as developed and undeveloped" (Kasaba, 1999, p. 23). In the field of architectural history writing in Turkey there can also be observed the notion of progress. Uniting with the selective policy which was determined by the nation-state understanding and what the new national identity should be, the policy of otherness displayed reaction in the field of architectural historiography.

The second point is that the Early Republican Period has been deciphered by dichotomous categorisations, which are based on certain judgments and pretend not to perceive others. "According to the Republican elite, their ideologists, and historians of this period, while Turks as a national community were developing and maturing, they also made progress in terms of placing their nation in Western civilization. Preferences was determined by old and new, backwardness and civilization, reactionism and progress" (Kasaba, 1999, p. 23). On the other hand, these basic dichotomie emerged as

reduction of the complex divergences, and "being based on these basic dichotomous many historical stories disappeared" (Nalbantoğlu, 1999, p. 159). These stories were the stories of the surface out of the modernity line.

Ergut explains why the historiography which has been based on these simple dichotomie is insufficient:

> The various interpretations and practices of nationalism, and the consequent different definitions of nation, according to the specific and changing socio-political conditions serve to illustrate the fact that nation-building is a intuitionally constructed process. That is why it is not possible to understand Turkish nationalism of the period simply by referring to certain dichotomous categorizations – like those of the national/international, East/West, developed, undeveloped, traditional/modern, past/future – that are supposed to define Turkish nation in terms of a homogenous, unified and stable identity (Ergut, 1998, p.5 6-57).

A different point of view on the subject can be explained as "our hopeless forgetful modern societies lost their memory, and they located history-writing instead of it. Remembrance milieu replaces with remembrance places, or spaces. History is also a remembrance space" (Tanyeli, quoted by Nora, 2002, p. 3). This progress is experienced differently in late modern societies in contrast to the West. "Even though society is changing rapidly, and is eliminating traditional remembrance milieu, it cannot demonstrate to create new remembrance spaces" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 3). One of the most important reasons to cause this distinction is that, as mentioned before, the Turkish history-writing tradition could not be independent from political discourses, and the other is that architectural history writing as a discipline is too young. In the frame of remembrance spaces, it have to be emphasized that; "remembrance spaces can not be constructed only the esteemed remembrance" (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 4).

In this context, Tanyeli mentions three different architectural-historical discourses which are non-Western and which has got a rarely encountered history-writing tradition (www.tarihvakfi.org.tr). Firstly, he argues that, "starting approximately in the last years of the nineteenth century architectural history has been fundamentally related with national political ideology and described as the classification of architectural sovereignty fields" (www.tarihvakfi.org.tr). Secondly, he mentions the "architectural history tradition which was especially produced in the circle of Doğan Kuban at

Istanbul Technical University can be said to be positivist. This tradition objected to the nationalist discourse, and suggested a different tendency" (www.tarihvakfi.org.tr). Tanyeli touches upon the importance of the influence of Kuban in terms of describing new paradigms, and paradigmatic concepts in the realm of historiography where national discourse appeared as a single method. In parallelism to this approach, Kuban brought up the scientific grounds of every architectural phenomenon which can be explained rationally, and causally. Third ranks the effort of "trying to get Turkey together with modernity in the meaning of the intellectual" (www.tarihvakfi.org.tr). Bülent Özer and his circle constituted another rupture of the Turkish architectural historiography. Özer "reproduced the nineteenth and twentieth century of Turkey in the frame of the historiography of modern architecture which was produced especially by Sigfried Giedion in the West" (www. tarihvakfi.org.tr).

Although these three different fields of discourse formed the crucial ground for current architectural history, in the circumstances of that period they caused to be produced pragmatic approaches. It cannot be seen as total history writing, which included both modern and pre-modern, despite its pragmatic approach. Instead, "two distinct fields were described as the history of Turkish architecture and the history of modern architecture" (www. tarihvakfi.org.tr). Tanyeli suggests the necessity of eliminating this fracture, and he explains his own method as follows:

> I believe that the transition from pre-modern to modern is not a rift, but it have to be examined by developing different historiographic apprehensions. Thus, I try to produce twofold method, and develop twofold apprehension. In other words, I try to create a paradigms set that includes an architectural history apprehension for pre-modern world, and different architectural history apprehension for modern world, but handles both of them togethe (www. tarihvakfi.org.tr).

Although the total history conception that included both the pre-modern and the modern, have not been produced, the tradition of history writing, which focused on "construction" and bringing up the continuities, constituted in these different fields of discourse. Starting to change after 1990 in Turkey, alteration of this history writing methods in the West was based on earlier years. Work by Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari have been effective in terms of following a method, which improves the discerning of discontinuities, focuses on one event, and expands its limits. The method of Tanyeli, which he describes as an "archaeology of mentality" is also a process that

aims at the understanding of complex facts, focuses on ruptures (www. tarihvakfi.org.tr).

Besides Tanyeli, Bülent Tanju who displays parallels with the latter, Sibel Bozdoğan who focuses on the 'culture of architecture', Afife Batur who renders different readings about the late years of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Turkish Republic, Esra Akcan who discusses post-colonial discourses, and Ali Cengizkan who brings up the different approaches to and conceptions of the document in Turkish modern architecture are the important historians of the architectural-historical milieu in Turkey. As well as the differentiation of the history-writing method, which was suggested by Tanyeli, focusing on the archive conception, Cengizkan provides an encounter with the realities which had all along been accepted without interrogation.

In the West, the document plays an important role in the historiography of architecture, and in general, in history writing. Especially in the condition of determining the discursive boundaries, what the document is, and how it is described become crucial. For example, in the nineteenth century, studies on the archive, and retrieving the formal document are values in terms of supporting the scientific feature of history and increasing the reliability of the document (Burke, 2000, p. 26). Nowadays, these data of the archive emerge as a first step of research in the aim of "determining the dates, which are related to the emergence of architectural product, names, relations, so its first name, last name, date of birth, place of birth, parents, qualities, etc. as identity card" (Cengizkan, 2002, p. 96).

Fig. 4.1. Villa Schwob, as published in L'Esprit nouveau (Colomina,1994).

Fig. 4.2. Villa Schwob, original photograph, c.1920, (Colomina1994).

On the other hand, changing of the document analysis, or expanding the boundaries of the document description have brought new perspectives to the realm of architectural

history writing. "The immensity of the traces makes the research a never-ending process, with new traces, or rather new ways of looking at these traces or even seeing them as traces for the first time, always producing new interpretations that displace the old" (Colomina, 1994, p. 11). The objects, which were not accepted as documents, become important in terms of making connections that were not made before. For instance, every trace of Le Corbusier's work and himself "correspondence, telephone bills, electricity bills, laundry bills, bank statements, postcards, legal documents, court proceedings, family pictures, travel snapshots, suitcases, trunks, filing cabinets, pottery, rugs, shells, pipes, samples, mechanical boards, every stage of every manuscript, drafts for lectures, doodles, scribbles, notebooks, sketchbooks, diaries, and, of course, his paintings, sculptures, drawings, and all the documentation of his projects" (Colomina, 1994, p. 2) provide the possibility of reading of his work time and again.

The method of analysis of the visual material[1] which constituted the different representation plane of the reality brings up what results can be reached by the detail analysis of only one picture. For example, it is seen that Le Corbusier's Villa Schwob was represented differently, what it is, in *L'esprit nouveau* (Fig. 4.1). "By eliminating the site, he makes architecture into an object relatively independent of place" (Colomina, 1994, p. 107). Similar to this example, Colomina exemplifies Loos's Villa Khuner as having utilised the photomontage technique. Examples can be increased. For example, the parallels between the cards collected by Le Corbusier and his sketches (Fig. 4.3), or the importance of the paragraphs, which were omitted in the first version of Loos's book *Arkitektur*. They display that the history writing of architecture required fastidious and patient research.

---

[1] In this context, different conceptions have been suggested from Benjamin to the present. Opposing the conception of photography constitutes the different representation plane of the reality, the discussions about forming its own reality, looking, 1- (Colomina, 1998), 2- (Ockman, 1988)
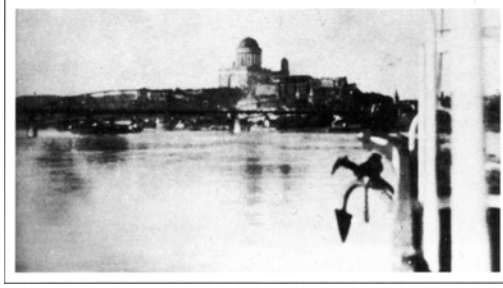
Fig. 4.3. View of Cathedral of Esztergom,1911, (Colomina,1994).
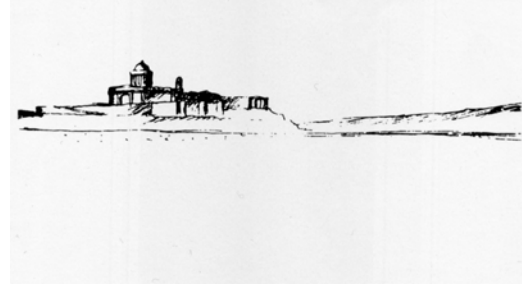
Fig. 4.4.Charles Edouard Jeanneret, drawing of the Cathedral of Esztergom, 1911, (Colomina,1994).

It can also be understood in Turkey that historical research cannot be made by basing on only morphological analysis. It can also be understood in Turkey that historical research cannot be made by basing on only morphological analysis. Architectural history prefers to explain the architectural product in terms of explaining how it was produced and reproduced, more as what it was rather than how it could have been produced differently. Thus architectural history proposes to examine the products and its formative conditions in terms of the power relations of each period, rather than having a speculative attitude which examines the period in view of missed changes (Cengizkan, 2002, p. 96). This conception cannot be realized by only examining the products in morphological terms, but also required having all data of the period.

However, even reaching this identity data is required serious study in Turkey. These problems cause forming the problematic field for the historians who study early Republican period of Turkish architecture because of the fact that in Turkey, the transition from verbal culture to written culture was realised only recently. Today, the historians mentioned before–especially Ali Cengizkan-have tried to transcend these problems. Within the scope of this study, work by Bülent Özer, Metin Sözen, Üstün Alsaç and İnci Aslanoğlu, which are about the early Republican Period Turkish modern architecture, will be focused on due to the fact that they constituted a ground for current historiographic studies. How the modern architecture in Turkey was constructed will be concentrated on as based on these texts, which were written in the framework of an operative understanding.

4.1.1. The Reduction of Modern Architecture to Cubism

By looking at the magazines of the thirties and the articles of subsequent years written about Early Republican Period Architecture, the significance of "Cubic Architecture" is evident. The importation of superficial ideas, without penetrating into the discussions in Western Architecture intimately, comes out in this situation as well. In this context, contemplating the studied period, it is observed that modern architecture comes out with its formal definition rather than its spatial definition. Furthermore; the Modern Style is in great extent perceived as Cubic Architecture, while Cubic Architecture is appreciated as the expression of flat roofs, extensive terraces and box-like volumes.

Meanwhile in the West, debates on cubism were occupying the architectural agenda at the beginning of the twentieth century and the most significant one was as follows:

> The idea of cubism as inaugurating a line of development not only in art but into architecture had been introduced not retrospectively by historians but programmatically by avant-garde artists, architects, and critics-including, of course, critic-historians such as Adolf Behne and Walter Curt Behrent, as well as Giedion and artists such as Theo van Doesburg, Kasimir Malevich, and El Lissitzky whose conceptions of post cubist art were informed by their readings in art history and subsequently aimed at the realisation of a new formal paradigm, fully environmental in scope (Mertins, 1997, p. 221).

It is hard to come face to faces with a history writing of Modern Architecture in which Cubism is not discussed or not linked with architecture. "The first major account of modern architecture to omit the word cubism, whatever one can make of absence, is Kenneth Frampton's *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (1980). Picasso, Braque, Gris are not mentioned here either. There is plenty of suprematism and Malevitch, however, perhaps reflecting the interests of a new generation of architects and critics" (Colomina, 1997, p. 144). Being unable to establish the relation between Cubism and Modern Architecture directly or being unable to reduce Modern Architecture to Cubic Architecture constituted the most crucial discussions at the beginning of the century as much as they do nowadays. The movement of this discussion to the present time displays how much the history writing of Modern Architecture bears the all important duty and effect in this point.

There are crucial milestones constituting the spine of this debate. Georges Braque, who wrote "Personal Statement" in 1908, outlines "the strange alliances among cubism, architecture, and sexuality" in this first document of cubism. In addition to this writing, Colomina summarises the others as follows:

1918: Amedée Ozenfant and Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, *Après le Cubism*: this manifesto helped, according to several authors, popularize cubism, despite the authors' attempts to transcend it.

1920-1925: Le Corbusier and Ozenfant, *L'esprit Nouveau*: it is "the last but one and by far the most substantial of a series of attempts to found a cubist magazine in Paris".

1925: Ozenfant and Jeanneret, *La Peinture Moderne*: "the first critical and historical evaluation of cubism".

1941: Sigfried Giedion, *Spsace, Time and Architecture*: arguably the most influential account of modern architecture, this book portrays architecture as the consequence of a new theory of space (derived from the sciences) and new ways of perceiving space (as represented by cubism). As cubism breaks with Renaissance perspective, argues Giedion, "it is impossible to comprehend the Savoie house by a view from a single point; quite literally it is a construction in space-time."

1948: Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "Painting Toward Architecture" stresses both the direct influence of painting on modern architecture and that of architecture on modern painting, particularly in what he calls the architectonic phase of cubism.

1960: Reyner Banham "Theory and Design in the First Machine Age".

1963: first publication of Colin Rowe and Robert Slutzky's essay, "Transparency: Literal and Phenomenal."

While contesting earlier associations of cubism and modern architecture based on the literal transparency of materials, the article goes on to reiterate that association on the basis of what the authors define as phenomenal transparency, a concept they borrow from György Kepes's *Language of Vision*: "Transparency implies more than an optical characteristic, it implies a broader spatial order. Transparency means a simultaneous perception of different spatial locations" (Colomina,1997, p. 143-144).

Even now it is observed that the correlations of Cubism and Modern Architecture is secured by reading these texts in a different way. Especially the text of Rowe and

Slutzky appears as a study that still has not been superseded and that participates in a framework that still awaits innovation. Meanwhile, among avant-gardes, Le Corbusier has priority and the importance of cubism for architecture is discussed in accordance with his works of art. (Having painter and sculpture identities besides his architectural identity also influences this fact because cubism discovered its real expression in painting and sculpture even though it came out firstly in literature). However,

> Le Corbusier explicitly departed from cubism repeatedly describing cubism as too decorative, too chaotic, the troubled art of a troubled epoch, individualistic, romantic, uncertain of its way, ornamental, obscure, extremely confused, nothing other than anarchy. Against the chaos of cubism, Ozenfant and Jeanneret would offer order, hierarchy, rigor, the laws of structure and composition, efficiency, precision, standards, universal values, the right angle (Colomina, 1997, p. 148).

From this point of view, it can be stated that cubic architecture in Turkey coheres with the conception of purism in Le Corbusier. One of the most important factors is the popularisation of Le Corbusier's works and ideas via magazines as soon as Villa Savoye was completed only in 1929 (Bozdoğan, 2002, p. 223).

In a parallel way, Yve-Alain Bois remarks on Le Fauconnier's most celebrated work, called *L'abondance*. "In this work Le Fauconnier has simply seized upon the most accessible aspect of cubism, that is to say the treatment of forms in terms of simple, angular facets, as an easy way of dealing with a monumental subject. There is no atmospheric recession, but the perspective is completely traditional. I would call this type of work not cubist, but cubistic" (Bois, 1997, p. 189). The same is the case in the conception of cubic architecture in the Early Turkish Architecture Era. The most important property of cubism is the alteration of the classic comprehension of perspective emerged in the Renaissance. "By breaking with the perspectival cone of vision, the splintering image of the cubist painting displaces the static viewer, it mobilises the eye in a quasi-cinematic way. But the different angles of view are not presented in any sequence, they are juxtaposed" (Colomina, 1997, p. 141). In the Early Turkish Architecture Period, since form became more noticeable with the ignorance of space, it could be clearly pointed out that such a point of view was not improved in that period. In this context, Tanyeli states that modern buildings were not built until 1957 and adds that preceding buildings could only be defined as modern-like (Tanyeli, 1998, p. 240).

Architectural historians such as Peter Collins, Reyner Banham, and Alfred Barr expose that the correlation between cubism and architecture cannot be established directly. Parallel to this idea, Adolf Behne and Bruno Taut remark that cubism should be limited by definite and strict rules.

> "The hallmark of Behne's cubism was its architectonic character, which he described as a hidden striving for unity, bound to the body of the star earth, and beyond ego, place, and time. He offered no description of cubism's formal properties, for this would have wrongly privileged external appearances. Instead, what he called cubism may be understood as the striving of humanity to expand its own limited domain in order to materialize something of the formless unity of the cosmos" (Mertins, 1997, p. 225).

This idea props up the opinion that modernism cannot be reduced to cubism, whereas cubism cannot be identified with so many evident rules and cannot be framed as a style. "Rather, Bruno Taut suggested that architecture was by its very nature cubist, was already free of perspective and need not limit its constructiveness to cubism's angular forms" (Mertins, 1997, p. 223).

Fig. 4.5. "Ankara Construit" Modernist Aesthetic of cubic blocks representing the new capital, (Bozdoğan, 2001).
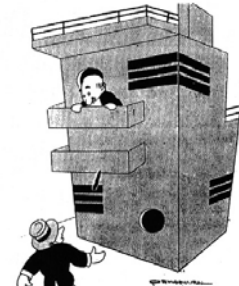
Fig. 4.6. A late 1930s cartoon ridiculing "cubic architecture" and associating it with greedy and untrustworthy character, (Bozdoğan, 2001).

These discussions and implementations occurring in the western architectural agenda indicate that modern architecture cannot be confined to cubic architecture. Although such discussions did not take place in the same era's Turkish architectural context, the examples of different opinions in the west were being displayed in popular Turkish publications because the aim in that era was about demonstrating the western life style

(Bozdoğan, 2002, p. 223). The concept of cubic architecture concept attained a negative sub-meaning after the 1930s, whereas after the 1960s an orientation referring to Le Corbusier's purism, in other words to his manner expressing modernism, was fixed in the texts of the former period. In other words, it seems to be related with taking an architectural history writing approach analogous to Giedion's style as a precedent because although Giedion wrote *Space, Time and Architecture* in 1941, until 1967 he published five editions together with expanded versions. One of the reasons why modernism has been on the agenda for years is related to the acceptance of this book as canonical. Thus it has been translated into many different languages and its impact area has expanded.

On the other hand, it is more important to perceive how much of Turkey has been affected by cubic architecture, which history writing has put forward for a long time. This style of architecture that has been intensively encountered in Istanbul and Ankara in the 1930s has also influenced Izmir, Adana, Kütahya, and Eskişehir. However, it corresponds to a very low percentage according to a general evaluation all over Turkey. Values of exclusion and otherness informing manners of history writing, whether consciously or unconsciously, can be clearly observed at this point. This is an apparent fact in Western Architectural history writing as well. In Frampton's words, "Few architects care to remind themselves that only 20 percent of the total built output in developed societies is subject to the advice of the profession, so that the greater part of the man-made environment escapes our creative intervention. This disturbing fact means that we have to acknowledge the limited domain in which we are asked to operate" (Frampton, 1991, p. 19).

4.2. The Construction of Turkish Modern architecture

Early examples of historiography of the modern architecture in the West, were written by historians who were in fact art historians. Although they came from the same fundamentals and had the same notions, they produced very different discourses. Their history writing methods that aimed at construction, formed themselves by basing on the past. The past was constructed by some of the historians as opposing the present, and on the other hand was perceived by some of them as including the basis of the present. However, the reality that both methods contain is the facing of the past. The second

fulcrum of history writing is the relationship between art and architecture, so the developing process of art and architecture was handled as being parallel. Although these different discourses involve some problems of the structure of discourse production (like exclusion, neglecting, etc.), they are related to the proper problems of the discipline because they were written in accordance with the epistemology of architecture. The other distinguishing point of the Western architectural historiography is the historians' identity as historians. Affecting the writing of the history of modern architecture, historians also include the identity of the critic. Therefore, because of the embodiment of this identity, their texts avoid being catalogues of buildings and architects.

When the historiography of the modern architecture is looked at, different developments can be observed. Although the past has a crucial role in Turkish architectural historians' texts, this structure is always handled as negative despite the fact that what formed the past is the Ottoman Empire which was in turn neglected by the ideology of the nation-state. Consequently, architectural historiography had to cope with problems that are outside of its epistemology. On the other hand, differing from Western architectural historiography, another field emerges in Turkish architectural historiography. It is the field that embodies the developments of Western architecture. Looking at the West consciously which was brought on by the nation-state ideology displays itself in the realm of architectural historiography. In this context, besides the mode of the construction of the past by historians, how historians handle the Western architecture and the concept of the modern becomes important. Influences of foreign architects and their role in Turkish architectural education, and foreign publications become also crucial.

One cannot speak of a critical structure in the historiography of the Turkish modern architecture as in the West. For that reason, a different kind of discourse could not be developed. As regards the construction of a milieu of discussion, the Turkish bent is seen to follow as it were a chain system in which thought is inherited. The generation of discourse is entirely lacking; history proceeds by the ever-new annexing of further architects and buildings and texts deployed along a vector inherited from the past. Thus we can speak of a becoming current of the old discourse, which does not go beyond adding numerical and physical values to the existing vector. The criticism in historians'

discourses impedes the evaluation of not only modern architecture, but also methods of history writing. Even though in early stages of modernity, there were very different conceptions of modernity and modern architecture, it can be seen that the discussions of the modern architecture in the West were not known in Turkey. When one thinks about the fact that the first serious history writing of modern architecture was produced in 1960, it can be said that this period in the West, corresponded in Turkey to the period when the last products of the modern architecture were constructed. (Modernity still continues, but postmodern discussions emerged on the scene in the architectural milieu in the 1960s.) Therefore, in although in the West discussions of were modernity conducted in architectural practice and theory, in Turkey the architectural milieu was far from these discussions. However, texts which will be analysed had got important roles to play in current history writing methods in Turkey.

4.2.1. **The Western Influence on Turkish Architectural Historiography: Bülent Özer, "An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Turkish Contemporary Architecture"**

The text, "An Essay on Regionalism, Universalism and Turkish Contemporary Architecture" published in 1961 by Özer constitutes a crucial threshold in terms of the history of Turkish architectural historiography. Tanyeli examines Turkish architectural historiography in terms of three main fields of discourse, as mentioned in section 4.1. One of them emerged in the late nineteenth century which is fundamentally related to national political ideology. The aim of this architectural history is the classification of the field of architectural sovereignty. The second one, produced in İTÜ especially under the influence of Doğan Kuban, is an architectural history which could be called positivist. The last one is Özer's architectural history (www.tarihvakfi.org.tr). Özer constitutes architectural history in terms of its own epistemology and reproduces as architectural history integrated with modernist historiography (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 69). The significant reason for its description as a threshold of Turkish modern architectural historiography is his effort to get Turkey together with modernity in a cognitive aspect.

4.2.1.1. Özer's History-Writing Method

Özer's conception of history is constructive and legitimises the entirety. He constitutes his discourse in a distinct system and contradicts attitudes which are outside of his determined framework. He also follows a method which contains ideal and clear descriptions. For this reason, his discourse has a negative character. In his text there can only be seen few examples which are appropriate to his own descriptions.

In his conception of the whole, "how future architecture could be" embodies an important part of his discourse. His ideal architectural descriptions refer to the architecture that is likely to take place in the future. His operative method of historiography supports this understanding. He inquires into history in terms of explaining the present and constituting the fundamentals of the future of architecture. He reveals errors in the past and he expresses that these errors are corrected in current architecture awaiting legitimisation. Özer prefers this operative historiography particularly in applying it to the construction of modern architecture in the West. Indeed, he constructs the past in negative terms; but he constructs the present negatively as well.

Özer's discourse runs parallel to that of those historians who follow the operative method in modern architectural historiography, especially Giedion. "The genealogies of modern architecture always start in the present and turn back to the past until they reach the source of the present state of affairs, from which the narrative ultimately begins. In effect, the beginning is a reconstruction of the end" (Tournikiotis, 2000, p. 224). It can be seen that Özer follows a similar method in the construction process of modern architecture in the West. For instance, the idea of Morris turns in an affirmative direction à propos of the Werkbund taking place in Germany, the idea of the organism of Philip Webb, Richard Norman Shaw and C.F.A. Voysey peaks in Frank Lloyd Wrights's notion of architecture as organism, the simplification of the understanding of Adolf Loos reflects in the work of Le Corbusier positively. In this frame, Loos is in some sense a reconstruction of Le Corbusier.

Although he follows a linear time conception in constructing the itinerary of modern architecture in Turkey and in the West, he feeds back in this linear time conception as

we have mentioned above. At the same time, Özer does not handle events in this history line as a part of the progress. Briefly, his time conception does not have a continuous progressive structure, despite the fact that it is linear. According to him, every attitude which matches his is affirmative and which does not is negative. In this context, the idea of *either/or* which constitutes the important basis of the idea of modernism, is dominant in Özer. In other words, his discourse is marked by exact and clear differentiations.

In the context of his exact and clear differentiations, the dichotomous categorizations become crucial determinants. This condition likely is described as the relation of thesis-antithesis and is the *apriori* determinant of each subject of Özer's construction. He locates all realities which are relevant to the practice of as well as theory of architecture, including approaches of architects, as well as determining tendencies of the period he is classifying. Then, explaining the opposite action of each reality, he constructs periods by means of these dichotomous categorizations. However, although they constitute the important part of his discourse, the values which are stated between the concepts that created each other in this dialectic relation, are disregarded. For example, he inquires into "the polarity of object-ideal" in parallel to "pragmatic-aesthetic duality" which he took from Russell. He adapts this dichotomy to architecture in terms of the biharism, functional-nonfunctional. In this context, he accepts that the functional product cannot be aesthetic. Despite all these negativities, Özer's construct, which is based on the relation of the thesis-antithesis opposition has an important role in terms of increasing reliability of his discourse.

Besides his conception of operative history, Özer is also evaluated as pragmatic in terms of reading the past in order to legitimize the present. In tandem with this pragmatic approach, he reads the periods in view of negativities and missed opportunities, rather than strictly in terms of the circumstances of the events. Consequently, he looks through the past retrospectively. For instance, he evaluates the architecture of Vedat Bey and Kemalettin Bey in the following terms: "However, if Vedat Bey and Kemalettin Bey constituted an architectural milieu which was based on current realities, subjective work of foreigners would be realized- including all negativities" (Özer, 1961, p. 54). He also assesses the Turkish Pavilion (1939) in the New York Exhibition as a missed opportunity, since he evaluates it as having national architectural components (Özer, 1961, p. 65).

Giedion's influence may be seen in his historiographic approach. As Tanyeli has put it, "Özer reproduced the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of Turkey in the frame of historiography of the modern architecture that was produced especially by Giedion in the West" (www. tarihvakfi.org.tr). Staying inside the proper epistemology of architecture, Özer developed a different discourse among others, so that he plays an important role in the realm of the historiography of modern architecture in Turkey. Subsequent considerations of the Turkish modern architecture tended to orbit around this seminal text, and it was not transcended before the 1990s.

4.2.1.2. Özer's Conception of Architecture

Özer's conception of architecture is based on real data and real architecture. According to Özer, real data "are the facts that are determined by the current developments which are related to social life." On the other hand, real architecture is "a convenience between the current need of society in the realm of architecture and current opportunities in order to respond them" (Özer, 1961, p. 3). His frame is limited by an eclectic conception that emerges due to reducing "real data" and "real architecture". Bringing up negative impressions of the discipline's own structure, the eclectic understanding is discussed in terms of transcending them in his discourse.

Özer has a conception of architecture which seems to be consistent underneath the theoretical aspect and which is clear and exact and does not accept the semi-solutions. He does not show examples of this definition in the real world as an architectural product. Consequently, it can be said that he contradicts himself by falling into the conception of the very ideal which he has criticised in the polarity of the ideal and the object. His discourse is based on the unique and ideal architecture being in each period. Although he doubts the "comprehension of style and –ism which is an expression of the constructive philosophy system" in the discipline of architecture (Özer, 1961, p. 7), his own concept of architecture obtains the concept of style in that period. On the other hand, it can also be seen that although he is opposed to the concept of style, his text includes omni rules of modernism which had become a style. For instance, the thought of "form follows function" as a norm which has to be accepted without being discussed (Özer,1961,p.34), or his affiliation of functionalism can be followed throughout the text.

The hallmark of Özer's discourse is the objection to all eclectic approaches. Besides eclectic examples like the Greek Revival, the Gothic Revival, the Renaissance Revival, which look at history retrospectively, he also reacts to synchronic eclecticism. For example, when he mentions the architecture of Seyfi Arkan, although Özer explains his architecture as being interested in current problems, he criticises Arkan's work as expressing "the eclecticism which turns towards contemporary international architecture" (Özer, 1961, p. 61). Paralleling this criticism, he also describes Doğan Kuban's work, which is based on creating the "new regionalism," as a different aspect of eclecticism. However, it is seen that his history writing method is also influenced by Giedion's history writing method. In this context, his history writing method is also included in the criticism of eclecticism which is elaborated by Özer.

4.2.1.3. Özer's Conception of Modern Architecture and His Concept of the Modern

Özer's conception of modernity is an entire project which turns toward the future. Real data, and real architecture which is produced by the exact evaluation of the real data, constitute the fundamental aspect of his conception of architecture. Thus, according to him, in every period these needs and data happen to change. In this context, he possesses a modern concept which is founded on the second meaning of the word "modern," which is the "new." At the same time, the exact construction of the chain connection between current needs and real data constitutes real architecture.

Underneath Özer's analysis, it can be seen that he focuses on the programmatic concept of modernity. The programmatic view stresses the second level of meaning implied in the modern: the new. It views modernity as a project of progress and emancipation. According to Habermas this aspect of modernity includes two different domains. One of them is the "irreversible emergence of autonomy," and the latter is seeing modernity as a project. The former accentuates the "inner logic" of the domains; however, the second one implies the relationship between these autonomous domains. Their potential use for the "rational organization of everyday social life" is the hallmark of the second one (Heynen, 1999, p. 11).

The second differentiation of Heynen is the difference between the concepts of pastoral and counterpastoral. Özer's conception of modernity includes the pastoral concept of modernity besides its programmatic structure. This differentiation by Heynen depends on the dialectic of constructiveness and destructiveness. Özer insists on constructiveness in order to create his entire project. "A pastoral view denies the contradictions, dissonances, and tensions that are specific to the modern and sees modernity as a concerted struggle for progress, uniting workers, industrialists, and artists around a common goal" (Heynen, 1999, p.14). Although Özer has a negative attitude toward the text, he has such a conception of the whole in the architecture of the future. Current needs and real data encompass society, the needs of society, the formation of the circumstances of architecture, and their interrelations between each other.

Despite the fact that Özer's conception of modern architecture focusing on programmatic and pastoral concepts of modernity denies the understanding of style, it appears that modernism (it can be named "Cubism") here has become style. Omni rules of modernism spread over the whole text. For instance, the thought of "form follows function" as a norm which has to be accepted without being discussed (Özer, 1961, p. 34), or his affiliation of functionalism can be followed through the text.

Real data, real architecture, dialectical relations, and eclecticism take place in the text being related with each other in the construction of Özer. Separation from real data emerges in the result of crisis which appears in the condition of damaging the equilibrium of thesis and antithesis. This crisis looms large when the balance between emotion and thought, ideal and object, regional and universal is damaged. In this context, concepts and dualities are the characteristics of Özer's discourse as he sees them as the creator of the milieu that caused eclectic approaches to emerge. For that reason, he examines the modern architecture of the West in the framework of eliminating eclecticism and eclectic approaches.

Firstly, Özer mentions the disintegration of the thought of Baroque and Rococo in the nineteenth century when the separation of emotion and thought showed its initial effects. Secondly, he reads the effects of this disintegration as bringing up two different approaches. One of them is regionalism, and the other is universalism. These are the Gothic Revival and the Greek Revival. Then, he mentions the Renaissance Revival

which had suggested that each subject had to be handled with its own style. Although in the West the different approaches emerged, in Turkey, "every eclectic form imported from the West was perceived as universal" (Özer, 1961, p. 33). For that reason, he reads not only the condition of eclectic approaches that are imported, but also foreign architects in the architectural milieu as representing universality in Turkey (Özer, 1961, p. 53). He founds the apprehension of regional architecture in Turkey upon this conception of universality that is opposed to regionalism.

The reactions against eclecticism in the West constituted an important part of the text. Özer displays these efforts as examples which will save Turkish architecture from eclecticism. He predicated some positive developments in the nineteenth century on the "system of construction and material" that emerged in the Industry Age. Steel and concrete are the most important of them (Özer, 1961, p. 37). Crystal Palace, Galerie des Machines, and the Eiffel Tower are the examples of influences of the "system of construction and material" on architecture in terms of responding to current needs (Özer, 1961, p. 38). Heenebique and Auguste Perret are important architects in view of the usage of concrete. Bringing up the effects of developments which based on "material and construction techniques" over the architectural milieu, Özer focuses on the objection of architects against eclecticism. William Morris is one of them. Morris supported the turn towards the work system of the Middle Ages. The Arts and Crafts Movement had also developed under the influence of Morris. Özer implies that the synthesis which Morris did not manage to succeed in achieving could be seen in the Werkbund. Özer's evaluation of Morris can be assessed on the third level of the "three ways of disintegration from real data" which Özer had mentioned in the beginning of his text. This is "trying to reconcile real, current needs with artificial facilities" (Özer, 1961, p. 5).

The second attempt at an objection of the eclecticism is based on the thought of "transforming residential architecture to the quality of organism" (Özer,1961, p. 40) of which Philip Webb, Richard Norman Shaw and C.F.A. Voysey are the innovators in England. After 1894, dealing with current opportunities, Frank Lloyd Wright developed this notion as organic architecture. Another objection is determined by Art Nouveau. Victor Horta, Henry van de Velde are the innovators of Art Nouveau. In the context of straining the opportunities of the material, Art Nouveau is an important attempt. The

final stage of the development is going towards simplicity. H.P. Berlage, Otto Wagner, and Adolf Loos are the innovators of this attempt. Criticising this development, Özer says that Loos's conception of design found its positive method in Le Corbusier's architecture.

4.2.1.4. Özer's Conception of Modern Architecture in Turkey and His Logic of Classification

The frame that is constituted by Özer in evaluating Turkish modern architecture takes place in the context of the opposition of regionalism-universalism and eclecticism. He mentions two eclectic approaches emerging after the nineteenth century; one defends regionalism, the Gothic Revival while the other one defends universalism and the Greek Revival. He discerns that both approaches were evaluated by the defenders of universalism in Turkey.

"Every eclectic form which is imported from the West was perceived as universal" (Özer, 1961, p. 33). For that reason, he reads not only the condition of eclectic approaches that are imported, but also the foreign architects in the architectural milieu as representing universality in Turkey (Özer, 1961, p. 53). He founds the apprehension of regional architecture in Turkey over this universality understanding that is opposed to the regionalism. Özer supports his interpretation about "eclectic approaches in Turkey" by this evaluation. According to him, Turkish architecture imported not only the physical components, but also the problems of Western architecture; although they are not problems unique to Turkish architecture.

He implies that the eclectisist approaches in Turkey were initiated during the reign of Selim III. Before this period, the art of construction was under the influence of the Baroque. Examples of this style are the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1756), the Ayazma Mosque (1760), and the Laleli Mosque (1763). According to Özer, these examples are not taken as an imported style from the West, that is, they are not handled with the approach of eclecticism. Opposing eclecticism, they are the indicators of "disintegration of the classical discipline in the art of construction" (Özer, 1961, p. 31). They are likely the only examples which he apprehends positively in the text.

From his point of view, the architects who reacted to eclecticism in Turkey are Vedat Bey and Kemalettin Bey. However, he also explains that although "they rebelled against importation of universal forms" (Özer, 1961, p. 44), they brought the first regional movements in the Turkish history of architecture. The main alteration to reaction to western eclecticism is the nationalization of "elevation motifs" and "capitals of the column". In this context, he elaborates their reactions to eclecticism as superficial and formal (Özer, 1961, p. 46).

The differences between progression in the realm of architecture which occurred in the West and in Turkey becoming focus the text. Although in the West the crucial period of the modern architecture occurred after 1918, in Turkey it was not going beyond "the dialectic of formal attitudes" (Özer, 1961, p. 51). The hallmark of the architectural milieu that was constituted at the end of the First World War is the idea of "bringing down all social services to the level of people." Despite this development in the West, the architecture that is oriented towards people was secondary in Turkey (Özer, 1961, p. 52).

Reading that period of architecture in the context of regionalism and universalism, he distinguishes in it two main parts. One of them is the understanding of regional architecture that is inspired by the architecture of the past in order to solve contemporary problems. Sedad Hakkı Eldem is the initiator of this apprehension. The other is an understanding of universal architecture that is constituted by importing "drawing techniques" from the West (Özer, 1961, p. 62). Showing Seyfi Arkan as the forerunner of this thought, Özer criticizes this approach in terms of being a representation of Cubism which is a style (Fig 4.7, Fig. 4.8.). This apprehension of architecture is located in the section of "Towards a National Architecture" in the text without separating other opinions. On the other hand, National Architecture constitutes a core of his critique (Özer, 1961, p. 71).

Fig.4.7.The Ministery of Foreign Affairs residence, Ankara, (1933-1934), by Seyfi Arkan (Bozdoğan, 2001).

Fig. 4.8. A paradigmatic modernist building of the 1930s: Ataturk's summer residence in Florya Istanbul (1934-1936), designedby Seyfi Arkan (Bozdoğan, 2001).

Although he has explained that his main aim is not to produce a modern history of Turkish architecture, he constitutes this period on the basis of a number of architects and buildings. In order to compare other historians' examples in the context of evaluating what they have excluded, the examples of buildings selected by Özer will now be taken up. The examples of "The Movement of National Architecture" are the Turkish Pavilion in the New York Exhibition (1939), The competition for Anıtkabir (1942), the Faculty of Science and Literature in Istanbul University (1943), The Monument of Çanakkale (1944), the Istanbul Radio Station (1945), The Second Competition for the Istanbul Hall of Justice (1947), The Faculty of Law and Economy at Istanbul University (1947), the Taşlık Coffee House (1950) (Fig. 4.9), and the Pavilion of Admiral Bristol Hospital (1950) (Özer, 1961, p. 73).

Özer starts the disintegration of The Movement of National Architecture with The Third Competition for the Hall of Justice (1948). He evaluates this building as a threshold of Turkish modern architecture. It is amazing that it was constructed by Sedat Hakkı Eldem who is the forerunner of National Architecture and Emin Onat (Özer, 1961, p. 74). He ends that period with The Competition for the Municipal Hall (1952), and explains the emergence of the conception of architecture named "Universal Style, Rationalism, or Functionalism" in the subsequent period. The Competition for the Karayolları Umum Müdürlük Binası (1955), The Competition for the Ankara Esnafları Kooperatifi Çarşı ve İşhanı (1956), The Competition for the Sakarya Hükümet Konağı (1956), The Competition for the Gaziantep Şehitler Anıtı (1957), The Competition for the Turkish Pavilion in Brussells Exhibition (1957), The Competition for the Tekel

Umum Müdürlüğü (1958), The Competition for the Urfa Hükümet Konağı (1958) are buildings which display the disintegration of National Architecture (Özer,1961,p.76).

Fig. 4.9. A reinforced concrete replica of this building was
Sedad Hakkı Eldem's signature work: Taşlık Coffee House, 1948 (Bozdoğan, 2001).

The interval of 1952-1961 is described as a period opposing the rational attitude and boasting dogmatic character, an irrational attitude that appeared under the influence of Western architecture in the text (Özer, 1961, p. 76). Therefore, he elucidates this period as being influenced by foreign publications. Paralleling Western architecture, the variety of products could be seen in Turkish architecture. Besides products that had a strict geometrical order, organic architecture was also constructed (Özer, 1961, p. 78). As mentioned before, Özer reads the period within the framework of regionalism and universalism. Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Seyfi Arkan indeed are given as the forerunners of these two approaches. Sedad Hakkı Eldem focuses on "civil architecture" and "the documentation of these buildings". Özer explains Sedad Hakkı Eldem's approach in the following fashion: "The first part of the dual aim which Sedat Hakkı Eldem brings up has an important justification as a cultural problem in the architectural history of Turkey. The second side of his aim triggers settling national architecture on more scientific and more certain ground, and becomes a rich application reference for the architects of the period of the 1940-1950 national architecture (Özer, 1961, p.61).

Seyfi Arkan's work is elaborated as an architecture which tries to reach international standards. Özer describes Arkan as the practicer of Cubism that is the vogue in the West. In the projects of the Kozlu Türkiş and the Kömüriş Worker Sites, traces can be seen of the Cubist approach (Fig. 4.10). On the other hand, he reveals that these projects

are the indicator of the effort responding to a current problem in an important industrial zone such as Zonguldak (Özer, 1961, p. 61).
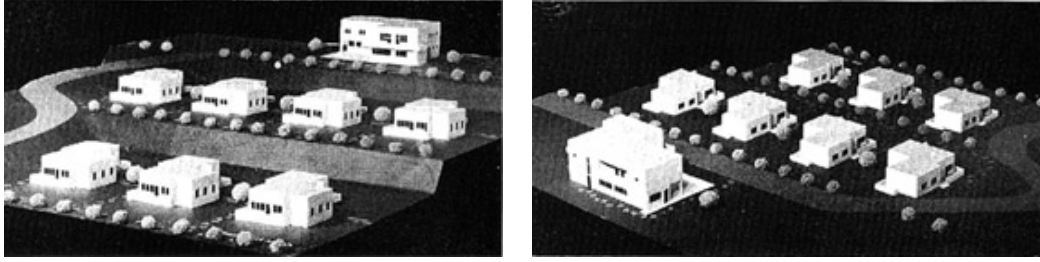

Fig 4.10.Housing for coal miners in Kozlu, Zonguldak,by Seyfi Arkan,1936 (Bozdoğan, 2001).

Obviously, Özer has both negative and positive opinions about Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Seyfi Arkan. Nevertheless, "his thought of opposing eclecticism" that constitutes the concept of his text causes to evaluate these architects in a negative aspect. He criticizes Sedat Hakkı Eldem that "he managed to explain the functional beauty retrospectively, although he might seek beauty in the frame of the determinism of current needs and current opportunities". Also he criticizes Seyfi Arkan in the context of representing "eclecticism turning towards contemporary universal products" (Özer, 1961, p.61).

4.2.2. The Importance of Micro Components of Architecture: Üstün Alsaç "The Evolution of Architectural Thought in the Republican Period"

The text of *The Evolution of Architectural Thought in the Republican Period* was published by Üstün Alsaç in 1970. The discourse of Alsaç includes the widespread opinions about scientification of that period when scientification ideas of the "discipline of architecture" become important. Besides, in these years when postmodern discussions retain currency and values belonging to every country become important, Alsaç partially comprehends "neglected regional values" in his discourse. The point that makes his discourse privileged in the period 1960-1980 is that he inquires into the boundaries of the discipline by means of these ideas.

The hallmark of his discourse includes the events which are thought to be neglected in the framework of discussions of how the boundaries are formed, what events are

excluded, and what events are included. He implies the necessity of history writing of modern architecture as being based on these events which are the indicators of the spontaneous process of modernity.

4.2.2.1. Alsaç's History-Writing Method

Pursuing method of historiography which legitimises the entirety of history, Alsaç constitutes this continuity as handling the events chronologically and forming their social relations. He also legitimises the entirety of history by using architecture pragmatically underneath the apprehension of the nation-state. In other words, architecture emerges as the indicator of the nation-state ideology in the realm of history writing. His convincing mechanisms run by way of finding the social context of architecture in the nation-state ideology. Considering "the relationship between expanding fields of architecture and the social basis" important, he focuses also on their relations among each other in the period. This method of history writing accepts the reality clearly that architecture is not formed only of morphological structure, and emphasizes the social basis of the architecture. However, it cannot move in the epistemology of architecture, and it reads and constructs architecture by the help of other disciplines' epistemology.

The framework which the book suggests is the examining of the period of the Early Republic in terms of architecture and social structure including architecture. He starts this period with the Foundation of the Republic, because he explains this event as constituting a threshold of the process of modernity (Westernisation). He discusses 'Westernisation attempts' that were made before Republican Period as superficial reforms, on the other hand expounding the Republican Period as changing society fundamentally. The ambiguity of this thought is that he describes the period as a process of the pursuit of the modernity project which had begun before, looking at architecture and its expanding fields, rather than describing it as a breaking point. In spite of bringing up this continuity, he also describes this period as a threshold, albeit implicitly. Thus, being the threshold, the Foundation of the Republic is a prejudice for him.

The Foundation of the Republic and the alterations created by the revolution constitute a ground for his reading of architecture, and determine the evaluation criteria. His method

consists of raising the social circumstances of the period and the latter's reflection on architecture. He explains this approach as follows: "Changing the structure of society, thought, and daily life of people, revolutions modificated function of architecture, requirement of architecture, and affected architectural thought that their aim answered these requirements" (Alsaç, 1976, p. 58). Although these relations can be viewed as common in the condition of this period, some of the relations which he constructed could not transcend the juxtaposition of the events. For instance, when he mentions the religious buildings, he uses an expression in order to explain the changing of material construction in the mosque architecture:

> The dome was built as a shelter, but it was not a construction that reflected the hierarchical order which is old, agricultural, craftsmanship, ending with the padishah. Thus, it is not a construction that material of natural stone being composed stone by stone, and ending with the keystone. The domes of new mosques are constructed at once by the concrete material which is a homogenous material being produced industrially by a relatively homogenous society (Alsaç,1976, p.106).

Establishing the relations directly between social structure and material construction is not persuasive. The physical event of architectural practice and its direct relations with the political structure are not realities that juxtapose easily.

The construction of the modern based on "dichotomous categorizations brought by nation-state ideology" emerges in the discourse of Alsaç. They can be read in the classifications of the architecture constructed chronologically, and they are described as the polarities which cannot be met. Thus the events taking place in between seem to be neglected. Nevertheless, in the conditions of his elaborating the micro structures, this clarity disappeared and transition from one pole to the other can be seen. The hesitation of his discourse can be followed by the help of these examples. In the context of this hesitation, his discourse is not convincing. The criteria of the evaluation of the buildings becomes indefinite, and in some cases it also emerges as again based on this dichotomous categorizations.

He focuses on residential architecture and religious constructions which are the indicators of the micro structures in the realm of architecture. After bringing up the changing process of the residential he evaluates it as: "Residential architecture is an

architecture that constituted its own synthesis in Ottoman-Turkish architecture. In the Republican period, residential architecture saved its anonymous qualities. For that reason, it is distinguished from architectural phenomena which were created consciously, and thus it clearly reflects change" (Alsaç, 1976, p. 103). This evaluation shows that Alsaç likely thinks that the objectivity of the history of modern architecture can only succeed by following changes in the fields that have been mentioned. Although he does not produce an evaluation of his classifications, he explains the selected buildings as not being the representative of the age: "What the aim of showing these selected examples is that they are the signs of the synthesis, and they have the qualities of showing the ways of reaching to synthesis" (Alsaç, 1976, p. 149). His expression of "the buildings that are the signs in terms of arriving at synthesis" is the indicator of the value of a building arriving at the ideal synthesis which did not exist. The influence of Özer's discourse can be seen at this point. Özer also does not mention the building answering the concept of real architecture (Özer, 1961). Tanyeli describes the buildings of this period as being "modernist" but not modern.

In the text, the religious architecture has a location discussed in terms of different points of view. Lack of the names of mosques is related to his description of the religious buildings as "only one function that was not affected by change." The other reason is that the number of them is few in this period because of their fall out of use as symbols of Ottoman architecture in the rational-functional period. He explains the only unchanging function in two ways. One of them are "the revolutions in the Republican period did not have the quality of changing the functions of religious architecture." The other is that "revolutions did also not change the symbolic functions of religious architecture" (Alsaç, 1976, p. 104).

Alsaç is aware of the importance of religion, which is one of the micro structures in the realm of architecture. "The peak point which was arrived by the buildings of Architect Sinan was also the symbol of organization of the society, richness of the society, the success of military, art, and commerce" (Alsaç, 1976, p. 105). Nevertheless, although Alsaç expounds developments in architecture as being based on social change, he does not follow the same method in explaining religious architecture. For instance, though he brings up the changes which were made by firstly employing indicators that had the symbolic value of the old in the Republican Period, he does not explain the reason of

unchanging symbolic values of the religious architecture. Not being changed, the symbolism of the mosque, which was the most important symbol belonging to old, could form the ground of discussion of new and old, and how the society reacts to newness. However, the discourse of Alsaç is far from this plane of discussion, and the questions are not answered. Was society not ready for rapid change the religious architecture which is the crucial symbol belonging to the old? Were the nationalist intellectuals afraid of the predicted reaction of society? Despite the fact that the criteria of the other buildings' competition included the appropriation of the rational and functional approach, the competitions of the mosque did not have the same obligations. Was this too, the indicator of being afraid of the reaction of society?

These questions do not have to be answered in the realm of architectural history which is written in the proper epistemology of architecture, but the desire to find answers is related to his method of discourse, since the alterations of architecture are described as being related to the social structure and politics. Although the discussion method of micro structures in the realm of architecture is not convincing, among others this text places in a different location in terms of mentioning the existence of them and expounding them as basic indicators of the changes.

Alsaç evaluates each period in terms of its own conditions. Besides pointing out their positive sides, he also criticizes them. However, he sees each period as the part of the developing process and he brings up the fact that the architecture of the period under those circumstances had to be perceived as it was. In short, each period is examined with its social context, and he finds the reasons of that architecture's constitution in the social conditions, rather by means of a retrospective point of view. As he has put it: "trying to bring up the influences on architecture of social and cultural developments that started with the Republic, we can follow the improvement of the thought that seems to be natural in the conditions of the present" (Alsaç, 1976, p. 50).

As mentioned before, according to him the buildings of the period are not the indicators expressing the characteristic of the period totally. There are only a few examples which show signs of synthesis. Not giving names of most of them, he exemplifies a few of them, and their pictures locate in the last pages of the text chronologically. They are free from text. Although he does not analyse buildings morphologically, he focuses on the

concepts modified in them. Nevertheless, which concrete indicators are referenced by the concepts cannot been understood because of separation of the visual material from the text.

Constituting the thought of the foundation of modernity by basing it on dichotomous categorizations, these concepts emerge on the scene some parts of the text, and they do not have priority in the text. On the other hand, the dualities of contemporary-traditional, old-new, ornamental-simple, and functional-eclectic can be met. Opposing the texts written by other historians, and the texts that are published in the period's architectural periodicals, cubic architecture is named as rational prismatic. This expression is used to modify the examples of Western architecture, but it is not used to describe even the buildings of Seyfi Arkan and Şevki Balmumcu in Turkish architecture. In this context, what the aim of the usage of the concepts cannot be understood. In other words, it cannot be read clearly to what these oppositions refer in the realm of architecture except for the oppositions that are brought by nation-state ideology. However, the fact that the opposite concepts are not dominant in the text can be a conscious preference. Since, being aware of disappearing of the events that locate in between the strict oppositions, he mentions them as expressing the development objectively.

These concepts seem to be the description of the buildings under the influence of the historians because of not having a priority in the constitution of the text. At this point, the influence of Özer can be seen clearly. In his criticism of the architects in terms of being romantic, and in his description of architecture that answers the necessities of the society with current opportunities can also be read as the traces of Özer's discourse. His reference to Western architecture is primarily Giedion. The latter's programmatic and pastoral history writing method can be followed in Alsaç's discourse. Besides his history- writing directed towards construction of the entirety, it also embodies the events that were excluded such as the examples of residential architecture and religious architecture. However, they are located in different sections in the text because of not handling in the first section. In this framework, there are two different architectural milieu and they cannot meet in text. Therefore, although other buildings are noticed, they are not included in his history writing.

4.2.2.2. Alsaç's Conception of Architecture

Scientification also comes to the fore in Alsaç's conception of architecture. He founds his discourse on the scientification of architecture and adjacent (education, the theory of architecture, criticism of architecture, organization, the industry of material, publications, etc.) which are included in the discipline and affect it directly or indirectly. He handles architecture as a part of a larger system constituted by the social structure, and for this reason he locates architecture in a socially related way. Therefore, the analysis of social change in the Republican Period of Turkish architecture embodies the main part of the text. The critical point is that he bases the distinction between modern architecture and pre-modern architectures on scientification, though he elaborates architecture in a much wider context. According to him, the architectural practice in the pre-modern era is unconscious due to not being science-based, whereas in the modern era it is conscious due to the fact that it's science-based. He performs his view of modern architecture in Turkey and in the West through this criterion of consciousness.

4.2.2.3. Alsaç's Conception of Modern Architecture and His Concept of Modern

Alsaç's conception of modernity is also based on scientification. Every attitude that is formed via rational and scientific thought is "new" and "modern" in itself. "The conscious" is a fundamental point of his thought of scientification. Thus, the exact threshold of the process of Turkish modernization is the foundation of the Republic because the said culture is one of "looking at the West consciously." According to him, previous developments did not carry this conscious element. Scientification confronts us once we identity the concept of the modern as the "new." What tracks the new in any field is a new point of view integrated with rational thought and scientification. At the same time these new points of view spread over entire social practices by interaction among different disciplines because of the society is a whole.

Being distinctive from other historians, Alsaç names modernism–coming to be a style- as "rational-prismatic," rather than identify it with Cubism. He focuses on the Bauhaus

in terms of effecting on Turkish architecture. He examines the newness of Bauhaus which is affected by the movements of the Arts and Crafts, the Werkbund, de Stijl, albeit in different aspects. These aspects consist of the simplicity, economicness, rationality, propriety to function, usage of the material as rational, the appropriate education fitting industrial production, and the art of construction integrating all art branches (Alsaç, 1976, p. 24). The notions of the expansion of residential architecture and of architecture emancipated from the plan. Although he specifies forerunners such as Le Corbusier, Buckminister Fuller, his approach is centred around the general principles of the Bauhaus. In his own history writing method, he uses the concept of architecture in the Bauhaus as deployed through numerous fields (material, education, relation with the other art branches, etc.) in order to expand his discourse. In this context, Alsaç's discourse disperses in different scopes of the discipline such as education, the organisation of architects and architecture, material industry, publishing tools.

4.2.2.4. Alsaç's Conception of Modern Architecture in Turkey and His Logic of Classification

The text of Alsaç is composed of two sections generally different from each other. While studying the Republican period of Turkish modern architecture he pursues a classification logic that is not distinct from that of other historians. In section two, he mentions micro-structures such as residential architecture and religious architecture that comprise the exact acceleration of modernization. In this section, he concentrates on the necessity of the existence of Turkish modern architecture history over these microstructures without giving any examples. On the contrary, with this lean thinking, in section one he proceeds with a strict classification logic, and he settles his discourse without inquiring into other classifications that had been previously devised. In this section, the method of Alsaç is to have interact the alterations in the realm of architecture in the West with alterations in Turkey directly.

The period before the Republic is described as The First National Architecture. The developing process of architecture in the Republican Period is examined in four parts. These are 1-The Period of the Revolutions: Rational-Functional Architecture (1930-1940), 2- The Return to Regionalism: The Second National Architecture (1940-1950),

3- The Opening up to Universal Architecture: Open Forms of Architecture (1950-1960),

4- The Last Period: Toward Social Problems in Architecture (1960-1973).

He mentions The First National Architecture that is described as an eclectic Turkish new classicism as being under the influence of nineteenth century Western architectural approaches. The eclectic-formalist side of this apprehension had priority because it did not start the industrialisation in Turkey. This period was hesitant, complex, and changeable. Although he does not mention the social basis of Western architecture, he brings up the social reasons of this apprehension's acceptation in Turkey (disintegration of the empire, providing the symbols which reintegrated society in architecture). On the other hand, the influence of Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Bey is mentioned.

Alsaç describes the dominant approach of the Revolution Period as Westernisation and as the conscious look at the West consciously. The basis of the thought of Westernisation includes "understanding the rescue from exploitation of the West even this implies occupying if the same level as it" (Alsaç, 1976, p. 95). According to Alsaç, the rational-functional architecture emerged as the result of looking at the West consciously. In this context, the thought of the Bauhaus was realized and it affected in development of Turkish modern architecture (Fig. 4.11.).
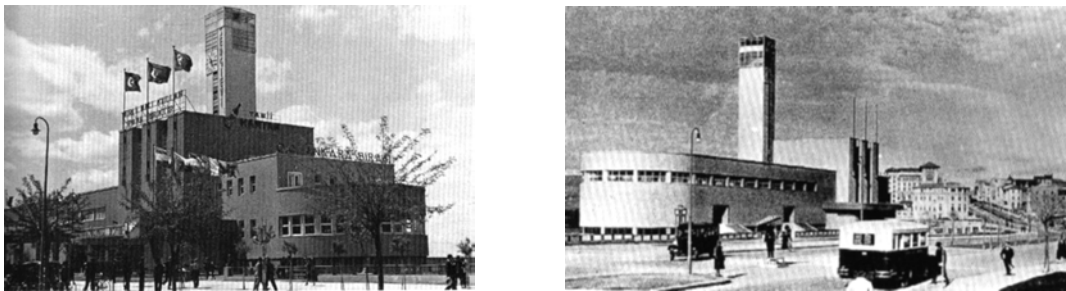
Fig.4.11. A major architectural and cultural icon of Kemalist Ankara: the Exhibition Hall (1933-1934) by Şevki Balmumcu, (Bozdoğan, 2001).

The second National Architecture is the second stage of returning regionalism. He explains this reversal several aspects. One of them is noticing the relationship between architecture and its regional conditions as implemented by Turkish architects. The second is regional architecture perceived as a struggle against foreign architects, the third is the influence of Western nationalist movements that occurred around 1930.

According to Alsaç, the last but the most important reason is that with the start of the Second World War, the materials (steel, glass, cement, etc.) that had been until then imported taken from Europe could no longer be imported, with the result of stagnation of the construction sector. Differing from The First National Architecture, The Second National Architecture looks for the fundamentals of the nationalism in the Turkish traditional architecture. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Emin Onat, Bedri Ucar are the active architects of this period. The Ankara Devlet Demiryolları, Ankara Fen Fakültesi, and Anıtkabir are the buildings that expressed the architecture of this period.

After this period he mentions the period of Open Form Architecture which started with the project of the İstanbul Adalet Sarayı. Examining its constitutive conditions, he suggests several reasons. One of them is that opening in 1944 in Ankara, the English Architectural Exhibition was so effective as to introduce different architecture outside of the German architecture. Notice of different modern architecture caused the weakening of national architecture. Starting the process of liberalism is the second reason. On the other hand, different approaches that emerged in world architecture were effective in terms of expanding the point of view.

Turkish architects were influenced by these different approaches, and they turned towards rational architecture that laid the foundations of the Rational-Functional period. According to Alsaç, the İstanbul Adalet Sarayı, the İstanbul Belediye Sarayı (1953), the Turkish Pavillion in the Brussels Exhibition (1957), and the Vakıflar Turistik Oteli (SheratonOteli) are the important buildings of this period. Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat were the architects who were effective in architectural milieu in terms of their products in architectural practice and their effective roles in architectural education.

As we have mentioned before, according to him the buildings of the period are not the indicators that expressed the characteristic of the period totally. They are only a few examples which show a sign of synthesis. Not giving names of most of them, he exemplifies a few of them and their pictures. These are presented without text and are located in the last pages of the text chronologically.

Alsaç mentions the architecture of Seyfi Arkan who was part of "the movement of rational-functionalist" architecture defined as the "Revolutions period." He describes this period in positive terms due to the fact that this period's architecture constitutes a ground to the next generation of architecture and some facilities of it exist up to now. Looking through the whole of his text, we see that the work of Seyfi Arkan is handled in the framework of "the architecture" that "consists of problems other than monumentality. The most important of these is the residential architecture and another quality of architecture is publicism" (Alsaç,1976, p.28).

Since Alsaç did not deal with morphological analysis buildings, his thinking about Arkan's architecture is understood through the period's general elaboration. According to Alsaç the era of Revolutions is the period of understanding the West consciously. In this period the effective architectural thought in the West is the Bauhaus. It influences Turkish modern architecture with its simplicity, economicness, rationalism, convenience to function, purifity and ornamentlessness (Alsaç, 1976, p. 21). In this context, Arkan's architecture is the reflection of rational-functional architecture mentioned above in respect to Turkey. Alsaç insists on the Türkiş Community in Zonguldak and the Kömüriş Community in Kozlu of Seyfi Arkan.

The architecture of Sedad Hakkı Eldem is examined in "the Movement of the Second National Architecture" and in the period of "Opening up to Universal Architecture". Alsaç evaluates the text "Toward Local Architecture" by Eldem published in 1940 in the journal *Arkitekt* as a manifesto which improves on the thought of national architecture theoretically (Alsaç, 1976, p. 32).

Eldem is one of the active architects who applies his thinking on the practice of architecture. Besides the alterations in the range of architecture, the start of the Second World War deepens the nation, introversion. In this context, in the movement of the Second Nationalist Architecture, Turkish civil architecture was handled as resource to nationalism. Alsaç cites as example the building of the Science Faculty by Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat as the architecture of that period. "This building reflects a certain rationality and convenience to function, in spite of its symmetric plan schedule and monumental columns at the height of a few floors. Even though, it has universal qualities which could place in any European city" (Alsaç, 1976, p.35).

Alsaç bases the period of "Opening up to Universal Architecture" on the idea of bringing solutions to open forms. He starts this period in the project of the İstanbul Adalet Sarayı by Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat. The different approaches in the architectural milieu of the West affect this period architecture:

> Turkish architects utilize this 'wide-range thinking and formation scale' approaching to rational-prismatic and subjective-organism to the extent that Turkey tolerates. The understanding of elaboration of environment conditions consciously takes the place of national architecture. Interpretations become more subjective, new materials, construction methods, and technical facilities are started in use, new formal approaches are started to be sought (Alsaç, 1976, p. 43).

Besides the effectiveness of Eldem's practice of architecture, his efficacy in the realm of architectural education becomes important in terms of that period's architecture. His process of architectural theory and architectural practice is reflected directly in education and survives with the architects to whom he was master.

Seyfi Arkan and Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who are among the important architects of the Republican period, are evaluated positively in the text of Alsaç. Elaborating on these two architects, he handles them in the context of the products they construct under the period's circumstances rather than in the context of their architecture's scientific value. .

4.2.3. The Scientific Approach on Turkish Architectural Historiography: Metin Sözen, "Republican Period Turkish Architecture" (1923-1983)

In the 1970s, the discipline of architecture was handled scientifically, and this approach also reflected in the realm of architectural history writing in Turkey. *Turkish Architecture of the Republican Period (1923-1973),* which was written by Sözen in 1973, is a text that focuses on scientific quality in terms of the description of architecture, the evaluation of the architectural product, architectural education, and the other fields of architecture. The problem of determining a method that related with each subject is concentrated on.

Nevertheless, nowadays the constitution of architecture as a science causes problems in terms of its own practice and its own epistemology briefly. Problems focus on the point

that of scientification leans on "the existence of unique truth." The core, however, of the discipline of architecture quite contradicts.

This conception of architecture and its evaluation cause a problem in the realm of architectural history writing. This problem emerges as relating to the *prise de position* of the historian. Usage of the criterion of the present, which is tantamount to being scientific in this framework, causes initially to look toward the past in the context of the present in the evaluation process of the architectural product created with the criterion of the past. Thus, this retrospective perception of the past displays that receding from its own context, the past is tried to be located in the context of the present. Consequently, it is the acceptance of the realities of the past as chances missed from the beginning.

In the discourse of Sözen, the second feature caused by this period's conditions are the rising importance of regional factors. The characteristic properties of this period which regards every country's regional values as important and discussions of postmodernity are pervasive as significant in Sözen's discourse as in Alsaç's. However, this wide-ranging point of view and the value attached to multifariousness can be seen only in the construction of the modern architecture in the West. This point of view is not encountered in the construction of the Republican period of Turkish architecture.

4.2.3.1. Sözen's History-Writing Method

Like the other historians, Sözen follows a historiographic method that is entire and constructive. Since he employs a linear concept of time, modern architectural history of Turkey acquires a structure in his work that displays developing quality. He examines this period of architecture retrospectively with a method whereby the divides the era intervals he elaborates both affirmatively, and negatively.

His discourse also comprehends the "mechanisms of exclusion" which are part of the constructive structure. He is writing the history of architecture which is formed by the foundation of the Republic and the ideology of the political power. His discourse cannot help but remain in the sway of the circumstances of the strict classification determined by other historians in the phase of the construction of Turkish modern architecture, though it involves varieties of postmodern thought.

The logic of his strict classification leans partially on the claim of being scientific. Handling the architecture as a whole, Sözen argues that the true evaluation of the product comes possible only if the product is taken up in terms of its place in a net its relationships rationally. Thus criticism has to be developed that not only is based on the product, but also on the examination of the latter's network of relationships that had constituted the product's original context. These relationships, which are formed by technological, social, economic, political, ethnic, educational, and traditional components, are according to Sözen, values determined by mathematical essentials. Understanding of the true product can only be attained by achieving a true analysis and evaluation (Sözen, 1973, p.18). In this context, Sözen reduces the dialectical relations, that may reside on ethical (true/false), or aesthetic (well/bad) ground, to a single structure. True design is at once good. However, Sözen does not accept its opposite. The concept of good, which is the indicator of a subjective conception, does not appear along with the true. Thus every good design cannot be true.

Concepts are utilized both affirmatively and negatively for some judgments; though they are not dominant in the text. However, they are on slippery ground, and are located in a dispersed way. The concepts, which are attributed negative and positive place in the text in which they are dispersed, and sometimes what they expresses cannot be understood. His negative concepts are subjective, romantic, eclectic, irrational, inconsistent, and false; positive concepts are functional, rational, objective, scientific, pure and simple, and true.

Generally following Özer's , Sözen tries to constitute a platform for theoretical discussion. The reason of this is the lack of the morphological analysis of buildings. On the other hand, the visual encyclopaedia that contains photographs of buildings, serves buildings from text since it is located at the end of each part. Being independent from the text, this part confronts us a different section existing in itself. The details that are shown in the pictures become meaningless as they remain without commentary, without morphological analysis of details and of the order of solids. Nor do we in fact ultimately find there a platform of theoretical discussion. Sözen is unable to constitute such platform with reference to a science of architecture and its chain of relations, though he does emphasise scientification as one of the mechanisms of persuasion. .

4.2.3.2. Sözen's Conception of Architecture

Although Sözen follows a strict method because of his desire to be scientific, his description of the architecture emerges as rather general and rather flexible. "Architecture includes the activity of spontaneous or conscious arrangement of the physical environment. The arrangement of the physical environment is based on the necessity of responding a need" (Sözen, 1973, p. 9). In opposition to this description, the conception that tries to set the evaluation of architecture and architectural product upon strict norms is visible in his text. Design and application process are handled as a system and the necessity of placing different architectural components into a context of direct or indirect relations are given as historiographic method. The main aim of the determination of this method is the desire for evaluating the product objectively as being true or false. According to Sözen, this evaluation can only be possible the through scientific examination of the construction process (Sözen, 1973, p.10).

In this context, he describes true architecture (modern architecture) as being based on objective, scientific ground, and as functionalist architecture. Although he does not conduct morphological analysis, it can be understood from his examples what architecture he has in mind. His conception of modern architecture mentioned in his analysis of Turkish and Western modern architecture, is simple, uses the material rationally, universal, and at the same time considers the appropriation of the context.

4.2.3.3. Sözen's Understanding of Modern Architecture and His Concept of Modern

Sözen's conception of modernity is like Alsaç's, based on the scientific. Each thought formed by rational and scientific thinking is "new" and "modern." "Appropriation of the new" and "rejecting of the old" also emerge in Sözen's discourse, as in other historians' we have looked at. This conception that had arisen along with the ideology of the political power, confronts us with the "rejection of the Ottoman Empire" in his discourse. The Ottoman Empire consistently represents the old and, for that reason, is constructed negatively.

However, the conception of modern architecture in Sözen is rational, simple, and universal, at the same time regional and the body of architecture that is his aim to explain is one that is surmised to respond to social needs. Differing from other historians, he examines Western modern architecture in a wide to spectrum. Some architects, institutions, and publications, which are not encountered in the texts of other historians, do come up in his text. Moreover, it is hard to encounter all these examples in one text even in the Western modern architectural history. This may be interpreted as follows: the texts of modern architecture in the West are produced along exclusionary lines and mechanisms, viz. in terms of constituting the discourse in a hierarchical structure wherein some architects and their thought have priority. On the other hand, most of these architects and their thought are neglected and excluded as they damage the wholeness and consistency of the discourse constructed. However, although Sözen produces a number of exclusionary mechanisms when examining the Turkish modern architecture that are very much like the exclusionary mechanisms found in Western architectural discourses, he does not do the same when exemplifying Western modern architecture. On the contrary, he follows a method which is different when tackling the latter.

Sözen examines Western modern architecture on the basis of the developments in the early years of the twentieth century, when the entire social domain underwent transformation. The architecture of the nineteenth century, which was seen as a branch of art and was evaluated subjectively, transformed the architecture of the twentieth century, which aimed at responding to the need of society. Thus, substituted for personal functionalism social functionalism was (Sözen, 1973, p. 89). After describing the Werkbund which was launched in 1907 as the innovating institution of modern architecture, he puts forward the rationalist approach to standardisation of a Muthesius, the early work of Frank Lloyd Wright, the pure and simple products of Adolf Loos, and the work of August Perret. In tandem with these examples, he elaborates his exemplification by examining the periodicals of Webdingen and De Stijl, the group of 8 en op bouw, the Bauhaus, Futurism, CIAM, the work of Russian constructivists, Pieter Oud, Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Bruno Taut, Eric Mendelsohn, Theo van Doesburg, Gerrit Thomas Rietveld, Johannes Duiker, and Ernst May (Sözen, 1973, p. 90-91).

It is difficult to come upon the architects who took into consideration the regional components in Western modern architecture in 1930-1939 in the historiographic texts of this period. Sözen mentions this apprehension in the context of the work of Alvar Aalto, J.H. von den Broek, Marcel Breuer, Lucio Costa, Arne Jacobsen, Egon Eirmann, Alfred Roth, Junzo Sakakuro, Guiseppe Terragni, Kunio Maye, and Oscar Niemeyer. Consequently, Sözen supports the concepts of modernity which concentrates on the context and different approaches of the modern architecture rather than on the concept of modernity that is determined by the morphological components of the product, reduces modern architecture to Cubism, and offers limited and narrow conception of modernity. .

His apprehension of modernity may be understood in his evaluation of foreign architects' products and their role in architectural education. He proposes his argument by displaying their work as indicators of universal architecture, and by describing them in positive terms. Especially in Özer's work, these said architects had posed important problems. Elucidating their work as not supporting the basic aims of modern architecture, Özer had seen them as proponents of an architecture that impeded Turkish modern architecture. Thus the manner of handling foreign architects is a prime indicator of the difference between Özer's discourse and Sözen's. Sözen's conception of architecture, which gives priority to the regional features, and at the same time supports a universal approach, is the hallmark of this differentiation. When looking at the work of foreign architects in this period, it can be seen that they diverged from contemporary avant-garde work. On the other hand, pursuing different architectural approaches, which were sometimes universal and on occasion regional, they went to and fro between the concepts of regional and universal.

4.2.3.4. Sözen's Conception of Modern Architecture in Turkey and His Logic of Classification

Sözen's exemplification of the Turkish modern architecture emerges against the background of conception of modern architecture, which is not limited to the morphological components of the products and necessitates scientific ground. The same may be read in the work of Bekir İhsan Ünal, Seyfi Arkan and The Second National

Architecture. In the examples of The Second National Architecture, the act of basing the products of Turkish traditional architecture on scientific ground are described positively by Sözen.

> Domes and columns which were the important components of the Ottoman classical architecture were used appropriate to the aim and functional, rather were copied like in the architecture of Kemalettin Bey and Vedat Bey. These works, which determined the true relations between form and function, constituted a ground for the developments of the architecture of 1940s and 1950s" (Sözen, 1973, p.195).

However, although the work of Bekir İhsan Ünal and Seyfi Arkan were architectural products that were universal and appropriate to the contemporary developments, Sözen evaluates them negatively. According to Sözen, the reason is that their work was not scientific and they produced imitations of Western work (Sözen, 1973, p.197).

Citing the architecture that is required to respond to social need rather than to subjective need, Sözen criticizes the architecture of the Republic as being responsive to the need of determined group.

> "When the architectural product does not respond to wide range of the society, the social and cultural developments of the society become strange to the architect, so the formal attitudes and the models of inner space organizations are imposed on the society. Monument and representative buildings are symbols. These products were far away responding the prior need of society, and they were produced by superficial opportunities" (Sözen, 1973, p.195).

Although he does not bring up it clearly, Sözen mentions the influence of the nation-state ideology in the realm of architecture.

When we examine how Sözen has constructed Turkish modern architecture, we find there a strict and clear classification. He examines the architecture by separating it into five phases. Turkish Architecture between 1910 and 1927, Turkish Architecture between 1927 and 1933, the Transition Period to National Architecture (1930-1940), The Second National Turkish Architecture (1940-1950), and Current Architectural Activities. He also examines Western modern architecture in the same periods, resulting in a comparative discourse.

Sözen mentions the work of Vedat Bey and Kemalettin Bey in the first period which he describes as the Neo-Classical Period of Turkish architecture. In opposition to developments in Western architecture, he evaluates this period negatively, and he criticizes it in terms of "handling architecture like a decorative art product" (Sözen, 1973, p.106). The work of the architects of this period is evaluated as constituting obstacles for the development of architecture. He estimates this period retrospectively by claiming "Realizing any architectural style, which belongs to the society and applying the real opportunities and the national architectural consciousness was correct" (Sözen, 1973, p.107). Not analysing the existent conditions, and not discussing the formative conditions of this architecture, he assesses architecture of the period negatively.

Sözen clarifies the important changes in terms of the architectural attitude in the second period when the influence of foreign architects became effective. He determines the threshold, because the foreign architects came to Turkey after 1927. He criticizes this period of architecture in terms of not spreading outside Ankara. In this context, the architecture of this period did not also respond to the social need. However, he evaluates this period more positively than the first period. Although the subjective and formalist attitude was pursued, the imitation of style came to an end.

In this text, Turkish architecture between 1930 and 1940 is also deemed as subjective architecture, as it was based on aesthetic and classical ground under the influence of the reaction of Turkish architects to foreign architects and the eclectic attitudes in Germany and Italy. Although he evaluates the work of Turkish traditional architecture positively, he assesses work by Bekir İhsan Ünal and Seyfi Arkan negatively. This period is seen as one of the preparation period of third period. The existence of these buildings, which are estimated negatively by Sözen, could be adequate for evaluating this period as an important period rather the preparation level.

The Second National Turkish architecture between 1940 and 1950 is handled as a period when the influence of German architecture is effective. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Paul Bonatz, Holzmeister, Professor Egli, Architect Jost, Baurat Robert Oerley, Professor M. Elsaesser are the important architects of this period. "Fastidiousness of the detail designs, the equilibrium between the dimensions of the architectural components, and

the desire of creating the monument are the important features of their architecture" (Sözen, 1973, p.245). Sözen also criticizes architecture of this period in terms of not handling architecture scientifically. Anıtkabir Yarışması (1942), İstanbul Üniversitesi Fen ve Edebiyat Fakültesi (1943), Çanakkale Anıtı (1944), İstanbul Radyoevi (1945) and Taşlık Gazinosu (1950) are the important buildings of this period. (Sözen, 1973, p. 248).

4.2.4. An Analytical Documentation of Turkish Architectural Historiography: İnci Aslanoğlu, "The Early Republican Period Architecture"

The text, *The Early Republican Period Architecture* published in 1980 by Aslanoğlu has a crucial mission, even when evaluated in the conditions of today. This text in which the buildings are assessed by morphological analysis, has been an important source in the period when it was written and it continues to be so today in terms of the logic of its documentation. Although morphological analysis is the simple method in the realm of architectural history writing, her text filled a gap in the spectrum of history writing in Turkey, especially since, under the circumstances of Turkey, knowledge, especially knowledge of the buildings cannot be reached easily. Besides this examination, Aslanoğlu evaluates architecture in the social conditions it is located in. She classifies Turkish modern architecture on the basis of economic change. She focuses on the alterations in society and architecture which are the results of the economic alterations. The hallmark of her discourse is the stress on residential architecture which is one of the micro structures of society besides the morphological analysis of the buildings.

4.2.4.1. The History-writing Method of Aslanoğlu

Aslanoğlu also follows a historiographic method that is both constructive and legitimises the entirety. The entirety of the social structure becomes important besides the morphological analysis of the buildings. For that reason, she constitutes her discourse on a wide ground. This ground does not only accommodate social components, but architecture as well. She also widens the ground of architecture in itself. Specially her stress on residential architecture is an indicator of this. Her

discourse is based on determinism. On account of assessing the reasons of the events in a wide perspective, she broadens the point of view on architecture. On the other hand, her comparisons, which are based on morphological analysis, increase the capacity of her discourse to convince, even she sometimes constitutes rather direct relations among phenomena.

İnci Aslanoğlu works on the 'Early Republic Era' of 1923-1938, she basically studies this era in two different periods. In this examination, which she conducts according to the economical structure change, the period of 1923-1932 is considered as the liberal economic policy years and the 1932-1938 period is considered as the years of government economic policy. By accepting architecture as a concrete and natural outcome of the political, economic and socio-cultural environment, she states the need of this specific era of architecture to be evaluated in the setting specified by means of these values. However, her division of the era depends only on one fact, namely economic structure (Aslanoğlu, 1980,p.1).

Not only in order to demonstrate the periods of Turkish Architecture, but also to elucidate the attachment of the Ottoman Empire towards western civilizations as well as explain some changes in the European architecture, she uses the economic structural changes. After narrating that in the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire had attained its classical values in the political, economic, and social spheres, she also declares that the attachment to the west in the nineteenth century was linked with political and economic facts. She also tells about "the building types that appeared as a need after the changes in the economy" in the same way, as a development in Western Architecture after the Industrial Revolution. She also says that the developments in the building technologies cannot be transferred to the "Ottoman, which has the primitive economical state" (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p, 2). As said before, although Aslanoğlu claims that architecture is related to all social facts, she reads the out coming differences only in the context of economics. But surprisingly, while examining the Turkish Architecture of 1923-1932 and of 1932-1938, she realises that the economic structure is independent from architecture except where the developments in the building industry are concerned which are directly connected to economic occasions.

The second conceptual examination made after the economic approach, emerges in the relationship of ideology and architecture. The ideologies such as Ottomanism, Islamism and Turkism which had appeared in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire in order to revive the Empire, changed into a new leading ideology called Kemalism or *Atatürkçülük* and the whole ideological structure of this era was shaped by this tendency.

In a similar way, she mentions that the relationship between politics and architecture that emerged between 1930 and 1940 in the western world has shown itself as the Neo-classical reflection on architectural practice. Aslanoğlu tries to demonstrate some cases as if they were related combinations by putting them together. One of these combinations is the relationship between ideology and architecture. This aspect which we may term 'parallelism' is shown as if it implied a different epistemology or sometimes involved the same approach for different cases in the same knowledge theory. For example, she evaluates Ziya Gökalp's participation in a jury as a mark of the close relationship of ideology and architecture (Aslanoğlu, p.13). In the same way, Aslanoğlu says that, "in the 'First National Architecture Period', the ideology-architecture combination shows itself as the use of the Ottoman Architectural patterns on the façades of the day," as a sign of her conception of parallelism (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p.14).

In this text in which the morphological analysis of the structures is the most important issue, some cases that have place in the architectural practice are directly related:

> The buildings which were built with the First National Architecture style are masonry or concrete carcass structures. The roofs of these buildings are made of steel or wooden trusses covered with shingles and the walls of the ground floor is made of rough stone and the first floor walls are made of brick. Especially, in the main façade rough stone lines form the basement surface coating. This is the reflection of the rustic coverings used in the basement of the buildings of Renaissance"(Aslanoğlu, 1980, p.20).

Another example she gives is the Mendelsohn effect on the residential buildings in Turkey in the 1932-1938 era. She especially relates the rounded balconies and corners of the buildings located on the corner parcel to the effect of Mendelsohn. Even though this idea is partially true, it should not be forgotten that the effect of *Art Nouveau* at the

end of nineteenth century and in the beginning of twentieth century also caused these shape changes in İstanbul. If this visual sign had been discussed from both sides, the questions that we ask would not appear (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 41).

What distinguishes Aslanoğlu from the other history writers is that she undertakes morphological structure analyses. These analyses support the persuasiveness of the classifications of Aslanoğlu, but also help document the buildings which were about to be demolished. For example, she claims that the "national style" of the western countries also showed itself in Turkish Architecture and she proves this claim by the help of the physical signs. She writes that the properties of the "national style," like flat roofs, the open plan, the conception of the cubical block, the nonsymmetrical look, large glass surfaces and linear horizontal windows can be seen in the examples of Turkish architecture of the time.

4.2.4.2. Aslanoğlu's Conception of Architecture

Architecture is located in Aslanoğlu's discourse as the important indicator of social change. It is a part of the whole structure of the society. Though the chain of relations is crucial in this structure, especially economic change and ideological structure emerge as components that affect architecture directly. She analyses architecture by locating the ground upon which social change is realized. In this context, she does not handle architecture in terms of its own epistemology, so there is not a strict description of architecture which is reduced to physical realities in her discourse.

4.2.4.3. Aslanoğlu's Conception of Modern Architecture and Her Concept of Modern

In contrast with her description of architecture, her conception of modern architecture is determined. The examples, which are analysed morphologically, are the products of modern architecture. Hers is the conception with determined boundaries and is universal. She conceives of modernism as a style.

Aslanoğlu comprehends modern architecture in the same way of Le Corbusier's cubist-purist architecture. Beside this, she defines the theories in the first years of modern architecture as "form follows function idea, ornament is unnecessary, the briefness in the use of material and the break apart of architecture from the tradition" (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p.2). Parallel to this approach, it can be seen that she takes modern architecture as a "rationalist attitude" and the modern concept as "the new" (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 20).

4.2.4.4. Aslanoğlu's Conception of Turkish Modern Architecture and Her Logic of Classification

Aslanoğlu classifies Turkish modern architecture on the basis of the economy, as mentioned before. Her classification of Turkish modern architecture examined in two main parts includes other historians' classifications, but Aslanoğlu also writes of the distinct part of Turkish modern architecture. For that reason, buildings' and architects' names do not differentiate much in her discourse. The hallmark of her discourse is that she examines the residential architecture besides public architecture.

Aslanoğlu defines the architecture of the 1923-1932 period when the Kemalist or Atatürkçü ideology had become the leading ideology, as an architecture that strives for a purify devoid of all foreign affect (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 13). Because of the supportive approach of the government towards the national style, and the country's internal policy, Aslanoğlu maintains that no other styles had emerged at that time. Although she says that the thought structure of the period had been formed by Kemalist ideology, parallel to this, the government also supported the national architectural style. It is not convincing that the architecture that has the ornaments and patterns of the Ottoman style had been supported by the ideologies of the new government. Another unconvincing point is where she says that Turkey was closed to western ideologies. The relations of Turkey with the western countries have a past which goes as far back as to Ottoman times. This is unconvincing, because it is known that foreign architects had worked in Turkey even in the last years of Ottoman sovereignty. Beside the fact that foreign architects were living in Turkey, it can also be seen that Turkish architects of the time were educated in western countries. It is therefore not possible to speak about Turkish architecture's anti-western look in that period. Vedat Bey and Kemalettin Bey, who had studied architecture abroad, built structures in the national architectural style with the

affects of the Neo-Classical Architecture which was an effective style beside the modern style in the day's western architecture. This is also a fact that proves the strength of the interrelations of Turkish Architecture with Western Architecture in the said period.

The public buildings which have the marks of the national architectural style can especially be seen in Ankara (the capital city of Turkey), then in İstanbul, İzmir, Konya and in many different cities of Turkey (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 13). Even though Aslanoğlu does not emphasize it even briefly, the enlargement of the railway system had positive effects on the spread of the public buildings made in the same style. Because the public buildings were located on the railway axes, they could spread out along the railways. The architects who had participated in the architectural practice of that time may be listed as Vedat Tek, Ahmet Kemalettin Bey, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, Tahsin Sermet, Necmettin Emre, Ahmet Kemal, Fatih Ülkü as Turkish architects, and Guilimo Mongeri, Theodor Post, Clemens Holzmeister and Ernst Egli as the foreign architects. There can be seen two different architectural styles in the perspective of the economic, socio-cultural, and political developments in Turkey in that period. The Turkish architects who are listed above created buildings in the national architectural style while the foreign architects (except Mongeri) were building in the international architectural style (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 17).

The Parliament Building (1924), Ankara Palas Hotel, Gazi and Latife Schools, the courthouse, post-office, Himayei-Etfal, the Ankara Gazi Farm train station building, Ziraat Bank Administrative Building (Mongeri), İş Bank Administrative Building, the bank buildings, office buildings and the Stock Exchange Building in İzmir, the Sağlık Bakanlığı Binası, Ankara Numune Hastanesi, Kızılay Merkez Binası, Ankara Etnografya Müzesi, Mimar Kemal İlkokulu, Hariciye Vekaleti, Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü, Devlet Demiryolları İşletme Binası, Musiki Muallim Mektebi, Merkez Hıfzıssıha Enstitüsü, Türk Ocağı (Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu), Tekel Başmüdürlük Binası (Mongeri), Milli Savunma Bakanlığı (Holzmeister), Orduevi (1929), Genel Kurmay Başkanlığı (1930), Türk Ocağı in Izmir (Necmeddin Emre) ve Konya'daki Postane Binası (Fatih Ülkü) are the national building examples.

In 1927 the law about the architects and engineers was made, in the same year Turkish architects participated to an international competition for the first time and in 1931 the organization of the first architectural competition in Turkey was made, also the publication of the first architectural periodical magazine was done, called "Mimar" which helped to inform people about the national and international architectural developments and which had become the voice of the architects (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 16).

Aslanoğlu chains that, "we can recognize a concept of the national architectural style when we look at the residential buildings of the era." One of the breakthroughs made in the residential building sector was the law that gave authority to the Ministry of Finance for the production of houses for officers in 1928. Although the need for residential stock was solved by the vacated houses of Armenians and Greeks, in the new growing Ankara it had been an urgent problem awaiting solution (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 22).

The first residential building examples which are not the free enterprise productions, are made by the Headmaster of the boards in different types and these are "the seven officer houses in a garden" designed by Kemalettin Bey and Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu in the national architectural style. The other examples of the board productions are the two floored single-family house groups in Hamamönü and the Gündoğdu Region. An apartment of the Orphanage Association, Ziraat Bank houses and the I. and II. Board apartments which were designed by Kemalettin Bey in 1927-1928 are some other residential examples of the period. The residential buildings of the period were criticized as being located too far from the city and as being isolated, internal house groups. Aslanoğlu defines these buildings as buildings which are hard to define. This is because of their break from the traditional Turkish House by their form and façade appearance both in the planning and landscaping context (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 25).

She declares that the building technologies of the houses in Turkey cannot even be compared with the ones used in the western countries. "By the superiority in technological field, Europe had solved the housing problem with the simple principles of the international architectural style, while in Ankara, the residential stock was tried to be made by the traditional building technologies, with an indefinite architectural style" (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 27).

The architecture of the 1932-1938 period, in which the principle of statism was effective, is that of a period when Turkish architects too had produced in the international architectural style. There are ones who continued to produce national style examples with the effects of the past and for resisting the foreign architects. Also the foreign architects had produced examples which had the effects of both styles. Especially after the law of "Teşvik-i Sanayi Yasası" (Encouragement of Industry Act) which had provided an opportunity for foreigners to work in the industry sector, the number of foreign architects who came to Turkey increased. Guilio Mongeri, Ernst Eglı, Bruno Taut, Martin Elsaesser, Henri Proust, Martin Wagner, Ernst Reuter, Theodor Post, Paul Bonatz and Clemens Holzmeister are some of the important architects practicing in the period who figure in Aslanoğlu's study. She especially distinguishes the work of Egli from the others. She underlines the good examples of Egli's functional international styled architectural work and also mentions his effects on architectural education in this respect. She also finds Holzmeister's work, who shows a different architectural trend from Egli, worth speaking of because of his unique behavioural creation, although she criticizes him in a way because his works are partially eclectic (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 38).

The Turkish architects who designed buildings in the modern concept, were producing buildings that displayed the identities of the buildings of Le Corbusier which he had designed in his purist-cubist period: "The properties like flat roofs, open plan, cubic block concept, nonsymmetrical approach, large glass surfaces and especially the linear vertical windows are also the characteristics of these buildings, too" (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 40).

Aslanoğlu explains the reason of Turkish architects accepting the modern theory by reasons such as comprehending the invalidity of the past architecture and the effort to be current, watching the developments abroad and the effort to be contemporary. The most typical purist buildings of the period are said to be the "Bayan Firdevs" house in Teşvikiye and Satie warehouse in Fındıklı in which were designed by Sedat Hakkı Eldem. The buildings which the vertical-horizontal balance may be observed (like some western buildings by Hoffman, Dudok, and Doesburg) in the Exhibition House in Ankara, Gar Music Hall, Ankara Su Terazisi and the Trakya pavilion in the International İzmir Fair building (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 42).

Besides this modern theory, the national architecture which carries effects of the Neo-Classical style of the western countries was active in that period. Aslanoğlu tells that in the defined time period, the relationship between politics and architecture in the West countries was stronger than in any other time period, yet the situation in Turkey was different. "In Turkey government powers never imposed an architectural style on the Turkish architects" (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 43). The reason of this is the effect of foreign architects who worked in Turkey. Aslanoğlu claims that, the reason for why this concept was accepted by Turkish architects is the reaction of the Turkish architects toward their foreign counterparts.

The public buildings of that period were designed by foreign architects like Holzmeister, Egli, Taut, Elsaesser and by some Turkish architects who had accepted the international style like Seyfi Aran, Şevki Balmumcu, Bedri Uçar, Şekip Açıkalın, Celal Biçer, and Sedat Hakkı Eldem. Although the foreign architects were active in the design of the public buildings, they did not design any residential buildings. Seyfi Arkan, Bekir İhsan Ural, Semih Rüstem, Abidin Mortaş, and Sedat Hakkı Eldem are the ones who designed residential buildings in that period (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 54).

The Parliament Building, Ministery Buildings, Government Houses, municipal halls, courthouses, TEKEL buildings, party offices and security buildings are the public buildings that were built. In the period, many of the public buildings were standardized by the Ministery of Public Works: government houses, post offices, schools, public banks, and public houses. Besides the school buildings by Ernst Egli and Bruno Taut, at that time many school buildings were built in all regions of Turkey. The important buildings of the period can be listed as the Ankara Exhibition House designed by Şevki Balmumcu, the railway station of Ankara, Ankara Emlak Bank and Merkez Bank, Sümerbank building, and the İller Bank (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 52-53).

The residential buildings of the 1930s are qualified designs and all have a special characteristic. Most of the residential buildings were designed by Turkish architects, which reflects progress in architecture since the beginning of the century. One or two floored houses and apartments are the residential stock of the time. The housing (mass housing) projects were very few, including the Amele Neighborhood in Ankara, 400

workmen houses in İzmir which were produced by the municipality, Zonguldak M.K.I. Workmen Houses which were designed by Seyfi Arkan for coal mine workmen (Aslanoğlu, 1980, p. 62).

The architecture explained in the classification of Aslanoğlu has been summarised in detail in this study in order to emphasize the different approaches she pursues in comparison to the other history writers. As is clearly seen, although Aslanoğlu examines this period in the same respect with the other historians, she enlarges the topic to include the residential perspective. The names of the architects, the names of the building examples which she cites and their morphological analyses are facts that help the construction of the composition. In this way, the buildings can sneak away from being only names or commercial acts and become concrete signs. The way she uses the visual material also supports this finding. Unlike the other history writers we have looked at, she places architectural drawings like plans, façades and the like next to the photographs of the buildings in the mise-en-page, with the result that she increases the persuasiveness of the text and reduces the deceptiveness of the photographs. This study also becomes an important source because of the quality of its documentation of the buildings in the said era.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

History that is a construction operation of the realities of the past on the plane of text has preserved its unified structure. Ideological, pragmatic, and exclusive, this structure displays the power of history. It becomes crucial in the case of not only determining the boundaries of a discipline in terms of exclusions and inclusions, but also affecting the developments of a discipline's practice. It also constitutes one of the activity fields of the discipline in terms of curating the knowledge of the past and transferring it to the future, and affecting the developments of the period. In this context, focusing on historiographic texts on Turkish modern architecture, how the Turkish modern architecture was constructed in them has been examined in this study.

Being one of the fields of discourse production, history-writing has been discussed in terms of forming conditions, limits, conceptions of the archive, and the usage of visual material in recent studies. The limits of author, commentary, and the discipline's own boundaries have been tried to be overcome. On the other hand, in opposition to the structure of unity and the pragmatic approaches of discourses, different history-writing methods have been produced. In this context, methods to overcome classic historiographic problems have been examined in this study, and their traces in the realm of architectural history writing discussed.

Despite the fact that the restrictive features of discourse production have been encountered in the texts of Western modern architecture that were written in the early years of twentieth century, these texts were written in architecture's own epistemology. Different discourses have been observed to emerge because of the effect of critical thought. On the other hand, this critical approach, forming a dynamic history writing tradition, formated the plane of discussion upon which the discipline's own boundaries and architectural practice were interrogated.

Examining the history writing of Western modern architecture with an eye to determining the location of Turkish history writing in this field, this study has

concentrated on the history writing of the Turkish modern architecture. Confronting the problem of locating the history model that was constructed without taking its own realities into account, history writing of the Turkish modern architecture followed a different direction. Besides being used in the aim of legitimizing the nation-state ideology, it became stuck in between because of the desire to adapt the history writing of Western modern architecture. It has been a pragmatic structure that was transferred from one historian to the other in a successive system.

This study analysed historians under four sub-headings. These are their "history-writing methods," their "conceptions of architecture," their "conceptions of modern architecture and their concepts of 'modern', their "conceptions of Turkish modern architecture, and their logic of classification." In general, we have seen that the discourses of these historians parallel the characteristics of the period in which they produced their texts. Focusing on the interval of 1960-1980, this study examined the texts of Bülent Özer —"An Essay on Regionalism and Universalizm" (1961), Metin Sözen — "Republican Period Turkish Architecture, 1923-1983 (1973), Üstün Alsaç— "The Evolution of Architecturel Thought in the Republican Period (1976-), İnci Aslanoğlu—"Early Republican Period Architecture" (1980).

Looking at their history writing methods, among the other historians, Özer becomes an innovator. Özer constitues architectural history in its own epistemology and reproduces an architectural history integrated with modernist historiography. His constructive history writing method, which legitimizes the entirety, can be seen in other historians' discourses. However, they constitute this entire structure in the conception of linear time concept. The notion of "the construction of the old as negative," which can also be seen in the nation-state understanding, can be followed in their discourses. In their time concepts, the Ottoman Empire that forms the past and represents the old is always handled negatively.

On the other hand, their negative construction of the past is also an indicator of their operative history writing methods. The aim of the operative method is legitimizing the current and future architecture by showing the problems of the past. At the same time, their operative discourses have a pragmatic structure. All of them construct the

architecture that is formed by the ideology of the political power. Especially in the discourses of Sözen, Alsaç and Aslanoğlu, the influence of social change on the architecture of the Republican period has become important. These historians evaluate architecture by locating it on the plane of social change. However Özer, locating architecture on the plane of architecture, mentions the effects of social change on architecture. Architecture is the part of the society and all discourses, but the discourse of Özer has an ideal structure and this structure is the description of architecture that can emerge at any time in the line of history. For that reason, Özer examines the architecture of the Republican period retrospectivelly and negatively. He criticizes the period by locating it at the present. Nevertheless, other historians do not handle it completely negatively. They evaluate it as a process that had to be lived.

"The notion of the construction of the modern over dichotomous categorizations" is characteristic of Özer's discourse. In the other historians' texts, dichotomous categorizations are also utilized under the influence of Özer and the nation-state ideology. However, these concepts do not have priority in their texts, and the values between these strict categories can be seen in the discourses of Alsaç and Aslanoğlu. Dwelling architecture, which is one of the micro structures of the society, emerges as subject in their text. The hallmark of their respective discourses is that they envisaged the importance of the micro structures in the process of modernization. According to them, micro structures reflect social change and the modernization process quite precisely. For that reason, the existence of modernity is realized in a surreptitious process, along with the process of modernity imported by the nation-state. These texts constitute crucial ground for current studies on account of the emphasis they place on micro structures.

The respective concepts of modernity of the four historians focus on the programmatic and pastoral notions. The programmatic view stresses the first level of meaning implied in the modern: the new. On the other hand, the pastoral concept of modernity is based on constructiveness. The pastoral view denies the contradictions, dissonances, and tensions that are specific to the modern and sees modernity as a concerted struggle for progress, uniting workers, industrialists, and artists around a common goal. Their conceptions of modernity explain the entire structure of their discourses.

On the other hand, modern architecture emerges as modernism, which in their texts becomes a style. This conception spells the Purism of which Le Corbusier was the forerunner. Although the texts of Alsaç and Sözen, apart from the others, focus on Purism, they also suggest the necessity of handling regional values. This specification of their discourses is related to the postmodern thought that was active in the 1970s in Turkey.

With respect to their construction of Western modern architecture. They are, however different from each other among the others, only Özer constructs Western modern architecture in the determined structure (in the frame of eclecticism). In others' discourses, it is handled in the context of buildings and architects. However, once looks at the names emphasized by them, one sees that Alsaç stresses Bauhaus and Aslanoğlu stresses Le Corbusier. Besides Alsaç and Aslanoğlu, Sözen mentions the architects who produced with an eye to regional values.

Besides this different classification of Western modern architecture, the classification of Turkish modern architecture does not different in their texts. Generally, the same classifications, the same architects, and the same buildings are emphasized. The lack of critical reason is observed in this framework. They got the classification logic of previous historians exactly. Their discourses' newness consists only in updating the names of architects and buildings.

Examining their evaluation of architects and products, one observes that they are caught up in the same system. For instance, the architecture of Vedat Bey and Kemalettin Bey (produced in the early years of twentieth century) are elaborated negatively in all the said historians. Especially Özer criticises them seriously. The others appraise this period as "the period which has to be realized," although they sometimes criticise it negatively. The reason for negative evaluation of this period is the fact that the evaluation is based on a nation of the period as "the rejection of the symbols that belong to the past."

Seyfi Arkan and Sedad Hakkı Eldem were also active in the period of the Early Republic. Özer criticizes their works in terms of the representation of eclecticism. In the others' discourses, the influence of Özer can be seen. Even though their apprehensions are not as negative as Özer, their work is not evaluated positively. Thus they do work

unbiased from conceptions. On account of decreasing impartiality, they sometimes give only the names of positions works without interpreting them.

In this framework, we may concluded that history writing of Turkish modern architecture has not been constructed on a plane of discussion due to still being far situated from critical thought. Besides the absence of critical thought, historiographic texts comprise a homogenous plane in terms of having similar structures that are articulated in relation one another. In contrast to the Western historiographical works on modern architecture that embody different vectors of discourse and display synchronization with architectural practice, historiographic texts on Turkish modern architecture were situated far from architectural practice. They are generally produced after the events rather than in the course of the formation of events. In this context, the power wielded by historiographic bore no efficacy in architectural practice.

The historiography of modern architecture in Turkey has had to wrestle with problems that lay outside proper epistemological field of architecture. One of these is the legitimation of a modernism formed by the vehicles of the nation-state ideology. Accepting the most important feature of physical change vis-à-vis symbolic meaning, architecture indeed had priority in the process of modernity. The assumption of form which has the ability of changing content was prioritised, but modern architecture carried on its practice within a limited area. One of the results of the study is that the texts of modern architecture have also been trapped in same area. Neglecting the modernity process which had developed simultaneously, the concepts of modernity gained priority, which imported the physical indicators of modernity from the West under the influence of nation-state ideology.

We have moreover seen that the conception of the nation-state in the framework of which the foundation of the Republic was accepted as a threshold, excluded the values of the past, viz. Values of the Ottoman Empire. Changes in the three communication loops that were included by society have aimed at explaining what changed in the Early Republican Period: first, the state mechanism; second, cultural institutions; and third, the complex scheme of language as a discourse— sources of self, identity markers, and tacit understandings that underlie both of the other loops and have a structuring force of

their own. In this period, loop one was constant, loop two was taken over from a foreign culture, and loop three was missing.

Looking particularly at the realm of architecture, one finds that architecture is included in the second loop so that it is contingent upon the condition of being appropriated from a foreign culture. The missing of the micro component of social dynamics has also been observed in the realm of architecture and architectural historiography. The surreptitious components of architecture, however, that bring about the acceleration of architectural production were neglected. The absence of them is attributable to the fact that modern architecture was comprised of certainties rather than ambivalences.

The historiography of Turkish modern architecture that was organized in terms of simple dichotomous means of categorization (tantamount to the reduction of complex differences) under the influence of nation-state ideology, has been evaluated in this study. In order to conclude that the historiography of Turkish modern architecture has a structure that neglects the micro components of architecture, the ethnic fundamentals (as they reside outside the description of Turkish identity), and their architecture. It is also concluded that it has a structure enabling the negative treatment of the realities of the past, as well as a pragmatic utilization that legitimises the nation-state ideology.

In this context, it has been suggested that historiographic texts about Turkish modern architecture in this period —this historiography formed the groundwork for current studies and has today completed its function— have to be rewritten with respect to new developments. Thus it is necessary that has so far been excluded has to be re-integrated in the structure of history, and in this context, historiographies (which await development according to different conceptions) have to be produced. Nevertheless, the milieu of architectural discussion has to be constituted in a fashion similar to the rigor of Western studies which have created series of new discussions by turning fresh eyes toward the early years of twentieth century architectural products.

REFERENCES

1- Alsaç, Ü., *Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi*, Trabzon, Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1976

2- Althusser, L., *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtlar*, İletişim Yayınları, 2000, İstanbul

3- Anderson, B., *Hayali Cemaatler*, Metis Yayınları, Ekim 1995

4- Arıkan, Z., "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Tarihçilik," *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi 6*, İletişim Yayınları

5- Aslanoğlu, İ., *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*, ODTÜ Yayınları, Phd, 1980

6- Berman, M., *Katı Olan Her Şey Buharlaşıyor*, İletişim Yayınları, 2000, İstanbul

7- Bilgin, İ., "Modernleşmenin ve Toplumsal Hareketliliğin Yörüngesinde Cumhuriyet'in İmarı", *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık,* Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, Eylül 1998

8- Bois, Y., "Cubistic, Cubic, and Cubistic" in *Architecture and Cubism*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1997, 187-194

9- Borden, I. , Rendell, J., "From Chamber to Transformer: Epistemological Challenges and Tendencies in the Intersections of Architectural Histories and Critical Theories" in *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories*, Ed. Borden,I , Rendell, J., Routledge Press, London, 2000

10- Bozdoğan, S., *Modernism and National Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, University of Washington Press, London, 2001

11- Burke, P., *Tarih ve Toplumsal Kuram*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, İstanbul

12-Cengizkan, A.,"Söz ve Tarih:I, Mimarlığın Belgesi:Belgenin Önemi", Arredamento Mimarlık, Eylül 2002, Boyut Yayınları, İstanbul

13- Chartier, R., *Yeniden Geçmiş: Tarih, Yazılı Kültür, Toplum*, Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 1998, Ankara

14- Colomina, B., *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture as Mass Media*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1994

15- Colomina, B., "Where Are We?" in *Architecture and Cubism*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1997, 141-166

16- Colomina, B., "Introduction: On Architecture, Production and Reproduction" in *Architectureproduction*, Ed. John Ockman, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 1988

17- Eco, U., "Interpretation and History", *Interpretation and Over Interpretation,* Ed. Stephan Collini, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992

18- Ergut, E., *Making a National Architecture: Architecture and The Nation-State in Early Republican Turkey*, Phd, MIT Press, 1998

19- Foucault, M., *Bilginin Arkeolojisi*, Birey Yayıncılık, İstanbul, Kasım 1999

20- Foucault, M., *The Archeology of Knowlege* , Pantheon Books, New York, 1972

21- Foucault, M., *Ders Özetleri: 1970-1982*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995, İstanbul

22- Foucault, M., "Orders of Discourse", *Post-Structuralist and Post-Modernist Sociology,* Ed. Scott Lash, Ann Elgar's reference collection, England, 1991

23- Frampton, K., "Giedion in America: Reflections in a Mirror" in On The Methodology of Architectural History, AD, Ed. Papadakis,A., 1981, 45-51

24- Frampton, K., "Reflections on the Autonomy of Architecture: A Critic of Contemporary Production" in *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture*, Ed. Ghirardo, D., Bay Press, Seattle, 1991, 17-26

25- Gadamer, H., "Text and Interpretation" in *Dialogue and Deconstruction: The Gadamer-Derrida Encounter*, Ed. Michelfelder, D. and Palmer,R., State University of New York Press, 1989, 21-51

26- Ghirardo, D. "Introduction" in *Out of Site*: *A Social Criticism of Architecture*, Ed. Ghirardo, D., Bay Press, Seattle, 1991, 9-16

27- Heynen, Hilde, *Architecture and Modernity*, MIT Press, London, England, 1999

28- Iggers, G., *Yirminci Yüzyılda Tarihyazımı*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, İstanbul

29- Jameson, F., "Architecture and the Critique of Ideology" in "*Architecture, Criticism, Ideology",* Ed. Ockman,J., Princeton Architectural Press, 1985, 51-87

30- Kasaba, R., "Kemalist Certainties and Modern Ambiguities" in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Ed. Bozdogan, S and Kasaba, R., University of Washington Press, London, 1997, 15-36

31- Keyder, Ç., "Whither the Project of Modernity? Turkey in the 1990s" in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Ed. Bozdogan, S and Kasaba, R., University of Washington Press, London, 1997, 37-51

32- Kılıçbay, M., "Osmanlı Batılaşması", *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi I,* İletişim Yayınları

33- Korkmaz, T., *On The (Re)construction of the Modern(s) Within the Historiography of Architecture*, Ankara, METU Yayınları, 1998

34- Llorens, T., "Manfredo Tafuri: Neo-Avant-Garde and History" in On The Methodology of Architectural History, AD, Ed. Papadakis,A., 1981, 83-95

35- Mardin, Ş., "Batıcılık", *Türk Modernleşmesi*, İletişim Yayınları, Eylül 92, İstanbul

36- Mardin, Ş., "Projects as Methodology: Some Thoughts on Modern Turkish Social Science" in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Ed. Bozdogan, S and Kasaba, R., University of Washington Press, London, 1997, 64-80

37- Maxwell, R., "Reyner Banham: The Plenitude of Presence", in On The Methodology of Architectural History, AD, Ed. Papadakis,A., 1981, 53-57

38- Mcleod, M., "Introduction" in *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology,* Ed. Ockman,J., Princeton Architectural Press, 1985

39- Meriç, C., "Batılaşma", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi 1*, İletişim Yayınları

40- Mertins, D., "Sigfried Giedion, Emil Kaufmann, and the Constitution of Architectural Modernity" in *Autonomy and Ideology: Positioning an Avant-Garde in America*, Ed. Somol, R.E., The Monacelli Press, 1997, New York, 214-231

41- Mertins, D., "Anything But Literal: Sigfried Giedion and the Reception of Cubism in Germany" in *Architecture and Cubism*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1997, 219-251

42- Nalbantoğlu, G., "Silent Interruptions:Urban Encounters with Rural Turkey" in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Ed. Bozdogan, S and Kasaba, R., University of Washington Press, London, 1997, 192-210

43- Ockman, J., "Postcript: Critical History and The Labors of Sisyphus" in *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology,* Ed. Ockman,J., Princeton Architectural Press, 1985

44- Ockman J., "The Road Not Taken: Alexander Dorner's Way Beyond Art" in *Autonomy and Ideology: Positioning an Avant-Garde in America*, Ed. Somol, R.E., The Monacelli Press, 1997, New York, 82-120

45- Ortaylı, İ., "Batılılaşma", *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi 1*, İletişim Yayınları

46- Özer, B., *Rejyonalizm ve Üniversalizm Üzerine Bir Deneme*, Phd, 1960

47- Porphyrios, D., "On Critical History" in *Architecture, Criticism, Ideology,* Ed. Ockman,J., Princeton Architectural Press, 1985, 16-21

48- Rykwert, J., "Giedion and The Notion of Style", Rassegna, 1986 March, v.8, no:25

49- Said, E., *Kış Ruhu*, Metis Yayınları, Kasım 2000, İstanbul

50- Seta, C., "Benevolo's Storia" in On The Methodology of Architectural History, AD, Ed. Papadakis,A., 1981, 41-43

51- Sözen, M., *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı (1923-1983)*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Ankara, 1984

52- Tafuri, M., *Theories and History of Architecture*, Granada Publishing, London, 1978

53- Tanyeli, U., "1950'lerden Bu Yana Mimari Paradigmaların Değişimi ve Reel Mimarlık", *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık*, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, Eylül 1998

54- Tanyeli, U., "Bir Kitap İçin Bir Konum Saptama Denemesi ya da Mitos Kurmaktan Mitos Çözümlemeye Sinan Historiyografisi", *Mimar Sinan*, Erzen,J. Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001

55- Tanyeli, U., "Merkezde ve Periferide Avantgart", Arredamento Mimarlık, Şubat 2003, Boyut Yayınları, İstanbul, p.59-61

56- Tanyeli, U., "Önsöz", *Modernin Saati*, Cengizkan, A., Boyut Yayınları, 2002, Ankara

57- Tanyeli, U., "Sibel Bozdoğan ile Yeni Kitabı ve Türkiye'de Modernleşme Üzerine", Arredamento Mimarlık, Eylül 2002, Boyut Yayıncılık, İstanbul

58- Tanyeli, U., "Türkiye'de Sanat Tarihi Eğitimi ve Sorunları", *Sanat Dünyamız*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları,84, Yaz 2002, İstanbul, p.69-70

59- Tekeli, İ., "*Tarihyazımı Üzerine Düşünmek"*, Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 1998, Ankara

60- Teyssot, G., "Neoclassic and Autonomous Architecture: The Formalism of Emil Kaufmann" in On The Methodology of Architectural History, AD, Ed. Papadakis,A., 1981, 25-29

61- Timur, T., "Osmanlı ve Batılılaşma", *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi 1*, İletişim Yayınları

62- Tournikiotis, P., *The Historiography of Modern Archi*tecture, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1999

63- Zevi, B., *The Modern Language of Architecture*, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1978