

The background of the slide is a collage of architectural drawings and models. It includes a technical drawing of a building with the text 'isapo wjionw' (likely 'İsapa Wjionw' or 'İsapa Wjionw' in Turkish), a perspective view of a building with a curved roof, a plan view of a building with a curved roof, and a plan view of a building with a curved roof. The drawings are in black and white, and the models are in a light gray color.

ARCHITECTURAL PRODUCTION IN STATE OFFICES: AN INQUIRY INTO THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF ARCHITECTURE IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY

Bilge İmamoğlu

**ARCHITECTURAL PRODUCTION IN STATE OFFICES:
AN INQUIRY INTO THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF ARCHITECTURE IN
EARLY REPUBLICAN TURKEY**

Proefschrift

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CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION

I.1. Description of the Aim and Scope of the Study, Problem Definition and the Hypothesis; Method and Structure

I.1.1. Aim

For a couple of decades now, the international body of scholarly studies that describes, narrates, analyzes and interprets the history of modernization in Turkey in the 20th century, and especially the subtitles of this history that are relevant to the social processes taking place dominantly in the field of cultural politics such as architectural history, have been presenting the reader an unanimous theme; a

consensus on the very character of this history which can justifiably be depicted as a ‘paradigm’. This paradigm can be designated as the ‘nation building paradigm’, referring to the title of Sibel Bozdoğan’s book published in 2001; *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*¹, which is one of the very few broad and detailed studies on the subject to be published for an international audience. Bozdoğan’s approach in this book portrays a neat example to the model applied in many recent efforts in theorizing the cultural modernism of the Republican period of Turkey². This approach is based on the reciprocal relationship between the set of transformations in the social, political and cultural fields that the Republican revolution brought and the ideological frame that accompanied. The nation building paradigm argues that, the modernizing elites of the Republican Turkey, on the one hand, instrumentalized a constructed nationality and a nationalist ideology in the project of transforming the Ottoman social structure based on traditional religious identifications to the social structure of a modern and secular nation state in the western sense, and on the other hand, the transformation and its practices (such as modern architecture and urbanism) also helped shaping and were shaped by the definition of the national identity in an ideological level. Illustrating this formulation, Bozdoğan in her book refers to a large body of contemporary sources both from the political and architectural mediums, in order to provide a reading of the ideological role that the architectural culture in Turkey from the 1920s to the 1950s took on and internalized in the grand mission of producing a national identity proper for the modern nation state.

¹ Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001.

² A broader discussion on the ‘nation building paradigm’ will be given below, in I.2.1 Literature Review on Architectural History in Early Republican Turkey.

Introducing a narration on the formation of a national identity with the theoretical insight provided by a reading of the cultural politics of nationalism, all the studies that exemplify the nation building paradigm that precede or follow Bozdoğan's study, represent a significant enrichment and progress brought to the studies of the architectural historians of the previous generation, whose evaluations were mostly based on periodizations specified through stylistic reflections of binary concepts of national/international and traditional/modern. On the other hand such a strong and bold central narrative in the effort of understanding the modern architectural history of Turkey endangers its own shortcomings. As will be discussed on the literature review below, the nation building paradigm that has recently dominated the studies on modern architecture in Turkey brings within the risk of leaving out and underestimating, if not totally ignoring, certain issues and concepts in societal modernization, which stood outside the perspective of the cultural politics of nationalism. With the emphasis that is placed on the omnipresent character of the ideological content in the process, the whole architectural community of the period, together with their production, related discourse, and its various manifestations can be reduced to a single entity; a single active subject practicing the modernization program that has been provided by an abstractly defined 'modernizing elites', helping them to prepare the ideological package of the program and transferring it to masses in form of architecture. This approach is stemmed from the tendency to evaluate the whole modernization program in Turkey as a consistent whole, which can be understood and criticized in its totality with concepts from the field of cultural politics, and particularly in relation to architecture, the representational politics of identity.

What this narration tends to leave out are the other processes of societal modernization that take place together with cultural modernization, such as economical, administrative, industrial transformations, discursive

changes in the forms of knowledge (both in terms of the production of knowledge and of education), and changes in the general forms of production and consumption. Though it is hard to deny that architecture is first and most of all a cultural practice, it is equally hard to overlook the fact that the field operates in strong relation to other elements of modern society. For instance, when considered for the 20th century history of Turkey, one should insistently remind that modernization of the field of architecture *per se*, both in terms of the modernization of the discipline with its body of knowledge and the modernization of the profession with its operational practices (or rather, the *professionalization* of architecture), was simultaneous to the general modernization program that the Republican revolution brought. This process of modernization taking place within the field of architecture also does not present a single, closed, conflict-free, linear and teleological narration as its cultural formations tends to exhibit it.

The first architectural historians working on the subject of modern Turkey in the 1970s and the early 1980s had focused on architectural products and developed the historiography based on stylistic periodizations. The next generation of historians went beyond by including in their studies the discursive formations that produced the architectural culture of the period and directing their efforts in revealing the manifestations of the ideological content in these formations and defining how architectural discourse reproduced the dominant ideology. However what is still missing is an inquiry into the *institutional* relations that govern architectural production and the social relations that are produced *within* the field itself. Although the nation building paradigm is consistent in itself in relating the architectural culture of the time to the ideological frame of the political authority, the nature of this relation is still not defined contextually within the process that the profession had at the time been through. The architectural historiography on modern Turkey today is in need of the addition of discussions on the professionalization of

architecture together with modernization of the architectural knowledge and on the formation of a professional ideology and a professional identity together with the formation of a nationalist ideology and a national identity.

As a matter of fact, the first study to focus on the subject of professionalization of architecture in Turkey was as early as 1989; the doctoral dissertation by Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu titled “The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect”³ supervised by Spiro Kostof was completed in that year. Nalbantoğlu’s work is a profoundly detailed, comprehensive, and informative introduction to the subject, which covers all the layers and the stages of the professionalization of education, professional organizations, architectural media and forms of practice, with their historical formations and later transformations until the mid 20th century. With its extensive scope in terms of the time period studied and wide range of topics related to the subject of professionalization, the study provides a satisfactory background on which further studies and discussions could be developed. Unfortunately, however, following complementary works to undertake deeper excavations in the sub-fields and subtopics of the question of professionalization did not appear to satisfaction, to bring an enrichment of our understanding of the architectural history in Turkey in the perspective of professionalization.

The aim of this study is to take a step in the filling of this gap by introducing the topic of civil servant architects and the architectural production in state offices as one of the crucial topics of the process of professionalization of architecture in Republican Turkey. This study on the architectural production of state offices is aimed to be complementary and gap-filling in a number of aspects; in the first place, by focusing on the *place* of

architectural production, and not on the architectural product, architect individuals or particular architectural approaches or theories it is expected to bring in a fresh perspective on the way architectural history of Turkey is understood. Secondly by defining diverse positions and standpoints in the process, such as differentiating the architectural practice in the public service from the one in private practice, the study aims to elaborate and transcend the homogenous role that is defined for the architectural culture in the relation of modernization and construction of a national identity. Another basic goal of the study is to contribute to the knowledge on the professionalization process of architecture in Turkey by undertaking one of the basic topics of the subject which has not been studied in depth before. And the last, but not the least, the study aims to provide a significant contribution to the knowledge on architectural production in Turkey by introducing the large amount of architects, buildings, projects, and other anonymous practices related to the state offices that have not been cited in the studies on the period before, simply due to the fact that they were not published by the architectural media of their time.

Although the goals that are determined for this study are partly driven from a review of the current dominant approach on the modern architectural history of Turkey that is mentioned here as the ‘nation building paradigm’, it should also be noted that it is not aimed to bring a ‘paradigm shift’ by this study. The overview presented is directed to certain gaps in the approach and the aim is merely to fill the gap, hence enrich our knowledge and widen our comprehension on the subject.

I.1.2. Scope

The architectural production on the states offices of Turkey presents a huge field of research and discussion; much larger than a single study can handle. One can observe that the state had always been the leading actor in

³ Nalbantoğlu, G. B. “The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect.” California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989.

the production of the built environment in the Turkish history from the Ottoman era to the 1980s. This observation is particularly evident for the period from the foundation of the Turkish Republic to the 1950s. Actually, the economy policy of the Republic in general, placed the state at a major role beginning with 1933, when 'statism' was defined as one of the six basic principles of the ruling party Republican People's Party in the single party period that ended in 1950. Beginning with 1950, that principle was pushed back with the liberal policies of the Democrat Party, which won the first democratic multi-party elections against the founding party of the Republic. That period of liberalism was followed by another period of state oriented economic development policy when Democrat Party rule came to an end due to the military intervention of 1960. After 1980 and onwards, Turkey has been experiencing an increasing economic liberalization and privatization and gradual withdrawal of state from production and economic activities. Hence, state's involvement in architectural production and the rate and importance of state employment in architectural practice followed a parallel course.

This study will limit its scope with the period until the 1950s, when the processes of modernization of the nation and professionalization of architecture were densely in progress and when the social role of the architect and the structure of the institutional relations of the occupation were in question and were subjected to hot debate. There are certain dates in this era from the foundation of the republic to the 1950s that come into prominence as milestones in terms of the subject matter. It can be observed that, 1927 is the year that the shape of the occupational role and the social function of the architect started to openly become critical components in the discourse on architectural practice, with the foundation of first architectural societies in Turkey. 1935 is another important year, when Directorate of Construction Works within the body of Ministry of Public Works was founded with the function and responsibility of overseeing the construction of all public

buildings in the country. With the foundation of this office, the leading role of the state in the production of the built environment, which was already the ongoing practice, was provided with a legal ground and an official manifestation. And finally, the year 1954 can be pointed out as another milestone, which marks the foundation of a nationwide Turkish Chamber of Architects and the architectural community's obtaining the much desired official institutional organization for the profession that stands outside the body of the state. After this date the process of professionalization reaches a certain level of achievement and occupational roles, rights and responsibilities become better defined. Between the dates 1927 and 1954, as it will be seen in detail throughout the study, architects of the period experienced a highly mobile and heterogeneous professional scene, moving in between the discursive forms of the struggle for a stable market for their services and professional autonomy, and the operational practices of production in the public service. For this reason, this study will focus its research in this period.

The large amount of architectural production undertaken by various state offices and institutions in this period throughout the country also requires further limitations for the study. The period in question is the time when the Republic undertook the grand nationwide construction program that is required for the desired modernization. Beginning with the 1930s, construction of substructure with roads, railroads and bridges, of public buildings related to the renewed administrative organization, of buildings and structures related to the modernization of extensive health and education services, and construction of industrial, transportation and commercial buildings related to the vitalized industrialization and economic activity in the cities, town and villages all through the country just followed the prior goal of constructing a new and modern capital in Ankara. Although Directorate of Construction Works in the Ministry of Public Works was the major responsible office for all

construction and actually undertook a considerable part of it, the program was much larger than a single institution can monopolize. In many instances other state units such as big municipalities and economic and industrial institutions such as State Monopolies (of Salt, Tobacco and Alcoholic Beverages) housed their own design offices and employed their own architects and engineers in order to meet their construction demands. In anyway, much of this construction was designed and/or realized by architects employed by the state. In fact, the only field that the free lance architects of the period could actively operate and claim for their own was the construction of villas and apartment blocks, and that was the case only in major big cities.

The quantity of production undertaken by the state in this grand construction program renders it quite impossible to be totally covered by a single study. However, it is also not preferred here to pick a single institution as a case study and focus intensely on its production. The simple reason is that case studies also require contextualization and comparisons, and there is no preceding study in the same field to provide data for that purpose. In the absence of reference work that shares the approach of studying architectural history in Turkey through the notion of state employment, the study will assign itself the task of providing a conceptual map relevant for the nature of its approach. For that purpose as many cases as possible will be introduced, at the cost of some of the cases' remaining superficial. On the other hand, although the intention is to keep the study area vast, the Directorate of Construction Works in the Ministry of Public Works will be defined in this study as a major case. Besides the quantitative distinction of its production, the continuity of its involvement, its legally defined central role in the field of construction and its weight in the discussions in the architectural scene of the period make the directorate as a case that deserves to be studied more carefully and in more detail when compared to the others.

I.1.3. Problem Definition and the Hypothesis

The way the research field is delineated inevitably has its impact on the way the problem itself is defined. The research field put forth in this study does not only present a sphere of architectural production in architectural history of Turkey with a vast number of products that have not been subjected to scholarly research before, but also, and more significantly, proposes a different way of approach. Since the group of architectural products and practices that are subjected to study here are brought together with regard to the institutional form that they were realized in, the characteristics of this institutional form and its impact on the production naturally become the very essence of the problem. On the other hand, since the study is contextualized within the general topic of professionalization of architecture in Turkey, the characteristic of this institutional form, namely state employment, and its place and meaning in the architectural thought and culture as well as architectural production of the period will have to be evaluated through the perspective of the process of professionalization. These premises will have certain consequences affecting the way the problem is defined in this study.

In the first place, this study has to go beyond the evaluation of the qualities present in the architectural production realized, architectural knowledge theorized and architectural discourse circulated within the research field, and also has to deal with the modes of operation, relations of production and forms of institutionalization taking place. Everything that helps defining the *place* of architectural practice in state offices is included in the inquiry, even when they seem only indirectly related to that practice. Consequently this study is deliberately context-based and tries to avoid isolating both the architectural production and the product in its gaze.

For that end, the statement 'architectural production' should be considered extensively in terms of

the actors involved in this practice, operational practices taking place, and the ways actors and practices are related to each other. This consideration has to prevent any reductionism which would limit architectural production to the relation of ‘the architect as the creative individual, the designer and the artist’ to ‘the building as a unique artwork’. For the problem undertaken in this study, other professionals involved in the production of the state offices and their relations to their architect colleagues, the tasks that architects assume in their professional life other than designing buildings, and buildings realized in the anonymity of the office and not in a single architect’s supervision are all vital parts of the question.

Placing the study in the context of professionalization on the other hand, is definitive in the way the study addresses the general issue of the process of modernization in Turkey. In the effort of understanding architecture’s role in the modernization, the social role and identification that the architects assumed for themselves via their occupational practices (that is, the professional ideology that they developed) should be as important as the modern knowledge and technology that they equipped themselves with. State offices in this process are not only one of the fields that this role and identification are developed *in*, but also represent the conjecture that they are developed *against*. Hence, within the architectural community, there were not only different practices, but also different positions, preferences and argumentations regarding the occupation’s development, and much of the discussions involved the concept of state employment. For this reason, comprehending the practical and conceptual place that state employment occupied in the professionalization of architecture in Turkey is an important component of the problem.

With keeping these points mentioned above in mind, the problem undertaken in this study can be formulized as; investigating and discussing architectural discourse and architectural production in early Republican

Turkey through the concepts of occupational practices, professionalization process and state employment. The hypothesis that follows can be summarized in these terms: Firstly, the architectural culture of the early Republican period of Turkey should be understood in the variety and diversity of the discursive and practical positions that had been developed regarding the process of professionalization. Secondly, the discourse on the nationalist ideology that is associated with the architectural culture of the time in its totality should be reconsidered with respect to these positions. At many instances it can be found out that the apparent nationalist ideology can also be linked to a professional ideology in disguise and the manifestations on building a national identity can be linked to a professional identity being built. And finally, it should be noted that the majority of the textual sources that form up our knowledge on the architectural culture of the period may well be biased in terms of the positions mentioned above, and there may be another discourse within the architectural community whose approach is not voiced yet, simply because all it left for the historian to understand is actual work done, and not words nor texts. It should be the historian’s duty to include the anonymous architect producing in state offices all over the country who could not exhibit their existence in the architectural media of the time, in the effort of understanding and evaluating the architectural culture in early Republican Turkey.

I.1.4. Method and Structure

The study largely depends on data from first hand sources provided from various state archives and contemporary publications. The archives used are basically the Republican Period Archives of Prime Ministry and the archive of the Ministry of Public Works⁴. The publications

⁴ It should be surprising for any international scholar how little these archives can provide, therefore a little note may be necessary. The

of the state institutions from the period in question define another valuable source such as books, periodicals and brochures. Such publications should always be evaluated within the political context they were created and with the quality of propaganda in their content. However they are also valuable and informative as such. These texts are studied by what they ignore as well as what they include in their content, and with what they omit saying as well as what they state.

The architectural media of the time published by individuals are another contemporary source. *Mimar/Arkitekt*⁵, the first architectural periodical of Turkey that started its publication in 1931 and the only one until 1941, is one of the major sources for this study, as it is for all studies on the period. Other journals of the period are *Yapı* [Construction] starting in 1941 and *Mimarlık* [Architecture] starting in 1944. Other sources for first hand material are memoirs of individuals.

All such sources are investigated to provide a total picture of the architectural activity conducted in the cases of the research, its character and its context. Besides presenting the architectural production realized in the offices in terms of buildings designed and/or constructed,

the research aims to provide an extensive understanding of the institutional nature. For that end, data regarding legal ground of the office, the mission, vision and function of the office as reflected on its own official documents, administrative structure, personnel policy, financial policy and budgetary practices, its place in the political body, public relations policies, technical capacity as reflected both in the personnel and equipment, technical knowledge and development ability, professional education within the office (such as with conferences, educational international trips or through the content of the libraries), physical environment (the field work as well as the buildings and/or offices owned), etc. are gathered.

For the theoretical frame to conduct the discussion within the proclaimed aim and problem definition, the study makes use of various disciplines. Besides texts related to modern architectural history and history and theory of modernization in Turkey, one major field studied is sociology of professions. It also should be noted that though concepts, definitions and discussions from this field are largely referred, the study is not defined as a text on sociology of professions, but rather as an architectural history work that approaches its subject through the concept of professionalization.

Besides the introductory and the conclusive chapters, the study is structured in three major parts. The first two parts convey the narration for our topic, with the general context, specific developments, actors involved, practices experienced and discourses circulated. In the first of these two, Chapter 2 begins with the narration on modernization in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods and then goes on with the focus of architecture in it, with a special emphasis on the processes related to the professionalization of architecture. Chapter 3 deals with the second half of our main topic, “architectural production in state offices”, and follows the developments of and meanings associated with bureaucracy, civil service, public service, technical expertise in public service and finally

Turkish state system usually does not consider documents of modern history as ‘historical’, little care is given to secure them and sending documents older than a decade to paper factories instead of archives is a common practice. A striking example would be that no original documents on the design and the construction of the first building of the Ministry of Public Works designed by Clemens Holzmeister in 1933 can be found in the archives of the Ministry of Public Works, because they are simply lost.

⁵ The name of the journal when it started publication was *Mimar*, which means ‘architect’. In 1935, when a program to purify and simplify the Turkish language was put to practice by the state, the journal editors were told to change their name because the word is originally Arabic. They came up with the name *Arkitekt*, which resembles the word in several European languages and used that name afterwards. Actually the word *mimar* survived the purification program and has continued to be used in Turkish.

architecture in all of these. This chapter also is the one where our major case, the Ministry of Public Works is brought into focus. The third part, Chapter 4, is completely on architectural production and the products of the Ministry of Public Works. The range and number of example buildings that are given here is intentionally large, not only to provide a better understanding of the quality (and quantity) of the production in the Ministry, but also to introduce this catalogue of particular architectural production into the architectural history literature.

1.2. Literature Review

1.2.1. Literature Review on Architectural History of Early Republican Turkey

The term ‘early republic’ that is commonly used for periodizations in historiography on modern Turkey roughly refers to the first decades of the Turkish Republic. Some scholars had used it for the years 1923-1938, taking Atatürk’s death as the end⁶, but recently and most commonly it refers to the period of single party regime that ends in 1950. The first studies to present the architectural history of the early Republican period of Turkey as a field of research came out in the 1970s. The earliest publication is Metin Sözen and Metin Tapan’s book titled *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*⁷ [The Turkish Architecture of 50 Years] that was published in 1973, the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the republic. İnci Aslanoğlu conducted her research simultaneously, but her book *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* [Early Republican Period Architecture] was published later in 1980. Among such first studies, the

⁶ For instance, Aslanoğlu’s pioneering study in the field limits its scope with the period of 1923-1938. See; Aslanoğlu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı*. Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, 1980.

⁷ Sözen, M. Tapan, M. *50 Yılın Türk Mimarisi*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1973.

doctoral dissertation by Üstün Alsaç completed in the Karadeniz Technical University in 1976, but not published as a book should also be mentioned, which was titled *Türkiye’de Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi* [The Evolution of Architectural Thought in Turkey]. These studies, as pioneering studies laying the ground for the definition of the research field, bring forth the introductory terms and concepts to build up an understanding of the architectural practice and discourse of the period, as well as providing a large account of seminal buildings and prolific architects of the time. Especially Aslanoğlu’s work is still one of the basic references today, not only with the in depth discussion on the subject matter, but also with the extensive catalogue it presents, of the buildings designed and constructed nationwide, not limiting itself to the major cities of Ankara and İstanbul and to the production of well-known architects whose works were published in the architectural media of the time and hence who were made more accessible for the historian.

The founding theoretical ground that was laid by the first generation of architectural historians working on the architecture of the early Republic was directed to the effort of introducing the basic descriptions and definitions for the subject matter. For that purpose, it was natural that categorization as a conventional tool was proposed and widely accepted. In order to build up functional conceptual sets for categorical groups, scholars referred to the modernism of the Republican revolution and the way it is defined through the concept of westernization; and in that context, to the modernism of architectural thought and practice in Turkey in its relevance to the European architectural modernism. The outcome was a definition of a sequence of architectural movements in Turkey that swing between nationally and internationally oriented approaches mostly described in stylistic terms: 1st National Movement, which flourishes in the context of the beginning of the 20th century in the Ottoman Empire and extends into the first

decade of the Republic; 1st International Style that dominates the 1930s with the influence of European and particularly German speaking architects taking a decisive part in the architectural production and education in Turkey, 2nd National Style, which combines a search for the national and local qualities with the monumentalism influenced by Germany and Italy in the 1940s; and finally 2nd International Style that corresponds to the global 'International Style' of the post-war world.

The sequence of national and international styles as a basic tool to understand modern architecture in Turkey remained as a convention for architectural historiography for some time. An example is the first book published in English on the subject as a collection of essays; *Modern Turkish Architecture* edited by Reneta Holod and Ahmet Evlin in 1984⁸. Although the book also includes thematic articles that approach the modern architecture in Turkey in its totality (such as the article on planning by İlhan Tekeli and on housing by Yıldız Sey), the division of the chapters represent the convention on periodizations.

Beginning with the late 1980s and gradually increasing in the 1990s, a new generation of architectural historians began to question this convention. They were not conflicting with the current narration in use in its basic components, but were bringing in a new approach to interpret the meaning of it. Their approach was to read the processes that architecture went through in Turkey in the early Republican period not as a go-between of contrasting attitudes and styles, but as a linear and consistent progression of an ideological reflection. The difference stemmed from the conceptual tools that they used to define the social and political context: the first generation of architectural historians defined the context in terms of 'modernism', inevitably in a Euro-centric set of theories, and therefore the process as 'westernization' as reflected in

the political manifestations of the Republic. The new generation of scholars, making use of the post-colonial discourse and related theories that were gaining attention at the time, shifted the emphasis from 'modernism' to 'modernization' and focused on the 'non-western' quality of the process.

Another difference is in terms of the position taken against the subject. As Bozdoğan also mentions in her book *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*⁹, the previous generation's evaluations had an affirmative tone because they were also the members of the generation that had an experience of the revolutionary excitement of the early Republican period. But the generation she belongs to, she adds, can build up a critical distance. Actually, this critical distance was also the case for the political, intellectual and academic fields other than architectural history. The late 1980s and the early 1990s is the period when the critical movement called "2nd republicanism", which brought a series of political criticism to the Republican revolution for nature, gained strength.

Sibel Bozdoğan is one of the influential scholars of this new generation of architectural historians. Her various articles had already met quite attention and met approval much before her book and made her critical approach widely known¹⁰. The basics of this approach is that modernization in non-western countries was not derived from societal developments like the developments of the

⁸ Holod, R. Evlin, A. (eds.) *Modern Turkish Architecture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

⁹ Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001, p. 11.

¹⁰ See, for example, Bozdoğan, S. "Modern Architecture and Cultural Politics of Nationalism in Early Republican Turkey", in; Geatgens T. (ed.) *Artistic Exchange, Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of the History of Art*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993, v.I, pp.437-452. Or: Bozdoğan, S. "Türk Mimari Kültüründe Modernizm: Genel bir Bakış" [Modernism in Turkish Architecture Culture: A General View], in; Bozdoğan, S. and Kasaba, R. (eds.) *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik* [Modernization and National Identity in Turkey]. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999, pp. 118-135.

19th century Europe, but was brought in by either colonial governments or modernizing elites, thus could not transform into critical and liberating social practices and remained authoritarian. This approach owes a lot to the post-colonial discourse and mostly to Edward Said. The body of work Bozdoğan presented so far mainly includes applying this approach to the architectural culture in Turkey in the way it reflected the identity politics of nationalism in its discourse and transferred it to the masses.

In this approach the difference between the so-called National and International Styles are transcended for an understanding of the continuity of the ideological overtone. Elvan Ergut, in this sense, illustrates a neat example of how architectural historians began to see such dualities. She argues that it is the nationalist ideology that defined the architecture in early Republican Turkey and not formal reflections of the preference on the counterparts of national/international, or modern/traditional, because such reflections are all rooted in the same search for a ‘national architecture’, the meaning of which was always fluctuating according to the international interactions¹¹. Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu in her article “Architects, Style, and Power: The Turkish Case in the 1930s” follows a similar track and derives similar conclusions. Many more examples can be given that apply the idea of ‘architecture as the ideological reflection of the modernizing elites’ or ‘architecture as the modernizing elite’ to certain case studies undertaken: Neşe Yeşilkaya with her work on people’s houses¹², or Zeynep

Uludağ with her work on parks and urban green spaces¹³, and so on.

As it was already mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, this body of studies from the 1990s to present altogether makes a sound argumentation on the relation of architectural culture to the ideological frame that the Republican revolution brought and is successful in going beyond stylistic periodizations of the previous generation. However there are also points that can be reviewed in a critical view. Similar to the strengths of this argument, these points can also be exemplified via Bozdoğan’s important book. This book studies the Turkish architectural culture in the early Republic within a thematic integrity that is related to the cultural politics of national identity. Naturally, the cases and illustrative examples that the book cites, either they are practical examples of architectural production or discursive examples, are discussed in their relation to this theme. Meanwhile, certain cases that have significant meanings also in various other contexts and that can not be reduced to their correlation to the context of cultural politics of identity are also included in the discussion. In this sense, the book includes cases that are related to the field of economics without discussing their connection to the relations of production and consumption¹⁴; cases in the industrial field without relating them to concepts in capitalist industrialization such as labour, labour force, its

¹¹ Ergut, T. E. “Searching for a National Architecture: The Architectural Discourse in Early Republican Turkey” in, *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements. Working Paper Series*. vol.130, University of California at Berkeley, 2000-2001, p. 104.

¹² Yeşilkaya, N. G. *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık* [People’s Houses: Ideology and Architecture], İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999. (People’s Houses were institutions within the Republican Peoples’ Party functioning as cultural centers in the towns and cities nation wide.)

¹³ Uludağ, Z. “Cumhuriyet Döneminde Rekreasyon ve Gençlik Parkı Örneği” [Recreation in the Republican Period and the Case of Youth Park] in, Sey, Y.75 *Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* [The Changing City and Architecture in 75 Years], İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası and Tarih Vakfı, 1998, pp. 65-75.

¹⁴ Such as the discussion on the cultural, pedagogical and recreational significance of projects like Exhibition Hall (of National Economy and Savings Society) in Ankara or İzmir International Fair. Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001, pp. 138-174.

reproduction and their appearance in the Turkish context¹⁵; or many cases that basically operate in the field of public administration and public services without dwelling much on their organizational models or the organizational issues in the production of public built environment¹⁶. All these cases are instead, vigorously discussed with the component of identity in the representational value that they generate. This basic fact should not be the point of criticism, as it simply reflects a reasonable scope in a study and not any kind of inadequacy. It also does not harm the persuasiveness of the main argument in the book. The criticism however gets valid when the same approach leaves the boundaries of Bozdoğan's monography and gains a paradigmatic strength to be expanded towards the general effort of understanding and evaluating the history of architecture in modern Turkey in a broader scope. Then, each practical or discursive case of study in the research field that could and should actually help comprehend the multi-layered and complex nature of the modernization process is started to be reduced to illustrations in the repeated reproduction of the same generalizing critique of the architectural culture of the time.

One typical case where such an approach is reflected is related to the field where our study also dwells; the professionalization process and the evaluation of its discursive appearances, especially in the cases where its statements are evaluated in an isolated and direct correspondence to the abstract body of the Republican ideology and the ideological content in the practical issues of professionalization is overlooked; such examples in the

recent literature are too numerous to cite. In this case, a refreshing perspective is needed and it should be noted that many arguments voiced by the architectural community of the time (such as the highly controversial debate on the creation of a national style of Republican architecture) also requires the conceptual set provided by the literature on professionalization to better evaluate. Such concepts were actually introduced by Nalbantoğlu in her dissertation "The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architecture"¹⁷ in 1989 in a broad manner. As she brings the discussion on the foreign architects in Turkey to the context of professionalization and to the formation of a professional ideology, Nalbantoğlu takes a step in providing an alternative perspective. The way she concludes her work does not get out of the existing paradigm, and ends up at a criticism of the architectural culture of the early Republic in its inability to get beyond the ideological frame of the Republic and to produce a critical discourse on architecture, however she reinforces her arguments with concepts derived from a theoretical context that defines another layer in modernity, which is professionalization.

Inclusion in the research field of early Republican architectural history studies that bring forth varying perspectives and theoretical contexts without the urge to direct the study to repeated and already verified conclusions can do no harm but only good. The field is rich in terms of the issues that are still not undertaken and problems not resolved, and thus it continues to gain attraction of the scholars. Thesis studies that are being conducted at the universities exhibit a larger variation of approaches and titles than the studies that are published and made available for a wide audience. One occasion to have an informative picture on the research recently being conducted was the two of the series of doctoral research symposiums

¹⁵ Such as the discussion on the cultural meaning of the composition in workers' housings for Zonguldak miners. Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001, p. 220.

¹⁶ Such as the discussion on the iconographic meaning of railroads and related construction. Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001, pp. 119-121.

¹⁷ Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989.

organized by the Architectural History Program in the Faculty of Architecture in Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey. The first one was done in 2001 with the title “Spaces/Times/People of the Republic” and was composed of doctoral research on the Republican architectural history currently on progress at the time. The other symposium in the same series titled “Spaces/Times/People: Identity and Appropriation” was held recently in December 2007, and also included an important number of studies on topics in the context of modern architecture in Turkey.

As Ergut analyzes in the introduction of the proceedings book for the first symposium in 2001 (an analysis which is also true for the one in 2007), studies that are beginning to appear recently start going beyond the evaluation of the architecture of the period in the ways that it reflects the social structure that the Republic introduced. Architecture, not only as a medium of ideological reflection, but also as a constructive component in the varying and constantly changing forms of societal transformation is now being investigated, in the aim of revealing the multi-sided nature of that transformation beyond the limits of the paradigm of modernization¹⁸. Examples to such studies present a richness of variety in the topics and case studies undertaken, such as studies on certain urban areas through history, on architectural publications, architectural practices like competitions, and industrial architecture. Recent studies are not only getting more varied in terms of subjects, but also are widening the context in terms of space and time. Peripheral production outside the major cities of Ankara and İstanbul, as well as architectural history after 1950 that have not been subjected

¹⁸ Ergut, E. A. “Önsöz: Cumhuriyet Mimarlığı Tarihyazımında Yeni Çalışmalar” [Introduction: New Studies in Republican Architectural Historiography], in; Ergut, E. A. İmamoğlu, B. (eds.) *Cumhuriyetin Mekanları, Zamanları, İnsanları* [Spaces, Times, People of the Republic]. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2010, pp. 11-29.

to extensive research before are now being introduced in the field. As the field is supplied with an increasing variety of the topics and the alternative perspectives that such a variation requires, there is no reason not to expect a new wave of enrichment and a progressive extension in the historiographical approach that has settled so strongly in the last two decades.

I.2.2. Literature Review on Professionalization, Western Cases

The process of modernization, whether it is rooted in large scale social developments or implemented by modernizing elites, is composed of different complementary layers of social, cultural, economical and political transformations. By many authors, the modern formation of professions together with the institutionalization of knowledge is considered as an important layer in this process.

One of such authors is Magali Sarfatti-Larson with her important book *The Rise of Professionalism*¹⁹ of the year 1977. In this book Larson builds up her theory on the ‘market monopoly model’. This study owes a lot to Freidson, who had studied professions before shared its approach in “the nature of professional prestige and the processes by which it is asserted”²⁰. Macdonald summarizes Freidson’s analysis in four steps. Firstly he argues that “the distinctive autonomy of a profession depends on the power of the state and that its privileged position is secured by the influence of the elite that sponsors it”. Secondly, the cognitive and normative features of professions are not stable and fixed characteristics, and are used to establish the boundaries of their domains. Then he mentions that, once a

¹⁹ Sarfatti-Larson, M. *The Rise of Professionalism*. University of California Press, 1977.

²⁰ MacDonald, K. M. *The Sociology of the Professions*, London: Sage, 1995, p. 8.

profession accomplishes to gain autonomy, it can begin to establish a position of social prestige independent of their original sponsoring elite. And lastly Macdonald highlights the potentiality for producing an ideology possessed by a successful profession in Freidson's analysis. The cognitive and normative aspects in this stage can also provide the potential for defining the social reality in the area in which the members of the profession function.

Building upon this, Larson brings her view that the deeds of successful professional groups in technical, social, cultural and ideological fields in the modern age were not just a natural, historical fact about the modern society, but were the outcomes of 'the professional project' of the 19th century. The term project here emphasizes a coherent and consistent course of action, even though "the goals and strategies pursued by a given group are not entirely clear or deliberate for all the members"²¹. Two important aspects of modernity for the emergence of professional groups were scientific knowledge and the existence of free markets. In a market society, qualifications and expertise, besides property, provided opportunities for income. She writes:

Professionalization is thus an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources –special knowledge and skills – into another – social and economic rewards. To maintain scarcity implies a tendency to monopoly: monopoly of expertise in the market, monopoly of status in a system of stratification. The focus on the constitution of professional markets leads to comparing different professions in terms of 'marketability' of their specific cognitive resources. The focus on collective social mobility accentuates the relations that professions form with different systems of social stratification; in particular, it accentuates the role that educational systems play in different structures of social inequality.

²¹ Sarfatti-Larson, M. *The Rise of Professionalism*. University of California Press, 1977, p. 6.

These are two different readings of the same phenomenon: professionalization and its outcome.²²

The reciprocal relation between controlling a protected market for professional services and the social stratification of status and economic privileges thus forms Larson's approach to the question about how professions are organized in order to attain market power. The construction of "institutional means for self-definition and corporate defense" and the search for "adequate ideological legitimations for the monopolistic exclusion of competitors" become two levels of the same professional project²³. The definition and use of professional project in Larson's model separately bear her Marxian and Weberian sources²⁴. As she presents professionalization not as a natural-historical fact but as an ideological/illusionary detachment from a given class in defining its place in the social stratum, she applies a Marxian tone. The Weberian addition to this is the importance of social stratification and expertise as a source of income. The importance that the term 'professional ideology' gains in Larson's theory makes it highly enlightening for our study here, in which identifying various forms of ideological constructions that the architects of the Republican Turkey experienced is crucial.

Later Larson applied her theory particularly on the architectural profession, where she could also discuss the relation between the history of architect's role and the exceptional characteristics of the architectural profession²⁵.

²² Sarfatti-Larson, M. *The Rise of Professionalism*. University of California Press, 1977, p. xvii.

²³ Sarfatti-Larson, M. "Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architect's Professional Role", in; Blau, J. R. (et.all.) (eds.) *Professionals and Urban Form*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1983; p. 61.

²⁴ MacDonald, K. M. *The Sociology of the Professions*, London: Sage, 1995, pp. 8-10.

²⁵ Sarfatti-Larson, M. "Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architect's Professional Role", in; Blau, J. R. (et.all.) (eds.) *Professionals and Urban Form*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1983

This exceptional character was to be found in the specific nature of the product and the artistic component of the historical identity of the architect, and led to the professional weakness and uncertain professional trajectory. With the historic changes in the organization of power and architecture becoming an expression of it, the architect was able to “insert himself between the *telos* and *techne* of building”, between the conceived purposes of patrons and the realization of these purposes. On the other hand architects faced the problem that their products were not functionally different from “non-architectural” products, such as buildings designed by engineers. Increasingly with the industrial revolution, engineers took more part in building construction. Against such threats, architects could defend their occupational role only in “stylistic, symbolic and eminently *theoretical* terms”²⁶. Architecture’s professional trajectory was thus uncertain, because aesthetic and theoretical terms could not fully provide an ideological justification, since they were justified in the cultural field, and cultural plurality was not as unacceptable as it is in medicine or law.

Abbott is another important scholar that studies on professions and professionalization, whose work will be used in our study. In his book that was published in 1988, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*²⁷, brings in a comprehensive critical approach in the field and proposes not to study any isolated profession in its context, but instead to highlight the system that governs the professional field in its inter-relational and interdependent nature. The key concept in his work, “jurisdiction” is promising for us in analyzing the nature of production in the public service and its differences to the

freelance architecture. Abbott defines jurisdiction mainly as the link between the professional and what the professional does. But beyond this simple definition, jurisdiction brings in the area where inter-relational nature of the system of the professions occurs:

The professions... make up an interdependent system. In this system each profession has its activities under various kinds of jurisdiction. Sometimes it has full control, sometimes control subordinate to another group. Jurisdictional boundaries are perpetually in dispute, both in local practice, and in national claims. It is the history of jurisdictional disputes that is the real, the determining history of the professions²⁸.

Jurisdiction as a term is important in Abbott’s study in the ways professions struggle for jurisdictional control, which takes place not only in the cultural life, but also within the social structure. The dominant qualities of the social structure basically determine the audience for professional claims on control. Abbott compares France to the United States in this sense; while the audience for jurisdictional claim was the public opinion in the States during the development of professions, a certain status within the state was much more important in France. As the market monopoly model of Larson is highly dependent on the existence of free market, Abbott exhibits a structuralist approach which also tries to understand cases with an interventionist state, and that fact makes his work very important in our study on early Republican Turkey.

Stevens, on the other hand, brings a criticism on the studies on professions and proposes an alternative theoretical context in his study on architecture. He informs that ‘profession’ is a “parochial conceptualization, one

²⁶ Sarfatti-Larson, M. “Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architect’s Professional Role”, in; Blau, J. R. (et.all.) (eds.) *Professionals and Urban Form*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1983, p. 58.

²⁷ Abbott, A. *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

²⁸ Abbott, A. *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988, p. 2.

strictly limited to the English-speaking world”²⁹. With examples in the contemporary world, he explains how people whom the English speaking world would label professionals associate themselves with other social definitions. Stevens also points to similar problems in a historical sense. It was mostly in the Anglo-Saxon world, especially in the United States, that professions established private practice. In France and Germany, on the other hand, the state employment and bureaucratic hierarchy was still significantly important until the mid twentieth century for most professions, and civil servants were identified in the social stratum in a completely different sense than the ones in the private practice within the same profession. In such cases, as Stevens states, the educational background was much more decisive in defining the social status one has than the operational practice. In this sense he lists certain problems in the sociology of professions as defined by the Anglo-Saxon school, which one should be aware of in studying architecture in terms of the usual concept of the profession, and which should also be important for the study here. First, he mentions the concentration on the capitalist market and its structure, which would be inappropriate for the cases where most architects are employed by the state. Second, he points to the definition of the architect merely as one who designs buildings, which ignores other functions that architects have in different systems they are embedded in. Third, he reminds that different operational roles may be pointing to definitively varying degrees of social status within the occupational title; for example, having access to political or decision-giving bodies by means of institutional or individual relations would matter. And finally he warns that the knowledge-content of a profession should not be overruling the importance of social being in defining the occupation.

²⁹ Stevens, G. *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998, p. 27.

Instead of the Anglophone studies on professions, Stevens suggests to utilize Bourdieu’s conception of the society in studying architecture. Such utilization brings in the analysis of architecture as a *field*, instead of a profession. A field in Bourdieu’s terms is “a mutually supporting set of social institutions, individuals and discourses”³⁰. A field is structured through the relation of individuals in the field to each other and to the field, but such relations are also structured by the field. In a field, according to Bourdieu, “agents and institutions constantly struggle, according to the regularities and the rules constitutive of this space of play (and, in given conjunctures, over those rules themselves), with various degrees of strength and therefore diverse probabilities of success, to appropriate the specific products at stake in the game”³¹. Individuals in a field compete for the control of the resources and capitals specific to the field. The capital can both be defined in terms of economic capital, or symbolic and cultural capital. Economic capital and symbolic/cultural capital are distinct forms, but they are interconvertible in different ways at different rates of exchange. Symbolic capital is the social resource through the possession of which symbolic power flows, and symbolic power aims at producing and imposing a legitimate vision of the world, and in this sense a “world-making”³². Individual positions in a field are defined relationally and depend on the other positions in the field, but no position can exist without a field to exist in.

The use of Bourdieu’s terminology allows Stevens to point to certain distinctions in the architectural field which the term profession tends to see in unity. He refers to two different components of the field of the built

³⁰ Stevens, G. *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998, p. 74.

³¹ Bourdieu, P. Wacquant, J. D. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 102.

³² Bourdieu, P. “Social Space and Symbolic Power”, *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1989, pp. 20, 22.

environment; “the field of building, concerned with mass production, and the field of architecture proper, concerned with restricted production”³³. For this he cites Gutman who points out that the production of the great seminal monumental buildings became the unique province of architecture and its natural market³⁴. Nonetheless, Stevens inverts the casualty and rephrases the idea in a sense borrowed from Bourdieu by stating that “architects are the only people to design seminal buildings because architectural discourse defines the designers of seminal buildings as architects”³⁵. The forms of capital specific to the two sub-fields significantly differ. In the field of “building”, architects compete for economic success and professional power, and in the field of “architecture proper” for intellectual prestige or status. What also distinguishes the two sub-fields is the level of autonomy, being quite weak in the former and much stronger in the latter. The tendency in the architectural discourse to focus on the restricted production ignoring the mass production of the built environment is related to the struggle for autonomy. All cultural fields, Stevens explains by referring to Bourdieu, strive to increase their autonomy, which entails increasing the autonomy of its various capitals. Any cultural field includes the tendency of wanting to become the sole judge of its own products, and to develop a principle of stratification entirely under the field’s control. Form of capital derived through professional success by “building” largely depends on the economic, and so it is tied to forces operating in other fields. Symbolic capital exerted from the

intellectual prestige on the other hand remains in the discursive control of the field. Architecture, according to Stevens, is a field in which such dynamics of the struggle for autonomy are significantly in force.

One last author that may be included in the review here on the theory on professions is Goldstein³⁶. Goldstein’s work is on a different field, history of psychiatry; however it may be useful in providing new insights into the subject as he, very much like Stevens, suggests an expansion in the sociological concept of the “profession” by way of the introduction of a French scholar, namely Foucault and his concept of “disciplines”. Goldstein mentions that the Foucauldian construct of disciplines and the professions of the sociological tradition overlap in the main cast of characters (physicians, psychiatrists, pedagogues, etc.) and in chronology (both beginning to proliferate in the 18th century). However “disciplines” go beyond the area that “professions” define. Goldstein states that “Foucault focuses his analysis not on ‘professional men’ and why and how they acquire a particular status in the society but rather on the general structural attributes of their practice as seen from the vantage point of those upon whom this practice is exercised”³⁷. Professionalism in this sense is defined as a modern mode of wielding power. In this definition, Foucault repeatedly refers to the close collaboration with the state and the use of bureaucratic networks in the growth of disciplines. At this point the difference of the French/European context that Foucault analyzed with the less bureaucratized Anglo-American one, “which, not accidentally, gave rise to sociological notions of free

³³ Stevens, G. *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998, p. 86.

³⁴ Gutman, R. “Architects in the Home-Building Industry”, in Blau, J. S. Gory M. La, and Pipkin J. S. (eds.) *Professionals and Urban Form*, SUNY Press, 1983, pp. 208-223, cited in Stevens, p. 86. Also see, Gutman, R. *Architectural Practice, A Critical View*, Princeton Architectural Press, 1988.

³⁵ Stevens, G. *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1998, p. 86.

³⁶ Goldstein, J. “Foucault among the Sociologists, the “Disciplines” and the History of the Professions” *History & Theory*, vol. 23, issue 2, 1984, pp. 170-192.

³⁷ Goldstein, J. “Foucault among the Sociologists, the “Disciplines” and the History of the Professions” *History & Theory*, vol. 23, issue 2, 1984, p. 176.

professions”³⁸, is most apparent. The second major area of difference between professions and disciplines according to Goldstein is in the conceptualization of their intellectual components. While sociologists of professions recognize the profession’s knowledge basis as a given, Foucault gives a central importance to the formation of knowledge. Disciplines according to him “are at one and the same time social entities and generators of the very knowledge which they apply to society”³⁹.

All the studies cited above provide an extensive theoretical ground and evoke significant discussions on the issue of professionalization of architecture in Turkey and state employment’s place in that process. However, one should also be aware of the limits of the application of such western based theories in the Turkish case and of factual differences of the contexts. In the first place, there is the issue of time lag; during the early twentieth century, architects in Turkey were at an early stage of professionalization that architects in the western countries had experienced in the nineteenth century; however at the same time they also confronted contemporary architectural knowledge by means of the modernization of architectural education and the practice of foreign architects in the country. The issue of time lag or historical delay and the need of ‘compensation’ that forms up a ‘compensating ideology’ have always been important concepts in relation to the general subject of Turkish modernization⁴⁰. Secondly,

³⁸ Goldstein, J. “Foucault among the Sociologists, the “Disciplines” and the History of the Professions” *History & Theory*, vol. 23, issue 2, 1984, p. 192.

³⁹ Goldstein, J. “Foucault among the Sociologists, the “Disciplines” and the History of the Professions” *History & Theory*, vol. 23, issue 2, 1984, p. 178.

⁴⁰ See for example: Çiğdem, A. “Batılılaşma, Modernite ve Modernizasyon: Türk Batılılaşmasını Açıklayıcı bir Kavram; Türk Başkalığı” [Westernization, Modernity and Modernization: Turkish Distinction; An explanatory Concept for Turkish Westernization] in: *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık: Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce, Cilt 3*

the occupational practice in Turkey in the early Republican period did not exactly resemble any of the Western cases. It was not like the United States where a vast and dynamic free building market had already been in practice while professional boundaries were negotiated. Either it was not much like France or similar countries, where architects (or other relevant professions) possessed established niches in the bureaucratic state with a firmly defined social status that was reflected in their cognitive functioning in the form of a “discipline”, in the Foucauldian sense of the word. Still, all the theoretical implications on architecture as a profession, a field or a discipline, and the literature on professionalization given above can be utilized to provide a productive conceptual ground on the topic of public production of architecture in the period.

I.2.3. Literature Review on Professionalization, Turkish Cases

The literature on professionalization and professions in Turkey is quite poor, either in the general sense or single profession based studies. On the other hand, the strong tradition of bureaucracy in the country has rendered that topic quite popular, especially in the field of public administration. Metin Heper is one of the scholars that have published on this topic, and his book *Bürokratik Yönetim Geleneği*⁴¹ [Tradition of Bureaucratic Administration] presents an important source in our study on production in state offices. Giving a wide account of the history, importance and social role of bureaucracy through Ottoman and Republican times in Turkey, Heper provides a profound discussion on the distinct political character of the Turkish bureaucratic intelligentsia and its comparison to the

[Modernization and Westernism: Political Thought in Modern Turkey, Volume 3], İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, p. 68.

⁴¹ Heper, M. *Bürokratik Yönetim Geleneği*[Tradition of Bureaucratic Administration], Ankara: ODTÜ İdari Bilimler ak. Yay. No. 23, 1974.

western model on bureaucracy as given by Weber. This discussion will be extremely helpful in analyzing the role and meaning of state employment of the technical, trained elite in the process of modernization in Turkey.

A similar study is *Profesyonelleşme Olgusu ve Kamu Yönetimi*⁴² [The Fact of Professionalization and Public Administration] by Koray Karasu. Karasu's work is helpful in detailing the discussion brought by Heper in the context of professionalization with concepts like "professionalism in public service" and "professional bureaucracy".

Although the number of studies that directly address topics such as professionalization or the history of professions in the early Republican era are extremely few, it should also be noted that discussions relevant to the issues of state's involvement and the role of bureaucratic tradition are included in almost all studies on modernization of Turkey, especially regarding the technical fields other than architecture. An important study that should be cited in this sense is *Mühendisler ve İdeoloji: Öncü Devrimcilerden Yenilikçi Seçkinlere*⁴³ [Engineers and Ideology: From Avant-garde Revolutionists to Reformist Elites] by Nilüfer Göle. The book is focused on the period between the years 1970-1980 and not the early Republic; however it provides significant insight into the relation between the technical positivist rationalism and politics of modernization in Turkey. By including such studies in its gaze, this study will try to achieve a comparative and relational approach without singling out the architectural profession in the process.

⁴² Karasu, Koray. *Profesyonelleşme Olgusu ve Kamu Yönetimi* [The Fact of Professionalization and Public Administration], Ankara: Mülkiyeliler Birliği Vakfı Yay. Tezler Dizisi: 11, 2001.

⁴³ Göle, N. *Mühendisler ve İdeoloji: Öncü Devrimcilerden Yenilikçi Seçkinlere* [Engineers and Ideology: From Avant-garde Revolutionists to Reformist Elites], İstanbul: Metis Yay. 1986.

CHAPTER II:

MODERNIZATION AND MODERN ARCHITECTURE IN TURKEY

II.1. Social, Political and Cultural Context in Turkey

With the end of the First World War in 1918, Europe and the Middle East witnessed one of the most drastic redrawing of the political maps in the history of this large part of the world. Three aged and large empires, the Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Empires collapsed and their dynastic political bodies were replaced by creation of new states mostly in national lines, and in more than a few cases, with revolutionary tidings⁴⁴. For the case of the

⁴⁴ For more on a comparative discussion of these cases as well as other post-colonial cases of state creation see: Mayall, J. "Nationalism" in:

Ottoman Empire, it was not exactly the peace treaty that the Ottoman government signed with the victorious Entente Powers which concluded the six centuries of the Ottoman rule, but it was the national resistance the treaty triggered. The Treaty of Sèvres in 1920 reduced the Ottoman rule to a small portion in the inlands of Anatolia, forcing the annexation or influential control of most of the Turkish mainland, as well as the Middle Eastern and European provinces where the Turkish population was not the majority. Soon the nationwide reaction to the invasion evolved into a new government in Ankara that declared independence from the Sultan in İstanbul. After three years of organization and fighting, which was mainly given against the Greek invasion army in the western Anatolia, Ankara government could force the victors of the World War to negotiate again. The result was not only the political map with today's borders, but also the abolition of the Sultanate and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey.

It was the aftermath of the First World War that concluded the history of the Ottoman Empire; however the Great War was by no means more than a final strike in the long Ottoman history of decline and recession. The failure in the second attempt to take Vienna in 1683 is usually considered by the Ottoman and contemporary historians alike as the first sign of decline in power, which was followed by withdrawal from European provinces starting with Budapest (map 2.1). After this date a gradual downfall continued. The last stage of the Ottoman history presents a rich narration of more than two hundred years of confrontation of the western superiority and interference, as well as coexistence and interaction. An ongoing conflict between reformation and transformation on the one hand and conservative reaction and withdrawal on the other is one of the major themes in this history. It contains a wide variety of shifting, conflicting and eventually evolving set

Bulliet, R. W. (ed.) *The Columbia History of the 20th Century*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1998, pp. 172-202.

of practical formulas and discursive tools. The history of the Republic of Turkey or any case within the Republican context can not be fully grasped without referring to the Ottoman past. Therefore this history should be given here, though very briefly, to provide a better picture of the social, political and cultural context of the early phases of the Republic and to better understand the founding generation, who are the main actors for the subject case undertaken in this research.

II.1.1. The Legacy of the Ottoman Past

In the 18th century the Ottoman Empire was experiencing the ongoing destructive effects of both the decline and disorder in the social and administrative structure within the empire and the indifference to the developments in the west. The result was inferiority against the Western economic, political and military power that had been developed through centralization, imperialism, international trade and developments in science and technology⁴⁵. The realization of the change of the power balance to their disadvantage by the Ottoman rulers most clearly came through the military defeats and the gradual retreat from the Eastern Europe. The most significant consequence of such a revelation was that the so far unchallenged consensus on the isolation from the West began to diminish. Contact with the West enhanced through diplomatic relations and particularly close relation with France led a French influence into the Ottoman court.



Map 2.1. Ottoman Empire in 1863.

The Ottoman individuals had the chance to observe the European ways and a “curiosity for the other” replaced the self confidence of the previous ages⁴⁶. The initial reflection was observed in the daily lives of the court members and the ruling class, with the diffusion of European styles through architecture, furniture and habits of entertainment of the upper-class. More significant and permanent effects gradually began to be seen in the military field, where the impacts of decline were the most visible and solution was the most urgent. In the second half of the 18th century, Sultan Selim III carried the former initial attempts of recruiting foreign officials and trainers for the army to a level of total reformation and attempted to found a brand new army completely based on western military principles: his army of *Nizam-ı Cedid* (the New Order). Reformation of the army was supported by subsequent reforms in administrative and infrastructural level. A new independent treasury was formed for the army and

⁴⁵ Shaw, S. J. *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971, pp. 3-5.

⁴⁶ Peker, A. U. “Western Influence on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of İstanbul” in, Maccubin R. and Knellwolf C (eds.) *Excoticism and the Culture of Exploration, A Special Issue of Eighteenth Century Life*, Vol. 26, No 3, 2002, p. 142.

industrial attempts were made to supply weapons and equipment to overcome dependency to foreign supply⁴⁷. These attempts were important not for their effect or scope, but because it was the first time in the late Ottoman history that betterment was not sought in returning to the old ways in the aim of returning to the glorious past, but in a complete replacement of old institutions with new ones modelled in the West⁴⁸. The end of these reforms, and Sultan Selim III as well, however, were brought by the interference of the very old institution that was meant to be replaced. In 1807, the Janissary corps (the traditional back bone of the Ottoman army) rebelled to their sultan with the support of the *ulema* (the body of official religious authorities), raided the royal palace, killed Selim III and throned a favourable heir.

It would take 20 years for the reforms to take off again in the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. Unlike Selim III, Mahmud successfully abolished Janissary corps by using brute force. With the Janissaries out of the way, the reactionaries within the religious authorities could be suppressed and a large number of reform projects could be executed⁴⁹. The existing manufactories were extended, and new ones were formed, some of which were the first industrial plants in the country using machinery instead of hand production⁵⁰. Some of these establishments such as

*Feshane*⁵¹ also went beyond military production and provided goods for civilian use despite the harsh foreign competition in the textile industry. Another important field of reformation in the reign of Mahmud II was education. The two existing but idle military engineering schools were revitalised, three more schools for military education on medicine, music and military sciences were opened with a modern curriculum, and for the first time in history some students were sent to Europe (Paris) for education. The reforms in this era covered many fields, from governmental administration to daily life; from the radical transformations in the age-old Ottoman feudal system to the introduction of first official newspaper, telegraph and railroad.

The successful reforms by Mahmud II gave way to their continuation in the same path by his successors. In Turkish historiography, the period between 1839 and 1876 (end of the reign of Mahmud II and the First Constitutional era) is known as the period of *Tanzimat* ('reforms period', or literally 'reorganization period'). The reforms undertaken in this era were mostly in the same areas as before, however there was also an increasing emphasis on the betterment of the legal system that organizes the relation of its subjects to the empire within the existing traditional social structure⁵². For instance, the legal system was secularized more than it had been before and *şeriat*, the canon law of İslam, although never abandoned, was limited in its scope. This emphasis is partially attributed by many scholars to the pressure of the western powers and the growing tide of

⁴⁷ Clark, E. C. "The Ottoman Industrial Revolution", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1974, p. 66.

⁴⁸ Shaw, J. S. "The Origins of Ottoman Military Reform: The Nizam-ı Cedid Army of Sultan Selim III", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 37, No. 1965, p. 292.

⁴⁹ Lewis, B. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 76-106.

⁵⁰ Sarç, Ö. C. "Tanzimat ve Sanayimiz" [Tanzimat Period and our Industry] in, *Tanzimat*, İstanbul, 1941, pp. 423-440. Reprinted in: Issawi, C. (ed.) *The Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914: A Book of Readings*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966, p. 55.

⁵¹ *Feshane* is the manufactory for *Fez*, the head gear which was very popular and commonly used by men in this period until the Republican law that banned its use.

⁵² The Ottoman social system was based on the concept of '*millet*', which were defined with confessional practices rather than the ethnic origins. Each *millet* was provided with a certain degree of legal autonomy in communal practices. For more on *millet* system see: Ortaylı, İ. *Son İmparatorluk Osmanlı* [The Last Empire, Ottomans], İstanbul: Timaş Press, 2006.

nationalist movements within the empire⁵³. They are considered to be bearing the mixed aim of political integration of the empire into the stage of European powers as an active participant on the one hand and encouraging a sense of pan-Ottomanism in its diverse ethnic and religious population on the other.

Reforms of the period of *Tanzimat* could not bare satisfactory fulfilment in terms of the aims mentioned above. They brought significant improvements in the administrative, social and cultural fields and material conditions of the Ottoman life when compared to the previous century. Nevertheless the empire could never find enduring alliances as an equal power among the great powers of the west, and the nationalist movements continued to create independent states in its European provinces. All and all the empire never regained its past capability, prosperity and financial security, mostly due to the incapability to compete with the economic strength of western capitalism that started to dominate the Ottoman market with privileged trade agreements.

However this era bared certain significant social results, one of which is extremely important for our research here: the creation of “something resembling a modern bureaucracy”⁵⁴ or a “ruling elite”⁵⁵ with strong characteristics unique to the context it was born into. Indeed, the effective existence and the central role of this social and political group as the main imposer of the reform marks the major difference between the *Tanzimat* period and the previous eras of reforming sultans such as Selim III and Mahmud II⁵⁶. These officials were equipped with

reformed education, could speak European languages and even the ones that had not been in Europe for diplomatic purposes had, though sometimes superficial, knowledge of western ways. Their familiarity was not merely intellectual and extended into their lifestyles with clothing, taste and cultural choices, which in many cases was accompanied by “a snobbish rejection of traditional Ottoman ways”⁵⁷. Their education, capacity and the decisive character of the political context kept them in power, though their alienation created an increasing unpopularity especially among traditional Muslim circles.

The opposition of conservative Muslim majority in this period caused certain violent incidents in Istanbul and in provinces. However another opposition that turned out to be more effective in the future of the empire was born within the ruling elite itself. Certain intellectuals who mostly were former civil servants influenced a rather loosely organized but increasingly powerful opposition. This group was first known with the name ‘Young Ottomans’ and they formed a base for the later and larger group ‘Young Turks’. This group exhibited a great variety of theoretical references but they were unified in the aim of ending the autocratic rule of the sultan and the reforms of the bureaucratic elite which they criticized for bringing a superficial westernization and loss of traditional values. Theirs was an attempt to merge European political positivism with the cultural tradition of Islam, and they wanted to utilize a centralized constitutional parliamentary state for a return to the glorious past of the Ottoman rule⁵⁸.

⁵³ Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 61.

⁵⁴ Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 50.

⁵⁵ Lewis, B. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 127.

⁵⁶ It should also be mentioned that it was Mahmud II that had helped the birth of this bureaucratic elite who included the transformation of the

traditional scribal institution in his reforms. See, Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 61.

⁵⁷ Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 66.

⁵⁸ For further discussion on the Young Turks’ relation to positivism see: Özlem, D. “Türkiye’de Pozitivizm ve Siyaset” [Positivism and Politics in Turkey], in: Kocabaşoğlu, U. (ed.) *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık* [Modernization and Westernism], İstanbul: İletişim Pres, 2002, pp. 452-465.

The early Young Ottoman movement only indirectly influenced the announcement of the First Constitution of the Ottoman Empire in 1876, which was abolished by the sultan soon after its announcement. The Second Constitution in 1908, after an interval of firm autocracy for 30 more years, on the other hand came directly with the 'Young Turk Revolution', which was enforced by military officials and military students who were members of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), the open and official organization established by the Young Turks in 1906.

The liberalism of Young Turks, or 'Unionists' as they would be known after the committee, was never meant to be an integration of the masses into processes of policy making; it was a constitutional legitimization of their unification under a centralized state run by enlightened elites. Still, the Constitutional Era brought great hopes in the public and created an atmosphere of freedom. However, the turbulent events within and without the empire between the years 1908 and 1918 caused that atmosphere to be blurred quickly. In 1909 the new government witnessed an almost successful armed attempt of reactionary Islamist counterrevolution. War with Italy in North Africa was followed by two Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913. In 1913, with increasing domestic political conflict, CUP performed a coup, which consolidated its power but also "degenerated the regime into a kind of military oligarchy of the Young Turk leaders"⁵⁹. That lasted until 1918 as the committee disbanded itself and its leaders fled abroad when the empire was defeated in the World War.

The CUP in its rule continued reforms that attempted further modernization and secularization in administrative, legal and economic fields. Their belief in a strong centralized state also further enhanced the power of bureaucracy. However this was also a time of lively public ideological and political debate and theoretical reformation

of political discourse, especially when compared to the previous decades. The lively debate mainly stemmed from the diversity of the positional variations that was unified in the Young Turk movement from the very beginning. Summarising the nature of this political discourse would be useful in understanding the early Republican ideology in the ways it presented a continuation of and a detachment from the previous era.

The multifaceted nature of the debate going on makes it hard to depict clear boundaries for definitive positions. Three main axes that had appeared are often considered to be the main three competing ideologies of the time, but as Zürcher shows, this approach does not reflect the actual nature of the debate and these ideas in fact appeared in a rather shifting and penetrating manner.⁶⁰ One of these axes was Ottomanism, which was the main axis of first intellectuals that formed the Young Ottomans who sought for the strength of union of different ethnic and religious groups under the Ottoman rule. Ottomanism lost almost all of its power in 1913 when the empire suddenly found itself in the Balkan Wars fighting four non-Muslim nations that were previously its subjects. The idea of a Turkish nationalism rather than Ottoman nationalism, which was another axis, gained a certain acceptance with this date and was utilized by CUP during the World War to extend influence over Turkic nations in Russia. But besides this pan-Turkist approach, another romantic form of nationalism that focused on Anatolia and its peasant culture developed at the same time. The third axis, Islamism also had various forms. An idea of pan-Islamism was also tried to be used during the World War, in order to gain loyalty of the Arab provinces and create sympathy of the Muslim population in the colonies, but such attempts failed. There were also conservative and reactionary Islamist approaches, but many who emphasized even a complete return to the

⁵⁹ Lewis, B. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 211.

⁶⁰ Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, pp. 127-132.

Islamic law also argued that this would not conflict with the adoption of modernization.

In fact, the question on how to improve the condition of the state and the society while preserving certain values constituted the most recurrent theme in the debates, no matter which values were emphasized; national, religious, or of the Ottoman tradition. The most widely accepted answer to this question came from Ziya (Gökalp), which echoed as the official ideology of CUP until the empire's end. Gökalp made a theoretical distinction between *hars* (culture), which is the set of values and habits of a social entity, in this case the Turkish culture, together with the set of religious values, and *medeniyet* (civilization) which is the set of rational and universal methods of science and technology. This way the idea of the Turkish culture was completely isolated from the medieval Islamic/Arab civilization that was incorporated into the Ottoman system long ago. Therefore there was no problem in modernization as means of adopting the ways of the European civilization, as long as the connection to one's own culture was not lost; something that the *tanzimat* reformers could not achieve.

It is important to understand what such ideological debates of the time evolved into, however it is also crucial to remember that political impact of CUP that passed into the Republican cadres was wider than the reflections of its ideological stand. It is again Zürcher who reminds us that, the CUP leaders who actually held the power;

...were not ideologues but men of action. They were ideologically eclectic and their common denominator was a shared set of attitudes rather than a common ideological programme. Important elements in this set of attitudes were nationalism, a positivist belief in the value of objective scientific truth, a great (and somewhat naïve) faith in the power of education to spread this truth and elevate people, implicit belief in the role of the central state

as the prime mover in society and a certain activism, a belief in change, in progress⁶¹...

This warning, as well as the set of attitudes attributed to the last generation of the Ottoman reformers will be reminding itself to us throughout our further discussion.

With the end of the war in 1918, the most powerful leaders of the CUP had fled abroad⁶², but many committee members were still in their offices; in the central bureaucracy, in the army, and in control of important infrastructural elements such as the telegraph lines. Just after the armistice, an underground organization for an Anatolian resistance had already begun mostly by committee members, before British forces landed in İstanbul. Large amount of arms had been smuggled from İstanbul to Anatolia, and many military officers, officials and intellectuals had managed to flee the capital, including Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk)⁶³, who later became the leader of the unified nationalist resistance that settled in Ankara. Mustafa Kemal was in fact an early member of CUP, who had taken part in the revolution of 1908 and in the suppression of the counterrevolution in 1909, but who had disagreed with the major officer leaders of the committee and departed himself from the political scene just to come

⁶¹ Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 132.

⁶² The main reason for their leaving the country was the fear that the Entente could press charges of war crimes for their responsibility in the massacre of Armenians in the empire during the war. Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 134.

⁶³ Turkish people did not have official family names until the law in 1934 forced every family to pick one for themselves. 'Atatürk' was the surname that the Turkish Grand National Assembly gave to Mustafa Kemal with a special law, although he picked another one for himself. 'Atatürk' means "the ancestor of Turks".

back with the end of the World War⁶⁴. At this time he was a decorated military hero with his service in many fronts, especially in the Dardanelles.

The first National Assembly in Ankara in Mustafa Kemal's leadership, who also was the commander in chief of the resistance army, had by no means a homogenous structure. Within the assembly, there were committee members with different ideological positions and with histories of personal and political conflict in their CUP past, conservative Islamists, Islamist modernists, and Turkish and Ottoman nationalists with mixed feelings towards the sultan and the Ottoman throne. Therefore, the period until the proclamation of the republic in 1923 was not only a time for armed conflict with the invasion forces, but also a harsh inner conflict between the parts with different political agendas. The struggle for the leadership of the resistance and for the power to decide what to do with it when it is over continued all through the War of Independence, and finally the Assembly that approved the Treaty of Lausanne with the Entente and established the Republic of Turkey in the same year of 1923 was a rather homogenous political body that composed the Republican People's Party (RPP) in the absolute leadership of Mustafa Kemal.

Still criticism and opposition was not completely absent. Some former rulers of the CUP, who had won popularity with their parts in the Independence War, criticised the haste in the proclamation of the republic and the authoritarian manner this was conducted. The infamous past of the committee for coups and underground organization rendered this opposition critical for the RPP. Opposition to the party also created a short-lived opposition party within the assembly. In this context, two important events openly declared the estrangement and break of Mustafa Kemal and the Republican political body from

their CUP past. Firstly, an attempt to assassinate Mustafa Kemal in 1926 was tied to the committee action and many members of the committee were arrested, and found guilty. Popular war heroes leading the criticism against Mustafa Kemal were released, but the incident killed their political influence. The second event was in fact in the nature of manifestation; in the RPP congress of 1927, Mustafa Kemal delivered his famous 36-hour long speech⁶⁵. The speech was presented as the personal report of the history of the national struggle for independence; however it gave a disproportionately big part to a harsh attack on the CUP associated critics of the post-Independence War years and on their political past, and so served to seal the exclusion of the CUP from the background of the Republican Revolution in the perception of the official ideology. The Republican ideology thus manifested its break from the Young Turk context from which it was born, just like Young Turks broke from the bureaucratic elites of the *tanzimat*, hence repeating the pattern of continuity and break in the history of modernization of Turkey.

II.1.2. Turkey between the years 1923-1950

The political context at the end of the Independence War and the beginning of the republic brought Turkey to the single party regime of the Republican People's Party in the unchallenged leadership of Mustafa Kemal, who was now the president of the republic. The exclusion of individuals who imply connections to the CUP politics of the 1908-1918 era from the political scene was not only an act of elimination of competitors. Mustafa Kemal and his RPP were determined to place the country in a revolutionary path that it had not been before. All the modernization attempts in the Ottoman past from the

⁶⁴ Dyer, G. "The Origins of the 'Nationalist' Group of Officers in Turkey 1908-1918", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 8, No. 4' 1973, p. 126.

⁶⁵ This speech is also available in English: *A Speech Delivered by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk 1927*, İstanbul: Ministry of Education Press, 1963.

reforms of Selim III to the rule of CUP were in fact attempts in restoration of past glory of the empire. Even the constitutional revolution in 1908 was thought as a means in that end. The distinction of the Republican revolution in that sense was its bold and sometimes over-stated manifestation of the break from the Ottoman past with an emphasized desire for a tabula rasa state for the Republic. That was the only way for the grand goal they set for themselves: transforming the remains of a pre-modern empire to a modern nation-state. That meant abandoning not only the politics of previous Ottoman reformers, but also their ideological view of modernism and related discursive tools. The distinction between the ‘culture’ and ‘civilization’ as formulized by Ziya Gökalp and embraced by Young Turks was no more. The modernization paradigm for the Republican ideology was being redefined in a holistic program, including all parts of social, cultural and economic life, and was carefully promoted as an emancipation from the ‘Ottoman backwardness’.

Abolishment of the sultanate in 1922 and establishment of the republic in 1923 were the first steps to throw away the ties to the Ottoman past, which were soon followed by the abolishment of the caliphate⁶⁶ in 1924. Another bold statement in the same line had come some weeks earlier than the proclamation of the republic; the National Assembly chose not to move to İstanbul, the Ottoman capital that had been the seat of power for almost five centuries, and instead proclaimed Ankara as the new

capital of the Republic. The choice had a number of implications; first and most of all this was the clearest expression of breaking off with the imperial past, aimed for both national and international audiences. This break off was not purely symbolic; it was not only due to the imperial image that İstanbul presented with the great collection of palaces, administrative buildings, mosques and other religious and imperial monuments. İstanbul, together with some other big port cities, had been housing an important cosmopolitan commercial community through which, as the Republican observation of the drastic economic dependency of the Empire in its final phase concluded, the control of international capitalism had penetrated into the Ottoman economy⁶⁷. Ankara was perfectly situated in the centre of Anatolia to foster economic development all through the country with creation of a national industry and a national market. On the other hand, making up a modern capital city out of a moderate town which had been badly impoverished in the last decades with economic decline and endless wars, as all Anatolian towns were, was also a challenge that the Republic would be willing to pick. The construction of the new capital in this sense, would not only symbolize what the Republic could achieve, but also serve as a model for the urban modernization that was meant to be realized all through the country.

What the Republic set out to achieve was not little. The country in 1923 was largely impoverished in the full sense. 19th century had brought one war after another to the Ottoman Empire and the 20th century until 1923 was almost continuous wartime. For all these wars, the basic source for the recruits of the army was the Anatolian peasantry and that fact brought the inevitable backdrop in agricultural production and consequent famine as an additional cause for the increasing mortality rates besides deaths in war.

⁶⁶ Caliph, simply, is the political leader of all Muslims in the world. The title was established after the prophet’s death and was the ruler’s title all through the history of the Islam Empire. The title passed to the Ottomans in the 16th century when they defeated the Mamluks of Egypt and conquered most of the Arab lands. The Ottoman sultans used it not as their major title but in a symbolic and political way. When the National Assembly in Ankara abolished the sultanate in 1922, they spared the title of caliph. Instead the assembly invested in itself the power to select one of the descendents of the Ottoman family as the caliph. The abolishment of caliphate was a much more sensitive issue for the assembly of the time than the abolishment of sultanate.

⁶⁷ See; Tekeli, İ. “Ankara’nın Başkentlik Kararı” [Decision of Ankara as a Capital], in Y. Yavuz (ed.) *Tarih İçinde Ankara* [Ankara in History], Ankara: Middle East Technical University Press, 2001, p. 325.

Only in the First World War, the population declined for 20 per cent⁶⁸. Another important demographic feature that the post-war Republic had to face was migration. During the war, a considerable portion of the Armenian and Greek population had fled the country and with the Lausanne Treaty the remaining Greek population of Anatolia was exchanged with the Turkish population of Greece. The population lost this way constituted an important portion of the mercantile, industrial and craftsman communities of urban areas. Thus, the country lost great part of its urban production, as well as the urban population and became more ruralised than before.

According to the census of 1927, 75.8% of the total population of 13.6 millions lived in villages and 24.2% lived in towns⁶⁹. This ratio of three quarters of the total population being rural to one quarter being urban did not change until the 1950s, although the population had risen by half and reached almost 21 millions in the census of 1950. The figures showing the division of occupation also point to a similar fact; according to the 1945 census the ratio of people in the country occupied in agriculture to the number employed in industry was almost ten to one.

In this context, an economic congress was held in İzmir in 1923 to determine an economic policy. Despite all the handicaps, the goal was set as the establishment of a liberal, industrial, and above all national economy. Formation of an independent economic system free from the former semi-colonial connections with the west was emphasized with the opening speech of Mustafa Kemal in the congress as he declared that “the national sovereignty should be accompanied by economic sovereignty”⁷⁰ and

that this is the basic principle for full independence. The tendency towards a dominantly protectionist economic policy was almost natural for this generation, who had experienced the consequences of Ottoman capitulations with the west and the inevitable crush of the domestic market. Abolition of the capitulations was achieved with the Treaty of Lausanne, however, the basic social component to achieve a “capitalist, but at the same time anti-imperialist”⁷¹ economic development and realize the desired industrialization in this line was missing: a national bourgeoisie. Therefore it was decided in this congress that the state should take the leading role in undertaking the foundation of factories, the extraction of underground resources and should provide the enrichment of the Anatolian entrepreneur. In this frame, Türkiye İş Bankası (Business Bank of Turkey) and Türkiye Sanayi ve Maadin Bankası (Industry and Metallurgical Bank of Turkey) were founded in 1924 and 1925 respectively, and a law for the encouragement of industry was passed in 1927. However, the liberal tone in the main economic policy and interpreting the state’s industrial activity only as a case of necessity later changed with the interference of the world economic crisis of 1929. From this date on, ‘the leading role of the state’ gradually shifted to direct involvement in industrialization and economic statism, and stayed so until the late 1940s⁷².

The state in this period made numerous industrial investments and undertook an expansive infrastructural construction. Communication was enhanced with telegraph

⁶⁸ In terms of proportionate population loss during the World War, the Ottoman Empire was the second after Serbia. Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 163.

⁶⁹ Brice, W. C. “The Population of Turkey in 1950”, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 120, No.3, 1954, pp. 347-352.

⁷⁰ Cited in: Kocabaşoğlu, U. *Türkiye İş Bankası Tarihi* [History of the İşbank of Turkey], İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yay., 2001, p. 22.

⁷¹ Ahmad, F. *İttikatçılıktan Kemalizme* [From Unionism to Kemalism], Kaynak Yay., 1996, p. 193.

⁷² Besides the fact that the crisis caused questioning of the faith in the liberal system in the Turkish political body, another important fact in this shift in the economic policy was the observation of the success of the planned economy in the USSR. Tekeli, İ. and İlkin, S. *Uygulamaya Geçerken Türkiye’de Devletçiliğin Oluşumu* [Formation of Statism in Turkey in its Realization], Ankara: METU Faculty of Administrative Sciences Press, 1982.

and postal services and road and railroad construction made every part of the country more accessible. Especially the railroad construction was given a considerable weight, both in reality and symbolically⁷³. The main practical manifestations of industrialization were laid with five-year plans, which were developed in the influence of the planned economic system of the New Economy Policy (NEP) in the Soviet Union. The First Five-Year Industrialization Plan was implemented between the years 1934 and 1938 and included state investment in textiles, paper, ceramics, glass, cement, chemicals, iron and steel⁷⁴. The Second Five-Year Plan that put the emphasis on the heavy industry was prepared for the period of 1939-1943, but remained unimplemented because of the conditions of the Second World War. In addition to the banks founded in the 1920s, two more state controlled institutions were founded for the finance and management of the new industrial plants; Sümerbank in 1933 for the manufacturing industries and Etibank in 1935 for investments in mining and power supply.

While the Republic was trying to create a viable path for economic modernization and industrialization, the program for the transformation of the socio-cultural field was also in progress. In this sense an important step in the modernization of the legal system was taken with the adoption of the new civil law in 1926. This act can be seen as a continuation of the secularization that the *tanzimat* and Unionist reforms brought to the legal system which had narrowed the absolute power of the canon law of Islam down to the family law. Nonetheless the new civil law was a major step because it carried the secular law into the family life, to the everyday life of common citizen. With

⁷³ A march composed for the 10th anniversary of the Republic that proudly mentions “weaving the country with webs of iron” is still thought in schools today.

⁷⁴ Hale, W. “Ideology and Economic Development in Turkey, 1930-1945”, *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1980, p. 101.

this law religious marriages and polygamy was abolished and gender inequality in inheritance was corrected. Similar laws accompanied in the secularization of the social life which modernized the education system, restricted religious schools, and brought religious institutions in state control. A number of other steps were taken in order to bring the social and daily life in Turkey in closer relation and communication to the western society; the adoption of western clock and calendar in 1926, of western numerals in 1928, of the Latin Alphabet instead of the Ottoman alphabet of Arabic/Persian origin in the same year, and of western weights and measures in 1931⁷⁵. Women’s integration into the social and cultural life was also considered as a vital part of the modernization of social life. The changes made in the educational system made every educational institute accessible for women and women were given electoral rights in 1934. Besides the changes made in the legal system in favour of gender equality, women’s participation in the professional and cultural life was promoted with social campaigns.

The transformation of the socio-cultural life was taken very seriously by the Republican rule not only for the desire to furnish the everyday social practices with a contemporary and western form, but also and more importantly because this was seen as a key component in the transformation into a nation-state. The traditional Ottoman social structure consisting of local communities with identification based on religion did not contain or promote an abstract and unifying national identity. The cultural practices were the only field where this could be fostered. All levels of education were reorganized in modern western forms, education, production and reception

⁷⁵ Zürcher also points out that, such measures were not only designed to provide easier communication with the western world, but also to cut links with the Islamic world, and therefore can be thought as a rather symbolic part of the secularization process. Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 188.

of modern arts and architecture were supported and enhanced, and western forms of urban life with cafes, bars, parks, cinemas, ball rooms that had been mostly restricted to the cosmopolitan parts of İstanbul and some other big cities before were spread to all towns and cities across the nation. The westernization of cultural life with the promotion of western education, arts and leisure habits, though seems contradictory, was means for the end of building up a unified national identity. It was meant to achieve not only the detachment from the old habits and ways that were strongly associated with the Islamic and Middle Eastern tradition, but also the creation of a national pride in being contemporary and up to date, and a devotion to the social whole that transcends local and communal ties.

Parallel to the westernization of the socio-cultural practices was the intense effort to formulate a scholarly legitimate and socially accepted definition for the Turkish identity. In this respect, the Society for the Study of Turkish Language (later Turkish Language Association) and the Society for the Study of the Turkish History (later Turkish History Association) were founded in 1931. The studies of these institutions in line with the state ideology in the 1930s such as “Turkish History Thesis” and “Sun-Language Theory” did not produce legitimate and accepted results as aimed, and were fictitious rather than scientific, but they are important for us to understand the nature of that ideology⁷⁶. They were majorly targeting to define the ancient roots of the Turkish national culture and history in a way which

deletes the need to refer to the Ottoman past and the Islamic culture. These roots were defined beyond the socially established dichotomies of eastern versus western civilizations or European versus Middle Eastern/Islamic cultures, and thus was aiming to provide the Turkish national identity a rather universal basis. The implied conclusion was that, Turks were free to progress into anything they wish, culturally as well as technologically, without feeling being uprooted from the cultural heritage of their past. The way the formulation on culture/civilization by Ziya Gökalp is undone in this attempt is very clear.

The intense and ambitious program for modern transformation that continued throughout the 1930s, however did not present a parallel production in the theoretical sense. Similar to their Ottoman predecessors, the Republican revolutionaries, including Mustafa Kemal, were men of action and not theories. Abstract foundational theories to frame the revolution in progress in a coherent and sustainable way were not efficiently produced. One single reference that is the closest to such a frame can be found in the 1931 program of the RPP, which laid down the six basic principles of the party, and hence the Republic. These principles were: republicanism, populism, secularism, revolutionism, nationalism and (economic) statism. The statements were strong, but definitions were loose, so Kemalism (or later Atatürkism), which became the general name for the Republican movement, had always been cited with reference to the political action of the time, rather than to a body of political texts. The only one in these six principles that entailed considerable debate and disagreement within the Republican political body was statism, which eventually became one of the major issues in the formation of an opposition party in the late 1940s.

The end of the 1930s brought important events that gradually carried the country to the conclusion of an era. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk died in 1938 and İsmet İnönü, who had been the second in power both during the war and after, was elected the president. Most of his rule was concentrated

⁷⁶ “Sun-Language Theory” claimed that all languages evolved from one Central Asian language, of which Turkish is the closest form. For further reading see: Lewis, G. L. *The Turkish Language Reform, a Catastrophic Success*, Oxford – New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. “Turkish History Thesis” stated that Turks were direct descendents of Aryan inhabitants of Central Asia, who had spread out to other parts of the world and created major civilizations. It also implied that Turkish existence in Anatolia went back to prehistoric times. See, Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 191.

in the effort of keeping Turkey out of the Second World War. The inevitable economic strain and the increasing social and political control of the wartime era resulted in the formation of a political opposition that had massive popular support towards the end of 1940s. Consequently, with the decisive victory of the oppositional party (Democratic Party) in the elections of 1950, the continuous and the unchallenged rule of RPP since 1923 was concluded. This date is generally considered as the beginning of a new era in Turkish history, not only in terms of a major change in the political regime and transition to the multi-party era, but with all the extensive set of differences that the policies of the new ruling party had in the social, cultural and economic fields.

II.2. Architecture's Role in Modernization and the Modernization of the Architectural Profession

A sense of 'building' had always been at the core of the spirit of the Republican revolution from the very start, both in conceptual and material terms. From the stand point of those in power, who shared the positivist, social engineering mind of their Unionist predecessors, the Republic was a grand project for building up a modern nation-state and a prosperous country with a place not lesser than any other within the contemporary civilization. This project required that the abstract construction of modernity with corresponding social and political practices should not be considered separate from the actual construction of modern towns and cities. Nothing can exhibit this idea of modernization as the 'construction of modernity' better than the construction of Ankara as the new capital.

However, the prospect of building up a brand new modern capital city together with the modernization of the urban setting in all settlements large and small across the nation was not very much different from the other components of the Turkish modernization project in the way the task lacked necessary resources. All of this was

initialized with extremely insufficient national construction industry and know-how, trained work force and professional supervision. On the part of the architectural profession for instance, not unlike any other construction related profession, a well established professional system in the modern sense with all the necessary educational, legal, organizational and discursive settings was far from being functional nationwide, not to mention the very low number of architects. Still, delaying the modernist construction until a trustworthy professional body that the project can be assigned develops was out of question, and similarly the architectural community in Turkey would not be willing to step aside and watch others do their job. Therefore the Republican project for the construction of the modernity on the one hand and the building up of an architectural profession in the modern sense on the other progressed simultaneously and developed in mutual relationship. As can be seen in the Introduction chapter above, it is one of the basic arguments in this study that these two developments in Turkey can not be treated as two separate narrations and two closed systems that form their own isolated ideological/discursive settings. In that spirit, this part of the study will try to deliver a single narration and provide an understanding into the certain ways and degrees that the Republican ideology on modernist construction and the modernization of the architectural practice and discourse mutually shaped each other.

This part has two basic aims: On the one hand it sets the goal of providing the reader with a detailed narration of the architectural context that this study dwells on, in order to make better defined connections between the subject matter and its context possible. On the other hand it intends to introduce certain basic concepts that will be vital for the further discussion, in relation to the context that those concepts appeared.

II.2.1. The Initial Years; Ankara

When the National Assembly was founded as the seat of the resistance movement in Ankara in 1920, it was housed in the small building which was designed as the local center for the Committee of Union and Progress and which was finished just a year ago (Figure 2.1). The city lacked every sort of facility that is needed to function as a central administrative core. The only place where the deputies could stay until finding a suitable house was the old *han* in the same street with the assembly building and anecdotes on some having to sleep in the same room is not rare⁷⁷. The first buildings to be constructed in the capital naturally aimed to meet such immediate needs; to house the administration of the new state. Among such buildings are the 2nd Assembly building designed by Vedat Bey in 1923 (Figure 2.2), the Ministry of Finance by Yahya Ahmet and Mühendis İrfan in 1925 (Figure 2.3), and Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu in 1927 (Figure 2.4). The hotel/guesthouse Ankara Palas designed by Vedat Bey in 1924 but finished by Kemalettin Bey in 1928 can be added to this list as it replaced the old *han* in its function (Figure 2.5). Contemporary to such administrative buildings to be designed and built in Ankara in the first years of the Republic are cultural buildings such as the Ethnography Museum building and Turkish Heart (later People's House) building both designed by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu

⁷⁷ As a matter of fact, such anecdotes on the wretched condition of Ankara in the first years of its new role in the history of Turkey are many. Although it is true that the city was in a very poor state in the 1920s, the reader should also be warned that the way the official historiography has created a myth of "building a capital out of ruins" tends to conceal the importance of Ankara in the history of central Anatolia going back to Phrygian times. The condition in the 1920s was mostly the result of war and famine, and the declining economy in the 19th century, not to mention the two recent big fires in 1881 and 1917 that hit the city. For more on history of Ankara see: Yavuz, Y. (ed.) *Tarih İçinde Ankara* [Ankara in History], Ankara: METU Faculty of Architecture, 2001.

respectively in 1925 and 1927 (Figure 2.6), bank buildings such as the Ottoman Bank (1926), Agricultural Bank (1926, Figure 2.7) and Business Bank (1929, Figure 2.8) designed by Giulio Mongeri, educational buildings such as Gazi Institute of Education by Kemalettin Bey in 1927 (Figure 2.9) and Gazi and Latife elementary schools designed by Mukbil Kemal Bey in 1924, and housings such as the apartments for the Ministry of Endowments by Kemalettin Bey in 1926 (Figure 2.10). These buildings all together very well represent the architectural approach present in these initial years of the Republic.



Figure 2.1. The First National Assembly Building, İsmail Hasip Bey, 1919.



Figure 2.2. The Second National Assembly Building, Vedat Bey, 1923.



Figure 2.3. The Ministry of Finance, Yahya Ahmet and Mühendis İrfan, 1925.



Figure 2.4. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, 1927.



Figure 2.5. Ankara Palas, Vedat Bey, 1924.



Figure 2.6. Ethnography Museum (rear) and Turkish Heart (front), Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, 1925 and 1927.



Figure 2.7. Agricultural Bank, Giulio Mongeri, 1926.



Figure 2.8. Business Bank, Giulio Mongeri, 1929.



Figure 2.9. Gazi Institute of Education, Kemalettin Bey, 1927.



Figure 2.10. Apartments for the Ministry of Endowments, Kemalettin Bey, 1926.

Those buildings today are considered to be among the most important iconographic productions of the architectural discourse that was dominant in the country between the beginning of the 20th century and the 1930s. The conventional architectural historiography had designated this period as the ‘1st National Style’ however

that name later aroused significant criticism⁷⁸. Bozdoğan for instance, defines the approach as an eclectic Ottoman Revivalism and uses the term ‘National Architecture Renaissance’, reminding that this was the term used by the movement’s contemporaries⁷⁹. The rise of this architectural approach coincides with the constitutional revolution of 1908 that brought the Committee of Union and Progress to the power and reflects the cultural approach of Young Turks as formulated by Ziya Gökalp, which was explained above. Beginning with the first major example of this style, which is the Central Post Office in İstanbul designed by Vedat Bey in 1909 (Figure 2.11), the architects of the movement, many of whom had a Western education, but who also shared the patriotic political and cultural atmosphere of the Young Turk era with many other Ottoman intellectuals and artists, developed a new architectural approach with many public buildings that they designed not only in the capital İstanbul, but throughout the country.

The basic idea in this Ottoman revivalism was combining certain elements of classical Ottoman architecture such as semi-spherical domes, large eaves, pointed arches and other decorative components with the requirements and aspects of new building types (such as railway stations, post offices and banks); with modern techniques and planning and facade organization principles (mostly in an Ecole des Beaux Arts influence). This approach was aiming at revitalizing classical Ottoman architectural ‘culture’ by utilizing its forms in buildings of modern ‘civilization’ and hence building up an architectural correspondence to Gökalp’s formulation. But on the other hand it was also bringing in a critical interpretation to the Western-based eclectic orientalism, architectural examples

⁷⁸ See discussion in the Introduction chapter, pp. 13-14.

⁷⁹ Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001, p. 18.

of which were also seen in İstanbul. Thus, the architects of the National Architectural Renaissance is seen today as the ‘first moderns’ in Turkish architectural history, not only because they introduced buildings with modern technology and functions, but because they developed a self-conscious and critical discourse on identity building⁸⁰.

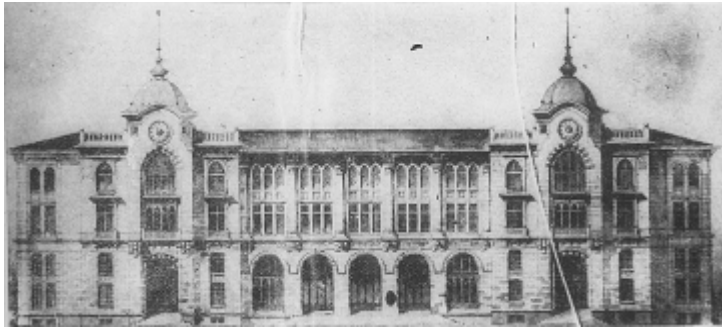


Figure 2.11. The Central Post Office in İstanbul, Vedat Bey, 1909.

When the newly founded republic required their urgent services for the new capital, the most prominent architects of the country were all practicing in the line of this movement. Among those architects, whose new buildings for Ankara were listed above, Vedat Bey (1873 – 1942) was a graduate of Ecole des Beaux Arts and was working for İstanbul Municipality and several ministries since 1898, as well as teaching at the architecture department of the Academy in İstanbul (founded in 1883). Kemalettin Bey (1870 – 1927) was trained in the Engineering School in İstanbul (founded in 1884), but later

studied at the Technische Hochschule in Berlin. In the last years of the empire, he also was working for the state, mostly doing restoration work for the Ministry of Endowments, and teaching at the engineering school he graduated from. Another important name is the Milan trained Italian architect Giulio Mongeri (1873 – 1953), who also had a post in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul since 1910. The fourth important name mentioned above with three buildings in Ankara, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu was in fact from the younger generation and was a student of Giulio Mongeri.

Despite the excitement that the new buildings in Ankara created in the initial years, which can be observed in various mediums such as the newspapers, posters and postcards, the Ottoman revivalist style would experience a sudden and decisive abandonment soon, towards the end of the 1920s. The year 1927 witnessed the completion of some last examples of this style, at the same time with a building that showed a completely new approach for Ankara: the Ministry of Health designed by the Austrian architect Theodor Jost (Figure 2.12). This building is the first of many buildings to be designed by foreign architects in Ankara, and is usually referred as the first example of the international modernist approach which would replace the Ottoman revivalist style almost overnight and dominate the architectural thought and practice for the decades to come. The abandonment of the old style for a shift to the “new architecture” as it was named at that time (and sometimes as “cubic architecture”⁸¹) was so quick and conclusive that it was already embraced completely and without opposition both by the new generation of architects who had their education after 1923 and the state and individuals within

⁸⁰ In this sense Bozdoğan mentions that it “was not only the first self-consciously “modern” discourse in Turkey but also, by the same token, the first “anti-orientalist” one, claiming its historicity and refusing to be a “nonhistorical style”, as Sir Bannister Fletcher classified Ottoman architecture in 1896”. Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001, p. 23.

⁸¹ The name “cubic” was used mostly in the public realm. Though the architectural style it refers to has clear influences of the early 20th century European developments in modern architecture, the name does not point to its architectural or artistic content, but is just rooted in the public reception of its formal characteristics.

when the 1930s began. The architects that practiced within the movement, such as Vedat Bey and Giulio Mongeri, had to quit the architectural scene with some others and some shifted with the tide and adopted the new approach⁸².



Figure 2.12. The Ministry of Health, Theodor Jost, 1927.

The reasons that explain the decisive practical shift in the dominant architectural approach with the beginning of the 1930s are various. On the part of the state, who was the major patron of architecture, there was a clear ideological mismatch. The Ottoman revivalist style and the cultural discourse that it entailed were products of the intellectual atmosphere of the Young Turk era, with which the Republic strongly announced an ideological break of the ties with the famous speech of Atatürk in 1927. Revitalization of Ottoman forms by means of their modernization was not very much consistent with the *tabula rasa* situation that the Republican politicians were in the process of developing as a way of perceiving the revolution,

⁸² In fact, Kemalettin Bey died in 1927. Vedat Bey and Giulio Mongeri had to leave their teaching positions as well as their architectural service for the state. Mongeri tried out a rather international approach in his design for the Hotel Çelik Palas in Bursa in 1930, and it is cited that his own disappointment in the result was instrumental in his decision to leave the Academy.

just in these years.⁸³ Though the state had no evident interference on the architectural style of the new capital in the initial years, the manifestation of a break from the Ottoman past gained importance later, which eventually found its architectural correspondence in the modernism of the dominantly German speaking foreign architects that were invited to design for the capital.

The influential practice of the foreign architects is a majorly important issue and will be discussed largely below. But before moving on, other factors that affected the shift in the architectural choice of the Republic should be given. One of such is the criticism on the Ottoman revivalist style that began to be increasingly apparent in the cultural circles in the second half of the 1920s. The young generation of architects trained in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul was students of Vedat Bey and Giulio Mongeri, but they also had their access to the contemporary western discourse in modern architecture. Many had a chance to continue their education in European countries⁸⁴, and those

⁸³ It should also be noted that such an inconsistency was not as obvious to the contemporary person as it is today to the historian. The immediate feeling related to the first buildings built in Ankara in all sorts of media was primarily, a sense of pride of seeing Ankara “happening”, and secondarily an excitement of their “newness”, whether it is the new urban experience they brought such as the balls in the large ballroom of Ankara Palas, or their modern equipment such as electricity, heating and lifts. The pride and excitement also continued after the state shifted its choice on the architectural approach and buildings that were built in the years between 1923 and 1930 continued to be proudly exhibited on postcards and posters together with the buildings of “New Architecture” throughout the 1930s.

⁸⁴ Statistics show that between the years 1928 and 1933 a total of 14 architectural students were sent abroad for education by the state. This was not specific to architecture and while the modernization of educational institutions was in progress, sending students abroad was seen as a vital policy for providing scientific and technical expertise. Between 1927 and 1933 a total of 1288 students in 66 branches were sent abroad by the state. *Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü İstatistik Yıllığı, Cilt 6, 1932/1933* [Annual Statistics by Prime Ministry Statistics Directorate, Volume 6, 1932/33] Ankara: İstatistik Um. Md. Yay. 1933, pp. 189-191.

who did not were following international architectural publications. When that new generation started to gather in the newly founded architectural societies and publications, they propagated a modernist discourse critique of their teachers'. An architectural idea of Turkish modernity that was defined devoid of any reference to the previous generation of Ottoman architects was thus pronounced in a more accented way by the Turkish architectural community before the state exhibited a clear choice. Also there was criticism coming from other intellectuals. In a novel written in 1934, for instance, the architecture of Ankara in 1920s was criticized as a "degenerated continuation of the architecture of the Ottoman period"⁸⁵. Examples of similar critical statements in contemporary journals and newspapers are many, but an early and rather interesting example can be found in a 1929 issue of the journal published by the Faculty of Theology. In the article titled "Cubism in Architecture and Turkish Tradition" the author Baltacıoğlu, an important scholar of the time studying on pedagogy, sociology, philosophy and literature, puts forth a distinctively rational argument instead of the usual one that simply rests on the rejection of Ottoman forms. He argues that many elements that are used by the revivalist style such as the dome are not cultural but are result of technical necessities, and that sticking to them at a time when the construction technology can do better is not appreciating traditional values but is being plainly conservative⁸⁶.

One can also add that the revivalist style also lacked the discursive tools to defend itself as an appropriate architectural approach to provide the service that the Republic required. As their research was predominantly stylistic, they exhibited no clear discourse on planning or on

mass housing, no response to the requirements and problems of an industrial (or industrializing) country or no prospect on the revision of education⁸⁷. With the combined effect of such factors, Ankara, as well as the rest of the country experienced a rapid shift in its architectural face. The decade of 1930s would become the period of a dense nationwide construction program simultaneously with the construction of an idea of the "architecture of revolution".

II.2.2. Foreign Architects Working in Turkey

The architectural service that Theodor Jost provided for the Republican state with the design of the building for the Ministry of Health in 1927 was not coincidental and by no means exceptional for its time. As the Republic felt a serious lack for technical expertise, inviting foreign experts to the country became common practice from the very beginning; and not only for construction related practices but for every field possible. As it was noted in the previous part above, all the warfare of the previous decades had left the Republic with a significant problem of insufficient human resources. As early as 1923, the government program included a decision to employ foreign experts in every ministry as needed and a special law to organize their employment was issued in 1924⁸⁸. The majority of the foreigners who worked in Turkey were engineers and technicians. Another important group was teachers who were employed in the universities and other educational institutions, in medicine, law, mathematics, architecture, music and others, and who contributed greatly to the

⁸⁵ Karaosmanoğlu, Y. K. *Ankara*, İstanbul: İletişim, 1991.

⁸⁶ Baltacıoğlu, İ. H. "Mimarlıkta Kübizm ve Türk Ananesi", *Darülfünun İlahiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, April 1929, pp. 110-130. Quoted in Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001, pp. 110-111.

⁸⁷ Also see: Yavuz, Y. and Özkan, S. "Finding a National Idiom: The First National Style" in: Holod, R. and Evin, A. (eds.) *Modern Turkish Architecture*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

⁸⁸ Yıldırım, S. "Türkiye Demiryollarında İstihdam Edilen Yabancı Uzmanlar (1925-1950)" [Foreign Experts Employed in Turkish Railways (1925-1950)] *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, Vol: 23, No: 67-68-69, 2007.

university reform that was initiated in 1933⁸⁹. A significant portion came from Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Czech Republic. The dominance of German speaking countries initially was a result of the continuation of the good relations between the Ottoman Empire and Germany in the late Empire period. Later, the Jewish population and the political opposition fleeing from the Nazi power began to constitute one of the major groups of experts to be invited to work in Turkey⁹⁰.

The field of architecture was no exception in this general figure. At the turn of the century, professionally trained architects were concentrated in İstanbul. The demand for architectural projects outside the metropolitan capital almost only came from the state and the majority of the Turkish architects who were quite few in total were civil servants. The field of private practice in İstanbul on the other hand was dominated by European or non-Muslim architects. Nalbantoğlu quotes a list of free lance architects practicing in the city, published in the *Annuaire Orientale* in 1900, which shows that 78 of 79 architects were Europeans or non-Muslims with the single exception of Mehmed Vedat⁹¹. The decrease in the number of the non-Muslim population after the war was reflected in the number of non-Muslim architects and a new generation of Turkish architects slightly increasing in number entered the scene. Another contemporary document that illustrates the change is provided by the Architectural Branch of the Association

of Academy of Fine Arts: a list showing a tax categorization for practicing architects for the year 1935 gives names of 30 Turkish and 26 Greek or Armenian architects⁹².

When all the facts mentioned above (the dissatisfaction that the Ottoman revivalist style created in the Republican cultural atmosphere, the insufficient number of experienced architects and the earlier governmental decision of employing foreign technical expertise in every field) are considered together, the intense practice of foreign architects and planners for the decades to come seems only natural. The dominance of German speaking experts was also not different for the architectural field. As a matter of fact German architects' practice in Turkey goes back to pre-war years. An important connection was Germany's involvement in the railroad construction in the Ottoman Empire with the Bagdad Line⁹³ and German architects designed many important central station buildings, such as Sirkeci by August Jasmund in 1890 and Haydarpaşa by Otto Ritter and Helmut Cuno in 1909, both in İstanbul⁹⁴. A later special instance that should be referred in this sense is the architectural competition for the German-Turkish House of Friendship, which was decided to be built in İstanbul with the goal of developing enhanced

⁸⁹ In the first modern universities founded with this educational reform program in 1933, 38 professors out of the total 65 were foreigners. Aslanoğlu, İ. "1923-1950 Yılları Arasında Ankara'da Çalışan Yabancı Mimarlar" [Foreign Architects Working in Ankara Between the Years 1923-1950] in: *Ankara Konuşmaları*, TMMOB Yay. 1992, p. 118.

⁹⁰ It should also be noted that diplomatic relations with the Nazi government was also used to provide foreign expertise. See: Nicolai, B. *Moderne und Exil: Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Tuerkei 1925-1955*, Berlin: Bauwesen, 1998.

⁹¹ Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. Unpublished PhD dissertation. California: University of Berkeley, p. 192.

⁹² "Serbest Mimarların Kazanç Vergileri" [Profit Tax for Free Lance Architects], *Arkitekt*, no. 9, 1935, p. 277-278. This association was İstanbul based, so the list must be showing architects of this city only.

⁹³ For more on this topic see Chapter 3, p. 77.

⁹⁴ Jasmund later stayed in İstanbul, taught at the Engineering School and designed other buildings for the state and individuals. These architects were, of course, not the first German architects to work in the Ottoman Empire; there were others like Ignaz Melling who lived in İstanbul between 1784 and 1803. However Melling's interest in the city was personal and not a result or example of a pattern of relations between two countries as the later examples were.

For more on Melling and other German architects in the Ottoman Empire see: Kuruyazıcı, H. "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Alman Mimarlar" [German Architects in Turkey from the Ottoman Times to the Republic], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 2002. On German architects in the Republican Turkey also see: Nicolai, B. *Moderne und Exil: Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Tuerkei 1925-1955*, Berlin: Bauwesen, 1998.

cultural relations between two countries in 1916. The competition was supervised by the *Deutscher Werkbund* and 12 German architects were invited to participate⁹⁵. Participants of this competition included Theodor Fischer, Peter Behrens, German Bestelmeyer, Paul Bonatz, Martin Elsaesser, August Endell, Walter Gropius, Hans Poelzig and Bruno Taut. Walter Gropius was also invited but could not attend because of his military service and Erich Mendelsohn also prepared a non-competing proposal. The winning proposal designed by Bestelmeyer could not be realized with reasons related to the ongoing war; however the competition is still very important as an early connection between the German architectural scene and Turkey. It should be noted that four of the names listed above (Elsaesser, Poelzig, Taut and Bonatz) would later be invited by the Republican government to work in Turkey.

It is hard to estimate an exact number for the foreign architects who worked in Turkey in the early Republican period. The difficulty stems from the fact that it was not only the design of important, prestigious public buildings that the assistance of foreign expertise was required for, but many foreigners were also employed at various positions with various tasks in related state offices. Foreign architects who were supervising large scale projects also occasionally brought their assistants from abroad. The names and works of such architects performing supplementary tasks are not well recorded. Nevertheless knowledge on eminent architects who designed well known buildings is vast and it would be important to mention them here. Not only because their production had been definitive in forming the architectural and urban context of the early Republic, more importantly because this production has

been primarily influential on the subject matter of this study; on the general architectural production of the state offices.

Theodor Jost's aforementioned building, Ministry of Health, which was completed in 1927 on the mid point of the prestigious boulevard connecting the old traditional city and the new modern district in Ankara, was the first touch of a foreign architect to the architectural face of the capital city under construction. With its hierarchical and symmetrical plan and facade organization, the design bore references to the early examples of the early 20th century modern architecture, and particularly to the Austrian experience, rather than to avant-garde ones⁹⁶. Nevertheless its simple forms and pure expression free from any ornamentation exhibited a certain contrast with other buildings designed by Turkish architects in the same years in Ankara and the building received a public excitement in its newness. The second building Jost designed for Ankara in the same year of 1927 was again for the Ministry of Health: the building for bacteriology and chemistry for the newly founded Institute of Sanitation (Figure 2.13). This building, with its rather modest scale and less public location within the city, features a more articulate and bolder approach when compared with the classical monumentality of the Ministry building. Jost did not stay long and returned to Vienna in 1928. Other buildings for the Institute of Sanitation would later be designed by V. Hüttig in 1933 and 1936 (Figure 2.14). After Jost left, another Austrian architect, Robert Örley (1876 – 1945) assumed his post in the Office of Construction in the Ministry of Health. His designs for Ankara in his stay between the years 1928 and 1933 include the market hall for the city, as well as

⁹⁵ The participants were also the jury. Three Turkish architects, two of whom were Kemalettin and Vedat Bey, also attended the jury as representatives of the Ottoman Empire. Kuruyazıcı, H. "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Alman Mimarlar" [German Architects in Turkey from the Ottoman Times to the Republic], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 2002.

⁹⁶ Nicolai, B. *Moderne und Exil: Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei 1925-1955*, Berlin: Bauwesen, 1998, p.17.

health related buildings such as the extension for Numune Hospital and Center for the Red Crescent⁹⁷.

The fact that the Ministry of Health was the first to employ foreign architects was related to the priority of the modernization of health services within the government program and the related urgency for their building needs. Other ministries soon followed the example, but before passing on to those cases, a pivotal event of late 1920s, which did not only reinforce the cadres of foreign expertise in Ankara but shaped the whole city in the literal sense, should be mentioned: the competition for a master plan for Ankara held in 1928. Before this date, the planning duty for the city was in the municipality which was reorganized in 1924. The municipality commissioned two partial plans to Carl Christoph Lörcher, one being for the existing old town and one for the new district to be developed. Lörcher's plan for the old town was rejected directly and the plan for the new town was accepted (Figure 2.15). But soon the Republican bureaucracy decided to develop the city according to a master plan and requested plans from three well known European urbanists. At the same time the planning duty was taken from the municipality and was given to the Planning Directorate of Ankara, which was founded as a unique institution for Ankara. The three urbanists to compete in this restricted competition were Prof. Josef Brix and Prof. Hermann Jansen (1869 – 1945) from the Technical

⁹⁷Two of Örley's buildings bear significant importance for Ankara, but not particularly for their architecture. The Red Crescent building was located in the central core of the modern district, facing the square, park and the large monument. As the location became a lively urban center in the following decade, the building acquired a landmark status within the collective urban experience, insofar as the name 'Kızılay' (Red Crescent) replaced the initial name Yenışehir (New Town) for the district. Unfortunately this building was demolished in the late 1970s. The market hall in Ulus (the old center at the edge of the citadel) is still operational today and as a conventional and reasonably priced shopping place that has served many generations, is an important monument in collective memory concerning this part of the city.



Figure 2.13. The building for bacteriology and chemistry for the Institute of Sanitation, Theodor Jost, 1927.



Figure 2.14. Institute of Sanitation, Theodor Jost and V. Hüttig, 1927-1936.

University of Berlin and Léon Jausseley, chief architect of the French government. The jury decided for the Jansen plan in 1929 (Figure 2.16). From 1932 when the implementation of the plan started to 1939, Jansen stayed in Ankara as the chief consulted for the Urban Development Council. His plan was structured upon a main axis connecting the old town on the north and the new town (Yenışehir) on the south, and a secondary axis crossing this in the east-west direction. With little intervention in the existing traditional settlements, the area surrounding the old town was decided as a commercial center, and the new town would house the administrative center. Two sides of the axis connecting them were planned with low-rise, low density housing and green belts separating parts⁹⁸. During his stay in Turkey Jansen also prepared plans for four other

⁹⁸ Jansen's plan has usually been referred as "the first plan of Ankara", and there has been a tendency to omit Lörcher's plan as an unrealized first attempt. However a rather recent study by Cengizkan elaborately showed that Lörcher's plan shaped Jansen's (by either influencing it or as being in progress of realization during the competition, by restricting it) more than it has been thought. Cengizkan, A. *Ankara'nın İlk Planı: 1924-25 Lörcher Planı* [First Plan of Ankara: Lörcher's Plan of 1924-25], Ankara: Arkadaş Yay. 2004. Jansen's plan stayed in effect until 1955, when the unforeseen migration and growth rendered a new plan necessary. For more on Jansen's plan and realization also see: Tankut, G. *Bir Başkent'in İmarı, Ankara 1929-1939* [The Building of a Capital, Ankara 1931-1939], Ankara: Anahtar Kitaplar Yay. 1993.

major cities and also designed a large housing complex in Ankara for a private housing cooperative.

Just like the health reform, reorganization and modernization of education was also an important item in the Republican program. Therefore it is no surprise that a second ministry to seek for expert support in Europe was the Ministry of Education. The first foreign architect to be employed in the office of construction in the ministry as a chief consultant was the young Austrian architect Ernst Egli (1893 – 1974). Egli designed a number of school buildings in Ankara, including the School for Music Teachers (Later, State Conservatory) in 1927-28 (Figure 2.17), Girl's High School in 1930, İsmet Paşa Girl's Institute in the same year (Figure 2.18), Boy's Commerce High School in 1928-30, various buildings for the Higher Institute of Agriculture in 1933-34 (Figure 2.19), Faculty of Political Science in 1935, and Gazi Boy's High School in 1936, as well as a few others in various cities. The list is long, but his contribution to the modernization of education in Turkey had a more direct way in the field of architectural education: he was also appointed the head of the Department of Architecture in the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul, with the aim of its modern reorganization. Egli effectively replaced the academic classicism of the school that was dominantly in the Beaux Arts line so far with a curriculum emphasizing a rationalist and functionalist modernism⁹⁹. His reforms were followed by the resignation of the old masters like Mongeri and Vedat Bey. Later in 1935, Egli himself also left the Academy, but he did not leave Turkey. Between the years 1936 and 1940 he worked as the chief architect for the Turkish Institute of Aviation and as well as the central building for this institution in Ankara (Figure 2.20), he designed other buildings for the state and also some villas for important bureaucrats.

⁹⁹ See; Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989, pp. 84-90.



Figure 2.15. Ankara Plan, Christoph Lörcher, 1924

During his stay in Turkey he also prepared plans for a number of settlements. He left for Zurich in 1940 but later had another brief period in Turkey between 1953 and 1956, mostly teaching urbanism in the Faculty of Political Science. Among all the foreign architects who worked in Turkey, Egli's works are the largest in quantity and in diversity of scale and function. He exhibited a personalized approach to modern architecture and also with regionalist sensitivity in a certain extent in connection with architectural rationalism both in his practice and teaching¹⁰⁰. His designs in Ankara are considered today as

¹⁰⁰ Sedat Hakki Eldem initiated the famous Turkish House Seminar in the Academy, which had been an important source for the search on the National Architecture in the following decade, in Egli's supervision. Nicolai, B. *Moderne und Exil: Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei 1925-1955*, Berlin: Bauwesen, 1998, p. 34. His research in

among the finest in giving the city its modern look.



Figure 2.16. Ankara Plan, Hermann Jansen, 1929.

Turkish architectural culture also produced his book “Sinan, der Baumeister Osmanischer Glanzzeit” in 1954, which is the first monographic study on Sinan. Kuruyazıcı, H. “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyete Türkiye’de Alman Mimarlar” [German Architects in Turkey from the Ottoman Times to the Republic], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 2002.



Figure 2.17. The School for Music Teachers, Ernst Egli, 1927-28.



Figure 2.18. İsmet Paşa Girl’s Institute, Ernst Egli, 1930.



Figure 2.19. The Higher Institute of Agriculture, Ernst Egli, 1934.



Figure 2.20. The Turkish Institute of Aviation, Ernst Egli, 1936.

After Egli’s leave, the chair for the management of the Department of Architecture at the Academy was proposed to Hans Poelzig. He accepted the proposal but unfortunately died in 1936, before he could arrive in Turkey. The search for an alternative was directed to Bruno Taut (1880 – 19938), who had left Germany with rise of the Nazis to the power in 1933 and was now in Japan. Taut arrived in Turkey in 1936 and continuing the pattern that started with Egli, assumed both of the head positions in the Department of Architecture and the Office of Construction in the Ministry of Education. The difference was that now the office of the ministry was actually moved to İstanbul within the building of the Academy and Taut had a chance to use the two posts in a coordinated manner. The students at the Academy had the opportunity to work with Taut for the school buildings he designed within this office. Taut’s work in Turkey had to be rather short, due to his

unfortunate death in 1938. In this brief period he designed and realized two high school buildings for Ankara (Figure 2.21) and one for Trabzon. His most important building in Turkey is the Faculty of Letters in Ankara, built in 1936-40 (Figure 2.22). In this building he exhibited an example of his research on a regional modernism by combining certain traditional construction features and materials (such as the alternation of brick and stone on large walls, figure 2.23) within his functionalist modernism. A more daring example in this sense was the house he designed for himself on the shore of Bosphorus, completed in the year of his death. Taut's last design in Turkey was the catafalque for Atatürk (Figure 2.24). His buildings are few, but his work at the Academy is considered to be more significant. He tried to reform the architectural education furthermore after the initial changes that Egli brought, in a Bauhaus model. The changes he wanted to implement on the education received both positive and negative reactions and had limited actual effects, not only due to his early death but also because of certain personal conflicts within the Academy¹⁰¹. The true mark that Taut left at the Academy was with the textbook he wrote in 1938, "Architectural Knowledge" (*Mimari Bilgisi*), which was the first of its kind in the history of architectural education in Turkey, and which remained as a basic reference book for the generations to come.



Figure 2.21. Cebeci High School, Bruno Taut, 1938.



Figure 2.22. Faculty of Letters, Bruno Taut, 1936-40.



Figure 2.23. Faculty of Letters, Bruno Taut, 1936-40, alternation of brick and stone.



Figure 2.24. Catafalque for Atatürk, 1938.

Both during the administration of Egli and Taut, there were other European instructors at the Academy. Martin Wagner (1885 – 1957) taught urban design for a brief period and Wilhelm Schütte (1900 – 1968) and Robert Volhoelzer assisted Taut. These three names, together with Schütte's wife Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky (1897 – 2000), were renowned architects who had to leave Germany for their political stands. Unfortunately their stay in Turkey could not bear productive results, for various reasons. Besides his teaching position Wagner was appointed to various consulting positions where he could not implement his views. Schütte and Schütte-Lihotzky designed a number of school projects for the Ministry of Education, none of

¹⁰¹ Kuruyazıcı quotes his students' testimony reporting the profound improvement Taut brought especially in the design education at the studios. Kuruyazıcı, H. "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Alman Mimarlar" [German Architects in Turkey from the Otoman Times to the Republic], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 2002.

Nalbantoğlu on the other hand, focuses on how unpopular he became to be especially among his colleagues. Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989, p. 95.

which were realized¹⁰². After the death of Taut, dominance in the design education at the Academy passed to Turkish instructors. Sedat Hakkı Eldem (1908 – 1988), who was assistant to both Egli and Taut, became the leading figure and his studies on the search for a national Turkish architecture with a vernacular emphasis at the Academy acquired a shaping role for the general discourse in Turkish architectural scene throughout the 1940s.

Another important European name that had a significant role in shaping the modern Ankara was the Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister (1886 – 1983). Holzmeister designed most of the buildings in the administrative zone (the “ministries zone” (*bakanlıklar bölgesi*) or the “state district” (*devlet mahallesi*), as they are known) which was located in the southern new town according to the Jansen plan. However unlike the names mentioned above, Holzmeister was not employed within the state, but he was commissioned the projects. Therefore, for a long time he did not settle in Turkey but directed the design and construction of the ministry buildings from his office in Vienna¹⁰³. The first commission he got in 1927 was the building for the Ministry of Defence, for which the ministry contacted him via the Turkish embassy in Austria (Figure 2.25). Then he planned the setting of the administrative zone and designed the Ministry of Interior Affairs (1932-34, Figure 2.26), the Ministry of Public Works (1933-34, Figure 2.27) and the Supreme Court (1933-35). He got three commissions from the army just after the building for the Ministry of Defence; the General Staff (1929-30) which was located adjacent to the ministries zone and the Military Academy (1928) and the Officer’s Club (1929-33) located elsewhere. He also designed two

bank buildings for Ankara. One of the most prestigious commissions he got from the state was the Presidential Residence to be built next to the country house which was functioning for that purpose until 1931, on the farther southern skirts of the city overlooking both the old and new towns (Figure 2.28). His last important project was the new National Assembly building that he won in an international competition in 1937 (Figures 2.29, 2.30). The next year he moved his office and family to İstanbul to direct this large scale project, however the German invasion in 1938 made his stay in Turkey permanent. He returned to his country in 1954 and until then also taught at the Engineering School (later Technical University) and Academy of Fine Arts. The construction of the National Assembly could be completed in 1960.



Figure 2.25. Ministry of Defence, Clemens Holzmeister, 1927.



Figure 2.26. Ministry of Interior Affairs, Clemens Holzmeister, 1932-34.



Figure 2.27. Ministry of Public Works, Clemens Holzmeister, 1933-34.



Figure 2.28. Presidential Residence, Clemens Holzmeister, 1931.

¹⁰² Kuruyazıcı, H. “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyete Türkiye’de Alman Mimarlar” [German Architects in Turkey from the Otoman Times to the Republic], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 2002.

¹⁰³ Kuruyazıcı, H. “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyete Türkiye’de Alman Mimarlar” [German Architects in Turkey from the Otoman Times to the Republic], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 2002.



Figure 2.29. National Assembly, Clemens Holzmeister, 1937-60.



Figure 2.30. National Assembly, Clemens Holzmeister, 1937-60.



Figure 2.31. Ministries Zone, 1930s.



Figure 2.32. Ministries Zone, 2000s.

The ministry buildings that Holzmeister designed in Ankara reflect the composition of simple prismatic forms in a neoclassical monumentalism. Their reinforced concrete frames are clad with the local stone, the pinkish red colour of which quickly became a trade mark for the public buildings in Ankara after the first buildings to use it. The monumentality aspect becomes especially explicit in the design of the National Assembly building. An authoritarian and serious image was sought for in these new administrative buildings which would exhibit the idea of restoration of central government in the new capital. Aslanoğlu in this sense reminds that Jansen, as the planner of the city, also approved and praised such “convincing forms” of the new governmental buildings in the report he prepared¹⁰⁴. The architectural language that Holzmeister

had introduced had a major influence on other public buildings that were designed by the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry of Public Works. Sedat Hakkı Eldem, who also designed a building in the ministries district, would later define architecture of this period with the major influence of “Viennese cubism”, most probably implying Holzmeister’s work. The large number of commissions that Holzmeister had from the state throughout the 1930s, also resulted in his being one of the major targets for the critics who started to raise voices against the work of foreign architects in this period.

Martin Elsaesser (1884 – 1957) was another German architect who designed for Ankara. His single realized building, Sümerbank headquarters, exhibits quite a mysterious case in terms of his participation in the project (Figure 2.33). For some unknown reason, the design was commissioned to Elsaesser in 1935, although there had been a competition and a Turkish architect’s design had won. He prepared a few other designs for the government which were not realized.

The last German architect to be mentioned here is Paul Bonatz (1877 – 1956). After his participation in the competition for the German-Turkish House of Friendship in 1916, he revisited Turkey in 1942 as jury member in the competition for Atatürk’s Mausoleum and again in 1943 to bring the New German Architecture (*Neue Deutsche Baukunst*) exhibition which was prepared by Albert Speer with the aim of presenting National Socialist architecture to the world. The exhibition visited İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir in Turkey, met a large audience and created considerable

¹⁰⁴ Aslanoğlu, İ. “1923-1950 Yılları Arasında Ankara’da Çalışan Yabancı Mimarlar” [Foreign Architects Working in Ankara Between the Years 1923-1950] in: *Ankara Konuşmaları*, TMMOB Yay. 1992, p. 121. It should also be noted that the monumental impression that these buildings

left on the contemporary observer was also related to their being the first group of relatively large scale buildings rising on a barren land. Today, surrounded by the later public and commercial high rise buildings and concealed in dense green, they hardly communicate such monumentality. See figures 31 and 32.

excitement among Turkish architects¹⁰⁵. Later in the same year he was appointed at a consulting position in the Ministry of Education. During his stay in Turkey until 1954, besides teaching at the Technical University in İstanbul, he had two designs both of which created considerable discussion. First one was the housing in the Saraçoğlu district designed adjacent to the ministries zone in 1944-45 for bureaucrats (Figure 2.34). This low rise row housing design included elements of vernacular architecture such as large eaves, facade projections and wooden grid screenings at the balconies. Such references to the traditional architecture were quite in line with the dominant architectural discourse in Turkey in the 1940s, which was increasingly emphasizing a national character in the search of a Turkish modern architecture. However Bonatz's attempt was found highly superficial and was harshly criticized within the architectural scene¹⁰⁶. In his second project, Bonatz was asked to transform the Exhibition Hall (*Sergi Evi*) in Ankara into an opera building (Figures 2.35, 2.36). The Exhibition Hall of 1931 was a source of pride for the 1930s, as it was the first prestigious building to be designed by a Turkish architect by means of winning an international competition. The design's clear modernist lines were seen as a proof for the competence of the Turkish architect of the time. Despite the protests of Şevki Balmumcu (1905 – 1982), the architect of the building, Bonatz introduced an inclined roof, colonnades with Ottoman capitols and other traditional decorative elements giving the building a rather monumental, neoclassic and revivalist appearance¹⁰⁷. The result was again

architecturally criticized, however the most critical place that the Opera House had for contemporary architects remained tied to the way the act of transformation was implemented by political authorities.



Figure 2.33. Sümerbank, Martin Elsaesser, 1935.



Figure 2.34. Saraçoğlu District, Paul Bonatz, 1944-45.



Figure 2.35. The Exhibition Hall, Şevki Balmumcu, 1931.



Figure 2.36. Opera Building, Paul Bonatz, 1948.

Among the foreign architects that worked in Turkey other than the German speaking ones, Paolo Vietti-Viola (1882 -1965) was the second Italian to design for the new republic after Giulio Mongeri. He was an architect specialized in sports architecture and had a vast experience in this field¹⁰⁸. In Turkey he designed various sports related facilities in Ankara and İstanbul, and consulted design of

¹⁰⁵ Kuruyazıcı, H. "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Türkiye'de Alman Mimarlar" [German Architects in Turkey from the Otoman Times to the Republic], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 2002.

¹⁰⁶ Aslanoglu, İ. "1923-1950 Yılları Arasında Ankara'da Çalışan Yabancı Mimarlar" [Foreign Architects Working in Ankara Between the Years 1923-1950] in: *Ankara Konuşmaları*, TMMOB Yay. 1992, p. 126.

¹⁰⁷ For more on the story of Exhibition Building/Opera House and related discussion, see: Ergut, T. E. *Making a National Architecture:*

Architecture and the Nation State in Early Republican Architecture, New York: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Binghamton University, 1998, pp.131-148.

¹⁰⁸ Aslanoglu, İ. "1923-1950 Yılları Arasında Ankara'da Çalışan Yabancı Mimarlar" [Foreign Architects Working in Ankara Between the Years 1923-1950] in: *Ankara Konuşmaları*, TMMOB Yay. 1992, p. 123.

other cities. His design for Ankara was a huge complex with many sports facilities, however only Hippodrome and stands for official ceremonies were built (Figure 2.37). The decision for the location of the sports center and its outlines, as well as the large park next to it, came from Jansen's plan. The final design for this large park, the "Youth Park" (*Gençlik Parkı*), was made by another foreigner in 1935; the French architect Theo Leveau who worked for the Ministry of Public works. The park that was opened in 1943 contained a large artificial lake to house water sports and has been a major spot for recreational facilities for the citizens of Ankara ever since¹⁰⁹ (Figures 2.38, 2.39). Another important design by Leveau that we know is similarly related to a recreational field; the restaurant at the Çubuk Dam outside of Ankara (Figure 2.40). Like the park, Çubuk Dam was also a favorite place for the people of Ankara to spend the weekend. And finally, French planner Henri Prost should be mentioned, who prepared the plan for İstanbul and worked for its implementation in this city between the years 1937 and 1950, and also contributed to the plan of İzmir¹¹⁰.



Figure 2.37. Hippodrome, Paolo Vietti-Violi, 1934-36.



Figure 2.38. Youth Park, Theo Leveau, 1936.



Figure 2.39. Youth Park, Theo Leveau, 1936.



Figure 2.40. Restaurant at Çubuk Dam, Theo Leveau, 1937-38.

Although it constitutes a major part, contacting an individual for employment or commissioning was not the only way to obtain foreign expertise in the early Republican period. Examples of providing technical support through agreements made on the level of governments are observable especially in Turkey's industrial cooperation with the USSR. Two important and grand examples in this sense are the textile factories built in Kayseri and Nazilli between the years 1934 and 1937 (Figures 2.41, 2.42). The designs of these large industrial complexes including social facilities were prepared in the Soviet Union and Soviet technicians and engineers worked in their construction. Their financing was also provided with the loan from this country. These two factories are important as early examples of industrialization in the Republican era and additionally the radical urban and social change they introduced to their previously rural context is significant in

¹⁰⁹ For more on the Youth Park see: Uludağ, Z. *The Social Construction of Meaning in Landscape Architecture: A Case Study of Gençlik Parkı in Ankara*, Ankara: Unpublished PhD Dissertation, METU, 1998.

¹¹⁰ Although he assumed the duty of planning the biggest city, Prost's name is relatively less mentioned in contemporary texts and architectural history when compared to Jansen. Besides the political weight that the construction of the new capital had, Akpınar shows that this was also due to the criticism that Prost's plan aroused among certain Turkish planners and architects. Akpınar, İ. "İstanbul'u (Yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı" [To (Re)build İstanbul: Henri Prost Plan of 1937] in: Ergut, E. A. İmamoğlu, B. (eds.) *Cumhuriyetin Mekanları, Zamanları, İnsanları* [Spaces, Times, People of the Republic], Dipnot Yay., 2010.

the urban history in Turkey¹¹¹. Similar investments in mining, paper, sugar and steel industries appeared all through the country in the following decade with varying sources of financial and technical support.

After the end of the World War in 1945 some foreign architects returned to their countries. But a more important fact that affected their practice was the campaign in the Turkish architectural scene against their dominance, which had its solid result in 1954 with the law on the newly founded Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects. With this law foreign employment with purposes other than education and consultation was restricted¹¹².



Figure 2.41, Sümerbank factory, Kayseri, designed in USSR, 1934-35.



Figure 2.42, Sümerbank factory, Nazilli, designed in USSR, 1935-37.

Between 1924 and 1954, the “*ecnebi mütehassıs*” (foreign experts) as they were officially named by the related law, was employed in every part of the Republican program that required expertise. All the buildings

¹¹¹ See: Asiliskender, B. *Modernization and Housing: Spatial and Social Change in Kayseri by Industrial Enterprises of Turkish Republic* İstanbul: Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, İTÜ, 2008.

Doğan, Ç. E. *Formation of Factory Settlements within Turkish Industrialization and Modernization in 1930s: Nazilli Printing Factory*. Ankara: METU, 2003.

¹¹² Kuruyazıcı, H. “Osmanlı’dan Cumhuriyete Türkiye’de Alman Mimarlar” [German Architects in Turkey from the Ottoman Times to the Republic], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 2002.

mentioned above that were designed by foreign architects clearly show that their labour was at the foundational basis of the Republican modernization, and not only so because the buildings were architecturally modern. Buildings’ functions also speak for their meaning, as they comprised the initial steps of the modernization of health services, education, law, administration, and of urban practices with modern recreational facilities. Foreign architects also had a great part in the modern reformation of architectural education and were teachers of the next generation of architects. Apart from such direct and intended influences, their presence also triggered the formation of a professional ideology and professional identity apparent in the criticism against them with the aim of securing the operational field for the Turkish architect. Such issues related to the professionalization process of architecture will be given in detail in the following part below, where the same period discussed in this part will be reviewed from the view point of architects of Turkey who were organized in professional associations and journals of the time.

II.2.3. The Turkish Architectural Community

Among many other things, the decision in the early years of the Republic to employ foreign expertise reflected a solid fact: the Turkish architects of the time were few in number. Apart from the general situation of technical expertise in the country, the architectural community was even thinner when compared to engineering professions. Sayar reports that at the end of the 1920s there were a total of 150 architects when engineers were approximately 500¹¹³. Since the Ottoman times, architecture was seen as an ‘artisanal’ profession and was not considered to be honourable for the children of well-off Turkish families.

¹¹³ Sayar, Z. (interview with Kumral, B.) in: Aru, K. A. (et. all.) *Anılarda Mimarlık* [Architecture in Memories] İstanbul: YEM Yayınları, 1995, p. 108.

Engineering on the other hand, had a longer history of reformation in the modern sense within the field of military sciences and this military connection must have rendered it rather popular.

The Royal School of Military Engineering (*Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayûn*) based on the French educational model was opened in İstanbul in 1795, which also included education on military architecture. This school provided the only formal architectural education outside the system of the traditional Royal Office of Architects (*Hassa Ocağı*) until the beginning of the 1880s. In 1883 the Royal School of Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise-i Şahane Mektebi*) was opened with an architectural department modelled on the program of *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*. A year later the opening of a non military engineering school, Civil Service School of Engineering (*Hendese-i Mülkiye*) followed. The civil service emphasis of this school (i.e. its non military character) was reinforced in 1909 when the school was placed under the authority of the Ministry of Public Works. In fact the school was designed to educate engineers to work in this ministry from the very beginning. The graduates of the School of Engineering were also free to choose an architectural path for their careers (as seen in the example of Kemalettin Bey)¹¹⁴. The name of the Royal School of Fine Arts was changed to Academy of Fine Arts in 1927 (the name is Mimar Sinan University since 1982), and it experienced a major reform in its program and approach, as explained above with the arrival of Ernst Egli in 1930. The School of Engineering was transformed to Technical University in 1944 (today İstanbul Technical University) and included a faculty of architecture.

The Ottoman Society of Engineers and Architects as a first professional organization in this field was

established in 1908 and can be seen as one of many social consequences of the atmosphere of freedom that the constitutional revolution of the Committee of Union and Progress created this year. It was a joint organization of engineers and architects but engineers constituted the majority of three quarters of 78 members that were signed in for the first two years. Among the 16 architects, 10 free lance architects were all non Muslim Ottoman citizens and 6 Turkish members were all civil servants. Engineers were predominantly graduates of the School of Engineering and were either working for the Ministry of Public Works or teaching at the School of Engineering. The curriculum at this school makes it possible to think such engineers as civil engineers, but there were a few others who were electrical and mining engineers¹¹⁵. The society published a monthly journal in the years 1909 and 1910. In the turbulent period of continuous wars between 1912 and 1919, the society practically disappeared, but in 1919 is established again. In this second period the number of members would rise to almost 250, with a much greater portion being engineers (and only 5 architects within the 116 members of the first 6 months).

In the Republican period, architects took the first steps to form a society on their own in 1927. Architects in Ankara and in İstanbul formed two separate organizations synchronously (February 18 and March 9)¹¹⁶. The two organizations, the Society of Turkish Architects (*Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti*) in Ankara and Architectural Branch of Fine Arts Association (*Güzel Sanatlar Birliği Mimari*

¹¹⁴ For a detailed history of architectural education in the Ottoman period see: Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989, pp. 42-83.

¹¹⁵ Günergun, F. “Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimarları Arasında ilk Cemiyetleşme Teşebbüsleri” [First Organizational Attempts in the Ottoman Engineers and Architects] in: Okay, C. *Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimar Cemiyeti Belgeleriyle* [The First Ottoman Society of Engineers and Architects, in their Documents], Ankara: TMMOB, 2008, pp. 43-64.

¹¹⁶ Ünalın, Ç. *Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti'nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927'ye*, Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği 1927, 2002, p. 24.

Şubesi)¹¹⁷ in İstanbul were not formally associated with each other but had a strong organic relationship. Two organizations later united in 1939 as the Association of Turkish Architects (*Türk Yüksek Mimarlar Birliği*) centred in Ankara. Practically a union had already been realized in 1936, when the Architectural Branch of Fine Arts Association changed its name to İstanbul Branch of Society of Turkish Architects (*Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti İstanbul Şubesi*). Engineers on the other hand had their unified organization Association of Turkish Engineers earlier in 1926.

With the formation of schools giving professional higher education and establishment of professional organizations, first important stages in the process of professionalization had been achieved. Now, the new generation of architects getting organized in the Association of Turkish Architects was beginning to raise voices for their demands of professional recognition and a better defined professional autonomy. If one important step for the manifestation of such demands was the formation of a professional organization, another was the appearance of an architectural journal that would not only circulate but also assist to formulate the discursive elements in the struggle for professional identification, autonomy and recognition. In 1931 *Mimar* started publication, changing its name to *Arkitekt* in 1935. Later in 1941 it was followed by *Yapı* and in 1944 by *Mimarlık*. The architectural societies of the time and all three journals were strongly related both in terms of the actors taking part in them and the agenda, form and direction of their activities. *Mimarlık* was actually published by Association of Turkish Architects, and the other two

¹¹⁷ The Fine Arts Association was established by the graduates of the Academy of Fine Arts. Nalbantoğlu discusses that it was rather in the nature of a “gentlemen’s club” unlike the architectural organizations, which from the beginning took the shape of professional organizations. Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989, pp. 120-122.

journals were also in strong organic relation to the same group. Ünalın points to the fact that those who published the three journals were also continuously participated in the administrative committees of the existing architectural societies¹¹⁸. These periodicals were substantial tools in communicating the message of the architectural community to the state and public in large, as well as circulating it within.

Especially *Mimar/Arkitekt* deserves a special attention in this sense as being the only architectural periodical throughout the 1930s. The publication of the periodical was initiated by architects Zeki Sayar (1905 – 2001), Abidin Mortaş (1904 – 1963), and Abdullah Ziya Koyunoğlu (1906 – 1966)¹¹⁹. Sayar was also the head of the Architectural Branch of Fine Arts Association at that date. They were among the fifteen architects to graduate from the Academy in 1928, which was the first group to graduate in such a large number after 1923, and most of which became important figures for the Republican architectural history. Though the journal quickly became the major media to communicate the professional agenda of this generation of architects, this was never done in a provocatively manifest manner. Texts on the projects presented were always brief and descriptive. Architectural criticism was intentionally avoided in such presentations unless it was related to certain

¹¹⁸ Ünalın, Ç. *Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti’nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927’ye*, Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği 1927, 2002, p. 180.

¹¹⁹ Koyunoğlu left the next year and Mortaş in 1941. But Sayar continued publication for 50 years, and thus deserved to be entitled as a major figure in the history of the profession in Turkey. For more on Zeki Sayar, see: Batur, A. “Profile: A Tribute to Zeki Sayar” in: *MIMAR 10: Architecture in Development*. Singapore: Concept Media Ltd. 1983, pp. 76-85.

Ergut, E. A. “Zeki Sayar: Türkiye’de Mimarlığın Profesyonelleşme Sürecinde Bir Mimar” [Zeki Sayar: An Architect in the Professionalization Process of Architecture], *Mimarlık*, no. 300, 2001, pp. 24-32.

critical issues¹²⁰. Occasional criticism on state policies was never extended to the questioning of the Republican politics, but was limited with the related institution, individual or event. Theoretical texts were mostly didactic, addressing the general public as well as the architectural community. Examples of contemporary western projects were often published, as well as translations from western journals such as *L'Architecture d' Aujourd'hui* and *Casa Bella*. Although not manifest, the journal had a definable position related to the developments in the architectural scene in Turkey and was instrumental in the formation of a corresponding professional ideology. This position can be read through the critical lines in the journal, in the choice of projects to be published and in the curious choice of omitting some others.

Comparing the formation of the Ottoman professional organizations and the Republican ones and the ways they manifested themselves, Nalbantoğlu points out to “the birth of professionalism as ideology” that took place in the Republican period. She reminds that the Ottoman societies were composed of civil servants and their political engagement in the form of their support for the constitutional system was manifested with an emphasis on reinforcing science and technology with a technocratic undertone. On the other hand the Republican architectural association had from the very beginning a different agenda on securing architects service in the building market. The change that had been experienced was “the transformation from a state functionary to an enlightened professional”. Beginning from the 1920s, “architecture was transformed from a bureaucratic occupation to a marketable expertise

legitimized through the foundation of professional schools and associations”.¹²¹

Before going on to analyze the nature of the professional ideology in birth and discuss the identification of the professional within this ideological frame, one point should be stressed: It is hard to consider the group of architects who were gathered in the organizational body of the architectural associations and who found a chance to vocalize their thoughts in journals, as typical representatives of a homogenous architectural population. For one reason that such bodies, and especially the journal *Mimar/Arkitekt*, did not contain proportionate representation of different groups of architects, with different locations (they were mostly İstanbul based, though the lively architectural practice at the time was centred in Ankara), with different vocational practices (they were dominated by free practicing architects, though the production was intensified at public service) and with different approaches (on certain basic repetitive issues the journals or associations hardly presented views of different positions). On the other hand, we can also not find any trace of an openly manifested opposition to these bodies or of any other organizational body competing for representation. Therefore, it should be remembered that when the term “Turkish architectural community” is used in this text regarding this early stage of professionalization, it refers to the manifestations of a group of architects who were not challenged in the legitimacy to represent the rest, but still do not necessarily represent every architect in the country.

When the pages of *Mimar/Arkitekt* are surveyed together with other contemporary texts and documents, it can be proposed that the struggle that the Turkish architectural community focused on three basic and interrelated themes. Two of these themes were directly

¹²⁰ Sayar himself mentions in 1956 that, for purely pragmatic reasons for the development of the profession, the journal neither praised nor criticized anyone, nor it even brought artistic criticism. Sayar, Z. “25inci Yılı Bitirirken” [As 25 Years are Over], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 1956, p. 163.

¹²¹ Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989, p. 3.

related to the goal of securing a monopoly on the market for the profession's services: first was the exclusion of engineers and nonprofessional builders from the field of architectural design practices and the second was the restriction of the practice of foreign architects with education in order to provide unlimited access for themselves to state commissions. The third theme was related to the institutional form that the state was employing architectural service: the Turkish architect demanded to be the sole provider of this service, but also wished to remain free-practicing and was uncomfortable about designing within the body of the state. The three themes exposed differences in terms of the audience that the arguments were directed and in the nature they were conducted. The issue of engineers and nonprofessional builders was basically a legislative and secondarily a public relations encounter. Therefore the audience was firstly the state and secondarily the public in general. Discussion on foreign architects was the one which assumed a relatively harsh tone from time to time. The target audience was the high level decision makers in the state and the argument had to include the persuasion on the competence of the Turkish architect, as well as the critique of the foreigner. The debate on public employment was the most indirectly pronounced and complex one among the three. On one level, architects strived to promote the practice of architectural competitions as a viable way to defend free practice against state employment. This argument was again directed to decision makers in state. On the other hand, they brought in the architectural criticism of the production of state offices. But this had to be conducted in a delicate way so that the attack does not offend their colleagues working in such offices and also does not conflict with the defence of Turkish architect's work against the foreigner. Therefore the offense was directed mostly to the bureaucrats responsible for construction offices. These three themes will now be discussed in detail in the ways they appeared.

II.2.3.1. On Builders and Engineers

As early as 1927, a law regulated the use of titles of engineer and architect and limited it to graduates of higher education institutes. However it did not prohibit the engagement of non-architects in building practices¹²². This resulted in the continuation of the dense practice of nonprofessional builders especially in the field of domestic architecture all through the country. This became one of the major issues for the architectural societies from the very beginning because, as the state was the only commissioner of large scale projects and was directing its choices to foreign architects beginning with these years, domestic construction in big cities was the only field that the Turkish architect can readily claim for his own. For this end the association sent various petitions to and prepared reports for the Ministry of Public Works. A certain response was achieved when in 1944 the Ministry decided to provide each architect, engineer and builder with licenses specifying the type of construction they could undertake. But this could not be realized. The legal body that prohibited builders from the field of architectural services and that separately defined engineers' and architects' field of jurisdiction could finally be provided with the Law of Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects in 1954.

While the effort to provide the profession with a legal protection against the competition of builders was in progress, architects were also trying to persuade the public in changing their customs. Besides articles in *Mimar/Arkitekt*, the association was publishing advertisements in popular magazines which suggest that the service of the architect can provide healthier, more comfortable and more beautiful houses. A radio speech

¹²² Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989, p. 123.

given by the architect Behçet Ünsal on modern architecture in Ankara Radio in 1939 is exemplary in this sense. After a long description of the attractive qualities of a modern house, Ünsal continues his speech:

Do not think that all these are impossible to get by saying that this house is luxury or too idealized. Modern needs are the same for every person. All we listed here can also be provided and realized for a two-room house in its own scale. Maybe you will ask “how can it be?” In that case you probably never consulted an architect or never had a good look on what a good architect can do¹²³.

Articles published in the journal with such a didactic purpose were not only targeted at the consumer, but some also aimed to educate the practicing architect. In an earlier article in 1933, Macaroğlu Sami was criticizing that many architects were collaborating with the customary practice of the builder for sake of financial profit and limited responsibility. In this article, he discusses that in order to provide the development of the architectural culture and building practices to the desired level, the practitioners have extra responsibility. In this sense he urges that, besides mastering every technical aspect and branch of arts, the contemporary Turkish architect should be “as patient and teaching as a teacher and as convincing as a lawyer”¹²⁴.

The struggle given for the monopoly on the market for architectural services against builders and engineers is not unique to Turkey and can be observed in the development of the architectural profession almost

everywhere¹²⁵. In Turkey, builders who dominated the customary practice continued to create an equally challenging competition both for architects and engineers (especially civil engineers) well until the 1950s. Therefore it can be stated that, in the field of free practice in domestic construction, the joint efforts of architects and engineers against nonprofessionals shadowed any conflict between two, as observed in the joint organization of the chambers of the two professions in 1954. However some dissatisfaction on the part of the architects showed itself on the issue of jurisdictional boundaries in the public service.

As can be seen in various numbers given above, the engineering community had always been larger than the architectural, both in the late Ottoman and Republican periods. They also had stronger relations with the bureaucracy. It was mentioned that the first civil school on engineering was established in 1884 with the goal of providing professionals for the Ministry of Public Works, and was later placed under the administration of this ministry. This direct relation of the engineering school and association to the ministry which oversees the public construction continued as well in the Republican period¹²⁶. As a result, engineers in construction related state offices were not only dominant in numbers; they were also almost

¹²³ Full text of the speech was also published in *Arkitekt*. “Küçük Yapı ve Konfor” [Cubic Building and Comfort]. *Arkitekt*, no. 3-4, 1939, pp. 60-62.

¹²⁴ Macaroğlu Sami, “Bugünkü Türk Mimarı ve Vazifeleri” [Turkish Architect Today and His Duties]. *Mimar*, no. 4, 1933, pp. 97-98.

¹²⁵ See: Sarfatti-Larson, M. “Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architect’s Professional Role”, in: Blau, J. R. (et.all.) (eds.) *Professionals and Urban Form*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1983.

¹²⁶ The school would pass to the field of responsibility of the Ministry of Education as late as 1941. Architects on the other hand had similar relations with the Ministry of Education. It will be remembered that for a long time in the 1930s, the head of Office of Construction in the Ministry of Education and head of the Architectural Department at the Academy was the same person; first Egli, then Taut. A similarly related fact is that the honorary president to the Association of Turkish Engineers was the minister of public works and the honorary president to the Association of Turkish Architects was the minister of education. See: Ünalın, Ç. *Türk Mimarlar Cemiyeti’nden Mimarlar Derneği 1927’ye*, Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği 1927, 2002.

always dominating administrative positions¹²⁷. Sayar mentions that in those years the only architect near to an administrative position regarding architectural works was Hüseyin Kara, who was just a member in a technical committee¹²⁸. In various articles in their journal architects pointed to this fact in a critical tone. However it is interesting to observe that they did not develop their arguments in this issue towards a claim for the expansion of architect's responsibilities in state offices. Instead they used this fact (that non-architect professionals dominate administration of state offices) to reinforce their argument that such offices are unlikely to produce good architecture. Therefore this was not presented as an issue of jurisdictional boundaries between architects and engineers, but as an extension of the argument for free practice against public service.

II.2.3.2. On Foreign Architects

The practice of foreign architects in Turkey had been a top topic in the agenda of the architectural community which was organized in associations from the very first days. Their journal *Mimar/Arkitekt* continuously published articles putting forth their arguments and complaints in this topic starting from the first issue to the ones in the 1950s. An early article in 1933 by Abidin Mertaş, for example gives a brief summary of developments from the beginning of the republic to that

year, from the point of view of the Turkish architect. Mertaş admits that in the beginning the quantitative insufficiency of the national architectural community was a just reason for the invitation of foreign experts. But he continues to argue that the situation later evolved to present a complete admiration of everything foreign, together with mistrust for, or even ignorance on the existence of, the domestic architect. His words take quite a lamenting sound:

Foreign professionals, good and bad, came from all around. Foreign works quickly rose in our cities to meet our most indispensable needs. These works and their unfamiliarity were met with astonishment and appreciation for some time, which was often not befitting. Turkish architect was then marked insignificant. And the mistrust for him, the ignorance for his existence took a painful shape for us... [Turkish architect] was raised like a step-son in a family with no help or confidence¹²⁹.

Later Mertaş proposes that, in spite of such harsh conditions, architects of Turkey became able and equipped professionals and “should be given *some* confidence, authority, allowance and money – even if not in equal terms”.

The argument against foreign architects soon started to focus on the question of architectural identity, in the second half of the 1930s. Turkish architects began to discuss that the architectural production in the country lacked an identifying feature that would properly reflect the Republican revolution that produced it. The search for “architecture of the revolution” that would truly be Republican and Turkish, thus started to accompany professional claims. Foreign architects like Egli and Taut who used some regional and traditional features in their

¹²⁷ First architect to be the director to the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry of Public Works was Orhan Alsaç, who assumed the post in 1956. His predecessors were mostly engineers. See the list in: Anon. *Bayındırlıkta 50 Yıl* [50 Years at Public Works], Ankara: T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1973, pp. 17-27. Also see: Alsaç, Ü. “Retrospektif: Mimarlığın Görünmeyen Yüzünde Önemli Bir Mimar: Orhan Alsaç” [Retrospective: An Important Architect on the Invisible Side of Architecture: Orhan Alsaç], *Mimarlık*, no. 312, 2005.

¹²⁸ Sayar, Z. (interview with Kumral, B.), in Aru, K. A. (et. All.) *Anılarda Mimarlık* [Architecture in Memories], İstanbul: YEM Yay, 1995, p. 109.

¹²⁹ Mimar Abidin, “Memlekette Türk Mimarının Yarınki Vaz'iyeti” [The Future Condition of the Turkish Architect in our Country], *Mimar*, no. 5, 1933, pp. 129-130.

designs were included in the criticism. In 1938, for instance Sayar was writing that it was not the foreign architect to give a Turkish character to architecture by projecting timber eaves from reinforced concrete buildings or imitating the brick and masonry of traditional buildings¹³⁰. Similarly in 1940 Eldem suggested that foreign foreigners made more harm than good for the creation of a national architecture by distorting the taste on it¹³¹. According to the writers, it was only the Turkish architect who would be fit for the task of creating the architecture of the Republican Turkey.

It is a significant fact that it was the Turkish architectural community and not the state who demanded the creation of a distinctly national architectural style to represent the Republican revolution. As a matter of fact it is very hard to find any statement coming from the state that exposes an official architectural preference, apart from the emphasis on the ‘modern and contemporary’¹³². The usual official expression in almost all mediums, especially in the 1930s, suggests that the idea of “constructing a new country” was thought to be representational enough by the Republican politician. The quick shift from the Ottoman revivalism to the international architecture that the foreign architects introduced, which met no significant controversy within the state, can be considered in the same sense related to the stylistic indifference of political authorities.

¹³⁰ Sayar, Z. “Yerli ve Yabancı Mimar” [The Native and Foreign Architect], *Arkitekt*, vol. 8. no. 2. 1938, p. 65.

¹³¹ Eldem, S. H. “Yerli Mimariye Doğru” [Towards a National Architecture], *Arkitekt*, vol. 10, 1940, p. 73.

¹³² It should be remembered that the Republican state had a very direct influence in many of the cultural fields, as exemplified in the studies on history and language (See page 34 in Chapter 2). Atatürk himself had many statements on arts and cultural life but there is no single quotation of him on architecture, apart from the ones that are on the modern construction program. For a list of quotations from Atatürk on related themes see: Alsaç, Ü. *Türkiye’deki Mimarlık Düşüncesinin Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Evrimi* [The Evolution of Architectural Thought in Turkey in the Republican Period] Trabzon: Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, KTÜ, 1976, pp. 215-227.

There are even some instances where representatives of the state ideology confronted the architects and their contest for a national architecture. An example is the controversial discussion that took place in 1944 between the journal *Arkitekt* and Falih Rıfkı Atay, the editor of the newspaper *Ulus*¹³³. Atay published an editorial in *Ulus* which answered the ongoing criticism on foreign architects, in defence of a particular foreign architect recently given commission of a hospital building. He discussed in this article that technical expertise should not be underrated and the arguments coming from the architectural community was not convincing. He criticized Turkish architects in a very straightforward manner, as he stated that “a building should be more than elevation drawings derived from examples in a foreign journal, because it is a complex machine that requires profound technical knowledge”¹³⁴. He went on to claim that the way the issue was put forth by the Turkish architectural community exhibited a “poor demagoguery of nationalism”. In *Arkitekt*, Abidin Mertaş took on to reply and assumed an equally aggressive tone, blaming Atay of ignorance on architecture¹³⁵. In between the lines, his article in *Arkitekt* reflects the disappointment on the part of architects: the state was not buying their campaign for a national architecture.

The emphasis put on the national identity of architecture in this campaign against the foreign architects is not coincidental. It was not at all different from the

¹³³ *Ulus* was published by the Republican People’s Party and can be considered as the mouthpiece of the Republican ideology. Falih Rıfkı Atay was one of the important ideologues of the party and had been a deputy before. Within the time he was the editor to *Ulus*, he also was a jury member of the competition for the Ankara plan and president to the Planning Commission of Ankara.

¹³⁴ Atay, F. R. “Bir İstanbul Mektubu” [A Letter from İstanbul], *Ulus*, 12 February 1944.

¹³⁵ Mertaş, A. “Bir yazı münasebeti ile” [Concerning an Article], *Arkitekt*, no. 1-2, 1944, p. 48.

process of architectural professionalization in the western world. The representational quality, as well as the aesthetic dimension of architecture had been given a central place for the definition of professional expertise in the formation of an established architectural profession also in the west in the previous century. As Nalbantoğlu points out, the path that Turkish architects followed was a similar one:

By the 1940s, they were deeply involved in a search for proper forms to represent Republican ideals of national pride. This served two purposes. First, by identifying themselves as experts in form, the architects could be distinguished from the engineers and builders. Second, by basing this expertise on a nationalistic ideology, they could claim superiority over foreign architects who had been invited to practice in the country by the Turkish government¹³⁶.

Therefore it can be asserted that the nationalistic tone which can be observed in many mediums in the architectural scene from the 1930s to the 1950s was in fact more directly related to the process of professionalism and formation of a professional identity than its relation to the Republican ideology on national identity. The search for an architectural representation for the nationalist ideology immanent in the Republican revolution was an instrumental tool for the Turkish architectural community and they used it to base their monopolistic claims on the professional market; and sometimes, insomuch as to be criticized by the Republican ideologues themselves for acting on “poor demagoguery of nationalism”.

On the other hand it should be noted that such a campaign against the foreign experts for the sake of development of the domestic professional field was not also unique for the architectural field. Engineers also gave

similar reactions. In as late as 1953, engineers were discussing the same issue in the congress for The Association of Turkish Engineers. This congress reported that the struggle against foreign experts is one of the oldest issues for the association. It was stated that Turkey was in no means short of architects or engineers and it was sad to see that the Ministry of Public Works were not providing them with commissions. It was also declared that contesting for this was a matter of “sovereignty”, as well as “professional honour and dignity”¹³⁷. Examples of national campaigns against dominance of foreign expertise are many in various fields.

The last controversial instance on foreign employment, which probably was the base for the statements in the congress of the engineers in 1953 above, was the invitation of a large group of German architects and engineers for employment in the Ministry of Public Works in this year. The Association of Turkish Architects also protested immediately by writing a letter to the minister. The ministry replied with a report to be published in *Arkitekt*, which showed that the number of technical employees of the ministry was not enough for the work at hand¹³⁸. The interesting part in the report however was where the blame was put on the Turkish architect; it was stated that foreigners were called upon only because many Turkish architects were *refusing* to be employed by the Ministry. It is clear that the disagreement was not anymore on who was going to serve for the state, but purely in the form of providing that service. This carries our discussion to the next topic.

¹³⁶ Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*, California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989, p. 250.

¹³⁷ Cited in: Er, S. *Türkiye’de Mühendislik ve İTÜ Yüksek Mühendisler Birliği* [Engineering in Turkey and the İTÜ Association of Engineers] Ankara: Afşanoğlu Matbaası, 1993, pp. 53-55.

¹³⁸ Anon. *Mimarlık*, vol. 9, no. 1-6, 1953, pp. 56-58.

II.2.3.3. On Public Service

From the beginning of the republic in 1923 until 1950s, the state tended to choose to employ architects as a basic means of providing architectural design. And beginning with their establishment in 1927, architectural associations protested this choice and demanded more free commissioning. In various articles published in *Arkitekt* in the 1930s, it was insistently asserted that the main duties of construction offices in state institutions should be supervision and legal control, and that they should only be involved in design for small scale buildings, minor construction and repair¹³⁹. The design practice ongoing in such offices was highly criticized, but it was also cautiously noted that it was not the architectural incapability of the colleagues employed there that was criticized. Profound architecture proper to the public representation was reasoned to be unlikely to be produced in state offices due to the heavy workload with insufficient employees and lack of professional autonomy with non-architect superiors intervening the design process. In such articles, it was argued that competitions should be held for buildings exceeding a certain budget and that private architectural offices should be supported by the state. Architects writing in the journal were not against the existence of architectural offices within the state; in fact they were also demanding that they should be reinforced with more architect employees¹⁴⁰. What they argued for was a re-functioning, especially in the case of the Ministry of Public Works. The basic thesis that Zeki Sayar continuously put forth in various editorial articles in *Mimar/Arkitekt* was that the ministry should be a centre of science and arts to function

¹³⁹ For example see:

Faruk Galip, "Proje Müsabakaları" [Architectural Competitions] *Mimar*, no. 6, 1931, pp. 206-207. Macaroğlu Sami, "Bugünkü Türk Mimarı ve Vazifeleri" [Turkish Architect Today and His Duties], *Mimar*, no. 4, 1933, pp. 97-98.

¹⁴⁰ Mimar Şevki, *Mimar*, no. 7-8, 1932, pp. 208-209.

as a research institute or, in his own words, an "architectural academy". He discussed that it should produce knowledge and should provide principles of planning, construction, materials and funding for architectural practice, instead of being a mere technical office designing or approving projects¹⁴¹.

The petition given to the Ministry of Public Works by the Association of Turkish Architects in 1939 provides a similar reading on the approach of the association¹⁴². Explaining that architectural competitions make use of the works of various artists to obtain the most successful result, it was demanded that projects with budgets more than half a million liras should be obtained by national competitions or by private commissions, and with budgets more than a million by international competitions¹⁴³. It was also stated that supporting private offices with such competitions and commissioning would be beneficial for the progress of architecture in the country. The petition also had an item on the issue of civil servant architects, demanding a better arrangement of their salaries and criticizing the law which prohibited their practice in the market.

The subject of civil servants was restated in a more detailed way in the report of the first section of the

¹⁴¹ Sayar, Z. "Biz Ne Yapıyoruz?" [What Are We Doing?], *Arkitekt*, no. 9-10, 1943, pp. 193-194. Also see:

Sayar, Z. "Bir Yapı ve İmar Politikamız Var mıdır?" [Do We Have a Policy of Buildings and Construction?], *Arkitekt*, no. 5-6, 1943, pp. 97-98.

Sayar, Z. "Mimarlık Politikamız" [Our Architectural Policy], *Arkitekt*, no. 1-2, 1946, pp. 3-4.

Sayar, Z. "Devlet Yapılarının Bugünkü Durumu" [The Current Condition of Public Buildings], *Arkitekt*, no. 11-12, 1946, pp. 249-250.

¹⁴² Anon. "Nafia Vekaleti Yüksek Makamına" [To the Ministry of Public Works], *Arkitekt*, no. 7-8, 1939, p. 191.

¹⁴³ To give a sense of this proposal, it can be mentioned that a moderate high school building which was under construction in this year in Ankara had a budget of approximately 600.000 liras. See the table in: *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* [Journal of Public Works], no. 5, 1939, (no page numbers indicated).

architectural group for the First Turkish Building Congress in 1948. In this report it was reminded that, due to the limitations of the market, most architects had to seek shelter in public service and the law on architects was “ungenerous” as it prevented the sharing of this human source with the market¹⁴⁴. The report argued that it was for the state’s benefit if civil servant architects could find opportunities to cultivate their practice and raise their income by getting jobs in the market. The idea was also related to the report’s approach to the practice within the state offices. In this aspect, it was stated that such offices could provide designs “in emergency or to meet normal needs”, which is, for buildings other than those requiring specifications in “arts, techniques or importance.” From the combination of the statements here, one can observe that the report was making the following suggestion: an architect can design “nonspecific, normal” buildings as a civil servant, but if the state wants the same architect to design an important building, he/she should be commissioned the project as a free lance architect.

For the critique on the ongoing public architectural practice, the report highlighted that architects in state offices could not get the credit for what they produced, rendering the work anonymous. It was advised that civil servant architects should be provided with honour and patent rights for their projects. For that end, it was recommended that they should get extra payment for the designs they produced besides their ordinary salaries, and that those designs should be referred to by their names when they were published. This proposal brought in the report of 1948 reveals one of the basic points about the architectural community’s discomfort with the practice in

¹⁴⁴ Anon. “Birinci Türk Yapı Kongresi, Ankara, 1945, Mimarî Grup, Birinci Kol Raporu” [the First Turkish Building Congress, Ankara 1945, Architectural Group, the Report of the First Section] *Mimarlık*, no. 1-2, 1946, pp. 36-42. The first architectural group consisted of Şekip Akalın, Fikri Alpat, Sedat Eldem, Mukbil Gökdoğan, Emin Onat, and Kemali Söylemezoğlu.

public service: The anonymity and the relative absence of professional autonomy in state offices were seen as great problems which kept the practice in discord with the ideological identification of the architect as the creative individual.

Besides the general criticism on the public practice, we can also find critiques on singular projects designed by architectural offices within the state in the pages of *Mimar/Arkitekt*. When observed, it can be seen that the basis of criticism in such cases was common with the argument against the works of foreign architects; representation. As the foreign architects were deemed to have failed in representing the national quality in architecture, public offices were criticized for overlooking the problem of the representation of the state. A very typical example is the critique on the consulate building designed to be built in Salonika (Figure 2.43). In the text, the design “which resembles a villa in a summer resort” was disapproved for not reflecting the character of a building representing the state in a foreign country. It is stated that “in no other country public buildings are designed insincerely and lacking style as in ours”, and that a style for all public buildings should be sought for within the principles that the age inspired for the pertinent representation of state authority¹⁴⁵. In another article introducing several buildings constructed in İstanbul for the Ministry of Finances, the simplistic facades of the building for the Şişli Division designed by Münevver Belen, the architect of İstanbul Department of Public Works, were criticized as they “did not bear an affect of a public building”¹⁴⁶ (Figure 2.44). It was also informed in the article that the building was in a location surrounded by apartment blocks, but the author did not search for a

¹⁴⁵ Sayar, Z. “Resmi Binalarda Otorite İfadesi” [The Authoritarian Expression in Official Buildings], *Arkitekt*, no. 5-6, 1944, p. 126.

¹⁴⁶ Çeçen, F. “İstanbul’da Maliye Binaları”, *Arkitekt*, no. 9-10, 1946, pp. 203-206.

possible causality between the two facts in the manner of design intention. Another article about the building for the central telephone service in Şişli, also criticized the general design practice in the construction office of the Ministry of Public Works (Figure 2.45). The significance of the critique on this case was that the construction system was also related to the building's representative qualities along with the design of elevations. The author informed that the building had a reinforced concrete frame, and mentioning that it was an ordinary sample of those built by the Ministry almost everywhere, he stated:

We do not understand the idea and motive that the folks in the Public Works bear designing public buildings with such a simple construction technique. If it is the economical concern that reasons the behaviour, the principles of continuity and firmness should be taken as central instead for official buildings. We wish for an advanced construction technique and a determined and dignified architecture in all public buildings¹⁴⁷.



Figure 2.43. The consulate building for Salonika, Office of Construction Works, Ministry of Public Works, 1944.

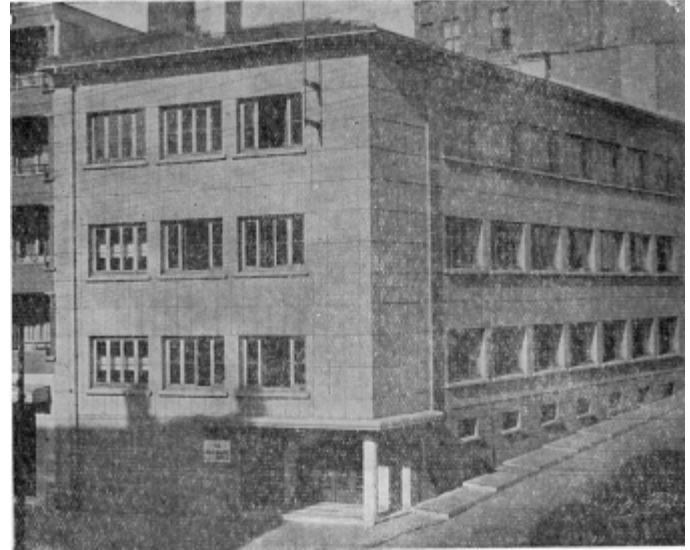


Figure 2.44. Şişli division for the Ministry of Finances, Münevver Belen, 1944.

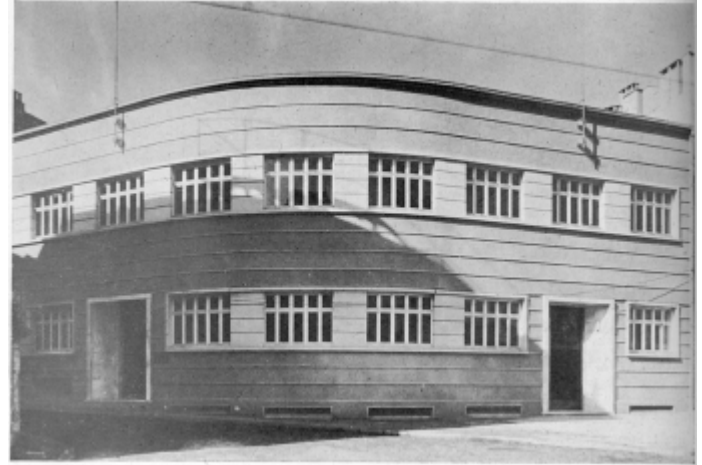


Figure 2.45. Building for central telephone service in Şişli, Office of Construction Works, Ministry of Public Works, 1940.

¹⁴⁷ Anon. "Telefon Santrali Binası" [The Central Telephone Service Building], *Arkitekt*, no. 9-10, 1940, pp. 196-197.

It can be reminded that the search for an authoritarian expression especially for the public buildings was typical for Turkey in the 1940s, which was highly influenced by architectural developments abroad in these years, such as in Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union. And therefore, one can argue that the cases of criticism given above are only typical for the architectural approach of their time. However, what we want to emphasize here is that such cases (together with some examples on works of foreign architects) are the *only* cases where the journal assumed a strictly critical tone. Writers in *Mimar/Arkitekt* had repeatedly argued that public architectural offices were not proper places to produce good architecture. Cases like the ones given above, which in fact are exceptions in the journal's 'no criticism' policy, can be considered to be published to illustrate that argument.

Actually there also were some instances when the journal praised some works of public offices. However this was only when it reinforced the argument against the foreign architects. The most significant case is the building of the Directorate of State Railroads built in 1938-41 in Ankara, designed by Bedri Uçar who was an employee of the construction office of the Ministry of Public Works (Figure 2.46). Reportedly, when Paul Bonatz was given a tour of the city upon his arrival in Ankara, he declared this building to be the best among all he had seen. This anecdote, in which a foreign architect praises the work of his Turkish colleague, was used in various articles in *Mimar/Arkitekt* as evidence on the competence of the Turkish architect¹⁴⁸.

Most explanatory cases that exhibit *Mimar/Arkitekt*'s reaction to the production of public offices are in fact the ones that met neither criticism nor praise; these are the ones that the journal ignored. Maybe the most striking example

in this regard is the new Central Station for Ankara, completed in 1937 (Figure 2.47). This example is striking because this was a large, prestigious building which had a very important place in the everyday life of the capital city. The design was definitely not insignificant, as the building is considered today as one of the most important examples from the period. The opening ceremony of the building maintained a place in the contemporary media for quite a long time. In brief, there is every kind of sign to indicate that the disregard of the architectural journal was deliberate. This act can be explained with the following fact: the designer of this building, Şekip Akalın, was not only an employee of the State Railroads, but he was also an engineer; graduated from the School of Engineering and a member of the Association of Turkish Engineers. There was no controversial debate in the journal against the building and its designer as well; nevertheless it would not be unreasonable to propose that, in the pursuit of their own agenda the *Mimar/Arkitekt* group took the liberty to overlook such an important architectural work.

The law on Chambers of Architects and Engineers in 1954 provided a certain satisfaction for the architectural community as it also regulated the state commissions and made it easier for the free practicing architect to receive them. This turn of events should be evaluated in the political context of the country. It should be remembered that the political power changed in 1950 when the Republican People's Party lost the election to the Democrat Party. One of the major points of difference between the two parties was the opposition of the Democrat Party to the statist economic policy which was effective since the 1930s. With their rule a rather liberal approach quickly took hold and private entrepreneurship gained importance. In this context, the architectural community had a chance to satisfy their demands for governmental support on private practice.

¹⁴⁸ For instance, in the aforementioned discussion between Mortaş and Atay. Mortaş, A. "Bir yazı münasebeti ile" [Concerning an Article], *Arkitekt*, no. 1-2, 1944, p. 48.

II.2.3.4. In Practice

Although they painted quite a gloomy picture in their argumentation, free practicing architects also had chances to build and designed some of the most iconographic buildings of the early Republican period. To present some examples of designs by free practicing architects in this period would be illustrative for the discussions in this part.

The field that they most productively built was the apartments and villas they designed for the upper-middle and upper classes in big cities such as Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Adana and others¹⁴⁹. The consumer who can afford an architect's services and who is willing to do so in order to own a living environment that matches his/her changing habits was the only sustained source of demand that the free practicing architect had. With the villas they designed in this period, architects had a chance to experiment with and exhibit their skills on the contemporary design discourse. Many of such villas were published in *Mimar/Arkitekt* (Figures 2.48, 2.49). Apartments on the other hand were less published as they presented a richer source of work, but a lesser source of architectural variety¹⁵⁰. Another field

¹⁴⁹ In Turkish, the word "apartment" mostly refers to the whole block of apartments, rather than the single housing unit within the building. The reason for this is related to the history of this building type. In Turkey, the proprietary law that allowed separate ownership of housing units in a building is as late as 1965. Before, the whole building always had a single owner. Therefore building apartment blocks with the aim of renting some units was a large investment and middle and low classes had few chances of owning apartments. An alternative practice of building housing was housing cooperatives, which, again, was restricted with the higher classes mostly in Ankara until the 1960s.

¹⁵⁰ The villas and apartments with the new and modern architecture created both a trend and controversy, both of which can be traced in popular media. The word "cubic" (*kübik*) which was used to define the architecture in the 1930s in general was mostly used at the period to define this trend. See: Bozdoğan, S. *Modernism and Nation Building*:

where free practicing architects could put their skills at practice was architectural competitions, which were few but publicly effective. The first architectural competition held in the Republican period was in 1931, for a cinema building in Elaziz. The first international competition that was won by a Turkish architect was in the same year; the competition for the Exhibition Hall in Ankara (Figures 2.35, 2.52). National architectural competitions were held for various buildings for private investments such as hotels and cinemas, as well as some public buildings, throughout the period. A highly prestigious international competition that was won by Turkish architects was for Atatürk's Mausoleum in 1942 (Figure 2.53). All these projects that won architectural competitions well illustrate certain shifts in trends and the architectural discourse that was experienced from the 1930s to the 1940s.

Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001, pp. 234-239.

On the other hand, architects of the period, either in free practice or public service, had almost no chance to build mass housing projects. The reason for this is related to the fact that the Republican state did not see housing as a separate topic until the 1950s and providing housing was not seen as one of the basic duties of the state. In cases that required emergent action, the state's role was restricted to providing financing with special credits. Only exceptions to this were housings provided for the workers of the new factories of Sümerbank, and unbuilt designs prepared by Seyfi Arkan for the miners in Zonguldak. See:

Tekeli, İ. *Türkiye'de Yaşamda ve Yazında Konut Sorununun Gelişimi* [The Development of the Housing Question in Practice and Theory in Turkey], Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı, 1996.



Figure 2.46. Directorate of State Railroads, Bedri Uçar, 1938-41.



Figure 2.47. Central Station of Ankara, Şekip Akalın, 1937.



Figure 2.48. Villa Bekir Bey, Sırrı Arif, 1929.



Figure 2.49. Villa Sait Bey, Semih Rüstem, 1930.



Figure 2.50. Tüten Apartments, Adil Denktaş, 1936.



Figure 2.51. Apartments, İstanbul.



Figure 2.52, Exhibition Hall, Şevki Balmumcu, 1931.



Figure 2.52, Atatürk's Mausoleum, Emin Onat and Orhan Arda, 1942-53.

Certain prominent architects practicing in the early Republican period gained significant recognition with their production and the repetition they had both among their contemporaries and in architectural historiography. Seyfi Arkan (1903 – 1966) was such an architect especially for the 1930s. Arkan was among the graduates of 1928 together with Zeki Sayar and Sedat Hakkı Eldem. After his graduation he was sent to Germany to continue his education in *Berlin Technische Hochschule* and in Berlin he

also worked at the office of Hans Poelzig¹⁵¹. On his return he was immediately assigned quite prestigious designs such as the residence for the minister of foreign affairs in 1933 and Florya sea residence for Atatürk in 1934 (Figure 2.53). In the following year he designed two large scale housing complexes for the workers and civil servants of two mining companies owned by the Business Bank, which were largely unbuilt (Figure 2.54). The villas he designed for the sister and assistant of Atatürk, together with the previous residences, earned him the nickname “palace architect” among fellow architects (Figure 2.55). Arkan is praised by critics and historians today as a sincere modernist, who did not only dwell on the formal expression but extended his research on the space conception, use of material and detailed designing¹⁵². He continued to practice a busy professional life, until his popularity decreased in the late 1940s.



Figure 2.53. Florya sea residence, Seyfi Arkan, 1934.

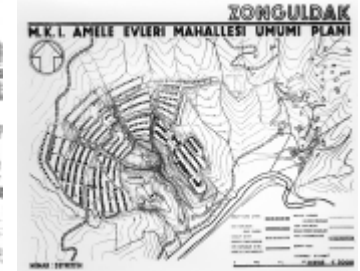


Figure 2.54. Türk-İş Housing, Seyfi Arkan, 1935.

¹⁵¹ For details on Seyfi Arkan see: Aslanoğlu, İ. et. al. “Seyfi Arkan” *Arredamento Dekorasyon*, no. 3, 1992.

¹⁵² See for example: Tanyeli, U. “Seyfi Arkan: Bir Direnme Öyküsü” [Seyfi Arkan: A Tale of Resistance], *Arredamento Dekorasyon*, no. 3, 1992, p. 90.



Figure 2.55. Villa Atadan, Seyfi Arkan, 1935.



Figure 2.56. İller Bank, Seyfi Arkan, 1935-37.

In the 1940s, the leading role in the architectural scene was occupied by Sedat Hakkı Eldem¹⁵³. Unlike Arkan, his role was coupled by Eldem's position at the Academy. Like Arkan, Eldem as well had a period of study in Germany after his graduation, and after his return he worked at the Academy as assistant both to Egli and Taut before he assumed the head position of the school. Throughout the 1940s, Eldem did not only design a large number of significant buildings, but also shaped the discourse on the "national architecture". His research on national architecture was theoretically rooted in the survey of vernacular architectural tradition of Anatolia and effectively dominated the architectural scene of the period both in practice and discourse. Among his well-known designs until the 1950s are the Ağaoğlu House in 1936-37 (Figure 2.57), Faculty of Science and Letters of İstanbul University (with Emin Onat – 1908 – 1961) in 1942-44 (Figure 2.58), Faculty of Science of Ankara University in 1943-45 (Figure 2.59) and Taşlık Coffee House in İstanbul in 1947-48 (Figure 2.60). Again unlike Arkan, Eldem maintained his prominence also in the following decades and continued to design (and lead the design discourse in Turkey) in differing architectural approaches¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵³ For a detailed study on Eldem see: Bozdoğan, S. Khan, H. (eds.) *Sedad Eldem*, Singapore: Concept Media, 1987.

¹⁵⁴ Although not in the form of a campaign as was in the cases against foreign architects and public service, the dominance of Eldem both in practice and at the Academy created a certain discomfort within the



Figure 2.57. Villa Ağaoğlu, Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1936-37.



Figure 2.58. Faculty of Science and Letters of İstanbul University, Sedat Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat, 1942-44.



Figure 2.59. Faculty of Science of Ankara University, Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1943-45.



Figure 2.60. Taşlık Coffee House, Sedat Hakkı Eldem, 1947-48.

As described and discussed in this chapter, in Turkey, the history of modernization, the program for modern architectural construction, formation of a modern architectural discourse and process of professionalization of architecture altogether formed a complex which is rich in interlocked relations. Conceptualizations on national identity, national ideology, professional identity and professional ideology could acquire interchanging

architectural community, hints of which can be traced in the journals *Arkitekt* and *Yapı*. See:

Anon. "Haberler: Ankara Teknik Okulu Projesinin Tanzimi İşinde İhiscarcılık!" [News: Monopolism in the Arrangement for the Project for the Ankara Technical School], *Arkitekt*, 1941, p. 236.

Anon. "Bir Şikayet Münasebetile" [Regarding a Complain], *Yapı*, 1943, no. 46-47, p. 3.

appearances in these four processes that had simultaneous developments. Forming linear cause-effect relationships in between such concepts is extremely hard.

It was also seen that the architectural production in public offices was a critical component in the formation of a professional ideology and a discourse on professional identity within the architectural community. In the next chapter that will focus on these public offices, it will be seen that the actual production going on here was rich enough to imply an alternative line of thinking and professional identity related to the concept of production itself.

CHAPTER III:

BUREAUCRACY, PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS

The goal in the previous chapter was to provide a broad and throughout understanding of the architectural context of the early Republican Turkey, as well as the wider historical, political and social background. In that narration, there also occurred some opportunities to introduce certain argumentative aspects on the particular topic of this research, especially the ones related to the discursive formation of the professionalization process of architecture in Turkey. Nevertheless such parts of the text had to remain circumstantial for the main topic, as they reflected the arguments of people who positioned themselves *outside* the

field that is defined by the topic itself, i.e. outside the public production of architecture. We barely had any chance to present an insider's view on the architectural experience in the state offices. This chapter will be aiming to figure this missing other side of the narration and will focus on the public architectural offices, with all related aspects¹⁵⁵. It will be seen that as we shift our focus on public offices, the nature of the field will be radically changed. Which should be quite expected, because at this point we are turning our view from a *professional community* to an *institutional form*, and the shift brings in a whole new set of definitions and signifiers that are related to a separate historical and social context; that of the public service. In this chapter, we will be dwelling on the specifications of this context, starting in a larger scope and then narrowing down the survey to the case of the Ministry of Public Works.

III.1. The Bureaucratic Tradition

Architects in the public offices were technical experts and civil servants within the bureaucratic body at the same time; therefore it would be necessary to have a brief look at the history of this bureaucratic body in the Turkish context. For this we should turn back to the Ottoman past once more. As a matter of fact, the topic of public service within the governmental body of the Ottoman Empire is in itself an important field that brings forth

¹⁵⁵ An early warning may be necessary; the chapter will not be aiming to search for a counter argument in the defence of public offices, expressed by architects or other individuals involved in such offices, against the attacks such as the ones that were launched by the writers of the periodical *Mimar/Arkitekt*. It would be misleading to present the case as a debate going on between a group of architects that were against the public production of architecture and others that were in defence of it. The first group and their attack, as shown in the previous chapter, were obviously present, however a "debate" would imply a confrontation which operated on the same discursive ground, with similar discursive tools but with an opposite argumentation, which was not the case.

certain significant aspects that characterize the Ottoman social structure and culture.

The composition of the classical Ottoman social structure in its high age until the 18th century can be summarized in the fundamental distinction between two major parts; those who governed and those who paid taxes¹⁵⁶. The former was the ruling elite which gained this position through an imperial education institutionalized within the palace system, and they were free of tax burden. The latter part was the rest of the population, designated in the Ottoman term of *reaya* (flocks), who paid the taxes but were excluded from executive power. The ruling elite were composed of two categories: *askeri* and *ulema*. The word *askeri* literally means 'military', but this category included all the servants of the sultan; the civil servants such as the clerks of the scribal institutions and the royal household, as well as the officers of the army. *Ulema* were the scholars of the Islamic Law and were in charge of keeping the moral order and providing the Islamic legitimacy of the Ottoman state and its actions. Unlike the Christian clergy, they were also trained and employed within the state system and were significant components of the state body.

The communication and interrelation between the ruling elite and *reaya* was quite limited and keeping each part of the society within their well defined borders was seen essential in maintaining the stability and harmony in an empire which included many diverse groups and elements. However these two groups were not strictly static and there was a certain mobility in which the state could just pick up the gifted or lucky individuals in *reaya* and

place them within the ruling ranks¹⁵⁷. The fact that enabled this mobility was the lack of intermediate structures in form of an aristocracy. As a matter of fact, though they held great practical power, each member of *askeri* and *ulema*, from the highest vizier to a simple clerk was technically seen as a 'slave'¹⁵⁸ of the sultan, just like everybody else, and downward mobility, where privileged individuals were ripped of their privileges, was also the case.

The Ottoman state system characterized a central and absolute power, but as Zürcher points out comparing it to modern nation-states, the state apparatus was also "very small"¹⁵⁹. Not only quantitatively small in the number of people involved, but also in terms of the tasks performed. The main tasks it undertook was defending the realm and maintaining law and order, supervision of markets and issuing of coins. Building public works and ensuring food supplies was limited with major cities and mostly with the capital, İstanbul. Providing large scale public service in forms of education, health care, welfare and housing was not seen as a central task and were organized in local means.

The long period of reformation and modernization in the last two centuries of the Ottoman Empire did not only reinforce the strength and importance of the ruling elites within the governmental body, but it also started to shape certain characteristics that will remain central to their

¹⁵⁶ For a detailed reading see: İnalcık, H. "The Nature of Traditional Society: Turkey", in: Ward, R. and Rustow, D. (eds.) *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964, pp. 42-63.

Also see the part "The Ottoman System of Government: Theory and Reality" in: Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, pp. 11-15.

¹⁵⁷ Such recruits for ruling classes were not limited with the Muslim population; the practice that was in use from the 15th to the 18th centuries and that was named *devşirme* was basically picking up promising kids from Christian families (especially in newly conquered lands) and placing them in the army or bureaucracy after education (which of course, included training in Islam) in the institution specifically designed for this purpose (*enderun*). Many prominent names in the Ottoman history, such as the famous architect Sinan of the 16th century, were *devşirmes*.

¹⁵⁸ The word *kul* also defines the human's relation to God, as well as being literally 'slave'.

¹⁵⁹ Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, p. 13.

mentality for the ages to come. As it was summarized in the previous chapter, successive radical reforms in this period helped the ruling elite to gain more decisive and autonomous strength and to take the form of a modern bureaucracy¹⁶⁰. These reforms included attempts at the rationalization and centralization of the administration of the empire, as well as westernization of the educational institutions that provided recruits for the bureaucratic elite. None of these came without reactionary resistance and conflict within the ruling body itself, as well as the society at large. As the normative structures were transformed and the jurisdictional boundaries between the age old traditional components of the state, namely between *askeri* and *ulema* shifted, one concept inevitably settled at the very core of the political culture that accompanied the reform movements: secularization¹⁶¹.

When comparing the Ottoman reformers to their western counterparts, Berkes points out to the fact that the Ottoman reformers' attempts were initiated within the ruling class and not by a new entrepreneur class which required new norms and structures for their development¹⁶². Their social detachment gave the conservatives a free hand

¹⁶⁰ See p. 28 in Chapter 2.

¹⁶¹ It should be noted here that this statement does not try to oversimplify the history of Ottoman modernization in the binary couple of a secularist reforming group versus a conservative religious reaction. This period is well studied and many of these studies show that this period and its societal dynamics deserve richer explanations, which dwell into alternative narrations on the interrelation of tradition and modernity and their occurrences in the Turkish history. Şerif Mardin's are among the most well-known of such studies. For a collection of Mardin's essays on related topics, see: Mardin, Ş. *Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006.

Our statement above just maintains that, apart from the highly debated issue of 'secularism' as a concrete set of ideas, discourses and ideological constructions, the concept of 'secularization' as a process, however re-interpretable, negotiable and multi-faceted it may be, is still at the core of the political history of the period.

¹⁶² Berkes, N. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964, p. 63.

to promote religious reaction against the reforms within the society. As a result, we can argue that, the part of the ruling elite which increasingly undertook the functions of a modern bureaucracy as a consequence of reforms also had to engage politically in the conflicting ground that was outlined according to the tension of secularization. The tension was not only about negotiating the jurisdictional grounds with the traditional religious authorities within the state for the benefit of new, westernized and secular institutions, but more importantly on debating the social legitimacy of change. In the traditional Ottoman system the latter, issuing opinion on the legitimacy of any social act, had always been the main function of *ulema*. In this context, the political engagement that the reformed (and reforming) bureaucracy assumed was not merely the practice of competition for power, but also entailed the creation of a discourse on its social legitimacy; and hence an *ideology*¹⁶³.

Agreeing with the point made by Berkes on the fact that Ottoman rulers were always among the ruling class, Heper carries the discussion one step further to assert that this fact determined a basic characteristic for the Ottoman-Turkish bureaucracy. He discusses that bureaucracy in the Ottoman system did not only take an important part in the political sphere, but especially in the last two centuries, it also shaped it. The bureaucratic counterpart of the political system, he continues, was never only 'instrumental' in the realization of the political programs, but also had the function of policy making¹⁶⁴. Heper emphasizes how in the power vacuum of the mid 19th century the civil bureaucracy rose to power and became the defender of secular formulas

¹⁶³ Ideology is a largely theorized term that is used with differing functions in various contexts. Here, it is used in a rather general description as a constructed social reality especially related to a particular social group.

¹⁶⁴ Heper, M. *Bürokratik Yönetim Geleneği* [Bureaucratic Ruling Tradition], Ankara: Middle East Technical University Press, 1974, p. 3.

in the conflict aroused by reforms¹⁶⁵. He, similar to Berkes, also indicates the significance of the lack of entrepreneur middle classes in the Ottoman system and together with the emphasis made on the process of secularization, uses this to explain the dominance of the political motives over the socio-economic ones¹⁶⁶. The result of all these, in terms of the political modernization of the Ottoman state, is the continuation (and even strengthening) of the ‘patrimonial’ characteristic, which had always been evident in the Ottoman bureaucratic nature, in this reforming period with an increasingly politicized role¹⁶⁷. The value system that the reformer bureaucracy developed, according to Heper, was in fact still inflexible, because what they did was replacing the imperious Islamic principles with another set which was shaped according to the political norms of secularization but yet which was equally imperious¹⁶⁸.

Confirming and adding to the idea of “the pattern of continuity and break in the history of modernization of Turkey” which we have already mentioned in the previous chapter¹⁶⁹, Heper in his narration convincingly presents different periods of political modernization of the Ottoman Empire and the Republican Turkey (the *tanzimat* period, the Young Ottoman/Young Turk (the Committee of Union and Progress) era, and finally the Republic of Turkey) in a single line of development towards an increasingly politicized and empowered bureaucratic elite, although

these succeeding movements were theoretically critical of and politically in opposition to their predecessors¹⁷⁰. This line of development greatly influenced the political culture of the founding corpus of the Republic. With the Republic, creation of the cadres that would carry out the overall modernization in the Republican frame became one fundamental issue; and consequently the historical tradition which did not see bureaucracy in its mere administrative functions, but emphasized the political engagement in the cultural shaping and ideological defence of the social process in progress was even more reinforced.

Heper’s analysis of the bureaucracy is also important in pointing out to the essential differences in what the term signifies in the western and Turkish contexts, and shows that bureaucratic tradition in Turkey has very little to do with the Weberian definition which sets the conventional base for understanding bureaucracy in the European context. The basic reason is that the Weberian model presupposes an industrialized context, where an entrepreneur middle class actively and independently engages in the political sphere to restrain the historical privileges of ruling classes in order to impose values (like efficiency and rationality) in the benefit of its own to the

¹⁶⁵ Heper, M. “Political Modernization as Reflected in Bureaucratic Change: The Turkish Bureaucracy and a “Historical Bureaucratic Empire” Tradition”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1976, p. 511.

¹⁶⁶ Heper, M. *Bürokratik Yönetim Geleneği* [Bureaucratic Ruling Tradition], Ankara: Middle East Technical University Press, 1974, p. 21.

¹⁶⁷ Heper, M. “Political Modernization as Reflected in Bureaucratic Change: The Turkish Bureaucracy and a “Historical Bureaucratic Empire” Tradition”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 1976, pp. 507-521.

¹⁶⁸ Heper, M. *Bürokratik Yönetim Geleneği* [Bureaucratic Ruling Tradition], Ankara: Middle East Technical University Press, 1974, p. 19.

¹⁶⁹ See p. 31 in Chapter 2.

¹⁷⁰ This line naturally exhibited alternations and variations both in theory and practice, which were discussed at length in the previous chapter, most important of them being the intellectual input of positivism brought in by Young Turks. One other aspect that can be mentioned again here within the perspective of the discussion on the nature of bureaucracy can be about the shifts in the civil and military character. Although the Young Turk movement started as an intellectual one, the political context during the CUP power highlighted the influence of the military bureaucracy. After the War of Independence and founding of the republic, the dominant group in the tradition inherited from the CUP was the military elite, but the ruling Republican People’s Party also aimed at the de-militarization of the political and bureaucratic body. As early as 1924, one year after the proclamation of the republic, the military officers in the assembly were forced to choose either one of their duties and many had to resign from their political offices in order to remain military officers. The need to separate military service and political action was also emphasized by Atatürk in his speeches.

system of civil bureaucracy. The Turkish context on the other hand, does not present a reforming class independent of the state and the process of political modernization that the bureaucratic elite had undergone accentuates “valuational premises” (in relation to the politics of modernization) rather than “factual premises” (such as efficiency)¹⁷¹. This accent did not change in transition to republic, although the Republican modernization program included dense ‘factual’ processes such as industrialization, urbanization and technological progress. The accent was reflected in the way these processes were understood and repeatedly expressed in the ways that entail valuational and ideological phrasings with nationalist and revolutionist motives; not only by political authorities, but also by bureaucratic bodies.

The early Republican period also witnessed intellectual contributions to the political culture of the state body. In the first half of 1930s, there appeared a significant intellectual movement in this sense, which can easily be related to the political culture of the bureaucratic elite as discussed here: the *Kadro* (Cadre) movement. The movement took its name from the journal *Kadro*, published between 1932 and 1934 on social, political and economic issues. The movement, and the journal, was not oppositional to the Republican regime or to the Republican People’s Party, but was also intellectually and practically independent¹⁷². The journal’s goal was to develop a

theoretical framework for the interpretation of the Republican revolution and to suggest economic policies for the future according to this framework¹⁷³. The attempt was especially significant in its intellectual originality and was directed with the need to formulize a stand stemmed from the unique qualities of the Turkish republican context. With this need, *Kadro* brought the criticism of both capitalism and socialism and tried to build up a third approach. In accordance to their leftist background, but also to the general atmosphere created by the 1929 economic crisis, they harshly criticized the chaotic nature of free market. They analyzed the capitalist state in Marxist lines, as the representative of the interests of bourgeoisie and pointed to its role in class struggle, which according to them, was not yet (and should never be) a case for the Turkish social structure. Their critical position against socialism on the other hand was based on its euro-centrism: The conflict that was really important for countries like Turkey, they argued, was not class struggle, but was the conflict resulted from the exploitation of colonies and semi-colonies by central imperialist powers (‘metropolises’ in their terminology). In this sense a state representing the proletariat was as irrelevant as a capitalist state for Turkey. They saw in the Republican revolution an opportunity for a state which would represent no class but only the national interest, in defence against ‘metropolises’. The economic policy they advocated in this frame included an expansive state-controlled industry (more radical than the one political

¹⁷¹ Heper, M. *Bürokratik Yönetim Gelenegi* [Bureaucratic Ruling Tradition], Ankara: Middle East Technical University Press, 1974, p. 164.

¹⁷² The most prominent of *Kadro*’s writers were ex-communists (and had various past roles in the Turkish Communist Party). In some occasions the journal had collisions with state authorities, but until 1934 its publication was encouraged by the Republican leaders. In 1934, it was again the political authorities that forced its end, which is mostly seen as the result of the increasing influence of the oppositional group in the government that advocated liberal economic policy. For more on *Kadro*, see:

Harris, G. *The Communists and the Kadro Movement: Shaping Ideology in Atatürk’s Turkey*, İstanbul: The İssis Press, 2002.

Türkeş, M. “The Ideology of the Kadro (Cadre) Movement: A Patriotic Leftist Movement in Turkey,” *Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 34, 1998, pp. 92–119.

Türkeş, M. “A Patriotic Leftist Development Strategy Proposal in Turkey in the 1930s: The Case of the Kadro (Cadre) Movement,” *Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 33, 2001, pp. 91–114.

¹⁷³ Türkeş, M. “A Patriotic Leftist Development Strategy Proposal in Turkey in the 1930s: The Case of the Kadro (Cadre) Movement,” *Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 33, 2001, p. 91.

authority had put to practice in those years), a protectionist foreign trade policy and substantial land reform¹⁷⁴.

Kadro's approach had a manifest faith in the positive role of a strong, centralized state. State's class-free and autonomous role in their formulation was maintained by the emphasis made on the 'cadre'; the "conscious and enlightened" state functionary to implement Republican policies. This emphasis aimed at directing the political culture present at the bureaucratic body to a new, more intense level; from political engagement to revolutionary "consciousness". In this consciousness, the cadre of the state would be able to fulfil the historical role it assumed in the Turkish revolution (which according to *Kadro*, could be a model for national revolutions in other countries that a much later terminology would depict as the third world). It is hard to present an estimation of the intellectual impact that the movement had on the members of the bureaucratic body at large, as its end demonstrates that the impact on the political authority was limited¹⁷⁵. However the long-term theoretical influence of their "patriotic leftist" approach became much more visible in the leftist view developed after 1960s in Turkey, especially among technical professionals.

It was not only *Kadro*, but a general ideological consensus that saw (or wished to see) the society and the state of Turkey as class-free and autonomous. In reality, the Republican Turkish state, as any other, was not immune to the access of conflicting interests. The policies of economic statism that intensified with the 1930s brought the bureaucratic elite in conflict with certain groups who stood for more liberal policies. As well as land owners and

merchants, those who represented interests of newly flourishing free lance entrepreneurs and practitioners were among such groups, who gained increasing political influence towards the end of 1940s and contributed to the victory of Democrat Party in the election of 1950 defeating the Republican People's Party. Under the regime of Democrat Party ideas favoring liberal economy and hence free lance practice against civil service gained political power and the historical bureaucratic elite lost weight¹⁷⁶. The law of 1954 that made possible the foundation of Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (which just followed the law on trade unions in 1950) can be reassessed in this sense, as it largely answered the demands of the architectural community that criticized civil service beside other things. However the discussion so far is not sufficient to arrive at conclusions on the case of architecture. Architecture in public service was not merely a part of the bureaucratic practice, but was a part of a particular form in it; of technical expertise. The narration presented here should now be narrowed down in this sense, together with detailed information on the institutions that technical expertise related to built environment was carried in.

¹⁷⁴ Türkeş, M. "A Patriotic Leftist Development Strategy Proposal in Turkey in the 1930s: The Case of the *Kadro* (Cadre) Movement", *Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 33, 2001, p. 108.

¹⁷⁵ It should also be noted that, writers of *Kadro* were mostly bureaucrat-intellectuals themselves at the time of publication, with the exception of novelist-politician Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu, who abandoned his training in law for literature and was a deputy at the parliament since 1923.

¹⁷⁶ Only to be revitalized with the military coupe against the Democrat Party rule in 1960. That part of the discussion however, is much beyond the scope of this research.

III.2. Public Services and Technical Expertise in Civil Service¹⁷⁷

III.2.1. Ottoman Reforms

As mentioned above, large scale public services were not considered among the basic duties of the state in the classical Ottoman system. This statement certainly does not suggest that Ottoman cities lacked institutions and buildings which served certain social functions, such as hospitals, schools, libraries and so on. However, such institutions were not located directly within the central body of state administration, but they were mostly related to the traditional practice of endowments (*vakıf*, the plural is *evkaf*). Endowments were religious or charitable organizations that built and operated public buildings (mosques, hospitals, schools and libraries and also fountains and bridges), which usually altogether formed complexes named *külliye*, and they also were in control of some arable land which was used for the upkeep of them. Thus, considerable part of public services remained at a domain identified with a complex network of social traditions and Islamic law together with an implicit struggle for the control of land and fortune¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁷ The reader will realize that the terms “public service” and “civil service” are often used interchangeably in this text. Linguistically this may sound wrong, but historically it is not. As it will be seen, in the late Ottoman and early Republican contexts, the state was mostly the single agent to provide public services. In the Turkish language two terms signified more or less the same thing for a long time.

¹⁷⁸ Waqfs as inalienable endowments not very different to the English trust law were an old tradition dating back to the medieval Islam. In the Ottoman Empire, they were not only widespread pious organizations providing service especially for the poor and needy, but also had become important components of the property relations by the 18th century. Recent studies on waqfs show that the charity function was usually secondary and other motives could base their foundation, such as bypassing Islamic inheritance laws, securing private property against possible confiscation or appropriating state land for private use. Besides

It is again within the reforms of the 19th century that public services gained an increasing importance in the aim of rationalizing and centralizing the administration of the empire. An early attempt at this aim was the centralization of all endowments under a single administration; the Ministry of Endowments (*Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti*) in 1826. The attempt was not only at the centralization of the services that endowments provided, but more importantly at directing vast financial resources that they controlled toward the central treasury¹⁷⁹. With this act, groups traditionally controlling these institutions may have lost economic and political power, but the institutions themselves did not. Ministry of Endowments continued to be a powerful and important office throughout the end of the empire and the beginning of the republic.

A major act in terms of the reformation of public services was the foundation of a ministry for public works in 1848, with the name *Nafia Nezareti*¹⁸⁰. Initially the

sultan’s family and other notable and rich, various strata of the ruling elite, especially *ulema* played an important role in the control of waqfs. See:

Özbek, N. “The Politics of Poor Relief in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1876-1914”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Fall 1999, 21, pp. 1-33.

¹⁷⁹ Özbek, N. “The Politics of Poor Relief in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1876-1914”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Fall 1999, 21, p. 7.

¹⁸⁰ The word ‘*nafia*’ is described as the sum of works to enhance the quality and beauty of a place (and *nezaret* is simply ‘ministry’). Later in the Republican period, the name would be changed to *Bayındırlık İşleri Bakanlığı*, as a part of the program for the purification of Turkish language held in mid 1930s. The new name means more or less the same, ‘*bayındırlık*’ being a more Turkish equivalent for the Arabic ‘*nafia*’. In this work, the name ‘Ministry of Public Works’ will be used both for the Ottoman and the Republican ministries, in order to avoid confusion.

In an article on the history of the ministry published in 1938 in the *Journal of Public Works*, which was published by the ministry, the anonymous writer presents an interesting thesis on the name of the ministry: He states that, in almost each European country, ministries of this function are named with the counterpart of “public works” in the language of that country, which would have been “*Âmme İşleri*” in the Ottoman/Turkish. However the Ottomans chose the word ‘*nafia*’ to name their ministry on public works because, he argues, the Ottoman mind

ministry was assigned with services related to the roads, sidewalks and waterworks of İstanbul only. Later the operational field of the Ministry was expanded to include cities and towns outside the capital, with the addition of duties on trade, agriculture, and forests and postal and telegraph services and having the name the Ministry of Public Works and Trade. In 1908 these additional duties were given to separate ministries. In 1909, Civil Service School of Engineering (*Hendese-i Mülkiye*), which was established to train engineers to work in the ministry, was placed under the authority of the Ministry of Public Works. The final regulation that defined and clarified the duties and the organization of the ministry for the Ottoman Empire was issued in 1914, according to which, the Ministry organization included counsellors, an assembly, a general directorate, a directorate of railroads and harbours, and a directorate of roads and bridges¹⁸¹.

The Ministry of Public Works was not only a new office in its institutional form, but also dealt with new forms of public service related to new technologies, as certain parts of its duties listed above suggest. In this sense, ones

“traditionally attributed every work to the ruler and providing the public with office and value was not the habit” and hence another name which did not have the word ‘public’ in it was chosen “in order not to scare the sultan off”. Anon. “Cumhuriyet Nafiası” [Public Works of the Republic], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 5, October 1938, p. 6.

It should be reminded that the Republican ideology in 1930s was highly and manifestly critical of the Ottoman past and it may not be just to take this explanation as a fact; however the point made is still interesting in various ways.

¹⁸¹ For the history of the ministry, see:

Anon. *Bayındırlıkta 50 Yıl* [50 Years at the Ministry], Ankara: T. C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı, 1973.

Anon. *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* [Ministry of Public Works and Settlement at the 70. Anniversary of the Republic], Ankara: T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993.

Mutlu, N. Y. *Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Tarihi* [History of the Ministry of Public Works], Ankara: Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 2005.

that emphasize communication and transportation, namely extensive railroad and telegraph lines come forth. Introduction of such technologies to the empire followed the Crimean War (1853-1856), which started as an Ottoman-Russian war but then brought to the Ottomans the alliance of Britain and France, who wanted to prevent a Russian expansion to the Mediterranean. The first telegraph and railroad lines in the Ottoman Empire were realized in this period with the British and French cooperation. Later with the shifting alliances, Germany became a greater partner with the construction of Hejaz and Bagdad Railways¹⁸² (Figure 3.1). Such infrastructural investments mostly aimed at the logistical interests of the allies of the time, however also served for the reinforcement of sultan’s authority throughout the land, together with the spread of ideas of change and reform as crafted by the central authority.

Another important form introduced in the sphere of public services at the same period was the formation of a municipal body for İstanbul. In the traditional system, duties and responsibilities related to the administration of cities were shared between endowments, trade and crafts

¹⁸² The first railway line to be built was between İzmir and Aydın, demonstrating the commercial importance of the port city İzmir. Most of the lines built in the first period were in the European provinces of the Empire. An important portion of the Anatolian line was built between 1890 and 1895 extending the İstanbul – İzmit line to Ankara, with an additional branch reaching Konya.

Bagdad railway was an old project to connect central Europe with the Middle East. In this period, some parts of it were built in Iraqi provinces. Hejaz railway was built in the Arabian provinces connecting Damascus to Medina. It was a highly prestigious project for the empire with the goal of connecting the Ottoman capital to Mecca, since it ran through the pilgrimage route.

“Transportation” in İnalcık, H. and Quataert, D. (eds.) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, Vol. 2, 1600-1914*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 807-810.

On telegraph and its construction, also see: Bektaş, Y. “The Sultan’s Messenger: Cultural Constructions of Ottoman Telegraphy, 1847-1880”, *Technology and Culture*, Vol. 41, No. 4, October 2000, pp. 669-696.

guilds and similar local communities, and local judges (*kadı*), none of which stood for a local governmental body in the modern sense. Attempts for the formation of such a body were initiated in the *Tanzimat* era and were carried forward during the Crimean War. At this time, alliance with the west also brought certain trade treaties and enriched and enlivened the European merchant quarters at the capital city.

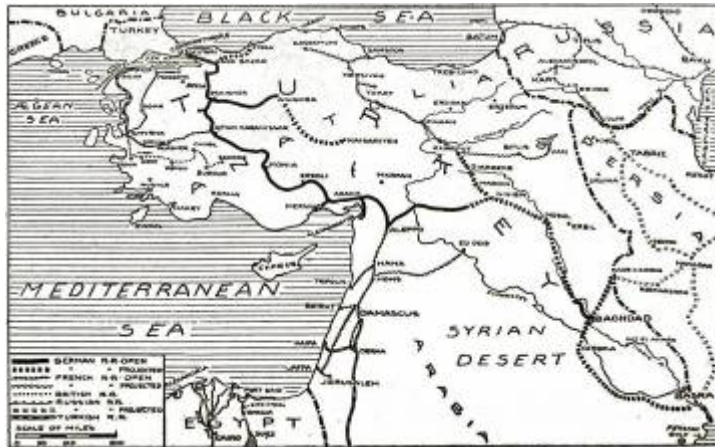


Figure 3.1. Realized and projected railways in the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century.

As the city life was gradually westernized, traditional institutions for its administration fell out of date and consequently, the first municipal body for İstanbul, named as *Şehremaneti*, was founded in 1854 as modelled after the French *Prefecture*¹⁸³. Its duties were “the procuring of necessary provisions for the people of İstanbul, guild and market supervision, the regulation of prizes, the cleanliness and embellishment of the city, and the general assurance of the good condition of the streets and bazaars, as well as the

¹⁸³ Rosenthal, S. “Foreigners and Municipal Reform for İstanbul: 1855-1865”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2, April 1980, pp. 227-245.

collection of taxes and dues to be submitted to the general treasury”¹⁸⁴. Successive reorganizations and experiments reshaped this first municipality and a law in 1877 gave the final shape to the Ottoman municipal organization for all the cities of the empire as well as the capital¹⁸⁵.

The centralization of public services with the reorganization of the administrative structure (as exemplified in the formation of the ministry of Public Works and municipal bodies) and large scale introduction of new technologies (such as telegraph and railways) was not a mere consequence of necessities, it was also taken by the central authority as a significant instrument of reform, in its symbolic as well as material appearances. The cities of the empire at the end of the 19th century saw a comparatively significant increase in the construction of public works, both in form of the rehabilitation of the existing situation and introduction of new urban elements such as railway stations, post offices and clock towers¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁴ Osman Nuri (Ergin), *Mecelle-i Umur-i Belediye*, İstanbul: İstanbul Şehremaneti, 1914-1922, pp. 1374-1376. Cited in: Rosenthal, S. “Foreigners and Municipal Reform for İstanbul: 1855-1865”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2, April 1980, pp. 230-231.

¹⁸⁵ It should also be noted that although the formation of municipal bodies technically included elections for municipal assemblies, did not include much for the promotion of some form of local democracy. Main motive was the reconstruction and reformation of cities in relation to the agenda of modernization of the central authority. See: Görmez, K. *Yerel Demokrasi ve Türk Belediyeciliği* [Local Democracy and Turkish Municipalities], Hizmet-İş Sendikası Yay. 1990.

¹⁸⁶ Cengizkan, in his article that studies a number of clock towers built between 1880 and 1930 in various cities, analysis these structures in the way they contributed to the formation of a secular and modern idea and experience of urban space. See:

Cengizkan, A. “Saat Kuleleri ve Kamusal Mekan” [Clock Towers and Public Space], in *Modernin Saati: 20. Yüzyılda Modernleşme ve Demokratikleşme Pratiğinde Mimarlar* [The Hour/Clock (being the same word in Turkish) of the Modern; Architects in the Practice of Modernization and Democratization in the 20th Century], Ankara: Mimarlar Derneği Yay. 2002, pp. 15-27.

Reorganization and reformation of public services also led to the appearance of a new kind of state functionary within the central bureaucratic body: the technical expert¹⁸⁷. By the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, a generation of engineers, architects and other technical professionals trained at the new educational institutions of the empire with a western curriculum had started to be recruited for the new offices to take part in the construction and maintenance of public service facilities. Their education and the nature of their service was different than others in the bureaucratic body who had rather historic ties to the bureaucratic tradition of the empire, nevertheless the basic frame of mind was not fundamentally different. The ideological load that transformed the bureaucratic service to political engagement as a means of large scale social reform was constant. The strong emphasis on positivism as a theoretical base for the intellectuals of this period also played a significant role¹⁸⁸. The technical and

¹⁸⁷ The word “new” in this sentence may require the explanation that ‘technical expertise’ here is used in the modern sense, which includes training in institutional bodies and the formation of a systematic and explicit body of knowledge. Other forms of technical expertise were naturally included in the state function at previous periods of the empire. *Hassa Ocağı* (Office of Royal Architects), which dealt with all aspects of building activities at the empire and which survived from the mid 15th to the early 19th centuries, is an example. The training of architects for this office was mostly conducted within office’s own practice. Nalbantoğlu, G. B. *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect*. California: Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Berkeley, 1989, pp. 20-42.

¹⁸⁸ Göle for instance, in her work “Engineers and Ideology” which mainly studies the ideological base for the extensive political engagement of engineers in Turkey especially after 1960s, acknowledges the historical continuity of this base going back to the first appearance of engineers as a socio-professional category with the foundation of first engineering schools in the Ottoman Empire. She, similar to other scholars mentioned above, stresses the intellectual relation of the engineers of the period to the political and ideological atmosphere of the time and especially to the positivist content in the theoretical formulations for the restoration of the Ottoman power. See:

scientific base of engineers’ training and functions provided a strong and inevitable link for them to relate themselves to the reforming mind. The first generations of engineers of the empire did not see themselves as providers of simply technical service, but also of a cure, a solution for the destitute situation, and were willing to propagate their prescription in the social field. “After all the bitter experience”, wrote the author of an article in the journal of the engineering school, “nobody can deny that the only instrument to save our country from disaster is science and technology”¹⁸⁹. The article assigns on the engineering students the responsibility of the establishment and improvement of science and technology in the country, and thus well illustrates the synthesis of patriotic action and technical service that equipped the engineering community of the empire.

III.2.2. Early Republican Period

When the republic was founded in 1923, it inherited the human resources that the Ottoman Empire had in its final epoch in all aspects. Although the determining discourse was quickly folded into an ideological rejection of the imperial past, two centuries of experience of and experimentation with reformation, westernization and modernization in its theoretical and practical forms was a significant part of this inheritance. The form of governing, as well as the individuals at the top levels of the

Göle, N. *Mühendisler ve İdeoloji: Öncü Devrimcilerden Yenilikçi Seçkinlere* [Engineers and Ideology: From Avant-garde Revolutionists to Reformist Elites], İstanbul: Metis Yay. 1986.

¹⁸⁹ Anon. *Mühendis Mektebi Mecmuası* [Journal of Engineering School], Year 1, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1922. Quoted in: Günergun, F. “Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimarları Arasında ilk Cemiyetleşme Teşebbüsleri” [First Organizational Attempts in the Ottoman Engineers and Architects] in: Okay, C. *Osmanlı Mühendis ve Mimar Cemiyeti Belgeleriyle* [The First Ottoman Society of Engineers and Architects, in their Documents], Ankara: TMMOB, 2008, p. 61.

government had changed, however the bureaucratic body in the larger scale was conveyed to the new regime as it was, together with their political culture and related discursive formations. This was especially so for the highly skilled part with the specialized education, which was quite hard to find.

One particular difference that the Republican ruling elite had at the beginning of the republic, when compared to the late Ottoman period, was the rather strong and massive popular support that came with the victory at the War of Independence. It would be hard to claim that the estrangement between the ruling body and simple people that went back to the reforming elites of the *tanzimat* era was overcome; nonetheless the new state and its representatives in every level enjoyed a renewed respect and approval from the people. The popular support made it possible for the political authority to homogenize the ruling body in its revolutionary goals; components in the state apparatus that were associated with counter-reformism and religious reactionaries, as well as the traditional religious establishments of everyday social life, were altogether depicted as “Ottoman backwardness” and were quickly ripped off their political legitimacy.

Another difference was the emphasis made by the Republican program on national economy and industrialization. The Republican observation on the collapse of the empire was concluded with the importance of a self-sufficient industrial economy. As the definition for state’s ideal role evolved from a nourishing and supporting role in the development of a national industry to one of a direct entrepreneur in the 1930s, the technical expertise within the bureaucratic body gained importance and power. Engineers, now also being greatly increased in number, gained important administrative positions, especially related to the industrial investments made in fields like textile, mining, metal, paper, sugar and etc. In an industrialization program that was operated in the absence of a social class that monopolized capital, their monopoly on technical

knowledge provided the technical bureaucracy, especially the engineers, with the responsibility and the opportunity of determining state policies according to an agenda of national development¹⁹⁰. The engineering community in response welcomed their reinforced role and easily canalized the political character of the technical/bureaucratic tradition into the Republican context¹⁹¹.

Technical bureaucracy also possessed a comparative autonomy. Roos and Roos argue that, out of the two major axes in the Republican program, namely social transformation and industrialization, industrialization was not the one that opposition was anticipated, therefore its organizational arrangements were more flexible¹⁹². Especially in state economic enterprises, which were created outside the central bureaucratic structure, the administration could practice flexible forms that benefit their technical goals¹⁹³.

¹⁹⁰ Göle, N. *Mühendisler ve İdeoloji: Öncü Devrimcilerden Yenilikçi Seçkinlere* [Engineers and Ideology: From Avant-garde Revolutionists to Reformist Elites], İstanbul: Metis Yay. 1986, pp. 112-114.

¹⁹¹ The political action was manifestly promoted in the engineering community. One informative document in this sense is the final report of the 12th annual congress of the Society of Turkish Engineers that took place in 1937. First decision agreed by the congress to be put in the report was that engineers should be encouraged by the Society of Engineers to be registered in the Republican People’s Party and to assume eager participation in party activities. It is interesting to compare this document with documents related to the Society of Turkish Architects, where issues of the professional agenda were always apparently dominant over political ones.

Anon. “Türk Yüksek Mühendisler Birliğinin 12 inci Senelik Kongresi” [12th Annual Congress of the Society of Turkish Engineers], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yöneltil Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 4, No. 7, December 1937, pp. 72-75.

¹⁹² Roos, L. L. and Roos, N. P. *Managers of Modernization: Organization and Elites in Turkey, 1950-1969*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971, p. 32.

¹⁹³ Such as the practice of employment outside the central salary system, with the goal of increasing attraction.

State institutions that provided technical public service were significantly enlarged and transformed in the Republican period in relation to the scope of the modernization program of the Republic. The priorities of the program brought the production of the built environment into focus. Below, we will present a brief general view of state institutions in the field of production of the built environment in the early Republican period. In the following part, in accordance to the scope of this research as presented in the Introduction chapter, we will be focusing on the Ministry of Public Works within the same field, and its actions related to the built environment.

III.2.2.1. State Institutions in the Production of the Built Environment

Two of the earliest Republican institutions that were newly founded to function in the field of production of the built environment were both directed at the most immediate needs. One of them was the Ministry of Exchange and Settlement (*Mübadele ve İskân Bakanlığı*), which was institutionalized within the first government of the Republic to meet the needs of the Turkish population that immigrated to Turkey with the exchange of population with Greece as a consequence of the Lausanne Treaty. This ministry designed and built numerous new villages or extensions for existing villages to provide dwellings for the migrating population. These settlements were placed in arable lands close to transportation lines across the country. Designated as “ideal villages” or “exemplary villages”, the new settlements with their grid plans and rational settings were also considered to be new models for the Republican rural development¹⁹⁴ (Figure 3.2). This ministry, which can

be considered to be the first central institution for planning in the Republic, stopped its activities and existence as all the immigrants were settled.

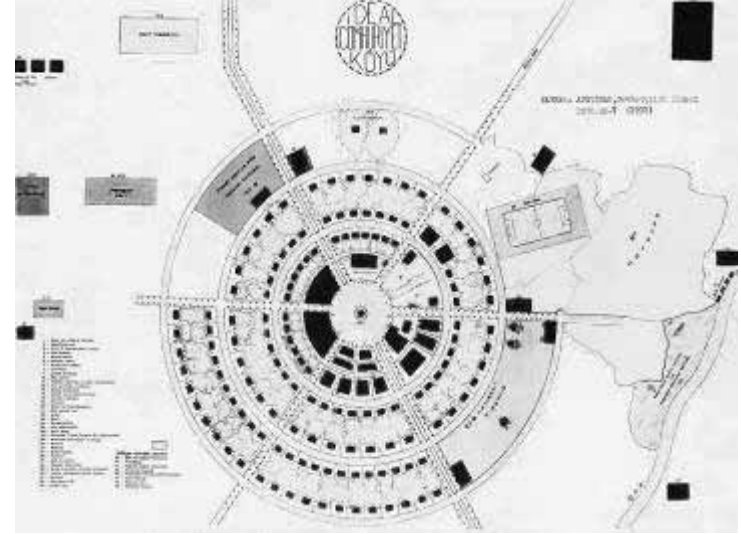


Figure 3.2. An “Ideal Republican Village” concept drawing.

The second special institution designed for specific needs similar to the Ministry of Exchange and Settlement was related to the execution of a master plan for Ankara; the Planning Directorate of Ankara (*Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü*). The municipality of Ankara was founded in 1924 as a special body, very similar to the model of İstanbul *Şehremaneti* of the Ottoman era, long before the establishment of a law on municipalities for the whole country. Between 1924 and 1928, all the authority on the administration of the city was given to a governor-mayor, who was appointed by the central government. In 1928 the Planning Directorate of Ankara was founded, as a very unique institution in the country, with the function of taking over the planning activity of the new capital city. In the same year the international competition was held to obtain a master plan for the city, which was won by Herman

¹⁹⁴ For more on the villages and dwellings built for the exchange population see:

Cengizkan, A. *Mübadele Konut ve Yerleşimleri* [Housings and Settlements for the Exchange Population], Ankara: Arkadaş Yay. 2004.

Jansen¹⁹⁵. Jansen worked with the Directorate until his resignation in 1938¹⁹⁶. Nevertheless, this unique institution continued to function, and only for Ankara, until it was abolished in 1983.

A general law on municipalities for the whole country was issued in 1930. With this law, the central administration gave over some of the tasks on planning and realization of the development of the built environment to local administrations. In order to aid the recently formed municipalities in financing their activities, the Bank of Municipalities (*Belediyeler/İller Bankası*) was founded in 1933, which was followed by the Real Estate and Credit Bank (*Emlak ve Kredi Bankası*) in 1946 to provide credit for especially housing development. Many municipalities in the early 1930s, especially the ones in major cities, conducted planning activities in connection to these institutions and also commissioning foreign architects and planners working in Turkey in these years such as Jansen and Egli. Among the municipalities, İzmir comes forth with a significant building activity, which combined the effort of reconstructing the city that was particularly damaged in the War of Independence with the organization of a large international fair beginning in 1927 (Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3. Aerial photograph of İzmir International Fair in 1943.

Besides these institutions given above that directly acted in the field of production of the built environment, various state institutions such as ministries contained construction offices for their own needs in the first decade of the Republic, until construction activities were rather centralized within the body of the Ministry of Public Works. In this period ministries, such as those of Education, of Agriculture and of Health, realized considerable construction. Especially the Office of Construction in the Ministry of Education, which was practically connected to the Academy of Fine Arts in İstanbul and which made use of the employment of the most eminent names among the foreign architects working in Turkey, was a quite an active and lively architectural office. Some samples of the above

¹⁹⁵ For Jansen and Ankara plan, see Chapter 2, pp. 44-45.

¹⁹⁶ Jansen was not satisfied with the process of realization of his plan for various reasons, such as continuous demands for partial changes and the problem of weakness in defending the plan against speculative pressures. Günay, B. "Our Generation of Planners, the Hopes, the Fears the Facts: Case Study Ankara", Salzburg: Scupad SS, 20th Anniversary Congress, 6-8 May 1988.

mentioned offices' architectural production will be presented in the next chapter.

III.3. The Ministry of Public Works

III.3.1. History and Legal Organization

The Ministry of Public Works was among the eleven ministries that formed the first government in Ankara in 1920¹⁹⁷. The organization of the Ministry was derived from the Ottoman regulation of 1914. In the war time, the ministry concentrated its efforts on ensuring and the betterment of the transportation network in Anatolia with the existing railroad line, which was vital for the transportation of troops¹⁹⁸. After 1923, extending the transportation network and especially construction of new railroad lines became the major occupation of the ministry. The priority that was assigned to this task can be observed in the fact that the Ministry's budget was among the largest,

¹⁹⁷ The first minister of the Ministry of Public Works was İsmail Fazıl (Cebesoy), who was a retired military officer. The other ministries in the first government were: Ministry of Interior Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Economy, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Education, Ministry of National Defence, Ministry of War, and Ministry of *Şer'iye* [Islamic Law] and Endowments. The last three ministries had a short life. In 1924, together with the abolishment of the caliphate, the Ministry of *Şer'iye* and Endowments was also abolished. The religious schools under its responsibility were closed with the Law on the Unification of Education at the same year, making the Ministry of Education the sole responsible for education. For its other duties, a Directory of Religious Works and a Directory of Endowments were formed within the body of the Prime Ministry. Ministry of War was closed the same year. The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Trade were founded in this reorganization of 1924.

¹⁹⁸ Türkmen, İ. "I. TBMM Hükümeti Döneminde İsmail Fazıl Paşa'nın Nafia Vekilliği Görevi (1920–1921)" [The Appointment of İsmail Fazıl Pasha as the Minister of Public Works during the First Government of Grand National Assembly of Turkey (1920–1921)], *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* [Journal of Social Sciences], Vol. 10, No. 3, 2008, pp. 135-158.

usually following the Ministry of Defence, in the government throughout the 1920s¹⁹⁹. In this decade, the organization of the ministry was altered as the necessity appeared. The government gradually took over the operation of existing railroad lines, harbours and other forms urban public services such as gas and tram lines from the franchising companies that held the rights. Construction of new railroads, roads and bridges were also managed in separate official bodies. Various laws from 1927 to 1934 experimented with the organization and relations of these state functions within the governmental body. Apart from the construction and management of basic public services, an important regulation regarding the Ministry of Public Works that was issued in this decade was on the regulation of the licenses given to engineers and architects in 1928. In 1930, all the processes regarding the architectural profession were included in the authority of the Ministry.

In 1934, these partial changes were concluded with a major reorganization. In this year, the Ottoman law of 1914 that initially defined and organized the Ministry was replaced with the law numbered 2443, "the Law on the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Public Works" (*Nafia Vekaletinin Teşkilat ve Vazifelerine Dair Kanun*)²⁰⁰.

¹⁹⁹ Official web site for the Ministry of Public Works:

<http://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr/turkce/tarihce.php> [16.08.2009].

For the information given in this work on the history of the Ministry of Public Works, see:

Anon. *Bayındırlıkta 50 Yıl* [50 Years at the Ministry], Ankara: T. C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı, 1973.

Anon. *Cumhuriyetin 70. Yılında Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı* [Ministry of Public Works and Settlement at the 70. Anniversary of the Republic], Ankara: T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1993.

Mutlu, N. Y. *Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Tarihi* [History of the Ministry of Public Works], Ankara: Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 2005.

Anon. "Cumhuriyet Nafiası" [Public Works of the Republic], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 5, October 1938, pp. 5-24.

²⁰⁰ The legislative reorganization of the Ministry was not a singular act but was part of the general administrative and legislative set of

According to this law, the Ministry of Public Works was defined as “a state institution assigned with the duty of the construction of the railroads, harbors, paved roads, and bridges, the organization of the waterworks, the formation and management of necessary structures for land and air transportation and communication, with the duty of complying and applying contemporary progress, designating the style and providing the realization of all kinds of buildings and structures for state offices and institutions and of Turkish architecture, developing technical means and aspects, and performing other duties that general and specific laws assign”²⁰¹. The organizational structure was based on three major offices for the services of the Ministry; The Office of Construction of Railroads and Harbours, The Office of Transportation, and the Office of Paved Roads, Bridges and Construction Works²⁰². Besides, two general directorates were formed on waterworks and on the ministry’s companies and establishments. Two relatively autonomous offices that were formed before 1934, the one for the management of harbours and railroads and for the management of mail, telegraph and telephone services were related to the ministry with this law, though they were not placed in the hierarchical structure but were submitted directly to the minister. Similarly, the Engineering School and Technical School that had been related to the ministry since the Ottoman period also remained so, until 1941 when they

transformations that was densely introduced by the Republic in this period. See Chapter 2, pp. 33-34.

²⁰¹ <http://www.bayindirlik.gov.tr/turkce/tarihce.php> [16.08.2009].

²⁰² *Demiryolları ve Limanlar İnşaat Reisliği, Mınakalat (Ulaştırma) Reisliği, Şose, Köprüler ve Bina İşleri Reisliği*. For the translation of the word ‘reislik’ the word ‘office’ is used in this text. In the literal sense, ‘reis’ was used at the period for ‘president’, as a position higher than the ‘directorate’ and ‘general directorate’. However later the word lost usage, in relation to the vast and rapid changes made in the official terminology with the ongoing studies on the purification of Turkish language throughout the 1930s. The choice for ‘office’ here is due to simplification and to avoid confusion.

were appointed to the administration of the Ministry of Education. A new addition to the central organizational structure was the High Commission of Science that was placed in the upper hierarchical level.

In this initial organization of 1934, construction and maintenance of buildings was defined in the responsibility of the Technical Commission of Buildings, which was one of the three technical commissions under the Office of Paved Roads, Bridges and Construction Works. As quoted above, the law emphasized the ministry’s duty on ensuring stylistic and technical standards for public buildings and not particularly realization. The organization demonstrates that the construction of buildings was seen secondary to the construction of railroads, which had an office of its own. However the practice shortly proved otherwise. Construction of all the governmental buildings proved to require a huge amount of work and shortly afterwards there also appeared the intention of transforming the duty of construction of educational buildings from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Public Works²⁰³. The realization of the importance of planning the urban growth and development as a central part of the duties of the ministry also arose from the practice. As new railroads were built, integration of the transportation network of surrounding towns into the planning of its stops required a coordinated work. Therefore, as an article published in *The Journal of Public Works* in 1936 also reveals, the need for the centralization of town planning activities appeared as a consequence of the new railroads, and not vice versa²⁰⁴.

²⁰³ Anon. “Şoseler Reisliği Binalar Fen Heyetinin Teşekkülünden Beri Yaptığı İşler” [Works Achieved by the Technical Commission of Buildings in the Office of Paved Roads, Bridges and Construction Works since its Foundation], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetel Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 1, No. 9, February 1935, pp. 49-50.

²⁰⁴ Anon. “Nafia Vekaleti Teşkilatı” [Organization of the Ministry of Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi*

The workload and technical and administrative necessities required a change in the organization of the ministry related to the construction works. Within a year's time after the law in 1934, the Office of Construction Works was defined as a new separate general directorate with a supplementary law (numbered 2799) in 1935. (See Figure 3.4 for the organization of the Ministry of Public Works after this law.) The Office of Construction Works was assigned with the responsibility of virtually every aspect related to the construction work done for and/or by the state. Its duties included determining principles to unify architectural and structural qualifications of state's construction; regulating or undertaking the planning and management of all construction or major repair; and managing planning activities that were done by municipalities²⁰⁵. The only three state institutions that were excluded from the operational field of the Office of Construction Works were the Ministry of Defence, General Directorate of State Railroads and Harbours and related managements, and the Directorate of Endowments²⁰⁶. The respective technical units of these institutions however, were required to cope with the regulations and conditions that the Office of Construction Works would prepare. Provincial directorates were formed in every city and they were assigned to undertake construction and repair works for municipalities that do not have technical commissions, as well as overseeing local duties of the ministry.

Yönetmelik Kısım [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 3, No. 5, October 1936, pp. 7-8.

²⁰⁵ Anon. "Nafia Bakanlığının Teşkilat ve Vazifelerine dair Kanuna Ek Kanun" [Supplementary Law on the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım*, [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part] Year 2, No. 2, July 1935, pp. 23-30.

²⁰⁶ The exception of the Directory of Endowments presents an interesting case here. It presents the scope and abundance of waqf related properties and shows that the vast power and influence of the Ministry of Endowments in the Ottoman period, as was mentioned above, well continued into the Republican period.

According to the supplementary law, the Office of Construction Works was to be run by a general director and an assistant, both of which should either be an engineer or an architect. Under these managers, two technical commissions were formed, one on buildings and another on urbanism. The law did not differentiate the two professions of architecture and engineering in its definition of the technical positions for both of the commissions and used the statement "engineer or architect" for the specification of the personnel to be employed²⁰⁷.

The legal organization of the Ministry of Public Works was altered once more in 1939, without bringing major changes to its basic duties. One significant change was the new emphasis given to the city planning activity, as the name of the Office of Construction Works was now changed to the Office of Construction and Planning Works (*Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reisliği*)²⁰⁸. It was also added that, besides inspecting and approving planning activities of municipalities, the office would aid municipalities in the preparation of plans in case the municipality demanded it²⁰⁹. Another important change in 1939 was the foundation of a separate ministry for transportation, which resulted in the transfer of offices

²⁰⁷ Anon. "Nafia Bakanlığının Teşkilat ve Vazifelerine dair Kanuna Ek Kanun" [Supplementary Law on the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım*, [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part] Year 2, No. 2, July 1935, p. 27.

As it was narrated in the previous chapter, the professional boundaries of architecture and engineering were still in negotiation in these years. The urbanist or the city planner as a separate professional was yet to appear in the further future.

²⁰⁸ 'İmar' here does not literally mean 'planning', but rather 'development' or 'improvement', especially related to construction. However for the term 'city planning', 'imar planı' was used, hence it may be clearer to translate the name of the office in this way.

²⁰⁹ Anon. "Nafia Vekaleti Teşkilat ve Vazifelerine dair Kanun" [Law Regarding the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 6, No. 1, June 1939, pp. 5-24.

related to railroads, harbours and airports to this new Ministry of Transportation.

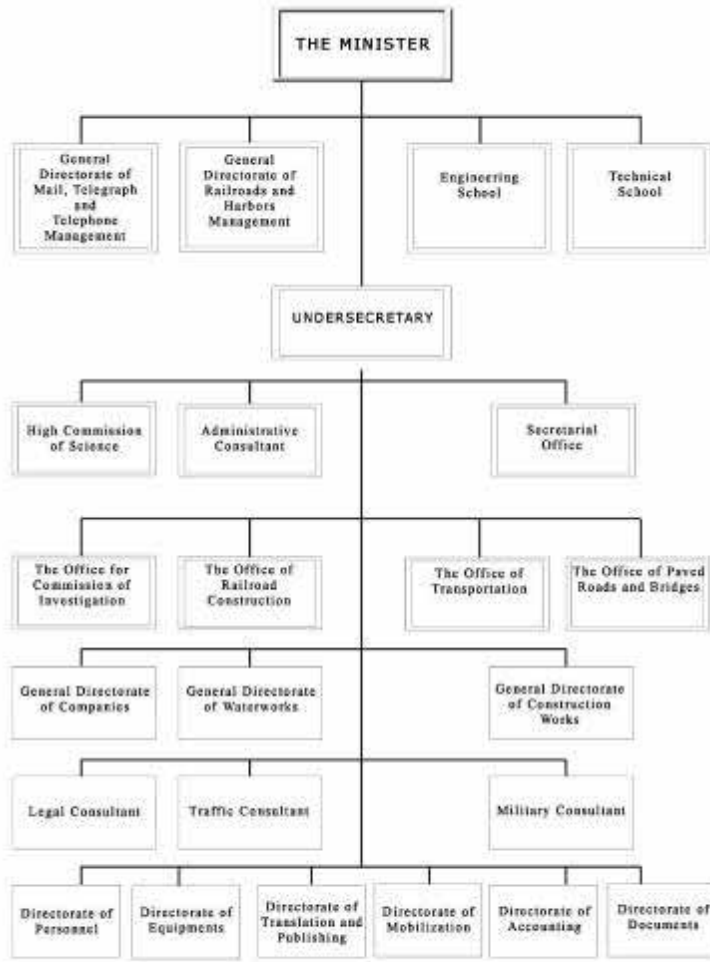


Figure 3.4. Organizational structure of the Ministry of Public Works after the supplementary law in 1935.

Most of the technical offices in ministries that undertook construction work related to that particular ministry until 1934 were closed with this date and the Ministry of Public Works was assigned with the architectural production of the state. Within the grand construction program that the state performed throughout the country in these decades, it was not very realistic for the Ministry to house all stages of architectural production within its institutional frame. Actually some other state institutions such as the Ministry of Customs and State Monopolies and Ministry of Education continued to operate their own construction offices for buildings they needed. The legal definition for the ministry's duties did not also specify different phases of the construction process. There were no separate offices for design and realization and no specifications were made on the ways of obtaining architectural and engineering projects for the buildings. Architectural competitions that have just begun to flourish or commissioning private architects continued as means of obtaining designs for state buildings, besides the design practice of the Office of Construction Works. Nonetheless it is clear that especially with the reorganization of 1935, the Ministry of Public Works was intended to become an active and central agent in all sorts of public construction in the country, including architectural production.

III.3.2. Production

The Ministry of Public Works had been one of the big, central and important ministries of the early Republican period with a big budget and a busy agenda. Considerable part of the ministry's budget was related to railroad construction²¹⁰. Especially the period between 1927 and

²¹⁰ The share of the railroad construction in the total budget was the highest in the years between 1927 and 1931. In 1928 it was as high as 14% of the total state budget. In the following decade a high level was

1940 was the high time of the Republican railroad construction. A total of 3578 km. of railroad was built between 1923 and 1950, and 3208 km. (89%) of this was realized before 1940²¹¹. The planning of new lines was mainly directed at expansion of the network through the whole country in a balanced way. Before the republic, 70% of all lines were placed to the west of Ankara – Konya line, which defines a vertical axis in the mid Anatolia. 79% of the new lines in the Republican period were built to the east of this line restoring the balance. This policy was parallel to the industrialization program which deliberately avoided situating new industrial complexes where transportation network was already established, but aimed at their scattering along the country. Another major aim in the planning of new railroads was transforming the existing tree-like network to a cyclic one²¹² (Figure 3.5).



Figure 3.5. Railroads in the early Republican era.

The railroad construction had very solid and factual goals that can be summarized in providing efficient transportation for the whole country; however it was also the most densely loaded act in symbolic and ideological terms among all the duties of the Ministry of Public Works²¹³. Nevertheless, other offices in the ministry were also quite busy.

The large Exhibition of Public Works, which was held by the ministry in 1944 in Ankara provides a general figure of its activities until that date. The railroads hall in the exhibition alone housed 51 scaled models of various station buildings, railway bridges and tunnels, as well as a real scale section of standard line, and numerous drawings and maps. It was stated that a total of 442 million liras was spent for the railroad construction until that year²¹⁴. The

mostly preserved, but the period of the World War II brought a serious fall.

As a matter of fact, this huge expenditure on state's behalf was a subject of discussion in the political scene of the time. Deputies who were oppositional to the statist economic policy were continuously criticizing the way the projects were financed directly by the state. See:

Yıldırım, İ. "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Demiryolu İnşaatlarının Mali Kaynakları ve İlk İç borçlanmalar (1923-1950)" [Financial Sources for the Railroad Construction in the Republican Period and the First Domestic Debts (1923-1950)], *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* [Journal of the Center for Atatürk Studies], Vol. 15, No. 44, July 1999.

²¹¹ Anon. "Cumhuriyetimizin 80 Yıllık Tarihinde Demiryolu Politikaları" [Railway Policies in the 80 Years of History of the Republic], in the official web site of the Republic of Turkey State Railways:

<http://www.tcdd.gov.tr/genel/tarihce.htm> [23.08.2009]

²¹² The tree-like network is considered to be a consequence of "semi-colonial economic policies" that had built those railroad lines, not according to a holistic rationality but to the partial interests of the (foreign) companies that built them.

Anon. "Cumhuriyetimizin 80 Yıllık Tarihinde Demiryolu Politikaları" [Railway Policies in the 80 Years of History of the Republic], in the official web site of the Republic of Turkey State Railways:

<http://www.tcdd.gov.tr/genel/tarihce.htm> [23.08.2009]

²¹³ This is especially so in the historical sense. With the rule of Democrat Party in 1950, the focus in transportation shifted to motorways. Later, investment in the railroads almost stopped, especially after the rise of neo-liberal policies of 1980s. Therefore today, there is a widely popular association of railroads with the early Republican ideology.

²¹⁴ It should be reminded that railroads and harbours was left outside of the operational field of the Office of Construction Works by the law in 1935. Therefore buildings for railroad stations were realized by the offices related to railroads and hence were exhibited in the hall related to railroads.

roads and bridges hall provided the information that the road construction from 1923 to 1944 with various type and quality of pavements reached to a sum of 41680 km. This network required 130 new, long span bridges and the total expenditure for roads and bridges was 137 million liras. 32 of the new bridges were proudly presented in the exhibition with scale models²¹⁵. The water works hall also had models and drawings of numerous dams, canals and other structures designed and built for the irrigation of agricultural fields and urban use of clean water. One important structure exhibited in this hall which was quite familiar to the spectators of the exhibition was Çubuk Dam, which did not only provide water for Ankara's use, but also became a popular recreational area with the surrounding social facilities, also designed and built by the Ministry of Public Works²¹⁶. Electric works were also represented in a hall, where information on six existing and planned hydro-electric and thermo-electric power plants was displayed²¹⁷ (Figure 3.6).

The hall for the exhibition of the works of the Office of Construction and Planning Works was among the largest parts of the exhibition. For this part, a total of 60 projects that were realized or in process of realization by the office were presented with scale models, drawings and

photographs²¹⁸. Majority of these were buildings that were also designed by the office, but other prestigious projects that the designs were obtained with international competitions such as the new National Assembly Building and Mausoleum for Atatürk were included (Figure 3.7). An important part was on standard type projects such as school buildings and houses designed to be built in various small towns and villages and there also were some small scale structures such as fountains. There were also two town plans, which were standard projects to be applied to various villages. In the informative text it was stated that by 1944, the Office of Construction and Planning Works had realized a total number of 1335 buildings, which included the design and realization of 50 administrative buildings, 28 residences for governors, 32 buildings for health care institutions and 85 educational buildings²¹⁹. It was also stated that 120 city and town plans were prepared by the office or in its supervision. The next chapter in this work will include a detailed analysis of the production of the Office of Construction (and Planning) Works for the period until the early 1950s. However at this stage we should state that, as exemplified in the case of the exhibition prepared by the ministry, the architectural and planning practice in the office was an important component in the overall production that the Ministry of Public Works housed.

Anon. *Cumhuriyet Nafia Sergisi* [The Republican Public Works Exhibition], Ankara: T. C. Nafia Vekaleti [Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Public Works], 1944, pp. 9-28.

²¹⁵ Anon. *Cumhuriyet Nafia Sergisi* [The Republican Public Works Exhibition], Ankara: T. C. Nafia Vekaleti [Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Public Works], 1944, pp. 42-49.

²¹⁶ Anon. *Cumhuriyet Nafia Sergisi* [The Republican Public Works Exhibition], Ankara: T. C. Nafia Vekaleti [Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Public Works], 1944, pp. 29-40.

²¹⁷ The Management of Electric Works was founded within the body of the Ministry of Economy in 1935, and later was added to the organization of the Ministry of Public Works in 1939.

Anon. *Cumhuriyet Nafia Sergisi* [The Republican Public Works Exhibition], Ankara: T. C. Nafia Vekaleti [Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Public Works], 1944, pp. 51-54.

²¹⁸ Anon. *Cumhuriyet Nafia Sergisi* [The Republican Public Works Exhibition], Ankara: T. C. Nafia Vekaleti [Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Public Works], 1944, pp. 57-64.

²¹⁹ The related sentence in the text was unfortunately very badly written and has an obscure sense that these numbers present only some major design work and not the totality of projects designed by the office.

Anon. *Cumhuriyet Nafia Sergisi* [The Republican Public Works Exhibition], Ankara: T. C. Nafia Vekaleti [Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Public Works], 1944, pp. 56-57.

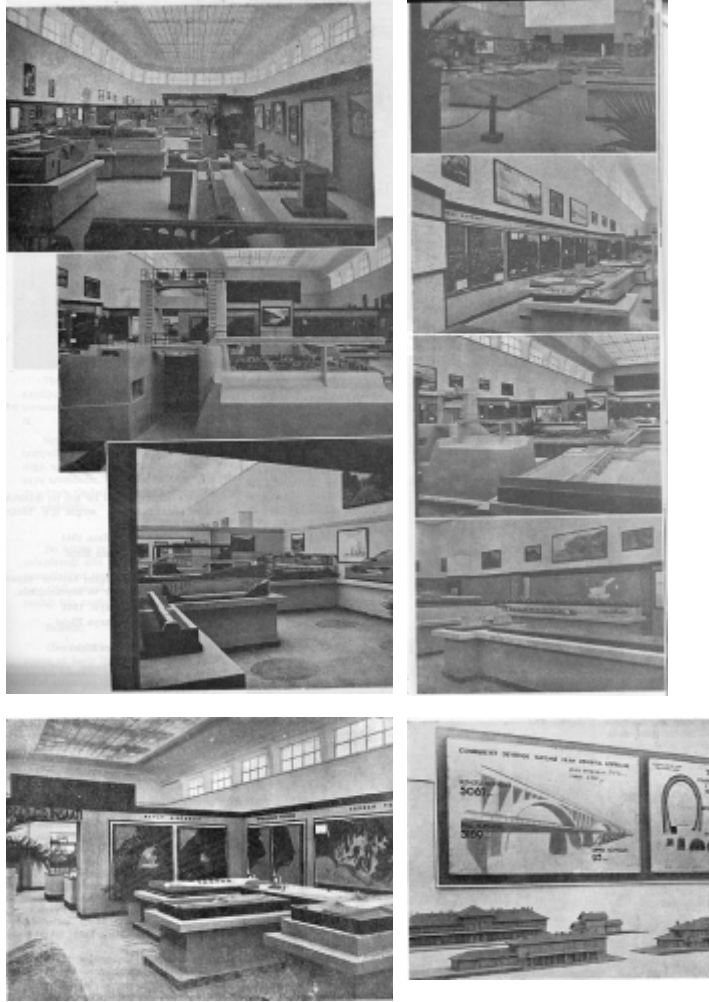


Figure 3.6. Photographs of the exhibition of the Ministry of Public Works.

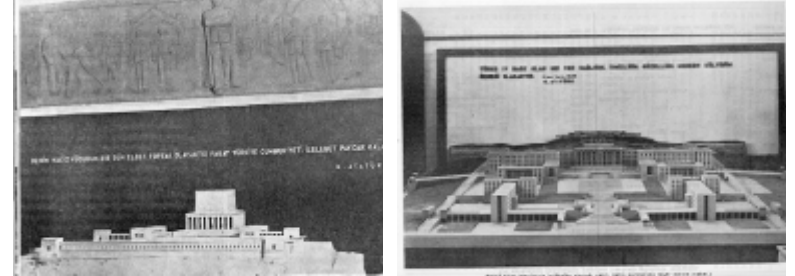


Figure 3.7. Models for Mausoleum for Atatürk and National Assembly Building in the exhibition of the Ministry of Public Works.

III.3.3. Human Resources and the Professional Life

The Ministry of Public Works was an institution that was mostly populated by engineers whereas architects were much less in number. According to the details of the successive laws that regulated the conditions of employment in the ministry, there were only two potential positions for architectural careers other than the ones in the Office of Construction Works. One of them was in the High Commission of Science, which was to be composed of three engineers and one architect, with an engineer president, and the other was in the General Directorate of Railroad Construction²²⁰. Architects were also not the majority in the Office of Construction Works. For instance in 1938, the office (together with the technical commissions in

²²⁰ A limited part of the positions in Railroad Construction was defined as “engineer or architect”, like the ones in the Office of Construction Works. Hence, theoretically, it was possible to compose a ministry with only one architect in it, who would have to be in the High Commission of Science. See:

Anon. “Nafia Vekaleti Teşkilat ve Vazifelerine dair Kanun” [Law Regarding the Organization and Duties of the Ministry of Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 6, No. 1, June 1939, pp. 5-24.

provincial directorates) employed 37 engineers and 15 architects²²¹.

The administrating positions in the Office of Construction Works were also dominated by engineers for a long period. The first four directors of the office were all engineers; Kazım Aydar (1935-1939), Muammer Çavuşoğlu (1939-1943), Sırrı Sayarı (1943-1948) and Selahattin Onat (1948-1956). At this period the highest position architects could get was the assistant director, as exemplified in Rıza Şükrü Duna, who was appointed to this position in 1936. The first architect to be appointed to the top position in the Office of Construction Works was Orhan Alsaç when he assumed the duty in 1956²²². In more than one case, administrating positions in the ministry brought the individuals that held them more than the professional terms of power and opened up political careers. Both of the first two directors of the Office of Construction Works, as well as some others in other offices, made their ways into the parliament following their duties in the ministry²²³.

Tracking individual careers in the Ministry of Public Works and presenting a detailed and complete

²²¹ There were also 72 technicians, 13 draftsmen and 13 other civil servants.

Anon. "Yapı İşleri" [Construction Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 5, October 1938, p. 440.

²²² Anon. *Bayındırlıkta 50 Yıl* [50 Years at the Ministry], Ankara: T. C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı, 1973, pp. 17-27. Also see: Alsaç, Ü. *Bir Türk Mimarının Anıları, Yaşamı, Etkinlikleri: Orhan Alsaç* [Memoirs, Life and Activities of a Turkish Architect: Orhan Alsaç], İstanbul: Yapı Yay. 2003.

²²³ Kazım Aydar became a deputy in two successive terms in 1943 and 1946. See; the official website of the Governorship of Isparta: <http://www.isparta.gov.tr/index3.php?goster=1&b1=11&b2=2> [26.08.2009]

Muammer Çavuşoğlu became a well-known name in politics as a prominent Democrat Party deputy, starting with 1954 and leading up to being a Minister of Public Works. See; the official website of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey: <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/HB22.htm> [26.08.2009]

picture of professional employment is extremely hard. Nevertheless, the rare, scattered and fragmented data on certain architect individuals, when put together, makes it possible to present certain propositions²²⁴.

One statement that can be made in this sense is that there was a high level of horizontal mobility in the employment of architects. Transfers were a distinctive part of the professional life. These transfers were mostly between the central and provincial offices of the Office of Construction Works, but also appointments to and from other offices that were located in the ministry's body but that stayed out of the authority of the Office of Construction works such as the Directorate of Railroads were more than few. Transfers to and from other ministries, municipalities and other state institutions, such as Directorate of Endowments, were also the case²²⁵. The most obvious

²²⁴ The data mentioned here is a collection of bits of information on individual architects that had worked in various public offices, obtained from numerous sources such as the archive of the Ministry of Public Works, the Republican Archive of Prime Ministry, publications of the Ministry of Public Works and other contemporary architectural publications. See the whole database in Appendix.

²²⁵ Some illustrative examples can be given: Ferruh Mehmet was appointed as an architect to the Provincial Directorate of Bilecik in 1931. In 1933 he was transferred from Bilecik to Denizli. Three years after that he was appointed to the central office in the ministry. (See Appendix, p. 211). Rıza Şükrü Duna, on the other hand, was first appointed to the office in the ministry in 1933, and was later transferred to the Provincial Directorate of İstanbul in 1935. Only a year later he returned to the central office, and this time as the assistant director. In 1936, he was then appointed to the Technical Commission in the Ministry of State Monopolies, this time as the director. (See Appendix, pp. 220-221). Similarly, İzzet Baysal moved in between the architectural offices of the provincial directorate of the Ministry of Education in Bolu, the Ministry of Defense, the Municipality of Eskişehir, and the Planning Commission in Ankara in the early 1930s, also managing to have a short period of private practice in a construction firm. (See Appendix, p. 214).

It should also be noted that constant mobility was not the only career form available for the architect in the public service. The database also provides examples of architects who remained in a single office for a long time. Hüseyin Kara is one, who was transferred from the Ministry of

reason for the high rate of mobility can be found in the relatively very low number of architects when compared to the construction work undertaken by the state. There probably was the policy of quickly moving available architects to the places where they were needed the most. In this sense, the professional bond of the architects in the public service was practiced as being associated with the state in the general sense; they were employees of the Republic of Turkey, rather than of a particular office. On the other hand, the practice of high mobility may have been one of the reasons that caused the unpopularity of the civil service in a certain portion of Turkish architects. Both of the existing architectural schools of the time were in İstanbul and especially the Academy of Fine Arts found its students mostly among the upper middle class of this city. Frequently moving around in the upcountry was not a usual way of life for the people who were raised in the metropolitan life of İstanbul. Even moving to the new capital required a certain amount of voluntary dismissal of existing habits²²⁶.

Another aspect of the architectural professional life at the civil service as observed in the case of the Ministry of Public Service was that it provided the most favourable career for the women architects of the Republican period,

Culture to the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry of Public Works in 1935 and is cited after that date in various documents as an employee of the same office until 1944 (he probably remained there afterwards as well, if not retired, since there is no record of his transfer, see Appendix, pp. 212-213).

²²⁶ In an article in 1937 in *Arkitekt* on the problems of architects' employment in municipalities, Sayar's statements show that mobility was indeed the reason for the unpopularity of the employment in municipalities. He argues that, municipalities hire architects for the limited time of the projects they realize and therefore architects are not willing to abandon their established life, just to be unemployed again after some time. He suggests that more stable offices at the municipalities would be the solution.

Sayar, Z. "Belediyeler Niçin Mimar Bulamıyorlar" [Why the Municipalities can not Find Architects], *Arkitekt*, no. 3, 1937, pp. 93-94.

which were quite few but not nonexistent. Private practice of the time was not only financially challenging, but as the field brought architects in conflict with the traditional builders and engineers, also required engagement in social contestation. In the everyday life of the early Republic, which was yet to dispose of age old gender discrimination and prejudice, professional women had disadvantages. Promoting professional women's employment in the civil service therefore had a twofold function in terms of modernization: On the one hand it helped women get out of their traditional social role limited with the household and become productive social agents. On the other hand, providing women with titles of state functionaries, the public respect towards which was as traditional as the gender discrimination, assisted in the campaign against the latter. Therefore, all women architects of the early Republican period practiced as civil servants²²⁷.

²²⁷ The first and most well known of women architects of the early Republican period were Münevver Belen and Leman Tomsu, both of who were graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in 1934 and were both employed by the Ministry of Public Works. Münevver Belen was appointed at the Office of Construction Works in 1935 but three months later she was transferred to the Provincial Directorate in İstanbul. Then until 1939, she worked in provincial directorates in Bursa and Kocaeli, got back in the central office and again moved to İstanbul (See Appendix, pp. 217-218). Leman Tomsu was appointed at the Provincial Directorate in İstanbul and there appears to be no record of her being transferred (See Appendix, pp. 215-216). In cooperation, Belen and Tomsu designed a number of People's House buildings in this period for various towns, which explains Belen's frequent travels (People's Houses were social and cultural centres in towns and cities, which were formed as a function of the Republican Peoples' Party.) For more on women architects in early Republican period, see: Özgüven, Y. "Women and Architecture from the Early Republican Years to Nowadays: The First Women Architects in Turkey", *Proceedings: Design of Education in the 3rd Millennium: Frontiers in Engineering Education, Vol.1*, İstanbul: IGIP/Yeditepe University, 2005, pp. 439-447.

The case is also not different with the women engineers of the period. First women engineers Sabiha Gürayman and Melek Erbuğ were graduated from the Engineering School in 1933. Gürayman worked for the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry of Public Works and

The survey on the architect employees of the Ministry of Public Works also makes certain observations on the issue of foreign architects working in Turkey possible. It can be stated that, the practice of foreign employment in architecture presented visible differences between different parts of the state body. Employment of foreign architects in the Ministry of Public Works was not as highlighted as the Ministry of Education, where the most eminent names had been employed²²⁸ (with foreign engineers the case was otherwise). The reason to this is easy to comprehend; the policy was to make use of foreign expertise both in architectural practice and architectural education. Foreign architects who were employed at the Ministry of Education, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, were usually teaching at the Academy of Fine Arts that was under this ministry's authorization, as well as designing buildings of education. The engineer-dominated Ministry of Public Works was in relatively less contact with foreign architects²²⁹.

Erbuğ was employed by the Municipality of İstanbul. See: Anon. *Bildiriler: İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi'nin 210. Sivil Mühendisliğin 100. Yılı* [Proceedings: 210. Anniversary of İstanbul Technical University, 100. Anniversary of Civil Engineering Education], İstanbul: İTÜ, 1983.

²²⁸ As also mentioned above, Clemens Holzmeister was the only well known architect that the Ministry of Public Works was in direct contact with, and he was not employed but was commissioned the projects. Still, he also taught at the Engineering School during his stay in Turkey. Among the names mentioned in the part on foreign architects in the previous chapter, Theo Leveau was the only one to be actually employed by the ministry, who had worked at the Planning Commission in the Office of Construction Works. Some other names that can be found in the archives, who were employed at the ministry but about whom we know very little, are; another French architect with surname Gauthier, Greek architect Dimitri Petusius who worked at the Directorate of Railroads and one "Debes" who was appointed at the Engineering School to teach architecture.

²²⁹ The communication between the ministry and the foreign architects in the Academy of Fine Arts also had incidents of disagreement. One such example can be found in an article on the building of the Ministry of Justice published in the Journal of Public Works. The article very briefly, but in a tone not hiding frustration, narrates that Bruno Taut was

III.3.4. Disciplinary Knowledge and Its Circulation: Library, Seminars and Publishing

As any institution in its function and scale would do, the Ministry of Public Works included forms and practices that would assist its employees in keeping themselves up to date in terms of disciplinary knowledge. It housed a library that was enlarged day to day, organized in-house lectures and seminars and had in its organizational structure a unit at the directorate level to oversee translation and publication. The Ministry also sponsored engineering and architectural students for studies abroad and employed them after their graduation²³⁰.

The library contained mostly technical books, by Turkish authors as well as translations of international authors and most of them were published by the ministry. The publications of the ministry will be mentioned just below, but before that, another part of the library's catalogue that presents rather lively insight into the nature, content and the context of the disciplinary knowledge that the library kept track of can be cited here: the journals. The library of the ministry kept buying a large number of European journals on engineering, architecture and other public service related themes (by subscription or other means, the sources does not specify). Among them, *Reveu Générale d'Électricité*, *Le Génie Civil*, *La Construction*

consulted for the design and the Office of Construction Works agreed with him on basic design decisions, however the form he provided was found less than satisfactory and the office went on with its own design.

Anon. "Adliye Vekaleti Binası" [Building for the Ministry of Justice], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 4, No. 10, March 1938, pp. 54-60.

²³⁰ It was recorded in the "Appointment News" section of *The Journal of Public Works* that Ertuğrul Murat Menteşe, who was studying architecture in Paris with the Ministry's scholarship has returned and been appointed in the Office of Construction Works. Anon. "Tayinler", *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım*, [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], 1938, No. 11, p. 78.

Moderne and *La Technique Moderne* in French, *Engineering News Record*, *Railway Age*, *Railway Gazette*, *The Engineer* and *Electrical Review* in English and *Bauwelt*, *Bautechnik*, *V.D.I.* (*Verein Deutscher Ingenieure* – Association of German Engineers), *E.T.Z.* (probably *Elektrotechnische Zeitschrift*) and *Schweizerische Bauzeitung* in German come forth quantitatively, in terms of the number of issues that the library owned²³¹. Most of the journals were on engineering and technical fields that the ministry provided services for. Architectural journals such as *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* and *Moderne Bauformen* constituted a minority in the library's content when compared to journals on civil engineering and building science. Anyhow, the ministry was putting in a

²³¹ To present a wider figure, a random sample list can be given here. In February 1937, the library bought: (in French:) *Revue d'Economie Politique*; *Les Travaux Publics*; *Revue Générale d'Electricité*; *Annales des Ponts et Chaussées*; *La Technique des Travaux*; *Revue Générale des Chemins de Fer*; *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale de Congrès des Chemins de Fer*; *Bulletin du Congrès Internationale de la Route*; *Revue des Matériaux de Construction et des Travaux Publics*; *Revue Economique Internationale*; *La Technique Moderne*; *Revue Générale de Route*; *Le Génie Civil*; *Constructeur de Ciment Armé*; *L'Organisation*; *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*; *L'Ingénieur Constructeur*; *L'Architecture*; *La Construction Moderne*; *Le Gaz et Electricité*; *Travaux*; *L'Electricité*; *La Science et la Vie*; *Annales des Travaux Publics de Belgique*; *L'industrie des Voies Ferrées et Transports Automobiles*; *Transport, Rail, Route, Eau, Air*; *Journal des Géomètres Experts et Topographes Français*; *La Nature*; *Illustration*. (In German:) *Bauwelt*; *Bautechnik*; *Beton und Eisen*; *Der Baugenieur*; *Asphalt und Teer Strassenbautechnik*; *Moderne Bauformen*; *Archiv für Post und Telegraphie*; *Verkehrs und Betriebswissenschaft in Post und Telegraphie*; *V.D.I.*; *E.T.Z.*; *Schweizerische Bauzeitung*; *Baukunst und Stadtbau*. (In English:) *Public Works*; *Engineering News Record*; *Railway Age*; *Civil Engineering*; *Railway Gazette*; *Electrical Review*; *The Illustrated London News*; *American Water Works Association Journal*; *The Engineer*; *Aviation*.

Anon. *Bayındırlık Kitap Odasına Gelen Dergiler* [Journals That Recently Came to the Library of the Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 3, No. 9, February 1937, pp. 85-87.

serious effort to keep itself in connection with the most contemporary disciplinary knowledge. Certain official journals related to public works show that, it was not only the technical knowledge that was pursued, but the ministry also aimed at being informed on the way similar ministries in western countries worked²³².

Similar to journals, seminars and lectures were a quick and practical way of circulating contemporary disciplinary knowledge within the institutional body. The pages of *The Journal of Public Works* provide detailed lists on the lectures that took place in the conference hall of the ministry²³³. Lectures were mostly given by the ministry's employees on the fields of their expertise, as well as foreign experts who either worked in or were visiting Turkey. Other than the technical ones, a series of lectures was on the legal foundation of the ministry and its practices. One significant aspect about the totality of the lectures in the ministry was that, in an institution that housed various professions, they provided a rich opportunity of inter-disciplinary communication²³⁴. With the second half of 1940s, the

²³² The observation presented here does not rely on a complete catalogue for the period, but on sample lists published by the Journal of Public Works throughout the 1930s. Nevertheless, the figure formed by the sum of such samples is rich enough to put forth certain suggestions. One such suggestion may be that, the governmental system of public works in French speaking countries was a highlighted choice in the library's selection in this issue. This however, may be coincidental; there is no official record of following the French model in sources on the history of the Ministry of Public Works.

²³³ The lists that were published suggest that a regular basis of a lecture every 15 days was more or less maintained, especially in late 1930s.

²³⁴ As can be exemplified in lectures that were presented by one professional and that specifically addressed the members of another profession, such as the lecture titled "Heating Systems in Buildings and Aspects that Architects Should Consider in this Regard" by an engineer specialized in heating, carried on in February 1936. Anon. "Nafia Vekaleti Konferans Salonunda Verilen Konferanslara Ait Listedir" [List of Conferences Held in the Conference Hall of the Ministry of Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik*

ministry also started to organize national congresses, such as the “1st Water Congress” held in January 1945 or the “1st Turkish Building Congress” held in May 1948²³⁵.

The Ministry of Public Works also housed a continuous publication activity, and this time with goals that go beyond in-house circulation. As would be remembered, the Engineering School was in the authority of the ministry and providing its educational material was among the basic tasks of its publication office. The list of publications of the ministry, as can be found in the current catalogue of the National Library, show that translations were a significant portion of the technical books that were published. The same list provides no books particularly on architecture, apart from the titles on building science.

Another important task that the publication office executed was publishing *Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* (*The Journal of Public Works*), which started publication in 1932. The journal was mainly meant for official circulation, within the central and provincial offices of the ministry, but it also could reach, though limited, a national audience bay way of nationwide libraries. The journal’s publication was organized in two parts: a technical part and an administrative part. The two parts actually functioned like two separate journals. The technical part consisted of, as the name suggested, technical articles on technology and engineering sciences that were either written or translated by the ministry’s own personnel. The most noteworthy fact about its content is the almost complete absence of architectural texts. Extremely few titles can be detected in the journal’s catalogue from 1932 to the early 1950s that can be of interest to architects, and those ones are mostly related to urbanism. The single article on architectural design that we can find in the catalogue is on low cost

housing and their place in city planning²³⁶. The technical texts in this part of *The Journal of Public Works* were not always theoretical, but there also were articles presenting technical aspects of some new structures built by the Ministry of Public Works. What is interesting in this respect is that the Ministry also published, though very few, some informative texts on the architectural aspects of newly built buildings, but not in the technical part of its journal, in its administrative part. Clearly, architecture was seen as a purely non-technical discipline.



Figure 3.8. *Journal of Public Works*, Administrative Part. Two sample issues from 1938 and 1941.

The administrative part’s content is much more informative for our study. It published articles on the ministry’s history, organization, general goals and particular projects and detailed statistical information on its production. The journal made it custom to publish a special issue in every October (the anniversary of the Republic) within the

Kısım [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 2, No. 12, May 1936.

²³⁵ Certain discussions raised in the building congress related to the subject of our study were mentioned in the previous chapter, pp. 62-63.

²³⁶ Uluşan, C. “Ucuz Kiralık Evler Nasıl Yapılır ve Bunların Şehir Planlarının Tanzimi” [How to Make Low Cost Rental Housing and Their Organization within the City Plans], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* [Journal of Public Works], Year 1939, No. 4, pp. 28-34.

administrative part, with vast accounts and reports on the past year's work, which can be considered to be aiming a wider audience with a public relations function. The administrative part of *The Journal of Public Works* constitutes a very important source for our study not only for its content, but because the manner this content is conveyed as well provides a rich reading through which informative observations can be made on the nature of the professional life that the ministry housed. Therefore a brief survey in this sense should be given here.

Occasional articles that were published in the journal on the ministry's work and practice, especially the ones in October issues, usually avoid particular debated or debatable topics, and utilize an informative tone rather than an argumentative one. The usual layout repeats the pattern of bringing forth the comparison with the Ottoman "neglect and ignorance" on public works and then going on to demonstrate how much it changed with the Republican revolution with factual data on accomplishments. The language of propaganda however, seems to be taken in as an unavoidable compositional element, and does not dominate over the reporting character of much of the texts. Besides the main body of the published texts that dwell on what has been done, some few articles provide also an insight into how the institution and its practice were seen on a discursive base. Some of them may be cited here, which were texts in a series of articles on the legal form of the ministry and which particularly well illustrate how the official idea on terms like 'public works' and 'public services' was defined²³⁷.

²³⁷ Meriç, Z. "Nafia Hukuku; Ayrıca bir Nafia Hukukunun Tetkikine Ne için Lüzum Vardır" [The Law of Public Works: Why a Research on a Separate Law on Public Works is Necessary], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 4, No. 10, March 1938, pp. 38-43



Figure 3.9. Some title pages for the presentation of different offices in the ministry in October issues of the journal: Construction Works, Urbanism, Bridges and Water Works.

In one of such articles, the author begins by taking granted that recent global tidings have brought the end of the "liberalist" principles that so far defined the legal base for state's relation to the individual and "statist" principles are now dominant. As a result, he states, the philosophy of law that defined the duties of the state has also transformed. The author argues that public services in a wider sense of its commercial, industrial and agricultural forms can no longer be thought to be external to the most basic functions of the state, as they expended with the necessities of modern life

beyond the capabilities of the private capital. Then he differentiates “obligatory public services”, such as public works services, from “secondary public services”, such as the industrial investments of the state. Apart from meeting the most immediate and essential needs of the public, obligatory services are different from the secondary ones in having no goal other than public interest and therefore not operating on commercial forms. This difference is given in the article as the basic reason for the separation of the legal foundations of public works institutions and industrial state investments in Turkey. The author acknowledges that industrial state investments in fields like mining, textiles and metals also define public interest as a prior target; however their operational forms, and hence legal bodies, are closer to the commercial law. At this point the author points out to the exceptions of railroad, postal, telephone and telegraph services in the public works body, as being rather similar to the industrial services rather than the other public works segments.

According to the article cited above, the definitive fact that differentiated basic, obligatory public services, including the production of the built environment in service of the public, from secondary public services is a complete divergence from the commercial practice. Here, we can observe that statist economic principles that dominated the economic policy in Turkey in 1930s enlarged the view of public service for the Republican perspective. This renewed idea of public service, and a manifest focus on public interest was at the core of the discourse that mentally shaped the body of the Ministry of Public Works.

In a second article, public interest is again placed at the very core of the institutional character (or “ideology” as the author puts it) of the ministry²³⁸. The author basically

²³⁸ Anon. “Cumhuriyet Nafiasında Hukuk İdeolojisi” [The Ideology of Law in the Republican Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 5, October 1938, pp. 489-495.

emphasizes three points in this character; the dominance of objective and up to date science and technology, a legally well defined organizational body maintaining continuity and a careful control on every work to ensure public interest. With this character, the Republican Ministry of Public Works is placed directly on the field of action going beyond, as the author compares, the role of an inspector that its Ottoman counterpart limited itself to²³⁹. The legitimacy of the ministry’s character, according to the author, is apparent in the outcome; in the huge amount of the work accomplished so far. The statistical data presented in the article is used by the author as a proof that “the popular phrase of the past, “we will do” is replaced by “we are doing” by the ministry”²⁴⁰.

The emphasis made on the amount of the work done, evaluations that legitimize success through quantitative results and employing great virtue to the actual production itself can be observed to be the most striking trait in the whole publication life of *The Journal of Public Works*, and not only in the article cited above. The October issues every year provide endless lists, tables and graphs on the construction and other works realized in the ministry’s authority, which altogether aim to drive one single conclusion; that the ministry is *producing*. In these pages,

²³⁹ For “inspector” here, the author actually uses the term “*mümeyyiz efendi*”; ‘*mümeyyiz*’ being an Ottoman examining official mostly entrusted with correcting documents and ‘*efendi*’ as a word signifying esteem reputation is used ironically to mock the office. The author is referring here to the previous parts of his article where the Ottoman ministry is criticized for surrendering the authority on public works to foreign franchising companies that run them.

Anon. “Cumhuriyet Nafiasında Hukuk İdeolojisi” [The Ideology of Law in the Republican Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 5, October 1938, p. 491.

²⁴⁰ Anon. “Cumhuriyet Nafiasında Hukuk İdeolojisi” [The Ideology of Law in the Republican Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 5, October 1938, p. 493.

the totality of the work is homogenized and differences of scale, prestige or grandeur are overlooked in the benefit of the message of the whole. It has been argued by scholars that quantification and a dry, numerical language is common in all technical bureaucratic communication²⁴¹, however in the early Republican context and in a medium that was supposed to have public relations function (and hence a propagandist tone), the attitude seems to be deliberate rather than customary. The revolutionary quality that the Republic had claimed to introduce is not communicated in the journal in theoretical abstractions, but in the visibility of its material actions, in every structure built in every smallest part of the country (where “even human hand, set aside the hammer of technology, had not ever touched before”²⁴²). In the Republican vocabulary, “we are building” was a political assertion and *The Journal of Public Works* consistently carried out this message.

In this language, as can be foreseen, the vocabulary of architectural abstractions is totally lost. It will be remembered that, in the law of 1934 that was quoted above, the paragraph that defined basic duties of the Ministry of Public Works contained loose statements on “designating the style of buildings and structures for state offices and institutions and of Turkish architecture”²⁴³. However it is not possible to find any mentioning of a search for such an architectural style, either in the pages of *The Journal of Public Works* or in any other contemporary source related to the ministry. As will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, the ministry can be considered to have maintained an architectural quality more or less in line with the

architectural thought dominant at the time in Turkey; but it made no attempt to direct this thought in a particular direction. There are numerous statements that mention “modern” or “contemporary” architecture in relation to the production of the Office of Construction Works in the ministry’s journal, however such qualities are cited rather as logical consequences of the Republican revolution and are not elaborated architecturally in the texts. This approach was consistent with the message that emphasized the political value employed at the production itself. Modern architecture and planning, as reflected in the general attitude that can be observed in *The Journal of Public Works*, were just two of many tools that had been put to use by the collective institutional body of the ministry to provide the nation with what it had long been devoid of, and not ends in themselves.

And similarly, architects were one of the many organic parts of this collective body, and were not seen as professionals who were merely employed within and who could legitimately carry their own separate professional discourse and agenda. It will be remembered that, one of the points made in the report prepared by the architectural group to be presented in the 1st Turkish Building Congress was bringing forth the problem of authorship for the architects working at state offices. The pages of *The Journal of Public Works*, either in the lists and tables that present total production or in the very rare articles that present single buildings or projects, expose that this complaint was rooted in a just observation of the actual situation. The journal never credited architects (or engineers for that matter) individually for their production until the late 1940s. As a matter of fact, very few about the way that the architectural or engineering designs were obtained was included in the data presented in the journal about the buildings; the journal was even not always eager to single

²⁴¹ Gispén, C. W. R. “German Engineers and American Social Theory: Historical Perspectives on Professionalization”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 30, No. 3, July 1988, pp. 550-574.

²⁴² Anon. “Cumhuriyet Nafiasında Hukuk İdeolojisi” [The Ideology of Law in the Republican Public Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 5, October 1938, p. 490.

²⁴³ See p. 85.

out the projects that were designed by the ministry's own office²⁴⁴.

In the December issue of 1948, the journal would be answering the demands brought in the Building Congress of the same year and would be naming the architects of one building for the first time, but in a particular way. This building is the Court of Justice for Adana, which was completed and opened that year. It was not designed by the office in the ministry, but the design was obtained by an architectural competition won by Abidin Mortaş, Nizamettin Doğu and Feyyaz Tüzüner. In the journal, these names were still not mentioned in the text that cited the building as one to be completed that year, but in the caption for the plan drawings that illustrated the text (and again, not in the caption for the photograph of the building as completed). The way that the caption referred to the architects is very informative in having a sense of how the journal saw the architectural process; the caption said: "Adana Court of Justice, Ground/1st Floor Plan (made by architects Abidin Mortaş, Nizamettin Doğu and Feyyaz Tüzüner)"²⁴⁵. As the architectural community demanded, the journal was crediting the architects; nevertheless it was still denying them the authorship for the building. In the journal's language, they were not the creators of the building, but only the creators of architectural design/drawings.

The observations made above through a general survey of *The Journal of Public Works* form up a neat

figure on the way the process of production of the built environment was defined and experienced within the institutional body of the Ministry of Public Works. They also make clear that this definition brought a significant divergence from the self definition of the profession that the architectural community in Turkey adopted in time. Three basic assumptions can be put forth in this sense: Firstly, the production in the ministry in its totality was more substantial than the relative significance of each task undertaken. The lack of hierarchy in terms of importance in the way the ministry presented its production is ingenuously striking in this sense²⁴⁶. And similarly, each task undertaken by professional individuals was similar in value in terms of its contribution to the whole production. As a result, the architectural practice was defined in this context beyond the limited conventional idea which sees an architect as 'a person who designs buildings' and partial design tasks and other functions in realization and control were included as equal occupational roles in the practice. Secondly, the material end product was seen as the collective creation of different phases of the process that brought it into existence. The undisputed notion, which is always very common in the architectural community, that the production of architectural design constitutes the elemental stage where a building is created, was completely alien to the discourse that identified the practice in the Ministry of Public Works. And thirdly, the subject who realized the production was defined as the collective institutional body and the

²⁴⁴ There was not a standard format for tables and lists which were mostly published in October issues and which provided information about the buildings realized by the ministry. Each table could contain different types of data. Most of the data however was related to realization, such as the budget, bidding date, (planned) starting and completion dates of construction, and like. Very few table included the note on whether the building was designed by the Office of Construction Works or not.

²⁴⁵ Anon. *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* [Journal of Public Works], December, 1948, pp. 162-163.

²⁴⁶ The lists of works published in the journal are organized according to either location or time of the work. In such lists, design and construction of seminal, monumental buildings do not have more weight than relatively minor tasks such as "design and production of the garden gate for a high school" or "design and production of cupboards and desks of the accounting office of the ministry". See, for instance:

Anon. "1941 Teşrinevvel İbditasından 1942 Teşrinevveline kadar Yapılan Projeleri Gösterir Cedvel" [Table Showing Projects Made from the Beginning of October 1941 to October 1942], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi* [Journal of Public Works], Year 9, No. 5, October 1942, pp. 159-162.

individuals who took part were identified in the anonymity of their contribution, not in the specific quality of their role. Institutional identification was expected to be more decisive than professional identity. The institutional identification in the ministry was also significantly attached to the role of the state functionary. They were not merely employees of a technical institution and their production was not value-free, as their basic duty was defined in the pursuit of public interest.

III.4. Epilogue to the Chapter

In this chapter we have tracked the evolution of the political culture of the bureaucratic tradition from the Ottoman to the republican periods, which found its most basic characterization in a voluntary and dedicated engagement in the process of social transformation in a leading and directing role. The technical bureaucracy, as we saw, did not constitute an exception in this tradition. The Ministry of Public Works, with the dominant discourse that entailed its practice as it was reflected in its publications as well as its production, housed one of the most solid and manifest forms of this culture. We have observed that, in various ways the ministry had defined its institutional identity in the moulding of the political character of the traditional Ottoman/Turkish bureaucracy into an idealization of the act of production in the service of the Republic.

Politicization of the materiality of production itself instead of highlighting representational forms of the political content can be considered to be quite consistent with the role that the ministry assumed in the Republican modernization. The Ministry of Public Works fundamentally operated in the field of economic modernization; in the field of relations of production and consumption and of social organization of material aspects of life. In the Republican context, this field differed in very significant ways from the field of cultural modernization,

where competing social practices and conflicting discursive structures collided. Representational forms and abstract formulas were tools that rather characterized the political struggle in the field of cultural modernization, as can be identified in the processes of secularization and nation building. The ministry's field of operation on the other hand was one for which a social resistance or conflict was not foreseen. The major conflict in the economic field was assumed to be overcome by the abolishment of the international economic relations of the Ottoman Empire, which were summarized in the Republican term of "semi-colonial". This assumption, of course, was reflecting an ideological rather than a factual perspective, because it followed that there was no room for any sort of inner conflicts in the national economic structure of the Republic, which was based on an alleged classless society. In any case, such a perspective reasoned that political action that was required to realize the revolution in the economic field was possible only with a concentrated production to compensate the past loss; as the author of the article that was quoted above expresses, by changing "we will do" to "we are doing", transforming the intentions into actions. The difference defined for the Republican view the categorical difference between the late Ottoman "reformers" and the Republican "revolutionaries".

What is notably interesting in all these for our study here is how architecture presented visible cases of exception in this narration. At this point we can return for a brief moment to the discussion on the apparent opposition which arose within the architectural community against professional employment at the public service, which was largely discussed in the previous chapter. The survey on the professional life and experience in the Ministry of Public Works given in this chapter shows that architects of the time had every reason to feel alienated to the atmosphere in the ministry, which was clearly very much engineering dominant, both in practical and theoretical terms. The

demand brought by the architectural community for free commissioning can be seen in this sense as a quick and easy way to create more professional autonomy. However, we are now at a better position to assert with a clear conscience that the issue at hand was much wider than a mere disagreement on the form of the professional service to be provided for the state/public. The dispute in reality was between two ideological spheres; of professionalism and bureaucratic tradition, both of which did not possess the discursive tools to understand the language of the other. That is most probably why we can not find any article in *The Journal of Public Works* which openly discusses that architects are wrong in opposing public service. The bureaucracy had an old cultural tradition; but professionalism was a new invention in the Republican context. The architectural community of the early Republic, being at an early phase of settling professional boundaries, was in the process of developing a professional self definition, which at times could be aggressively defensive. Positioning the professional agenda prior to the agenda of the revolution and singling out social tasks exclusive to an abstract idea of public interest must have created disturbing reflections in their reception by the bureaucracy. On the other side, the institutional identity within the state defined employed individuals primarily in their roles as civil servants and overlooked professional distinctions. Their individual production was acknowledged only in the abstraction of its contribution to the anonymous role of the transformer/revolutionary state functionary, and this was totally in conflict with the professional identity of the architect in development.

In this context, it is not surprising to see that neither the Ministry of Public Works as an institutional body, nor the engineering community who had rather stronger ties to this institutional body both in historical and professional terms, did not participate in the public polemic initiated by the architectural community. However what may still be interesting to point out is that, architects of the ministry

were also silent, at least in public means. They did not write defensive texts in the journal of the ministry answering the criticism brought to their practice by their colleagues in the free practice. Nor they appeared in the pages of *Mimar/Arkitekt* to reinforce the journal's oppositional argument with an insider's view. Their silence may have various possible reasons, and as it usually is with cases of silence in history, there are no documents to produce verifiable assumptions on this matter. Nevertheless, one may say that one possible reason to their silence in this issue may be that, together with the rest of the ministry, they were busy producing.

Therefore, before bringing in rather conclusive remarks to our discussion, we should turn our gaze to their actual production. In the next chapter we will be completing our study on the Ministry of Public Works and some other state offices by focusing on what has been only indirectly cited so far: the production in state offices in its architectural qualities.

CHAPTER IV:

THE PRODUCTS; ARCHITECTURAL AND PLANNING WORKS

IV.1. The Production of the Ministry of Public Works

This chapter that aims to focus on the actual architectural production of the Ministry of Public Works and the products themselves should start with reminding what has been discussed in the later parts of the previous one, because it relates in a great degree to how the term “architectural production” should and is going to be understood for the case at hand. In this study, the conventional historiographical approach that emphasizes architectural designs and designer individuals as two absolute ends of the production process and that locates the

relation between two as the main axis of the narrational structure will be playing a lesser role, if not none. The collectivity of the institutional subject that prevailed over individual authorship and the totality of the production that denied the design phase any priority in the process within the Ministry as discussed in the previous chapter, would not allow such an approach.

Therefore, we will initially try to present an overview of the production as completely in its extend and content as possible and then we will provide exemplary buildings and projects. For the examples, while keeping in mind that the Ministry used various ways of obtaining architectural designs, we will be focusing on the ones that the designs were also produced within the Ministry’s office. This may sound contradictory with what has just been said about the totality of production. However first of all, it would not be quite realistic to try to include every building that the Ministry was involved in the construction of, as it sums up in a huge number. And second of all, many buildings that were constructed by the Ministry but which were designed by certain architects outside the Ministry either by commissioning or by architectural competitions are already quite well known. Some examples such as the National Assembly Building (designed by C. Holzmeister), the Mausoleum for Atatürk (designed by E. Onat) and Faculty of Letters (designed by B. Taut) were also cited in previous parts of this work. One of the fundamental goals of this research was providing the inclusion of the architectural production of the time to the literature on the period, which is not well known today because they were not connected to the well known architects of the time. Buildings that were designed by the Ministry of Public Works, which was a major actor in the production of the built environment in the early Republican era, well corresponds to a large portion of those buildings. The target here is, once again, not to single out the design process over the totality of production, but to try to understand the architectural discourse that was developed by the Ministry in the course of the way various

parts of this discourse, including design, interacted throughout the production process.

The Ministry of Public Works was assigned with providing the construction work required by many state institutions including their provincial administration and also large scale construction for the municipal administrations. The law specified that the budget that was required for the financing of this construction would be transferred from such institutions to the Ministry, but in some exceptional cases the budget could be managed by the institution that would own the building. The Ministry usually categorized its construction work according to the “client” institution that provided the financing. With respect to this categorization, the major clients that had construction demands were; the Ministry of Finance (which provided the budget for governmental palaces and higher education institutions as well as their own buildings), the Ministry of Customs and Monopolies, general directorates of the Police and Gendarme (which required not only stations and wards but also police and gendarme schools to be built), the Ministry of Health (for all kinds of healthcare buildings), the Ministry of Justice (which required prisons), the Ministry of Education (middle and high school buildings), special provincial administrations (in the authority of governors; besides their own administrative buildings they were in charge of financing primary schools), the Ministry of Economics (trade schools as well as docks and harbour buildings) and the Ministry of Agriculture (agricultural schools as well as all kinds of agricultural buildings). The Ministry of Public Works also built buildings for their own needs, such as the ones related to other public services provided by the Ministry, as well as their administrative buildings in the provinces. The statistical data provided by *The Journal of Public Works* on construction work is fragmented and random; still it is possible to make up a more or less general picture which shows that; for almost all the 1930s and the 1940s the Ministry of Finance was the biggest client, in terms of the

budgets of the construction work. As the financing of many large scale projects was from their budget, it is only natural that their share was always around 50% of the entire budget allocated with construction in the Ministry of Public Works. 10-20% in this was usually the construction of governmental palaces in the provinces and towns. The Ministry of Education usually had the second place with a share of 20-30% and it was followed by the Ministry of Health²⁴⁷.

The process for the construction of a building usually started with the demand of the related state institution that was delivered to the Ministry of Public Works with a tentative requirements program for the building²⁴⁸. Upon this the Ministry prepared the cost estimation and sent it back to the client institution for them to program their financing. After that the client institution prepared the budget, and if the building was not going to be subject to architectural competition and would be designed within the institutional frame, the finalised requirements program was given to the Ministry of Public Works. The design office in the Office of Construction Works then studied the program and the site and prepared a number of sketches for the design and decided upon one of them. Then

²⁴⁷ See: Anon. “Yapı İşleri” [Construction Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetel Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 3, No 5, October, 1936, pp. 99-109.

Anon. “Yapı İşlerinin 1940 Mali Yılı Tahsisat ve İş Durumunu Gösterir İcmal” [Table Showing Budget and Situation of Construction Works for 1940], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetel Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 7, No 5, October, 1940, [no page numbers indicated].

Anon. “Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reisliği 1948 Yılı Yapma, Kamulaştırma ve Onarma Giderlerini Gösterir Tablo” [Table Showing Construction, Confiscation and Repair for the Year 1948 for the Office of Construction and Planning Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetel Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 15, No 7, December, 1948, p. 165.

²⁴⁸ Anon. “Yapı İşleri” [Construction Works], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetel Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No 5, September 1938, pp. 437-470.

1/200 scale drawings for the projects were made and were discussed with the client institution. After certain changes and alterations that the clients could have demanded, 1/100 scale drawings were prepared, to be discussed once more with the client institutions before they were finalised. Later the Office finalised the cost estimation while the production drawings and the engineering projects for the structure, mechanical and electrical infrastructures were prepared. After the specifications for the contract were ready as well, the Ministry was prepared for the bidding process for realization. The Ministry would then be the control agent and would be in contact with the contractor firm or individual who had taken upon the construction until the building was completed and submitted. Meanwhile, further production drawings were also prepared by the Office of Construction Works as required during the construction.

Different from the process described above, there were other cases that the Ministry of Public Works was involved after the client institutions had the architectural designs prepared by other means. Even for such cases, the Office of Construction Works could be involved in the preparation of detailed production drawings. In one way or the other, the Ministry of Public Works was involved in the construction of numerous buildings every year. Various statistical data presented in *The Journal of Public Works* contains discontinuous, overlapping and even conflicting information, rendering it very hard to put it altogether to bring up a grand total. A more or less reliable figure in this sense however, is given in the book published by the Ministry for the 50th anniversary of the Republic, but that only includes major categories of buildings for educational, healthcare, administrative and agricultural purposes. Nevertheless, although these figures leave out many buildings that were not repeatedly constructed, they are informative. According to this, between the years 1923 and 1952, the Ministry of Public Works provided the realization of a total of 1154 buildings; 654 administrative buildings, 278 preliminary schools, 69 high schools, 68 hospitals, 33

buildings related to agriculture, 18 village clinics, 17 arts institutes, 13 higher education buildings, 9 sports facilities, and 3 teachers' schools (see tables 1 and 2)²⁴⁹. These tables give the numbers of constructions that the Ministry had realized in between 1923 and 1952. But it was not only new construction that was handled, the Ministry also undertook major repair for many buildings, either in terms of structural maintenance or in complete renewal for a completely new function. If such cases were added, the numbers would greatly increase; for instance for the single year of 1938, total number of constructions and major repairs completed by the Ministry was 1171²⁵⁰.

Year	EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS											
	Primary Schools		High Schools		Teachers' Schools		Arts Institutes		Higher Education		Sports Fields	
	Sum	Cost (TL)	Sum	Cost (TL)	Sum	Cost (TL)	Sum	Cost (TL)	Sum	Cost (TL)	Sum	Cost (TL)
1923 1932	5	69.14 2	5	995.50 0	—		3	184.00 0	—		--	
1933 -	37	856.5 48	31	3.642. 584	3	45.4 40	12	703.73 3	11	1.590. 513	5	139.80 8
1943 1952	23 6	10.90 0.196	33	2.383. 071	—		2	36.737	2	543.60 0	4	128.01 8
Total Sum	27 8		69		3		17		13		9	

²⁴⁹ Anon. *Bayındırlıkta 50 Yıl* [50 Years at Public Works], T. C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı, 1973. To help the figures given here to make sense, we may note that between 1923 and the 1950s 1 American Dollar changed between 1,67 TL and approximately 2,80 TL.

²⁵⁰ Anon. "Beş Sene Zarfında Yapıtılan İnşaat ve Esaslı Tamirat Adedi" [Number of Constructions and Major Repair Made in Last Five Years], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmel Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 10, No. 5-6, 1943, [no page numbers indicated].

	HEALTHCARE BUILDINGS				ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDINGS		AGRICULTURAL BUILDINGS	
Years	Hospitals		Clinics					
	Sum	Cost (TL)	Sum	Cost (TL)	Sum	Cost (TL)	Sum	Cost (TL)
1923 - 1932	2	1.615.000	1	20.000	85	8.059.814	1	50.000
1933 -	16	2.786.249	2	130.000	397	28.156.878	10	898.733
1943- 1952	50	10.572.829	15	1.969.461	164	22.865.765	22	1.581.609
Total Sum	68		18		646		33	

Numerous partial information published in *The Journal of Public Works*, as well as the example buildings dealt with in this study, also show that the construction activity was homogenously distributed throughout the country, including large and small settlements alike. Other than the new capital Ankara, only a few cities slightly came forth, which were either cities where new industrial plants were opened, an example being Kayseri or cities that were located at the connection hubs at the intersection of newly built railroads, such as Afyon.

The statistical data that the Ministry of Public Works provides in its publications focuses on construction and detailed information on the production of designs and drawings by the Office of Construction Works is rare. According to one of these tables published in *The Journal Of Public Works*, the Office has produced a total of 1335 projects until the year 1943. Among them were the architectural projects for 50 governmental palaces, 28 governors' residences, 32 hospitals, 85 school buildings, 25

agricultural buildings, 38 gendarme stations, 13 prisons and 9 trade related buildings²⁵¹. The reason that the sum of the number of buildings designed is much lesser than the great total provided becomes clear when a similar table of the year 1942 is observed; the Office was also producing production drawings, furnishing and landscape designs and infrastructure related drawings that were required for the constructions that were overseen by the Ministry. According to this information, within the year 1942 the Office of Construction Works did not only complete designs for 58 buildings, but also produced additional drawings and furnishing designs for important ongoing constructions that were designed by other architects, such as the National Assembly Building and the Faculty of Letters²⁵². The same source indicates that the Office of Construction Works was involved in meeting every kind of institutional needs; as they designed this same year "a cupboard for rolled drawings, a table for the manager with a cards drawer, file cupboards for the central accounts" for the Ministry's own building²⁵³.

This information provided for the year 1942, although unfortunately was not repeated for the other years, shows that the Ministry of Public Works was not limited with a management function for the construction even for the cases that the architectural designs were produced elsewhere, and kept a design office which was quite involved in every phase of the construction. The design practice in the office was very diverse, varied and

²⁵¹ Anon. "Yirmi Yılda Yapı ve İmar İşleri" [Construction and Planning Works in 20 Years], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 10, No. 5-6, September 1943, pp. 231-234.

²⁵² Anon. "1941 Teşrinievvel İbtidasından 1942 Teşrinievveline Kadar Yapılan Projeleri Gösterir Cetvel" [Table Showing Projects Made from the Beginning of September 1941 to September 1942], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year. 9, No. 5, 1942, pp. 159-162.

²⁵³ The building for the Ministry of Public Works was completed in 1934.

synchronic. The architects were continuously involved in every aspect of production that was described above, from the first step that the demand for the building was delivered to the Ministry, to the final step the building was submitted to the owner institution.

Before presenting examples of the production of the Ministry of Public Works, its planning activities should also be mentioned. The Ministry was one of three basic state institutions that took part in the planning of the cities in the Republican era. Basically, preparation of city and town plans was the duty of the corresponding municipality. *İller Bankası* [the Municipalities Bank] was founded in 1933 with the goal of providing financing for the municipalities, but it also assisted them in other aspects with the technical staff they employed. The Ministry's major duty in this sense was approval; however the Planning Commission within the Ministry also produced plans for the municipalities that demanded it²⁵⁴. An article in 1944 states that, among 134 towns and cities for which plans were prepared, 63 plans were directly produced by the Planning Commission in the Ministry of Public Works²⁵⁵. The following map shows the situation in 1940.

²⁵⁴ The first Department of City Planning in Turkey was established in 1961 in the Middle East Technical University. The first generation of planners that performed in the early Republican era (or “urbanists” as they called themselves), including the ones that were employed in the Ministry of Public Works were architects, mostly graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts where the curriculum included planning courses.

²⁵⁵ Anon. “Cumhuriyetin 21. Yılında Yapı ve İmar İşleri” [Construction and Planning Works in the 21st Anniversary of the Republic], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yöneltil Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 11, No. 3, October 1944, pp. 147-148.



Map 4.1. The dark circles show the towns and cities that the maps were prepared for in this year. Light circles are towns and cities for which the plans were prepared by the Ministry of Public Works, and squares show the ones that plans were commissioned to individuals.

In the following parts of this chapter, the production of the Ministry of Public Works will be presented with examples as categorized according to their functions. The main source for the pictures and the information given here, unless stated otherwise, is *The Journal of Public Works*. The list will try to be as comprehensive as possible, only leaving out buildings similar examples to which have already been mentioned. If the design or construction date is not known, the year that the building was published in the journal will be given, which should most probably not be a couple of years after the completion. For most of the buildings, there is either direct notification that the building is designed by the Office of Construction Works, or it can be reasonably asserted to be so by putting certain statistical data together. However it should be remembered that the information in the Journal can be misleading, especially regarding the authorship of designs, since the language that the Journal uses is not very clear in distinguishing production of drawings related to the construction of a building and the production of the architectural design. Nevertheless, the buildings that are presented below (except for the cases included for comparison and are stated as such) were

productions of the Ministry of Public Works, and there is no information that shows that they were designed elsewhere. And additionally, no matter where or to whom the credit for the authorship of the design should go, the buildings are significant in the sense that this research tries to approach the production of the Ministry

IV.1.1. Administrative Buildings

As a central state institution that was assigned with the function of providing the realization of the construction required by the state, the Ministry of Public Works and its Office of Construction Works were in a pivotal role in the construction of the new capital of the Republic. Beginning with the 1930s and continuing in the 1940s the Ministry oversaw important and prestigious construction that made Ankara a working capital city. Many of these buildings were designed by foreign architects working in/for Turkey and some of them were presented above in this work²⁵⁶.

In this process however, some buildings were also designed by the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry. A significant example for this is the building for the Ministry of Justice (figures 4.1-4.4), situated in the Ministries Zone, where most buildings were designed by Clemens Holzmeister²⁵⁷. The construction of this building started in the year 1937, the same year that Holzmeister won the international competition for the National Assembly building and started working on this grand project. It was completed in 1939. For the design the Office of Construction Works also consulted Bruno Taut, who was still at the Academy of Fine Arts at this date²⁵⁸. The

building was placed at the northern edge of the Ministries Zone facing the Güven Park. Its design shows every clue that the Office aimed fitting in the general architectural language that was introduced in the zone by Holzmeister. More important than the individual qualities of the building in this sense is the role that building assumes for the whole of the district. Holzmeister's drawings show that he intended to form up a highly expressive entrance gate for the zone with the building to be placed here, emphasizing the axis starting from the Park and the monument here and ending up at the National Assembly building that would be placed at the southern edge of the Ministries Zone (figure 4.5). Initially the building to form the gate was planned as the Ministry of Customs; however this ambitious project was not realised²⁵⁹.

²⁵⁶ See Chapter 2, pp. 41-53.

²⁵⁷ The other building for a ministry in the Zone that was built in the 1930s but was not designed by Holzmeister is the Ministry of State Monopolies (today Prime Ministry), neighbouring the Ministry of Justice to the south. The design was obtained by an architectural competition which was won by Sedat Hakkı Eldem.

²⁵⁸ See footnote 229 of Chapter 3.

²⁵⁹ Nicolai mentions that Holzmeister developed his design with the gate concept at a later stage, while Egli was already designing two buildings to face each other for the exact same location. With Jansen's intervention and the government's unwillingness to apply significant plan changes the project was dropped.

Nicolai, B. *Moderne und Exil: Deutschsprachige Architekten in der Türkei 1925-1955*, Berlin: Bauwesen, 1998, p. 58.



Figure 4.1

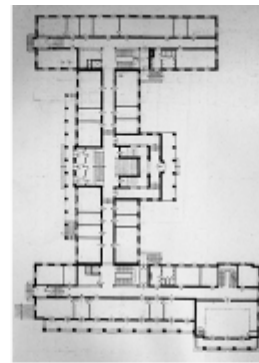


Figure 4.2



Figure 4.3



Figure 4.4

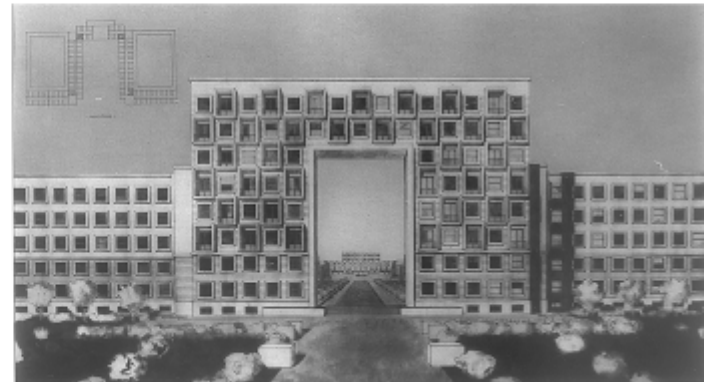
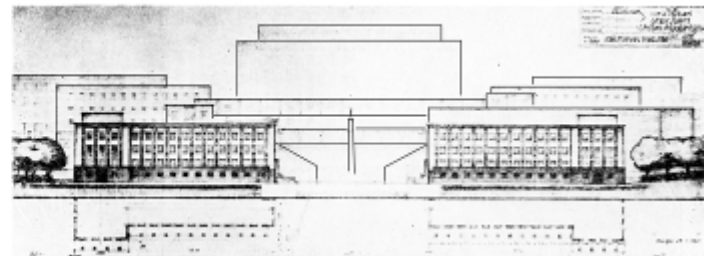


Figure 4.5 (above), Figure 4.6 (below)



Instead, the project that the Office of Construction Works prepared proposed two identical and symmetrical buildings to be placed at two sides of the northern entrance; one for the Ministry of Justice and the other for the Ministry of Education, thus conceptually preserving the idea of a gate in a rather modest way²⁶⁰ (figure 4.6). At Another building in the Ministries Zone designed by the Office of Construction Works is the building for the Waterworks Department (1940) situated at the opposite of the Ministry of Public Works (figure 4.7). In the short article published in *The Journal of Public Works* to present this building, the aim of fitting in the general architecture of the Ministries Zone is openly stated with the design's references to the building of the Public Works including the windows' size and types²⁶¹. It was also stated that the building was designed with "simple and clean outlines" and wooden and glass interior partitions were used to provide a luminous and open working space. Next to this building is the Post Office (Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Services; from now on in this text 'PTT') to serve the Ministries Zone, also designed by the Office of Construction Works (figures 4.8, 4.9). This building can be considered as a nice example showing how the Office was able to reproduce the same architectural language in a smaller scale and with a friendlier face.

One last important administrative building to be mentioned here that was designed by the Ministry's office

²⁶⁰ For various reasons including financial difficulties, the other half of this conceptual gate and the twin of the building of Ministry of Justice, namely the building for the Ministry of Education, could not be realised for a long time to come. The Ministry of Education building that stands at the location today was designed and built in the 1960s and had brought a totally new architectural language to the Ministries Zone and nullified the idea of forming an entrance gate. The building with its two high and one low blocks can be seen in Figure 32 of Chapter 2, at the close corner of the zone.

²⁶¹ Anon. "Sulama İşleri İşletme Merkez Binası" [Central Building for Waterworks Department], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 7, No. 9, February 1941, pp. 71-74.

and built in Ankara is the Directorate of State Railroads (1938-1941), which was not in the Ministries Zone, but in the district of Ulus, next to the Railroad Station (figures 4.10-4.12). This building comes forward with its expressive monumentality and sets a definitive example for the architectural approach that can be observed in many public buildings throughout the 1940s, not only for Turkey but also in the western world boldest examples of which were produced in the Nazi Germany.

While the prestigious central buildings in the capital city were mostly designed by foreign architects or were subject to architectural competitions, the design assignment that kept the Office of Construction works really busy was the public buildings in the smaller cities and towns all over the country, which were lesser in grandeur but much greater in number. In 1935, a new administrative division was organized for the Republic of Turkey, according to which the country consisted of 62 provinces (*vilayets*, or basically cities) instead of the former 33, and of 401 principal towns (*kazas*)²⁶². Most of these cities and towns, and not only the ones that were newly elevated to the statue of province but also the others, lacked proper and sufficient building stock for administrative purposes. One of the first and high priority tasks that the Office of Construction Works were assigned was meeting this demand. The map in figure 4.13 shows the 63 administrative provinces of Turkey, as well as certain administrative buildings that the Ministry had built in these cities by the year 1943. The total number of construction with this function would be 654 by 1952.

²⁶² Pallis, A. A. "The Population of Turkey in 1935", *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 91, No. 5, 1938, pp. 439-445. The number would be 63 in 1939 with the passing of the city Antakya (also known as Hatay) from Syria to Turkey.

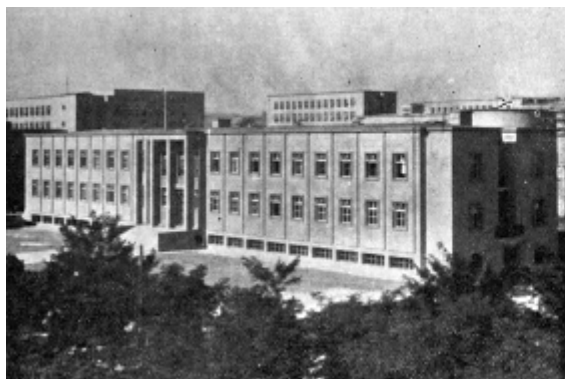


Figure 4.7

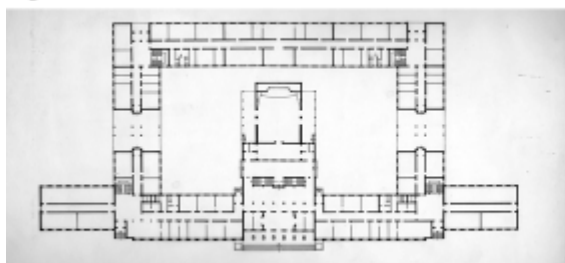


Figure 4.10



Figure 4.11

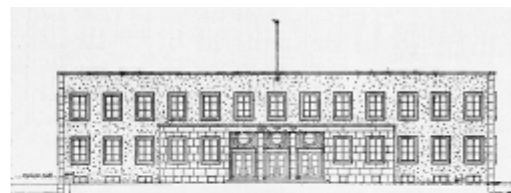


Figure 4.8



Figure 4.9

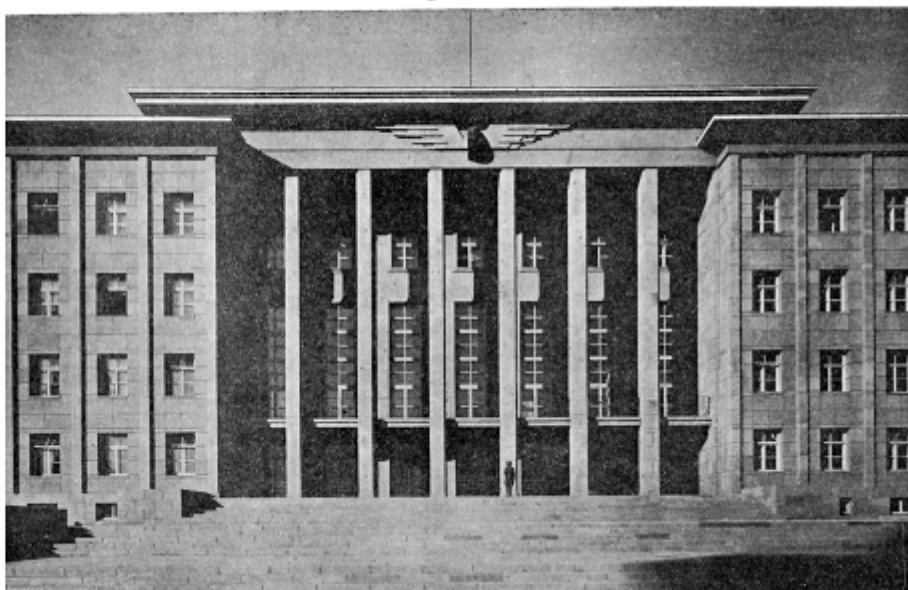


Figure 4.12

These new buildings of governmental administration that were to be built in many cities and towns throughout the country as representatives of the central state and its institutions had become the first concrete materializations of the new Republican regime for the citizens here. Therefore they were also important in their representational value besides their functional program, as they presented a new face of the state to the public and provided a new interface for the interaction of the two.



Figure 4.13. Administrative buildings that were realised by the Ministry of Public Works by 1943.

As the example buildings below illustrate, the architectural language of the designs reflected their representational importance. They mostly preserved an authoritarian expression with monumentalized entrances and classical, symmetrical plan and facade organizations, while also introducing a certain sense of modernity with the use of pure solid volumes free of ornamentation that bore no or minimized references to traditional forms, which exhibited a clear contrast both to the neoclassicism of the former Ottoman generation of designers and to the vernacular setting that these buildings were situated in. Maybe one of the best examples to illustrate this idea of

newness is an earlier governmental palace built in 1929 (before the reorganization of the Ministry of Public Works in 1934), in the coal mining town of Zonguldak on the Black Sea coast (figure 4.14. Figure 15 is showing the construction phase). This building has a very clear resemblance to the building of the Ministry of Health in Ankara designed by Theodor Jost just two years ago (figure 2.12). Similarly, the form develops in a hierarchical development of symmetrical masses emphasizing a colonnaded entrance. This classical architectural attitude on its own can hardly be evaluated as avant-garde; however when the building is observed together with the context that it was introduced into, which is either a traditional vernacular setting as it is in Zonguldak or a naked bare ness of the new districts planned on the outskirts of the old settlements as it is in Ankara and many other Anatolian towns and cities, the nature of the introduction can be better understood. The plain yet bright expression of Zonguldak's governmental palace in figure 4.14 conveys this idea. A similar example is the governmental palace designed by the Office of Construction Works for Bursa in 1935 (figures 4.18, 4.19). Here the building is built next to some earlier administrative buildings designed in the Ottoman revivalist style of the early 1920s, one of them being used as the former governmental palace (built in 1925, figure 4.17. Also see the site plan in figure 4.18). The new building hardly differs in the classical attitude of the plan, but the newness is in the facade that transfers the state architecture of Ankara to this old city, which had been a capital to the Ottoman Empire before İstanbul.



Figure 4.14



Figure 4.15



Figure 4.16



Figure 4.17

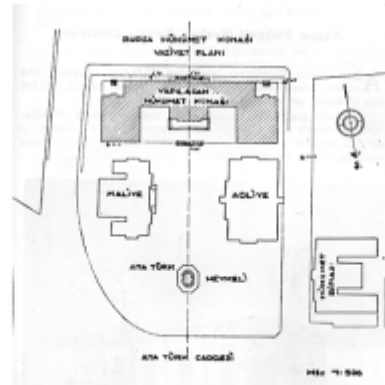


Figure 4.18

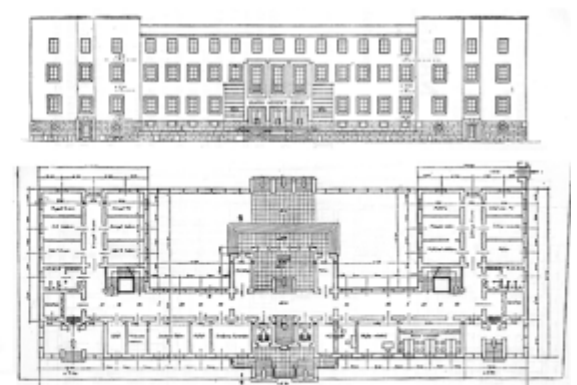


Figure 4.19

Following are some other examples of governmental palaces and buildings with similar administrative functions, built in various locations with varying scales. Not every one of them is documented as being the design of the Office of Construction Works; however buildings of central state administration were among the most basic tasks of the Ministry of Public Works and their designs were usually not commissioned to free lance architects. Differing architectural approaches among such examples may be pointing to the possibility of the design being produced by the technical commissions in provincial directorates, but even in that case projects must have been approved by the central office in Ankara.

Figure 4.16 shows the governmental palace for Isparta, built between 1937 and 1940. Balıkesir's governmental palace in figure 4.20, completed earlier in 1937, presents a rather dynamic mass organization and hence a less classicized appearance when compared to the one in Isparta²⁶³. The governmental palace in the town of Silivri in İstanbul (figure 4.21, first published in 1940) uses certain elements such as large eaves which were common features in the search of a regional/national architecture in the 1940s. The governmental palace in Kayseri (figure 4.22)

²⁶³ This is one of the buildings of which the origin of design is not clear. In a table published in the Journal of Public Works in 1938 this building, together with some others, is mentioned with a note that says "the project is approved by the Office of Construction Works", which makes one think that the design was produced outside the Ministry. However some other buildings that have the same note (such as the governor's residence in Afyon) are also published in other issues of the journal with clear statements that show that the projects were not only approved but also designed by the Office in the Ministry. Therefore the meaning of this note is not clear and can not be taken as a proof that those buildings are not Ministry's designs. See the table in: *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 5, 1938, p. 442. Also see: Anon. "Afyon-Karahisar'da Yapılacak Vali Evi" [Governor's Residence to be Built in Afyon-Karahisar], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 1, No. 10, March 1935, pp. 57-63.

is quite a typical example of the Ministry's buildings. The one in Manisa (figure 4.23) on the other hand is a small and modest example standing out with its prismatic mass. Figure 4.24 shows the town of Sarayköy in Denizli and the building (completed in 1939) is published in 1938 as being "a standard type of the Ministry of Public Works"²⁶⁴. Figure 4.25 is the municipal palace for Afyon (1937) and figure 4.28 is the courthouse for Kastamonu, which exhibit similar architectural approaches, typical for the administrative buildings designed within the Ministry.

The other two photographs of the municipal palace in Afyon in figures 4.26 and 4.27 show an important feature which was also the case for almost all other buildings presented here but which is hard to observe in their individual photographs. The governmental buildings in various towns and cities were not standing in their own but were integral parts of public zones that were composed of various other newly built public buildings mostly surrounding a square. This was a common feature in many new city plans prepared in this period. These "government squares", as they were called in many cases, set an urban stage for the representation of the Republican reconstruction in the country, as well as the new political regime. The issue will again be brought up below in the part regarding city and town plans. The example here however is a rather interesting one as the two buildings, the municipality hall and the neighbouring Girls' Institute form a cooperative whole in emphasizing the main axis that define the large public space in front of these two buildings.

²⁶⁴ The Journal of Public Works did not publish any projects designed as standard types for governmental palace buildings; however some references were made to such designs as being produced. See: Anon. "Çankaya P.T.T. Merkezi" [PTT Center for Çankaya], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 2, No. 7, December 1935, pp. 69-77.



Figure 4.20



Figure 4.21



Figure 4.22



Figure 4.23



Figure 4.24



Figure 4.25



Figure 4.26



Figure 4.27



Figure 4.28

The next set of figures show a group of buildings designed for various district branches for the Department of Finance, all in İstanbul and all built in the beginning of the 1940s. These are the Hocaapaşa, Fatih, Şişli, Kuledibi and Kadıköy branches respectively in the figures 4.29-4.33. As some of these buildings were also published in *Arkitekt*, we know that they were produced within the technical commission of the İstanbul Directorate of Public Works and architects employed in this office Faruk Çeçen (in the building for Kuledibi branch and possibly others) and Münevver Belen (in the building for the Şişli branch), were their designers. Unlike the major buildings such as the governmental palaces that defined central public squares, these buildings were spread out in different locations in the city. The effect of different locations and urban contexts can be observed in the architectural approaches of the buildings given here. The Şişli branch building (figure 4.31) when compared to others (especially in facade organization; note that the other four share a standard window type) also shows that different architects in the same office could introduce their individual architectural approaches, at least to a certain extent. Figure 4.34 shows the model for the building for the Department of Revenues in Üsküdar, İstanbul. This was not a new building but an existing building was repaired and renewed in 1943 for the use of the department. Such a practice was quite common especially in İstanbul, where the state already owned a significant building stock from the Ottoman period. Figure 4.35 in the following set shows another building for the same institute of Department of Revenues, this time in Samsun, which looks like a quite standard building of the Ministry's production (the photograph was taken in 1975).

Another group of buildings in the Ministry's field of production was the buildings that were built for the Ministry's own use in the provinces. Here, two examples will be given; the Provincial Directorate of Public Works in Afyon (figure 4.36, completed in 1938) and the Provincial Directorate of Public Works, Diyarbakır (figure 4.37,

completed in 1936). It is highly possible that these directorates produced the designs for their own buildings within their own technical commissions. Both of the buildings well reflect the general architectural approach in Turkey in the 1930s with their clean and pure expressions. Especially the building in Diyarbakır would fit perfectly among many examples of the new residential architecture produced continuously in big cities in this decade, and it is interesting to see that public buildings could at times acquire also such non-authoritative expressions. The building in the figure 4.38, which was also in Diyarbakır and was published in *The Journal of Public Works* in 1937, is especially interesting in this sense. Unfortunately the Journal does not mention the function of this building; the photograph was just published among others that show public buildings that were completed in that year. Nevertheless the design exhibits an exclusively individual and modern approach when compared to others²⁶⁵. Compare for instance, the General Inspectorate building in Elazığ (a neighboring city to Diyarbakır. Figures 4.39 and 4.40, published in 1939), a building which shares many common features with other governmental buildings designed by the Ministry of Public Works.

²⁶⁵ As in many others, there is also no reference in the journal to the designer of the building and hence there is the possibility that the design was commissioned to a free practicing architect. However one should also remind that such cases of commissioning public buildings to architects outside the public offices can mostly be observed for the buildings to be built in bigger cities such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana and etc., where there actually are free practicing architects. For Diyarbakır in the 1930s, that chance is relatively smaller.

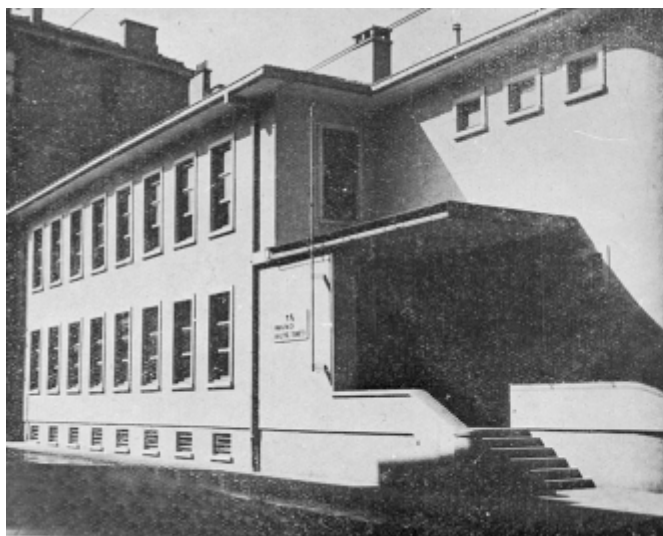


Figure 4.29

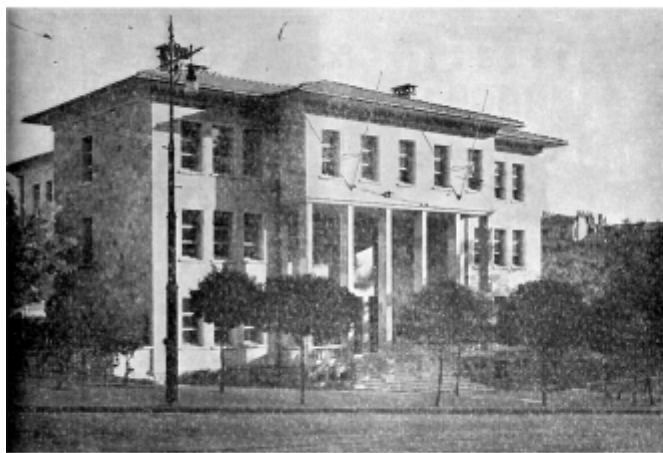


Figure 4.32



Figure 4.30

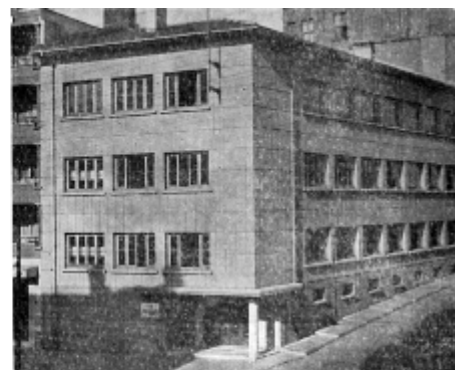


Figure 4.31

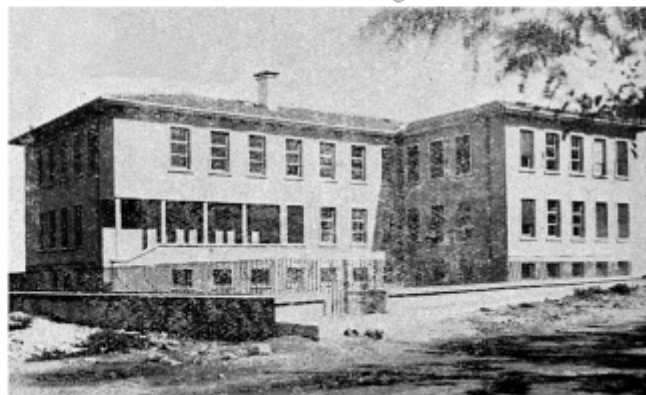


Figure 4.33



Figure 4.34



Figure 4.35



Figure 4.36



Figure 4.37



Figure 4.38



Figure 4.39



Figure 4.40

V.1.2. Educational Buildings

As it was also mentioned earlier, the Ministry of Education maintained a design office on its own, in which large scale educational buildings were designed under the supervision of foreign architects as Egli and Taut who were also in charge at the Academy of Fine Arts. The construction of those designs such as the new higher education buildings in Ankara was in the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Works. However the need for new school buildings all over the country was much wider than the office of the Ministry of Education would be able to cope with. Besides modernizing the central education institutes, the Republic had fundamentally transformed and secularized the whole basic education system. Formerly, the traditional primary education at places other than the big cities usually took place at the mosque, therefore the suitable built environment in many cities and towns had to be built from scratch. With this aim, the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry of Public Works became one of the most active agents in the design and construction of educational buildings, especially beginning with a governmental decision in this direction in 1935²⁶⁶.

The greater portion of school construction were primary schools, which were needed everywhere. Already before 1935, some primary school buildings had been designed by public offices other than the one in the Ministry of Education. For instance in 1932, a certain ‘architect Süreyya’, who appears to be a ‘provincial architect’ in Afyon²⁶⁷, had published in *Arkitekt* a primary school building he had designed in this city (figure 4.41). After

1935, numerous school buildings in varying scales started to fill the pages of *The Journal of Public Works* as being recently completed. It can be observed that from this date to the last years of the 1930s the design and expression of these buildings demonstrate a certain range of variety (figures 4.41-4.50). Later, the use of standard type projects with minor differences would become very visible. As a matter of fact, as will be seen below, the Office of Construction Works produced and used standard types for many building categories which required massive and repetitive construction, such as schools, hospitals, PTT service buildings and etc. Naturally in an office with limited means, the practice was an unavoidable solution for the task of producing a huge number of buildings with the same function, which brought advantages not only in the design process but also in construction.

Buildings in the figures 4.42 to 4.50 are some examples of primary schools for, respectively; the town of Seyhan in Adana, Mersin, the village of Bayındır in Çankırı, the town of Alaçam in Samsun, the town of Seydiköy in İzmir, the town of Maden in Elazığ, the Urla in İzmir, the town of Çine in Aydın and the town of Tavşanlı in Kütahya. The buildings in the next set from figures 4.51 to 4.60 were all published in the Journal in the first half of the 1940s, with the exception of primary school in the town of Ödemiş in İzmir which was completed in 1938. These primary schools are in Ordu (figure 4.52), Üsküdar, İstanbul (figure 4.53), Elazığ (figure 4.54), Adana (figure 4.55), Erzincan (figure 4.56), Ankara (figures 4.57 and 4.59), Bahçelievler, Ankara (figure 58) and Maltepe, Ankara (figure 4.60). It will easily be noticed that the buildings in Ödemiş and Ordu are the same type, which is also used for many other schools such as in Ağrı, Adapazarı and Samsun. Similarly, the plan shown in figure 4.57 is used in many buildings as can be seen in the figures 4.59 and 4.60. These were all primary schools with 10-12 classrooms and a multi-purpose hall which could be used both as a conference hall and a sports hall. Other than the general

²⁶⁶ Anon. “Şoseler Reisliği Binalar Fenheyetinin Teşekkülünden Beri Yaptığı İşler” [Works of the Technical Commission of Buildings since its Foundation], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 1, No. 9, February 1935, pp. 49-50.

²⁶⁷ See the database in Appendix. He was probably employed by the Provincial Directorate of Public Works.

plan and mass organizations, certain architectural elements were repeatedly used, such as the concrete lintels that combine a number of windows (figures 4.56, 4.59 and 4.60). In fact this shading facade element was first introduced in the school design in Turkey by Bruno Taut in the high school buildings he designed for Ankara and Trabzon (see figure 2.21). The architects of the Office of Construction Works sustained the use of this signature element in the buildings they designed after Taut's death²⁶⁸.

Though many school buildings were newly built, there were also cases of repairing or restoring old buildings for educational uses. Most of such buildings were late Ottoman buildings from the late 19th or early 20th century. One particular example of restoration that is found in *The Journal of Public Works* can be cited here due to the uniqueness of its architectural style. This building is in Erdek, Balıkesir; on the Marmara coast, and most probably was formerly used by the Greek minority (figure 4.61, published in 1938). It is a very rare building for a primary school in Turkey as it is styled in a strictly western neoclassicism.

Besides large number of primary schools, the Ministry also undertook construction of high schools or other higher education institutes and at times also produced designs for them, especially when certain additions or extensions were required for existing school buildings. Examples in this sense show a wider architectural variety than in primary schools. Such examples are; laboratories building for the high school in Konya (figure 4.62, published in 1938), ironworks workshop for the crafts high school in Bursa (figure 4.64, published in 1938) and the

Dormitory for the School of Naval Trade in İstanbul (figure 4.65, published in 1938). The high school building in Antalya (figure 4.66, published in 1938) and one in Bolu (figure 4.63, designed in 1944) sets a nice comparison as they well reflect their time. The former reminds some high school buildings designed by Ernst Egli for Ankara in the 1930s, while the latter is a typical example of the 1940s with the use of traditional architectural elements.

The girls' school built as an extension to the Girls' Institute building in Ankara is another example of the same architectural approach (figure 4.67). The other two examples are the Girls' Institute buildings in Afyon (figure 4.68, 1937) and Kütahya (69, published in 1943). The building in Afyon was mentioned earlier in the way it formed the public square in cooperation with the municipal palace next to it.

²⁶⁸ In the October 1945 issue of the *Journal of Public Works*, the use of this architectural element in school buildings is explained with the earthquake resistance it provides, as well as the sun control; however Taut's name is not mentioned. Anon. "Bu Yıl İçinde Yapıtılan Okul Binaları" [School Buildings Constructed This Year], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], No. 6, October 1945, pp. 137-144.



Figure 4.41

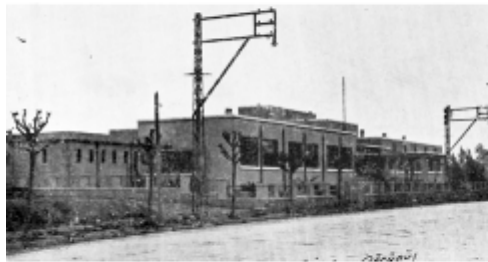


Figure 4.42



Figure 4.43

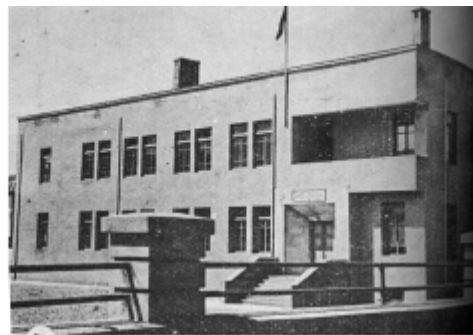


Figure 4.44

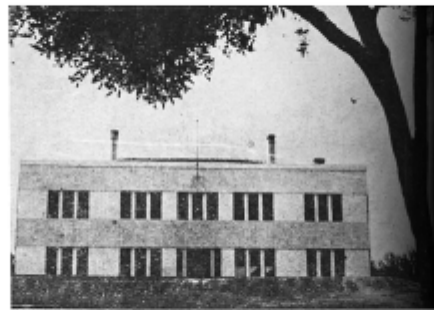


Figure 4.45



Figure 4.46



Figure 4.47



Figure 4.48



Figure 4.49



Figure 4.50



Figure 4.51



Figure 4.52



Figure 4.53



Figure 4.54



Figure 4.55



Figure 4.56

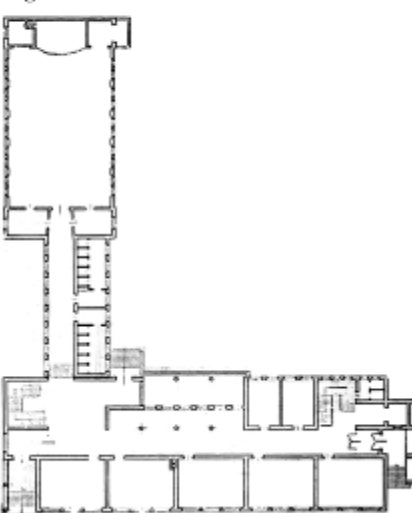


Figure 4.57



Figure 4.58



Figure 4.59



Figure 4.60



Figure 4.61

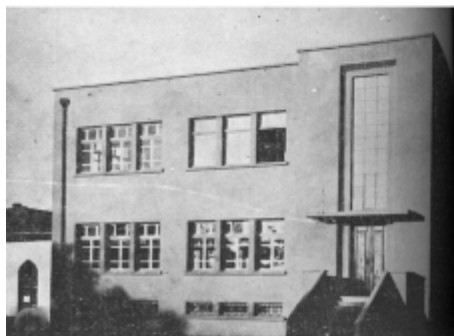


Figure 4.62



Figure 4.63



Figure 4.64



Figure 4.65



Figure 4.66

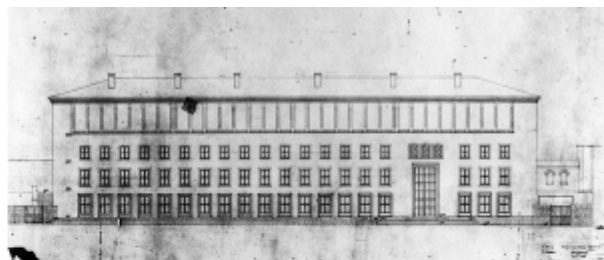


Figure 4.67



Figure 4.68



Figure 4.69

In terms of design, small and medium school buildings were the main field that the Office of Construction Works dealt with. However, there also was a single case of a large scale building for a central higher education institute that the Ministry undertook the complete architectural production for; the Faculty of Law in Ankara University. Other faculties of the same university were designed by renowned foreign architects in Turkey at that time; Faculty of Political Science was designed by Egli (figure 4.73) and Faculty of Letters by Taut (figure 2.22). The decision for a new building for the Faculty of Law that was then located in a small building in Ulus was made in 1937. At first, the idea was to organize an architectural competition for the project or to contact the designer of one of law faculty buildings in Europe, but in the end, for some reason, the job was given to the Ministry of Public Works²⁶⁹. The building was designed by Recai Akçay, with the aid of Theo Leveau, both of whom were architects employed at the Office of Construction Works (figures 4.70-4.72). It is situated just next to the Faculty of Political Science and has some loose references to this building such as the varying colours of different floors in the facade. Nonetheless, its resemblance to large scale governmental buildings such as the Ministry of Justice is much clearer and it is interesting to observe that the Office chose to use a similar architectural language for a university building.

Other than schools, supplementary buildings for public education were few and only in small scale. In Ankara an Ethnography Museum was built in 1925 (figure 2.6) and an Exhibition Hall was realised by the national Savings Fund in 1931 (figure 2.52), and both was constructed outside the Ministry's authority. A National Library was intended but could not be realised until 1970s

and Ankara's library was housed in the building designed as the community centre for the housing complex designed by Paul Bonatz in 1944 (figure 2.34). Meanwhile, small city libraries were also constructed by the Ministry in various cities (figure 4.74; library in Balıkesir and figure 4.75; library in Tokat).

²⁶⁹ Anon. "Ankara Hukuk Fakültesi Binası" [Building for the Ankara Faculty of Law], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 2, July 1938, pp. 159-163.

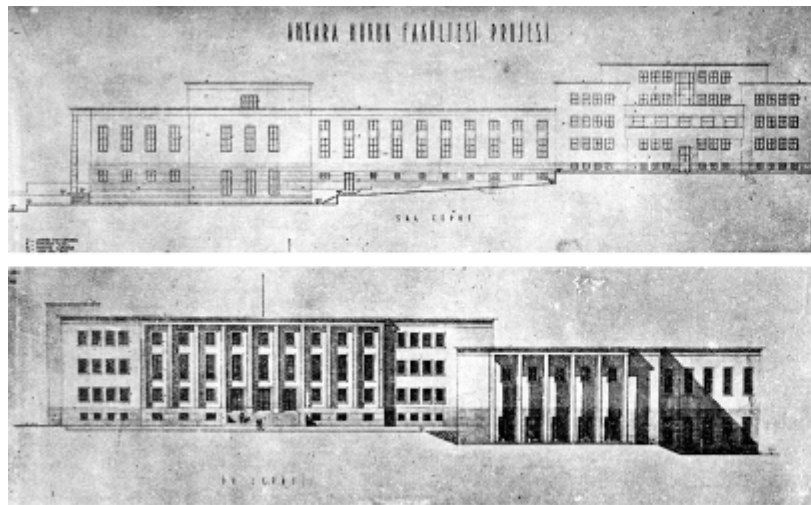


Figure 4.70

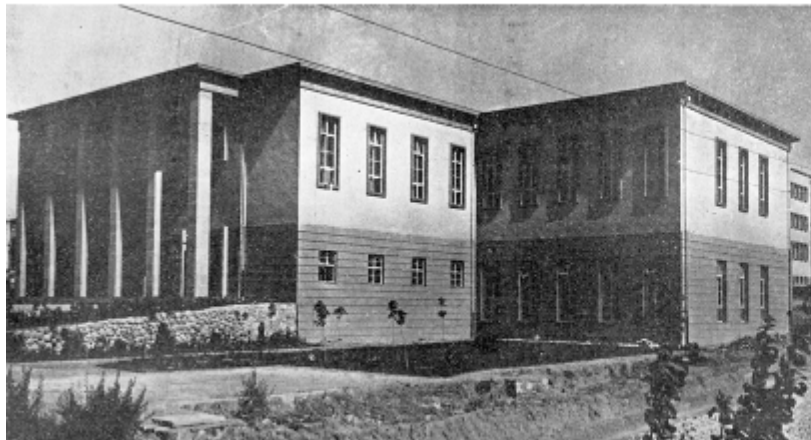


Figure 4.71

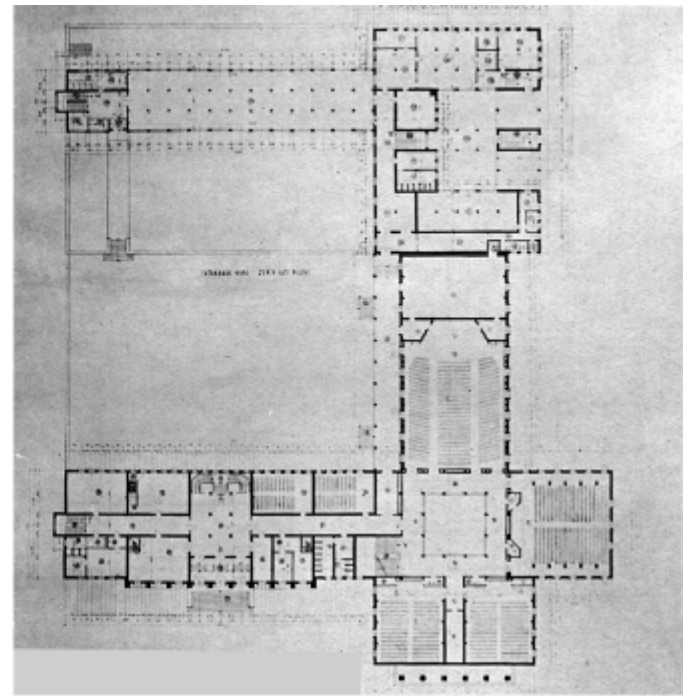


Figure 4.72



Figure 4.73

IV.1.3. Healthcare Buildings

Hospitals and other healthcare buildings constituted another field that the Office of Construction Works performed a dense production for. Very much like school buildings, this category also included standard layouts that were applied with variations, as can be exemplified in the hospital buildings for Tokat (figure 4.76, completed in 1935), Yozgat (figure 4.77, completed in 1935) and Malatya (figure 4.78, completed in 1938). Other buildings varied in style and approach and it is possible that the source of design varies, nevertheless construction in all were overseen by the Ministry of Public Works. Some hospital buildings that were realised by the Ministry and that can be found in the pages of *The Journal of Public Works* are: Bacteriology laboratory building in Pendik, İstanbul (figure 4.79, published in 1936), Manisa Hospital (figure 4.80, completed in 1937), Aydın Hospital (figure 4.81, published in 1938), Maternal Hospital in Konya (figure 4.82, completed in 1936), . Maternal Hospital in Balıkesir (figure 4.83, designed in 1937), Hospital for Students and Teachers in İstanbul (figure 4.84, completed in 1938), Çankırı Hospital (figure 4.85, published in 1938), Kütahya Hospital (figure 4.86, published in 1938), Leprosy Hospital in Elazığ (figure 4.87, published in 1939), Tuberculosis Hospital in İzmir (figure 4.88, published in 1940), and Trabzon Hospital (figure 4.89, published in 1943). There were also very large hospitals composed of various parts built in phases, such as Cerrahpaşa Hospital in İstanbul (in figure 4.90 is the surgery building)²⁷⁰ and

Bakırköy Mental Hospital also in İstanbul (figures 4.91-4.93; surgery, waiting hall, central clinic). The baths for thermal springs in Gönen, Balıkesir in figure 4.94 is an example for a supplementary healthcare building.

²⁷⁰ A clinic building for this hospital is published in *Arkitekt* in 1935 as designed by Ahmet Sabri, employed in the technical commission of the municipality of İstanbul. Therefore, there is a possibility that similar other buildings could also be designed in such municipal offices, especially in big cities. Nevertheless, realization was still the Ministry's responsibility.

Sabri, A. "Cerrahpaşa Hastanesi Hariciye Haviyonu" [External Diseases Clinic for Cerrahpaşa Hospital], *Arkitekt*, 1935, No. 9, pp. 259-260.



Figure 4.74



Figure 4.75



Figure 4.79



Figure 4.83



Figure 4.76



Figure 4.80



Figure 4.77



Figure 4.81



Figure 4.78



Figure 4.82



Figure 4.84



Figure 4.85



Figure 4.88



Figure 4.91



Figure 4.86



Figure 4.89



Figure 4.92



Figure 4.93



Figure 4.87



Figure 4.90



Figure 4.94

IV.1.4. Buildings for Communications Services

General Directorate of Mail, Telegraph and Telephone Management was one of two major offices (the other being for the management of railroads and harbours) under the authority of the Ministry of Public Works which had a separate organization of its own (see figure 3.4). The building stock they required for their services was also provided by the Office of Construction Works. This again was a category that brought in repetitive and standardized construction. In 1935, *The Journal of Public Works* published drawings for a PTT building to be constructed in Çankaya, Ankara (figure 4.95), while mentioning that the design is considered as a standard type for small scale PTT buildings to be built in Ankara and a similar version had been built in the Atatürk Forest Farm before (in 1934, figure 4.100). In the same year a series of four standard types for PTT buildings in differing scales was published (figures 4.96-4.99). The drawing for ‘type 4’ has the name ‘Architect Münevver’ on it, who must be Münevver Belen (see footnote 227 of Chapter 3), and it is highly possible that other three types were also designed by her. These are all structures with simple and pure architectural expressions planned with the service spaces on the ground floor and offices, and in the smaller types a residence for the manager on the upper floor. There also were PTT buildings designed by the Ministry not in the standard types shown here, but definitely within the Office’s style, such as the ones in Afyon (figures 4.101, 4.102, built in 1937) and in Samsun (figure 4.103, built in 1937).

Another group of buildings to function for communication services were built for the radio broadcasting, which was also operated by the state. An important building designed by the office is the one for Ankara Radio (figures 4.104, 4.105, also designed in 1937. The project for İstanbul Radio was obtained by an architectural competition in 1940s). An interesting example in this category is the radio service buildings built in

Etimesgut (figures 4.106, 4.107, published in 1944). Etimesgut was planned as one of the “ideal villages” approximately 15 km. west of Ankara and later certain industrial plants such as a sugar factory and an airplane factory were constructed here in the 1940s. The radio building was another addition to this modern town that was built almost from scratch. Other technical service buildings for the communication technologies were also built by the Ministry in various other cities, such as the PTT Radio Transmitter Building in İstanbul (figure 4.108, published in 1940).

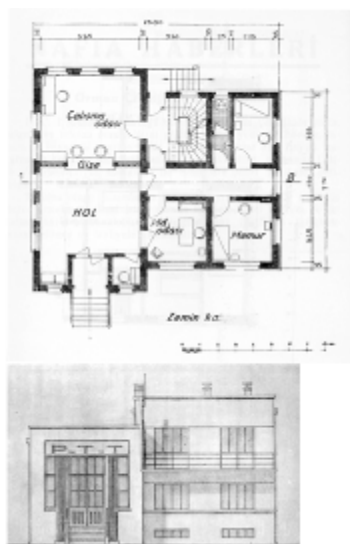


Figure 4.95

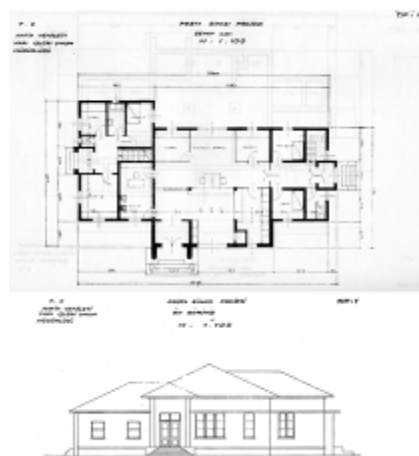


Figure 4.96

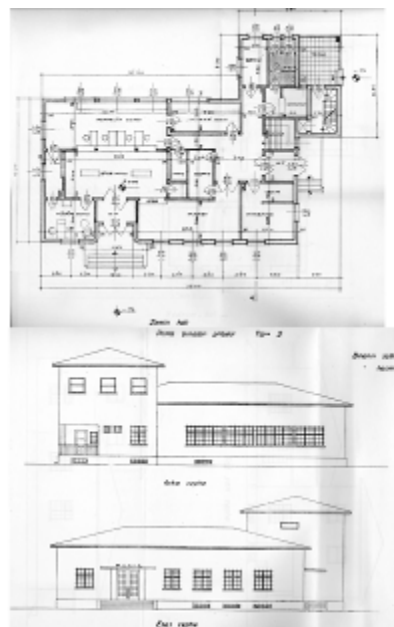


Figure 4.97

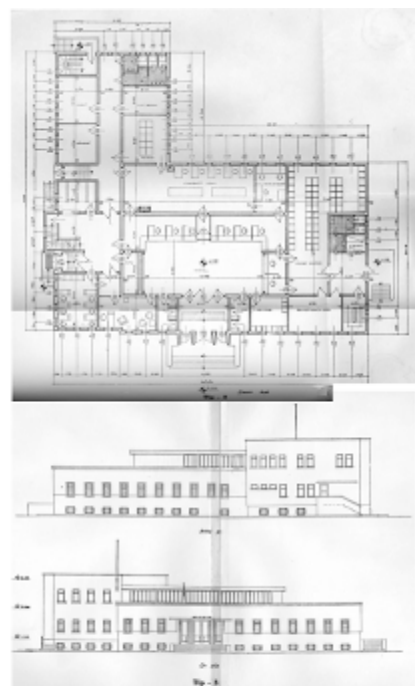


Figure 4.98

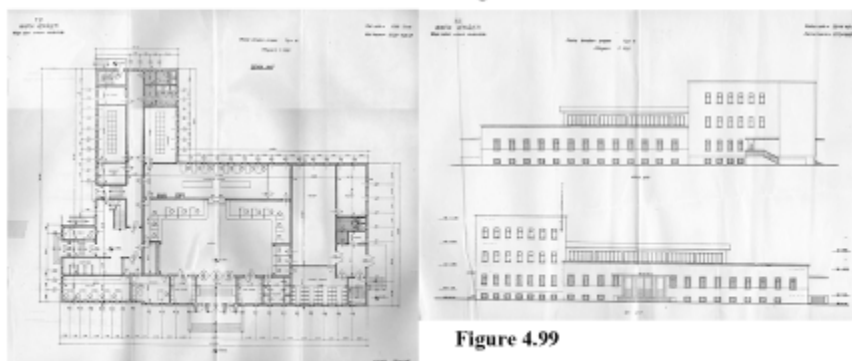


Figure 4.99



Figure 4.100



Figure 4.103



Figure 4.106



Figure 4.101



Figure 4.104



Figure 4.107



Figure 4.102



Figure 4.105



Figure 4.108

IV.1.5. Buildings for Transportation

The major group of buildings built by the Ministry in this category was for the railroads, however as explained above, there was a different office in the ministry organization related to railroad construction (see figure 3.4) which was the only other office that employed architects. As railroad buildings were in their charge, their production will be given separately below. Nevertheless, the Office of Construction Works produced other buildings for air and marine transportation. One of the quite important buildings designed by this office was for the Ankara Airport (figures 4.109-4.111, built in 1937). The Office also designed smaller passenger halls for airports in cities such as İzmir and Adana that looked like two variations of the same standard design (figure 4.114, showing Adana Airport, published in 1938). Similar buildings that can be considered in this category were the passenger hall building for the Zonguldak Port on the Black Sea coast that included storage spaces (figure 4.113; published in 1939) and customs office buildings for the Adana and Giresun ports, respectively on the Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts, (figure 4.112; published in 1938 and figure 4.115; published in 1939). The building for Adana shows a peculiar expression that does not exactly fit in the catalogue of styles that was used by the Ministry and can be seen as one of the individualistic buildings.

IV.1.6. Security Buildings

Security buildings constituted another field for construction large numbers throughout the country, and though there were also some buildings for the Police, the major portion in this category was the Gendarme Headquarters, which was fundamentally reorganized with a new law in 1930 as the major police force outside the urban

centres²⁷¹. The Ministry of Public Works designed and constructed many Gendarme Stations large and small, many of which were standard buildings. Figure 4.116 shows a typical Gendarme Station built in Elazığ (published in 1937). Another earlier example built in the Atatürk Forest Farm in 1934 (figures 4.117, 4.118) is a rather unique design that was praised in *The Journal of Public Works* as “small and elegant”²⁷². Another group of buildings that can be considered in the same category are the new prison buildings built for the Ministry of Justice. The example here in figure 4.119 is the prison building for the town of Bartın in Zonguldak (published in 1940).

²⁷¹ See the official web page of Gendarme Headquarters: <http://www.jandarma.tsk.tr/ing/start.htm> [07.11.2009]

It was stated above that the Ministry of Defense was the one exceptional state institution construction works of which were not assigned to the Ministry of Public Works (See p. 86 in Chapter 3). The Gendarme Headquarters however was mainly related to the Ministry of Interior Affairs, although training and supply of its personnel was under the authority of the General Staff.

²⁷² Anon. “Orman Çiftliği Jandarma Karakol Binası” [Gendarme Station Building in the Forest Farm], *T.C. Nafia Vekaleti Nafia İşleri Mecmuası İdari Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 1, No. 7, December 1934, pp. 54-59.

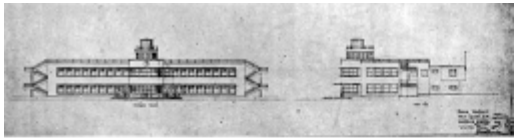


Figure 4.109



Figure 4.110

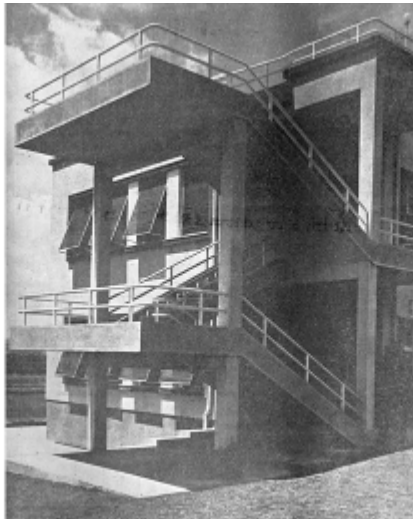


Figure 4.111



Figure 4.117

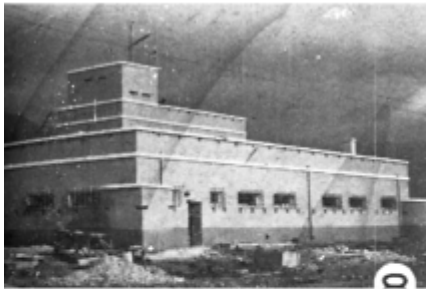


Figure 4.112



Figure 4.113

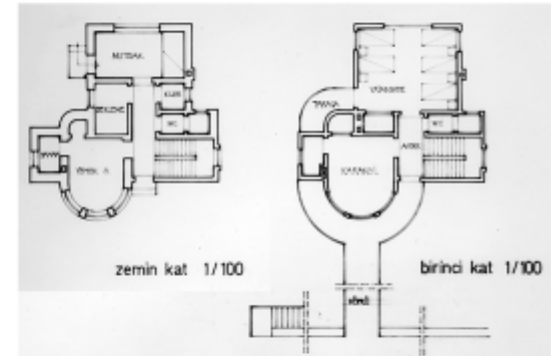


Figure 4.118



Figure 4.114



Figure 4.115



Figure 4.116



Figure 4.119

IV.1.7. Buildings for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

In the construction portfolio of the Ministry of Public Works, various structures built for the Ministry of Agriculture comprise a group of buildings with highly specialized functions. Among them, most impressive ones are a number of grain silos built for various locations. Three of such examples, all built in the late 1930s are to be found in Polatlı, Ankara (figure 4.120), in Afyon (figure 4.121) and in Atatürk Forest Farm in Ankara (figure 4.122)²⁷³. The silo in the Atatürk Forest Farm especially comes forth with its impressive scale. Smaller structures for agricultural purposes built by the Ministry include examples such as the Seed Improvement Center in Yeşilköy, İstanbul (figure 4.123, published in 1936), Cutton Seed Production Farm in Nazilli, Aydın (figure 4.126, published in 1938), a standard storehouse project for grain (figure 4.128), and Grain Market in Balıkesir (figure 4.129, built in 1938). Example buildings given here for functions related to animal husbandry are: stables in İnanlı, Tekirdağ (figure 4.124, completed in 1937), stud farms in Karacabey, Bursa (figure 4.125, published in 1936) and in Tokat (figure 4.127, published in 1936), slaughterhouses in Tokat (figure 4.130, published in 1936), in Sivas (figure 4.131, published in 1938), and in Niğde (figure 4.132, published in 1938). From the figures 4.133 to 4.137 are plans and elevations for three

²⁷³ As special buildings that require technical specifications, these structures were not necessarily designed by the Office of Construction Works. An earlier group of silos in 1933 were commissioned to the German Miag and French Clavier Froment companies. See: Aslanoğlu, İ. *Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Mimarlığı* [Early Republican Period Architecture] Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği, 1980, p. 279.

There is no documented information on the origin of the designs for later group of silos from 1937, nevertheless they are important structures in the field of construction for agriculture, in which the Ministry of Public Works was quite active, and therefore they are included in this work here.

types of standard slaughterhouses designed by the Office of Construction Works to be built in various locations.

Here, as it was also the case in other categories, it is interesting to observe quite different approaches for buildings of similar functions. Examples in figures 4.124 and 4.125 appear as samples of a notably typical approach that the Ministry exhibited elsewhere, with a symmetrical organization and a central and elevated entrance. On the other hand some other buildings and especially the ones in Tokat (figures 4.127 and 4.130) come forth with signs of an individual design attitude as they present a well proportioned composition of prismatic volumes and minimal yet expressive facade features²⁷⁴.

²⁷⁴ These two buildings may be pointing to a certain individual architect's decisive production in the Provincial Directorate of Public Works in Tokat, but unfortunately our database of collected documents on individuals in Appendix does not include any names from this city.



Figure 4.120



Figure 4.121



Figure 4.124



Figure 4.125



Figure 4.122

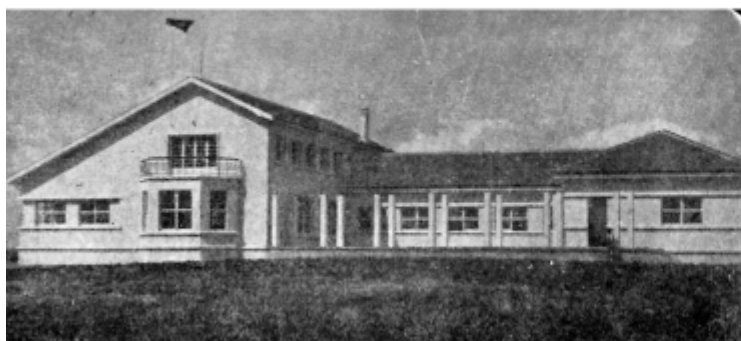


Figure 4.123



Figure 4.126



Figure 4.127



Figure 4.128



Figure 4.129



Figure 4.130

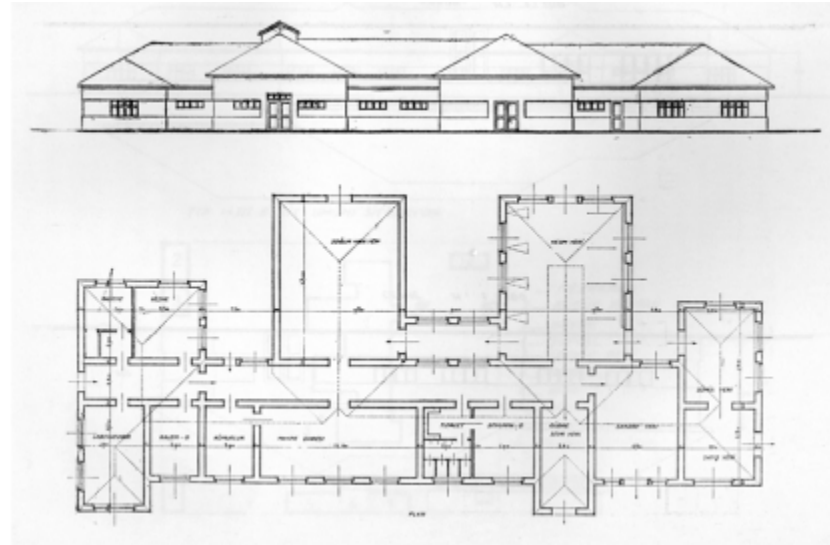


Figure 4.134



Figure 4.131



Figure 4.132

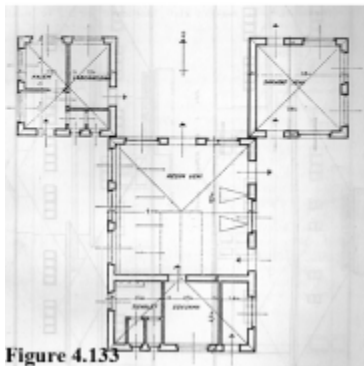


Figure 4.133

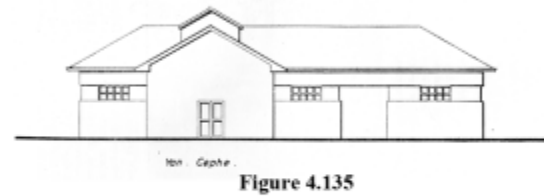


Figure 4.135



Figure 4.136

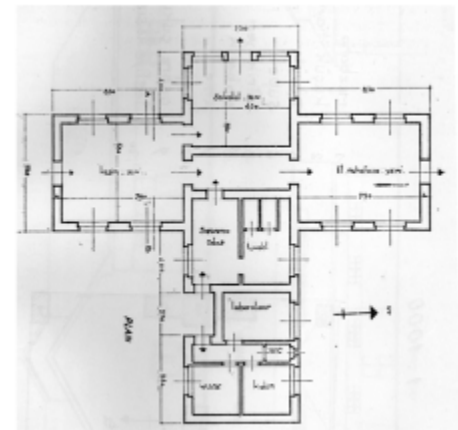


Figure 4.137

IV.1.8. Buildings for the Republican People's Party

It would not be too wrong to state that in the single party regime until 1950 when it ended, the ruling Republican People's Party (RPP) was practically associated with the state itself. Therefore it would not be surprising to find out that the Ministry of Public Works also undertook construction of certain buildings that actually belonged to the party. The party also employed architects as consultants and commissioned projects to free practicing architects as well, still the Office of Construction Works also designed for them, besides overseeing the realization. This was especially so in the case of buildings for Peoples' Houses.

People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) were social institutions designed as cultural and intellectual centres to function in cities and towns to spread Republican ideals and modern cultural forms in the society at large. Smaller versions were founded for the villages and were called People's Rooms²⁷⁵. In 1951 when they were closed under the Democrat Party rule, there existed nearly 500 People's Houses all over the country. Their buildings basically included a multi-purpose hall for theatrical or musical performance or conferences (which constituted the first for most of the smaller cities and towns), classrooms, a sports hall and a library. The buildings were almost always

²⁷⁵ People's Houses were in fact continuation of the institution 'Turkish Heart' founded in 1914 in the era of the Community of Union and Progress with a very similar function, which was reactivated after the War of Independence in 1924. In 1931, RPP decided to take over the organization and expanded its activities with a Republican emphasis. Fundamentally, People's Houses can be compared to contemporary organizations in Europe, such as Italy or the Soviet Union. See: Zürcher, E. J. *Turkey, a Modern History*, London – New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007, pp 180-181. Lewis, B. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 382-383.

For a comprehensive study on People's Houses buildings see: Yeşilkaya, N. G. *Halkevleri: İdeoloji ve Mimarlık* [People's Houses: Ideology and Architecture], İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999.

situated at central locations, sometimes grouped with governmental palaces and other important administrative buildings in defining the so called 'government squares'. In the bigger cities RPP commissioned well known architects, as it was the case for the Adana People's House designed by Seyfi Arkan in 1939, or architectural competitions could be held, as it was for the Zonguldak People's House (won by Abidin Mortaş in 1938), Kadıköy People's House (won by Rükneddin Güney in 1938) and Bursa People's House (won by Münevver Belen and Abidin Mortaş in 1938). Other than such cases, the Office of Construction Works was again one of the basic sources for the designs of People's Houses.

The People's Houses examples given here are; figure 4.138: Sındırgı in Balıkesir (published in 1938), figure 4.139: Kars (built in 1938), figure 4.140: Çankırı (built in 1939), figure 4.141: Antakya (published in 1943), figure 4.142: İskenderun (published in 1940), figure 4.143: Mersin (designed by Ertuğrul Menteşe²⁷⁶, published in 1945), figure 4.144: Bursa (designed by Münevver Belen in 1938²⁷⁷), figure 4.145: Eskişehir (designed by İzzet Baysal, published in 1938), figure 4.146: Köyceğiz in Muğla (published in 1938), figure 4.147: Multi-purpose hall as an extension for the existing Eminönü People's House in İstanbul (designed by A. Sabri in 1936²⁷⁸), figures 4.148 and 4.149: Gerede (designed by Münevver Belen and Leman Tomsu in 1936²⁷⁹), figure 4.150: Karamürsel in Kocaeli (by Münevver Belen and Leman Tomsu published

²⁷⁶ Ertuğrul Menteşe was an architect who was sent to Europe by the Ministry of Public Works to have his architectural education and was employed by the Ministry on his return in 1938. See Appenix 1.

²⁷⁷ The design was obtained with an architectural competition and the entries by Münevver Belen, who was an architect of the Office of Construction Works and by Abidin Mortaş were awarded the first prize. Belen's design was realised.

²⁷⁸ A. Sabri was an architect employed at the Municipality of İstanbul.

²⁷⁹ They were both employed by the Ministry of Public Works.

in 1936), figure 4.151: Kayseri (by Münevver Belen and Leman Tomsu published in 1937).

Among them, Sındırgı People's House is a very nice example to observe the idea of using architectural articulation to bring up a very strong presence for a medium sized building in this really small west Anatolian town. Other larger People's Houses designs including the one in Kars and Arkan's Adana made use of towers for the same effect. In this sense designs by Belen and Tomsu can be considered to be differing from the others as they emphasize functional organization of the use of inside and outside spaces rather than the urban expression of the building²⁸⁰.

One can also find in the pages of *The Journal of Public Works* buildings with similar cultural functions but that are not related to the People's Houses. One example is a cinema building designed by the Office of Construction Works and built in Manisa (figure 4.152, published in 1939).

Another group of buildings for the Republican People's Party that were constructed and some of them probably designed by the Ministry of Public Works were the Party's headquarters buildings in various cities and towns, such as: Balıkesir RPP building (figure 4.153, published in 1938), Yalova (figure 4.154, designed by Sedat İbrahim in 1934²⁸¹), Antalya (figure 4.155, published in

1938) and Manisa (figure 4.156, published in 1939). Judging from its appearance, it is possible that the building in Antalya was an existing building restored for this function. The other three party headquarters are similar in the way they utilize forms and attitudes such as round corners and flat roofs to bring a modern look to these small/medium scale buildings. It is interesting to compare these buildings to public buildings such as governmental palaces in representational terms. While mostly an authoritative face was used for state's representation even for small cities and towns such as Manisa and Yalova, the single party that ruled the state was represented with friendlier and modern buildings.

²⁸⁰ This evaluation is based on the short articles that the architects published in *Arkitekt*, where they also put the same emphasis in their words that describe the designs, as well as the general impression that the drawings here convey. See:

Tomsu, L. and Belen, M. "Gerde Halkevi Projesi" [Gerde People's House Project], *Arkitekt*, no. 12, 1936, pp. 330-332.

Tomsu, L. and Belen, M. "Karamürsel Halkevi Projesi" [Karamürsel People's House Project], *Arkitekt*, no. 7, 1936, pp. 142-144.

Tomsu, L. and Belen, M. "Kayseri Halkevi Binası Projesi" [Kayseri People's House Building Project], *Arkitekt*, no. 4, 1937, pp. 107-109.

²⁸¹ Our database in Appendix contains one Sedat İbrahim who was employed by the Ministry of Education in 1933. It is possible that at this early year the Party used any design office for its construction purposes.



Figure 4.138



Figure 4.141



Figure 4.144



Figure 4.139



Figure 4.142



Figure 4.145



Figure 4.140



Figure 4.143



Figure 4.146

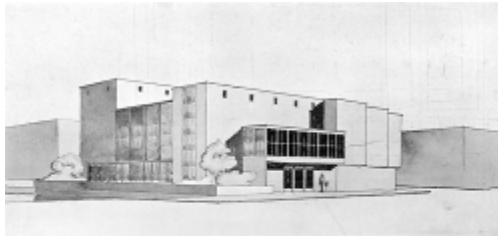


Figure 4.147

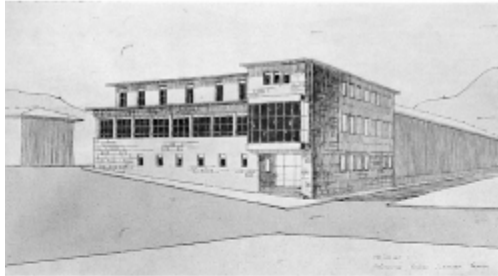


Figure 4.148

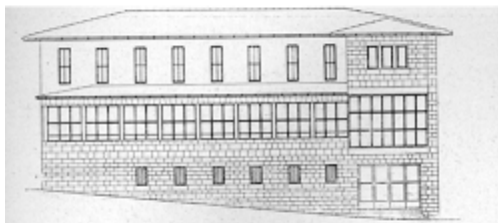


Figure 4.149



Figure 4.150



Figure 4.151



Figure 4.152



Figure 4.154

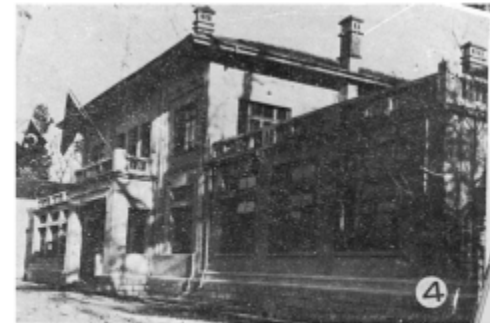


Figure 4.155



Figure 4.153



Figure 4.156

IV.1.9. Residences and Housing for the Civil Servants

The Ministry of Public Works played a significant role in many fields of the modern construction program from administrative to educational and industrial to healthcare, however housing was one field that was relatively less productive. In fact, this was parallel to the construction program of the state in general. Unlike contemporary European modernist construction, providing housing for the masses was not one of the primary fields of action for the state in the early Republican period. In the 1930s, the Ministry limited its residential production to the residences that were designed and built for the highest level state functionaries in the provinces, i.e. for the governors.

Still, these governor residence designs are interesting in the way they successfully reproduced for the official use the common idea of a ‘modern villa’ in the country that was shared by the architectural community of the time and their upper class clients. The following examples of governor’s residences built for Samsun (figure 4.157, published in 1936), Bolu (figure 4.158, completed in 1936), Afyon (figures 4.160, 4.161, completed in 1937), Kayseri (figure 4.162, published in 1939) are all similar examples with their pure expressions. Another residence for a high rank military officer in Diyarbakır (figures 4.163, published in 1938) stands in the same way. One can also come upon other rather curious examples, such as the governor’s residence for Mersin (figure 4.159, completed in 1936). Here certain features of traditional vernacular architecture such as large eaves, continuous terrace/balconies, and upper floor projections (*cumbas*) are used, which all could make this building a typical example of the mid/late 1940s, the time such uses would become very popular, if this example was not as early as 1936. For governor residences in smaller towns, the Office of Construction Works produced standard designs.

Examples of housing built in the 1930s by the ministry for the common civil servants are quite rare. One

example that can be found in *The Journal of Public Works* is for the civil servants of the Tuberculosis Hospital in the Heybeliada Island near İstanbul (figure 4.164, published in 1936)²⁸². A similar example is the small dwellings built for civil servants in Seyhan, Adana (figure 4.165, published in 1938). Later in the 1940s, providing larger scale housing projects for civil servants especially in the eastern provinces would become a rather more common practice²⁸³. One particular event that can be considered to have hastened the beginning of this practice was the earthquake in Erzincan that took place in December 1939 and killed more than 30.000 people. After the disaster almost a complete new settlement had to be built for the city, the old centre of which was completely destroyed. Besides many public buildings, the Ministry of Public Works contributed to this reconstruction with housings for the civil servants of the city, built in this new town to the north of the old settlement (figure 4.166, published in 1943). The disaster also resulted in a new and widespread sensitivity for earthquake resistant design, which can be observed in many texts in *The Journal of Public Works*, as well as some specific designs such as the standard housing types with wooden structures for the earthquake regions (figure 4.172, published in 1944).

²⁸² It can be proposed that Heybeliada was one of the extreme cases where the existing residential building stock was far from providing the dwelling demand brought in to the island by the employees of institutions newly found here.

²⁸³ It was also in the 1940s that large scale workers’ housings that were built by the state started to appear, however these were not related to the Ministry of Public Works and will be mentioned below.



Figure 4.157



Figure 4.160



Figure 4.158

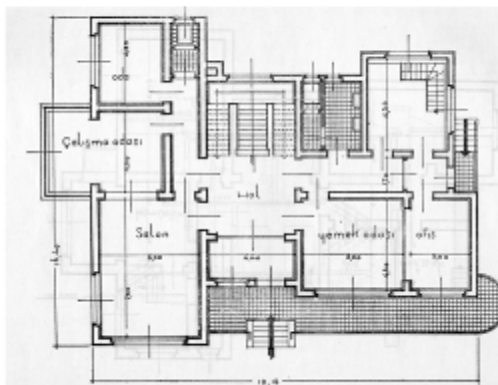


Figure 4.162



Figure 4.159

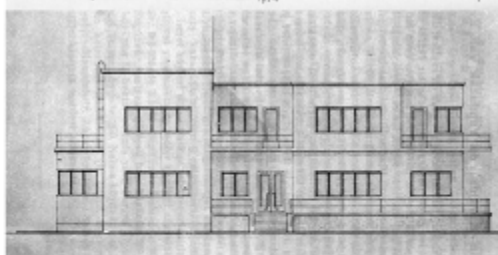


Figure 4.161



Figure 4.163

Some other examples of housing design for the use of civil servants were to be found in Adana (figures 4.167-4.169, built in 1947²⁸⁴), Diyarbakır (figure 4.170, published in 1946) and Kayseri (figure 4.171, published 1946). The site plan for the Adana project show dominant wind directions which expose a climatic consideration for this very hot and humid region. As a matter of fact, it is known that such considerations were taken seriously in the standard type projects designed by the ministry, where different types were produced for hot/cold and arid/humid regions²⁸⁵.

IV.1.10. Parks

Parks with large green areas and public recreational spaces were significant components of the Republican reconstruction of the cities and were seen necessary for new, modern and healthy urban areas. The realization of new parks was again in the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Works. The most well-known of such parks, which was a model for many others and a symbol rich in meanings associated with the Republican modernization was the Youth Park in Ankara (figures 4.173-4.181). The Youth Park was designed in the Office of Construction Works in 1936 by the French architect Theo Leveau, who was employed here. The park was located on the outskirts of the

old town (the drawing in figure 4.174 depicts the old citadel on the hill in the distance) on an important area that holds the axis connecting the railroad station to the old city centre on one side and the axis connecting the old and new city centres on the other. It constituted the end point of a very large zone that was as well reserved for sports and recreational green in Jansen's plan for Ankara. The design included a large pool of 45.000 square meters with an island on the southern end and a café/restaurant on it (plan and elevation of the restaurant in figure 4.180), a beach on the eastern end of the pool and an amphitheatre to the northwest²⁸⁶. The Exhibition Hall that was built a couple of years ago was within the park's site, on its southeast corner (depicted at the bottom in figure 4.177). The construction lasted for three years from 1938 to 1941. Approximately 750.000 Liras were spent and almost one third of this was for the pool and related infrastructure²⁸⁷ (figures 4.178-4.179 show the construction phase). Figure 4.181 shows the park in the 1980s.

²⁸⁴ These were designed by Nihal Sanlı who was employed at the time in the technical commission of Adana Municipality (See Appendix) and were published in *Arkitekt*. So the design was actually undertaken by the Municipality and not the Office at the Ministry. The housing was also considered for the use of technicians and master workers as well.

Sanlı, N. "Adana Memur, Teknisyen ve Ustabaşı Evleri" [Housing for Civil Servants, Technicians and Master Workers in Adana], *Arkitekt*, no. 8, 1947, pp. 201-203, 214.

²⁸⁵ See for instance various standard types designed for governor residences to be built in small towns in:

T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 9, No. 5, 1942, pp. 68-71.

²⁸⁶ Anon. "Gençlik Parkı" [The Youth Park], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 1, June 1938, pp. 101-102.

²⁸⁷ For comparison; the Ministry of Justice (figure 1) cost around 650.000 Liras and the Faculty of Law (figure 70) around 850.000 Liras.

See the table in: *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 10, No. 5-6, 1943, (no page numbers were indicated).



Figure 4.164



Figure 4.165



Figure 4.166



Figure 4.167



Figure 4.168

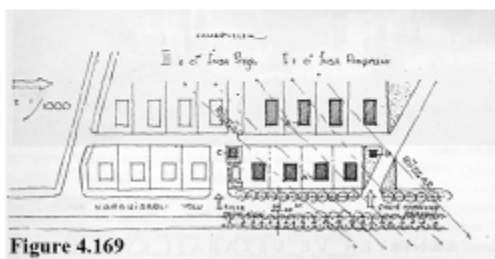


Figure 4.169



Figure 4.170



Figure 4.171

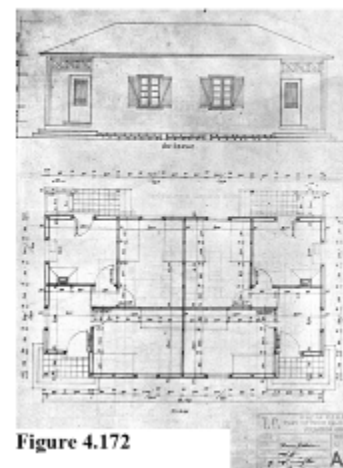


Figure 4.172

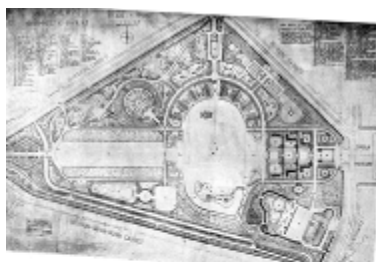


Figure 4.173



Figure 4.174



Figure 4.175



Figure 4.176



Figure 4.177



Figure 4.178



Figure 4.179

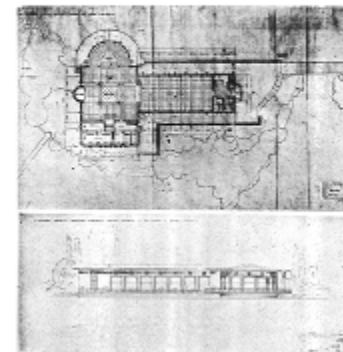


Figure 4.180



Figure 4.181

The contemporary media, including *The Journal of Public Works* as well as daily newspapers, accentuated the water element in the park as they referred to the “longing for the water in the people of Ankara”²⁸⁸ and defined the park as an oasis on the midst of the steppes of the inland Anatolia. After the park was completed, the sailing and rowing boats that were depicted in the drawings in figures 4.175 and 4.176 actually became lively parts of the everyday life in the capital city and occasional sailing and swimming contests were held.

In fact, the Youth Park was not the only recreational place designed to let the citizens of Ankara get in contact with water. The Çubuk dam in the town of Çubuk 38 km. north of the capital provided another opportunity and the Office of Construction Works realised another park here (figures 4.182-4.185). The park, as well as the café/restaurant/dancing hall here which is very similar to the one in the Youth Park, was again designed by Theo Leveau in 1937²⁸⁹.

According to the model of the capital city, many other cities had new parks integrated in their new planning. Here, four examples that were also designed by the Office of Construction Works are shown. The park in Balıkesir was incorporated into sports facilities consisting of a football stadium, a tennis ground and an open swimming pool (figure 4.186). Figures 4.188 and 4.189 show the café/restaurant and the main entrance gate for the park in Balıkesir. The one for the town of Gelibolu in Çanakkale was designed to connect the governmental palace on a hill top and the seaside in a urban whole and included beaches and a small dock (figure 4.187). The park for Çanakkale

was designed to surround the ‘governmental square’ and the public buildings and to make them part of a larger and greener open space (figure 4.190). Bursa’s park on the other hand was on a steep hill and a historic site and therefore was limited with its spatial options, and was designed in a linear way as a pleasant walking track (figure 4.191).

²⁸⁸ Anon. “Gençlik Parkı” [The Youth Park], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 5, No. 1, June 1938, p. 101.

²⁸⁹ It is a great pity and shame that this very elegant building is unoccupied for years now and is left to die.

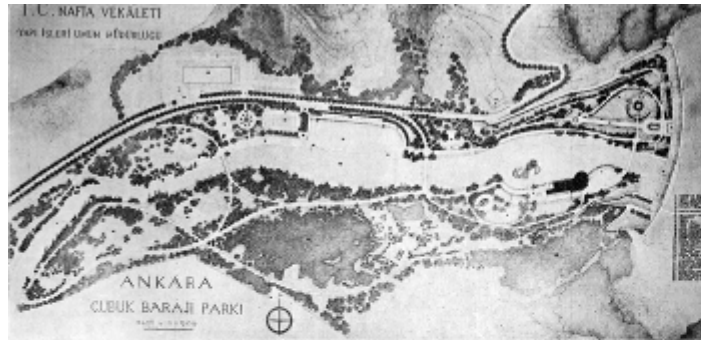


Figure 4.182

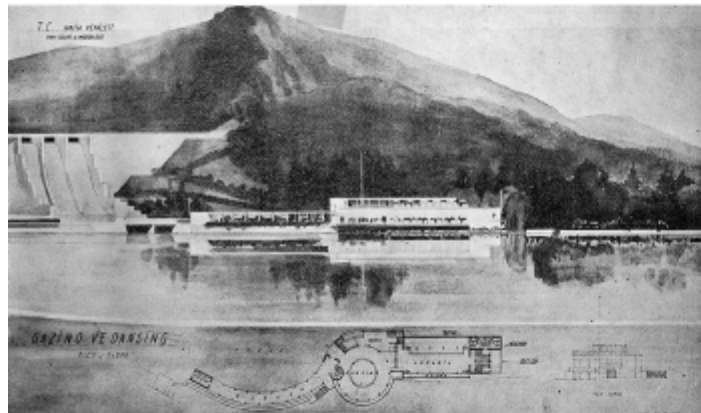


Figure 4.183



Figure 4.184

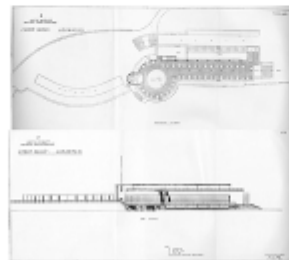


Figure 4.185

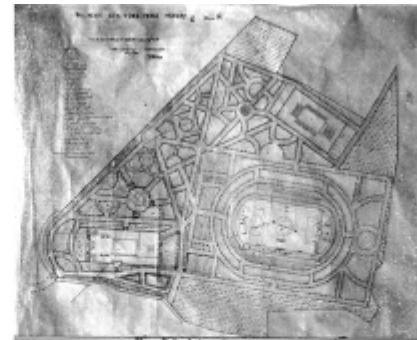


Figure 4.186

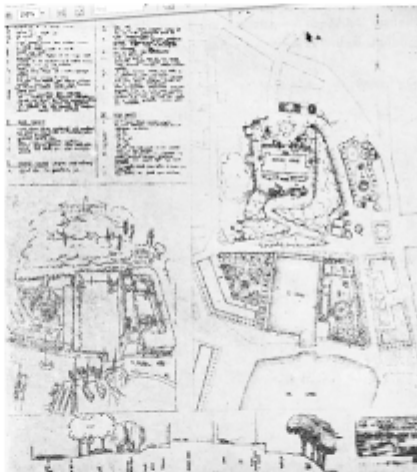


Figure 4.187



Figure 4.188



Figure 4.189



Figure 4.190



Figure 4.191

IV.1.11. The Office of Railroad Construction

The Office of Railroad Construction was the second office in the Ministry of Public Works that was involved in architectural production. They produced numerous railroad stations along the new rail lines that the same office built. The most significant of the buildings in this group was the new railroad station for Ankara (figure 4.192, also see figure 2.42). This complex including the station building, the café/restaurant next to it, the public square and the park was designed in 1937 by Şekip Akalın, who was employed in the Office of Railroad Construction. Until this date the city was using the small station building that was built in the 1890s and the need to replace this inconvenient building, which was the first thing that the newcomers to the new capital of the Republic saw, with a new, modern and bigger one was very urgent. The reason why the design for such a prestigious project was not produced by some other more “proper” means that would suit its public significance (such as organizing an architectural competition or commissioning a well known and prominent architect, just like it had been for other prestigious buildings of Ankara) is one of the mysteries of the architectural history of the Republican Turkey. Whatever the narrative was, the job was given to Şekip Akalın, who was a young graduate of the School of Engineering at the Technical University and who had not designed a single building before. With this task, he was sent to Europe to study some large scale railroad station buildings before producing his designs. The result is one of the iconographic buildings of the early Republican era that is generally praised by architectural historians today and one of the most well known designs that were produced in the Ministry of Public Works²⁹⁰. Later Şekip Akalın designed some other

²⁹⁰ The fact that the building was just assigned to a civil servant designer in the Ministry was also a debate topic within the free practicing architectural community of the time. See page 65 in Chapter 2.

buildings for the office of State Railroads, which were transferred to the Ministry of transportation in 1939, such as standard designs for small scale railroad stations (figure 4.193, designed in 1942)²⁹¹.

The other railroad stations built by the Ministry of Public Works mostly repeat a similar pattern, and they also resemble some older station buildings built before the Republic by French or German companies. The examples here are the stations for; Erzurum (figure 4.194, published in 1943), Elazığ (Figure 4.195, published in 1943), Sivas (figure 4.196, published in 1939), Burdur (figure 4.197, published in 1938), Diyarbakır (figure 4.198, published in 1943) and Afyon (figure 4.199, published in 1939). It can be observed that Burdur and Elazığ, and Diyarbakır and Sivas are exact copies. The Afyon Station on the other hand stands out as a rather individual design.

²⁹¹ All offices related to railroads, harbors and airports were transferred to the Ministry of Transportation that was founded in 1939, however the tables published in the Journal of Public Works as well as photographs of completed constructions show that considerable portion of the construction for the Ministry of Transportation was still done by the Ministry of Public Works, just like the construction for other ministries. The legend of the project in figure 193 shows that it was designed in a “Office of Roads and Buildings” in the Ministry of Transportation, however the realization may still have been done by the Ministry of Public Works.

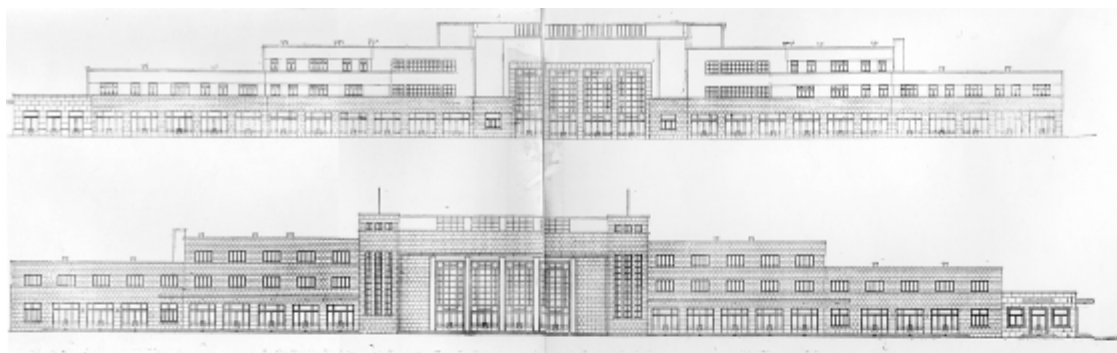


Figure 4.192



Figure 4.197



Figure 4.193



Figure 4.195



Figure 4.198



Figure 4.194



Figure 4.196



Figure 4.199

The Journal of Public Works also published other projects that are related to railroads. One such large scale project was the industrial complex in Sivas for the repair and maintenance of the locomotives and railroad cars (figures 4.200, 4.201, published in 1937). From the projects and the article published at the Journal, it is understood that the design and realization was in the control of the Office of Railroads, when it was still under the authority of the Ministry of Public Works²⁹².

Other projects that were published by *The Journal of Public Works*, but for which it is hard to say to what extend the Ministry of Public Works was involved, are some housing projects built for the employees of the State Railroads. Examples here are those for Erzincan (figure 4.202, published in 1939) and for Çatalağzı in Zonguldak (figure 4.203, published in 1936). As low-rise and detached units, these housing projects are similar to other housing designed for civil servants that were given here above, but for that matter, they are also similar to any housing projects designed in Turkey in the 1930s and 1940s (i.e. for housing cooperatives or individuals). Although rather rare, similar housing projects were also designed for the other office that passed from the Ministry of Public Works to the Ministry of Transportation in 1939, namely the General Directorate of State Harbours Management. A housing for civil servants that was designed by the technical commission of the Directorate in İskenderun in 1941, for instance, can be found in the pages of *Arkitekt*²⁹³ (figures 4.204, 4.205).

²⁹² Anon. "Sivas Atelyesinin Teftişi" [The Inspection of the Sivas Factory], *T.C. Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi Yönetmelik Kısım* [Journal of Public Works, Administrative Part], Year 4, No. 2, July 1937, pp. 118-120.

²⁹³ Anon. "DLIUM Memur Evleri Projesi" [Civil Servants' Housing Project for General Directorate of State Harbours Management], *Arkitekt*, No. 3, 1941, p. 249.

IV.1.12. Industrial Buildings

The industrial investments made in the statist economy period until the 1950s usually had a semi-autonomous institutional body and their construction activities were free from the authority of the Ministry of Public Works. International consultancy or direct foreign cooperation could be the case, as it was observed in the case of large factories for Sümerbank in the textile field (where some major factories were designed and built with USSR cooperation; see figures 2.41 and 2.42). Such industrial institutions, including Sümerbank, also housed strong technical commissions for architectural production. One major task for such architectural offices was designing and building housing complexes for the workers of these industrial enterprises. One can compare the scale and scope of such housing complexes with the civil servants' housing projects built by the Ministry of Public Works. Here are some examples that were designed and built by the technical commission of Sümerbank in the early 1940s: in Ereğli (figure 4.206), Hereke (figure 4.208) and Kayseri (figure 209), and a housing for the paper factory in İzmit (figure 4.207).

Construction for industry was not basically a field of action for the Ministry of Public Works; still, one can encounter certain public services related industrial projects in *The Journal of Public Works* that the Ministry must have been involved in. Two important examples of such are the City Gas Factory (figure 4.210, built in 1929) and the Water Filtration Plant (figures 4.212, 4.213, built in 1936), both for Ankara. The extent and shape of the involvement of the Ministry in the construction of these complexes can not be analysed due the poor information provided by its journal. However it is known that the design of the Water Filtration Plant was prepared by the German Hochtief Company and by another factory for the Gas Factory.

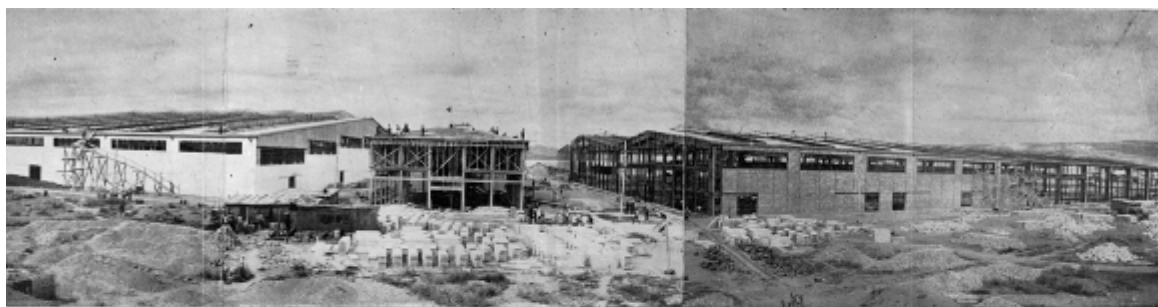


Figure 4.200



Figure 4.204

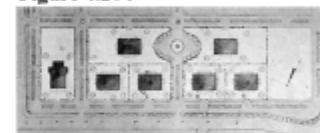


Figure 4.205



Figure 4.201



Figure 4.206



Figure 4.202



Figure 4.207



Figure 4.208



Figure 4.203



Figure 4.209



Figure 4.210



Figure 4.212

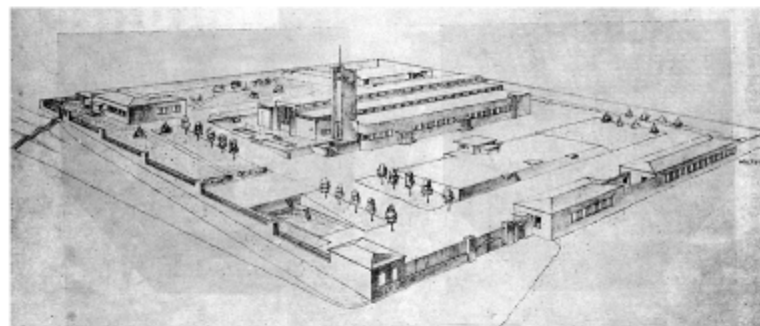


Figure 4.213



Figure 4.211



Figure 4.214



Figure 4.215

Anyway, these facilities were owned and run within the Ministry's authority and the Ministry was the client for the projects. So they should be included in our study. There were also some much smaller electric power plants that were built in various locations, for which the possibility of the Ministry's direct involvement in the construction is much higher. Examples are: in Havran, Balıkesir (figure 4.211, published in 1936), in Konya (figure 4.214, published in 1935) and in Develi, Kayseri (figure 4.215, published in 1936).

IV.1.13. Town and City Plans

The Planning Commission in the Ministry of Public Works was an office as busy and productive as the Office of Construction Works. As also mentioned above, they produced many city plans themselves, as well as the control and approval work they did for the plans that were commissioned to free practicing individuals by the municipalities. Examples show that such plans are more or less typical in the major ideas and guidelines that define the planning activity in the early Republican period in the general sense. In this general sense, the plans that were made can be classified in two basic groups; planning of the enlarging and extension of the existing settlements and planning of almost completely new settlements. In the first group, which was also larger, a basic motive that can be repeatedly observed is the way older parts and planned development could be separated. Such plans did not propose radical transformations in the existing built environment apart from some moderations aiming at rehabilitation, and the new ideas on urbanism and planning were saved for the new parts or districts. The early model for such an approach was the plan of Ankara made by Jansen in 1929 (figure 2.16).

The changes executed in the old parts were not very radical in terms of the urban form; nevertheless that does not mean that change itself was insignificant. What was

done on the drawing board was basically cancelling *cul-de-sacs*, which was a frequent figure in traditional Anatolian towns and integrating them in a network, which usually ended up in a sort of distorted grid plan which was reminiscent of the older structures. As moderate the interference in the urban structure may seem it was in fact a bold planning reflection of the Republican ideals for social transformation. The transformation that was aimed at was from a structure formed on rather close *cemaats* (traditional religious/cultural societal groups) to a homogenized social form that abandons traditional identifications for the sake of national ones. The homogenization brought by the new urban form in this sense was also directly related to the new propriety relations installed by legal reforms of the first decade of the Republic, which radically changed the legal definition for the citizens' relations to each other and to the state. The planned development was added to the existing parts to form an urban whole. Their grid structures were quite identifiable when compared to the old parts and they also included new urban components that function within (and also symbolise) the Republican modernization program, such as public squares with governmental buildings that were also mentioned above, parks and other recreational areas and hubs for new transportation networks.

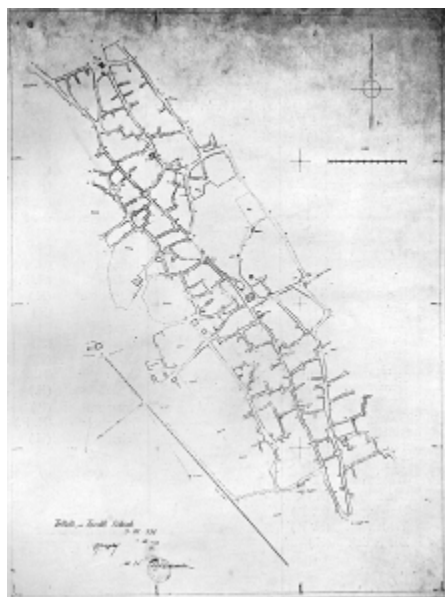


Figure 4.216



Figure 4.217

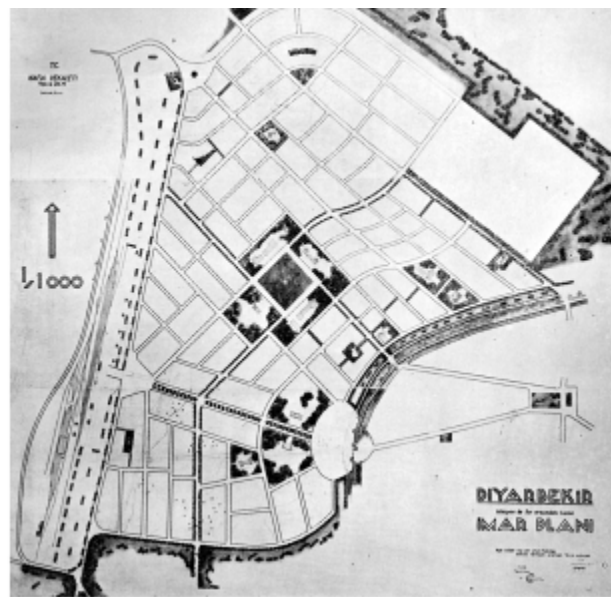


Figure 4.218



Figure 4.19

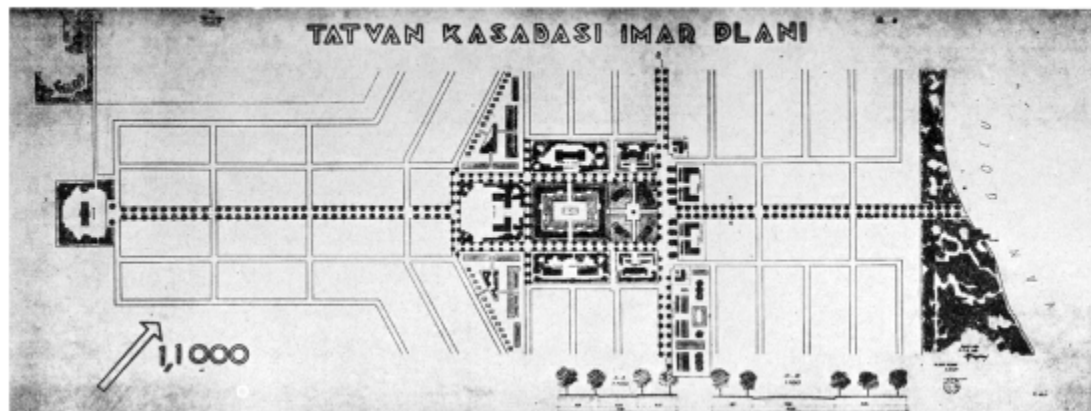


Figure 4.220

All that was mentioned above is very recognizable in the plan for Ankara, where the northeast quarter of the plan constitutes the old town and areas to be newly developed surround it on three sides. The pattern is also quite obvious for the plans that the Planning Commission in the Ministry of Public Works prepared. In the plan for the small town of Burhaniye in Balıkesir for instance, one can observe that throughout the main axis that runs through the town from southeast to northwest, a loose grid is formed by opening some *cul-de-sacs* to meet other streets and cancelling some others (figure 4.216 shows the map of existing situation in 1936 and figure 4.217 is the plan prepared the same year). Then the planners added the new developments to wrap the town around the western half, which comes out with its rather geometrical grid plan when compared to the old part. The public square and other public areas are situated in the middle of the new part, on the end of the axis that was formed to connect the old and new parts. The Diyarbakır plan made in the same year is very similar, however here only the new development area is shown (figure 4.218). What is particularly important for this city is the historic city walls that surround the old part and that had been recently restored in this year. Here the walls are shown on the southeastern edges of the plan, which brought a green belt that runs parallel to the walls for their preservation and better public experience. The plan also proposed a boulevard to connect the railroad station on the west with the old city centre within the walls that would pass through one of the historic gates and form a large public square here.

As was mentioned above, a second group of plans was for completely new settlements. Such were for new industrial areas or points on new transportation networks. The town of Tatvan as a new naval port on the coast of Van Lake in eastern Turkey is such a case (figures 4.219, 4.220, made by the Planning Commission in 1937). In this example the absence of an existing settlement results in the strict grid pattern. The expression of the public zone here is

also interesting as it becomes quite axial and symmetrical. The plan for Erzincan after the earthquake in 1939 can also be considered within this group as a completely new settlement (figure 4.224, 1940). A very similar example is the town of Yeni Erbaa (*New Erbaa*) in Tokat, which had to be rebuilt after a second earthquake in the same region following the one in Erzincan in 1942 (figure 4.227, 1944).

To compare with the plans prepared by the Ministry and to show that they did not differ much in basic principles, an example of a plan made by a free practicing architect/planner Şakir Kılıç and approved by the ministry can be given; the town of Uşak in Kütahya (figure 4.221, 1937). Some other examples for towns and cities planned by the Commission in the Ministry are: the town of Bolvadin in Afyon (figure 4.222, 1938), Mecitözü in Çorum (figure 4.223, 1940), Alaca in Çorum (Figure 4.225, 1940), and a partial plan for the railroad station district in Sivas (figure 4.226, 1943). With these additional examples it becomes clear that plans that the Ministry prepared also shared certain other aspects with the general dominant ideas in the planning practice in the country at the time, such as the design of low-rise and low-density neighbourhoods and provision of green belts, which have mostly been associated by the scholars of the planning history in Turkey with the Garden City principles that were introduced in Turkey by western planners such as Jansen²⁹⁴.

²⁹⁴ See for example; Tankut, G. *Bir Başkentin İmarı, Ankara (1929-1939)* [Planning of a Capital, Ankara 1929-1939], Ankara: ODTÜ Yay. 1990.



Figure 4.221

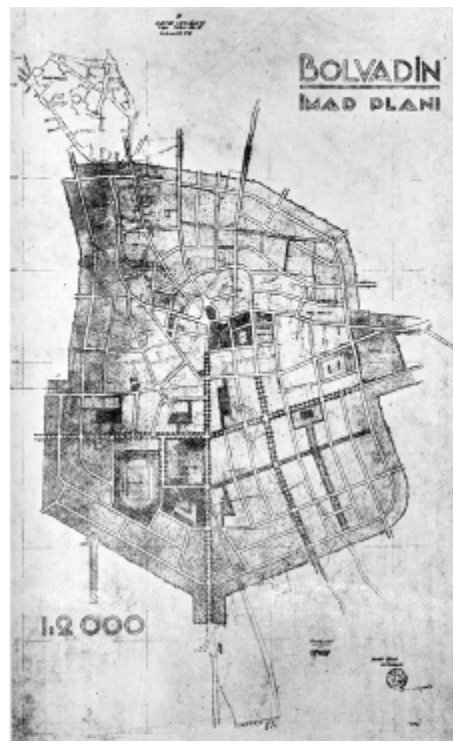


Figure 4.222

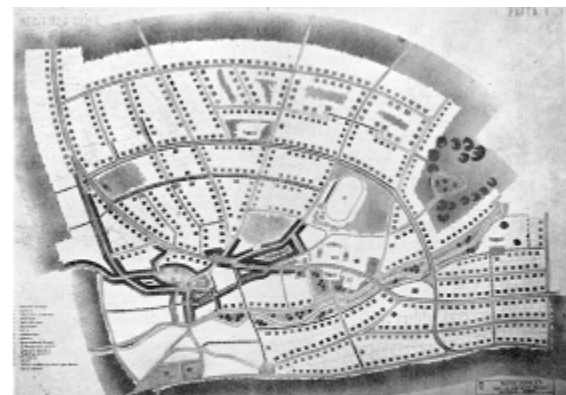


Figure 4.223



Figure 4.224



Figure 4.225



Figure 4.226



Figure 4.227

IV.2. Other State Offices of Architectural Production

No matter how competent and productive it could be, the Ministry of Public Works could not cover all the design and construction needed for all state institutions, at a period of dense construction realised by the state. Naturally, many other state institutions included technical commissions in their institutional bodies and employed engineers and architects. Though such offices were not as busy or continuous in their production as the Office of Construction Works, there is a considerable amount of buildings designed and built by civil servant architects. Although the major case of study in this research is the production of the Ministry of Public Works, examples from other offices should also be presented here for comparison.

IV.2.1. Municipalities

Municipalities, and especially the ones in larger cities, constitute an important group of state institutions that perform architectural production. Their production is surely much larger than the few examples that will be presented here, however bringing out a bigger figure would require a specific and separate research in individual archives and also would go much beyond the scope of this research, which is also the case for other institutions that will be given in this part below. At this level we should limit ourselves to certain examples that were published during the time of their production.

Such an example is the small and modest museum building for the İstanbul Fire Brigade, designed by the Architectural Branch of the Technical Commission of İstanbul Municipality in 1933 in Fatih, İstanbul (figures 4.228 and 4.229). The design was published by one H. Adil, an architect of the Commission, in *Mimar*²⁹⁵. The short

²⁹⁵ Adil, H. “İtfaiye Müzesi Paviyonu” [Pavillion for the Fire Brigade Museum], *Mimar*, 1933, n. 1, pp. 5-7.

article in the Journal stresses the extremely low budget that the building was realised with. A much larger and remarkable building that was designed by the same office in the İstanbul Municipality was a market hall building for fruits and vegetables built on the coast of the Golden Horn in 1935 (figures 4.230-4.232). This was in fact no ordinary market place, but was the central district market hall where fruit and vegetable were sold to the grocery owners, and hence was a very important service building for the city. The director of the Technical Commission in this date was the architect Servet Cemal. The design stands out with its modern and stylized appearance²⁹⁶. The building was also published in *Arkitekt* after its completion and the article underlines the special effort that the construction required in such a soft ground²⁹⁷. An interesting aspect in the article in *Arkitekt* is that unlike the previous article about the museum building designed by the same office, the words ‘architectural branch’ in the name of the office had disappeared now, leaving the credit for the designer only as “the Technical Commission of the Municipality”. This may mean that the office wanted to credit also the engineering counterpart for this large scale reinforced concrete building.

Another building designed within the İstanbul Municipality is the Café/Restaurant building to be owned by the municipality that was built in Taksim in 1939 (Figures 4.233, 4.234). The designer is the architect Rükneddin Güney, who was in charge of the Planning Commission in the İstanbul Municipality. The interior

²⁹⁶ Erkal discusses that the cross plan scheme contrasts with the modernity of the facades, also adding that such a plan is also not unsuitable for the historic site that the building is located in.

Erkal, N. “Odunkapanı’ndan Sebze ve Meyve Hali’ne: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi’nde İstanbul Keresteciler Rıhtımı’nın Mekânsal Dönüşümü” [From Odunkapanı to the Market Hall: The Spatial Transformation of the Lumbers’ Dock in İstanbul in the Early Republican Period] in: Ergut, E. A. İmamoğlu, B. (eds.) Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 2010.

²⁹⁷ Anon. “İstanbul Sebze ve Meyve” [İstanbul Market Hall for Fruit and Vegetables], *Arkitekt*, No. 7-8, 1935, pp. 191-198.

design was by Marie Louis Sue, who was teaching in the Department of the Art of Ornamentation in the Academy of Fine Arts²⁹⁸. This building, which was situated in the park looking over the centre of the old Levantine part of the city, also had a modern look with its elegant columns and slabs. The way the journal *Arkitekt* credited this building again differed; this time the design was credited to the architect in name, with the additional information that he was a director at the Municipality.

The Municipality of İzmir also undertook significant architectural production with one particular reason; the city housed Turkey's biggest international trade fair since 1927, which was realised under the Municipality's responsibility. The fair moved to its current location in 1936 in the Culture Park that was founded in the large place destroyed by the big fire in 1922 (figure 4.235). From that date on, the location became the site for some of the finest modern constructions in the country. Figure 4.236 shows one of the gates for the fair built in 1938 and figure 4.237 is another designed by Ferruh Örel in 1939, who was an architect of the Technical Commission of the Office of Fair and Tourism in the Municipality of İzmir²⁹⁹. Same architect also designed an exhibition hall for the site in the same year, together with Cahit Çeçen, an engineer at the same commission (figure 4.238). These buildings are profound examples within the contemporary international architectural currents. The article that Örel and Çeçen wrote in *Arkitekt* to present fair's new buildings in 1939 shows that they were quite aware of the importance of the fair as a site for experiencing daring design ideas and new construction techniques for everyone involved in the

construction field, including workers and master workers, as well as the designers³⁰⁰.

As one goes through the pages of *Arkitekt*, it can be seen that one other field that civil servant architects in municipalities in various cities numerous produced was construction of sports fields. One example is the City Stadium built in 1932 in Adana and designed by the architect Abdullah Ziya, who was the director of the Technical Commission of the municipality in this city (figure 4.239). Similar examples are a stadium in Yozgat (figure 241, 1943) and Horse Sports Club in İzmir (figure 4.240, 1940) designed by Halit Femir who was employed by the Municipality.

²⁹⁸ Anon. "Taksim Belediye Gazinosu" [Taksim Municipality Café/Restaurant], *Arkitekt*, No. 7-8, 1943, pp. 145-150. Also see the official website of Mimar Sinan University: <http://www.msgsu.edu.tr/msu/pages/450.aspx> [01.12.2009]

²⁹⁹ He would become director of the same office in 1941. See Appendix.

³⁰⁰ Örel, F. and Çeçen, C. "1939 İzmir Beynelmilel Fuarı" [1939 International Fair of İzmir], *Arkitekt*, No. 9-10, 1939, pp. 198-200.



Figure 4.228



Figure 4.231



Figure 4.229



Figure 4.232



Figure 4.233



Figure 4.230

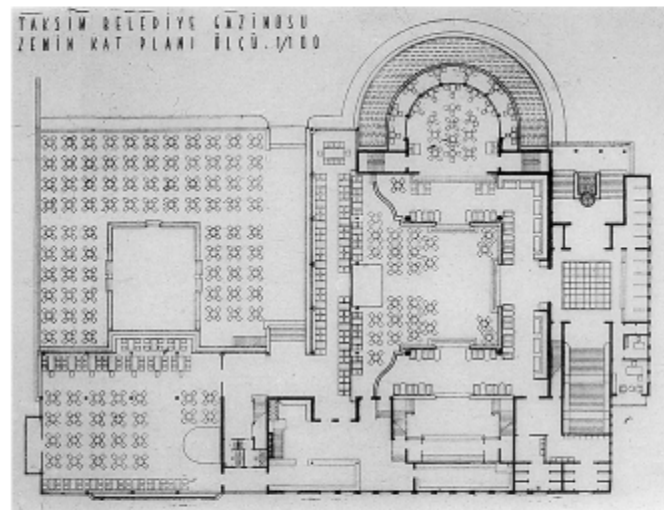


Figure 4.234

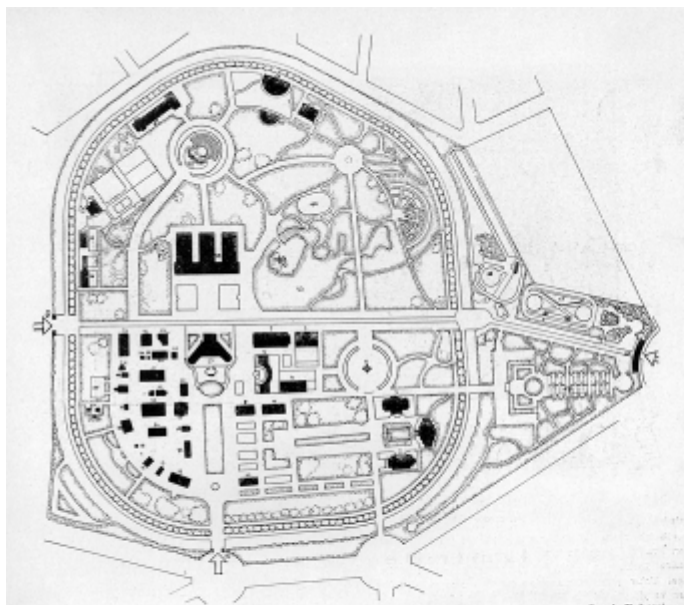


Figure 4.235



Figure 4.237



Figure 4.238



Figure 4.236



Figure 4.239



Figure 4.240



Figure 4.241

IV.2.2. General Directorate of State Monopolies

General Directorate of State Monopolies was an institution that held the monopoly on the production and distribution of tobacco, alcoholic beverages, salt and like³⁰¹. As large as the institution's field of activity was its construction necessities, and therefore it was one of the state institutions where a continuous and large architectural office was kept. This office designed administrative buildings for the institution's provincial directorates, storehouses, shops, showcases, exhibitions, newspaper ads, and other objects as needed. Figures 4.242, 4.243 and 4.244 show provincial directorate buildings respectively for; Afyon (1937), Konya (designed by Nihat and Tahir Tuğ in the Technical Commission of the General Directorate in 1935³⁰²) and Sivas (1935, Tahir Tuğ³⁰³). All these buildings had shops and storages on the ground floor, offices on the first and a residence for the director on the top floor. The office also designed standard types for smaller provincial directorates (figure 4.248, by Adil Yener, architect at the same Commission³⁰⁴).

³⁰¹ Tobacco, alcohol drinks and salt were taken under the state monopoly in the year 1932, gunpowder and explosives in 1934, beer in 1939, tea and coffee in 1942, and matches in 1946. Coffee was released from the State monopoly in 1946, matches in 1952, gunpowder, explosives and beer in 1955 and tobacco in 1986.

³⁰² Tuğ, T. "İnhisarlar İdare Binası, Konya" [State Monopolies Administrative Building, Konya], *Arkitekt*, No. 11-12, 1935, pp. 317-319.

³⁰³ Tuğ, T. "İnhisarlar İdare Binası Projesi" [Project for a State Monopolies Administrative Building], *Arkitekt*, No. 9, 1935, pp. 262-263.

³⁰⁴ Yener, A. "İnhisarlar İdaresi Depo Tipleri" [State Monopolies Administration Storehouse Types], *Arkitekt*, No. 5, 1940, pp. 23-24. (The title says "storehouse" however in the main text it is clear that the building has the same program with Konya and Sivas buildings, only smaller.)

A large scale and notable building designed and constructed by the General Directorate of State Monopolies was the storehouse and production plant building for Ankara (figures 4.245-4.247, 1939). Designed for a central location near the railroad station, this building successfully provided the city a pleasant facade by avoiding massive organization of a single volume that storehouses usually tend to have. Such an intention was also stated in the article that presented the building in *Arkitekt*; "to avoid typical storehouse architecture, a dynamic effect was sought after in the volumes and details... [the building] creates the impression of a cheerful and lively building of another function and not a storehouse"³⁰⁵. Another important feature of the building was the use of shading elements, which prevented direct sun light to the materials that were stored here, in a way that gave the building a definite visual character.

In the same article of the author is unknown, there are also some statements which demonstrate a certain sense of divergence from the earlier ideas published in the journal on public offices and their architectural production. Here, the production of the office in the General Directorate of State Monopolies is praised in the general sense with the architectural quality that they produced and it is written that; "state institutions should use their own personnel especially for the design of buildings in their own fields, which have their own requirements and which should be admitted to be a particular field of expertise"³⁰⁶. It can be observed that the journal exhibits certain sympathy for this office that is also apparent in the frequency they publish the buildings designed by them, which is usually denied to the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry of Public

³⁰⁵ Anon. "İnhisarlar U. Md. Ankara Depo ve İmlâhanesi" [General Directorate of State Monopolies Ankara Storehouse and Production Plant], *Arkitekt*, No. 3-4, 1943, pp. 54-58.

³⁰⁶ Anon. "İnhisarlar U. Md. Ankara Depo ve İmlâhanesi" [General Directorate of State Monopolies Ankara Storehouse and Production Plant], *Arkitekt*, No. 3-4, 1943, pp. 54-58.

Works. Two other buildings designed by the General Directorate of State Monopolies that will be presented here are two pavilions built for the İzmir Fair. The first example was built for the Fair of 1936 (figure 4.249) and the second one was for the 1943 Fair (figure 4.250), and they were both published in *Arkitekt*³⁰⁷. The first pavilion was designed by Emin Necip Uzman, who was working for the Sivas Provincial Directorate of State Monopolies³⁰⁸.

For the second pavilion, the Technical Commission of State Monopolies chose to apply a practice unusual for state offices and organized an architectural competition among its architects, for which projects outside the institution were as well accepted. The winning design was by Selman Yönder, employed at the Commission. When such practices are considered together with the architectural qualities of the buildings designed by the office that were given here, one can conclude that the State Monopolies had presented their architect employees a lively design environment and space for professional flexibility.

IV.2.3. Others

There were several other architectural offices in various ministries and other state institutions, whose production is not as widely known as the ones mentioned above³⁰⁹. Still some examples can be provided here. One is the Ministry of Health, major design and construction for which was undertaken by the Ministry of Construction, but which still employed architects. The Health Exhibition Pavillion

(figure 4.251) that was built for the İzmir Fair of 1937 was designed by Fuat Saylam, who was one of the architects in the Ministry of Health³¹⁰. A similar case we encounter was the Ministry of Agriculture. Two of the buildings that we know designed by architects employed at the Technical Commission of the Ministry of Agriculture are School of Agriculture built in İzmir in 1932 (figure 4.252) and the Pest Laboratory built in Adana in the same year (figure 4.253)³¹¹. These three buildings demonstrate that their designers were capable architects in reflecting the architectural attitude of their times and they were given the opportunity to put their capabilities into practice in the offices that they were employed. Nevertheless, more examples from these offices are needed to convey these observations to general evaluations.

An institution that can define a rather interesting field for further research in this sense would be the Directorate of Endowments. This institution defines a field of practice that goes older back in history than any other mentioned in this work³¹². Therefore it may provide quite thought provoking comparisons. Compare for instance, Valide Han office building designed by the Technical Commission of the Directorate of Endowments for İstanbul in the late 1930s to be rented out by the Directorate (figure 4.255), with earlier series of ‘*vakıf han*’s that were built by the same Directorate to gain revenues and were designed by Kemalettin Bey, who was also employed by the Endowments, in İstanbul in the 1910s before the Republic (figure 4.257; the 4th Vakıf Han, 1918, Bahçekapı, İstanbul).

³⁰⁷ Uzman, E. N. “İnhisarlar Pavyonu” [State Monopolies Pavilion], *Arkitekt*, No. 10-11, 1936, pp. 284-288.

Yönder, S. “İzmir Fuarında İnhisarlar Pavyonu” [State Monopolies Pavilion in İzmir Fair], *Arkitekt*, No. 1-2, 1945, pp. 9-10.

³⁰⁸ See Appendix.

³⁰⁹ Ministry of Education and state industrial investments such as Sümerbank, for which plentiful information and examples were provided previously will not be repeated here, nevertheless their names should be reminded as other offices of important production.

³¹⁰ The construction on the other hand, was realized by the Technical Commission of the İzmir Municipality, See: Tansu, M. “1937 İzmir Fuarı” [1937 İzmir Fair], *Arkitekt*, No. 12, 1937, pp. 325-329.

³¹¹ It should be noted that both are before the reorganization of the Ministry of Public Works in 1934.

³¹² See p. 77 and footnote 197 in Chapter 3.



Figure 4.242

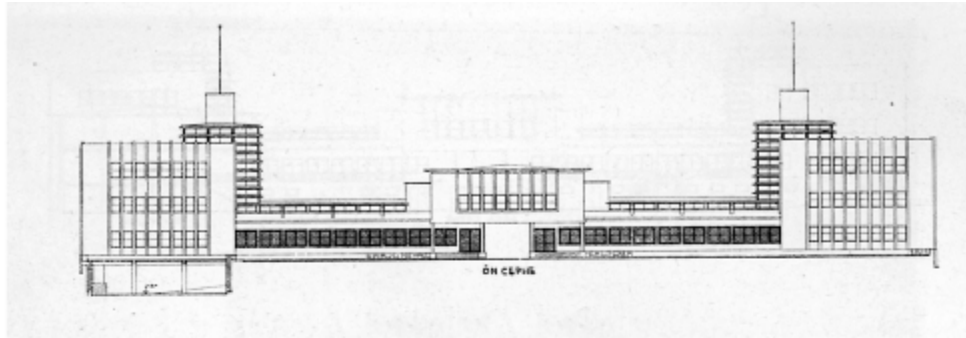


Figure 4.245



Figure 4.243

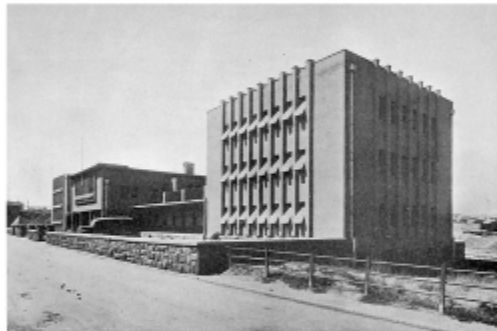


Figure 4.246



Figure 4.247



Figure 4.244



Figure 4.248



Figure 4.249

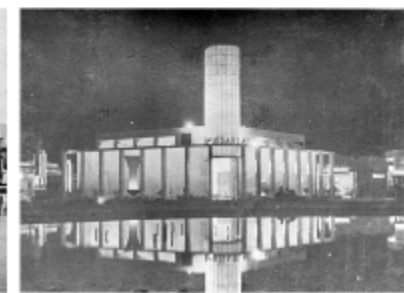


Figure 4.250



Figure 4.251



Figure 4.254

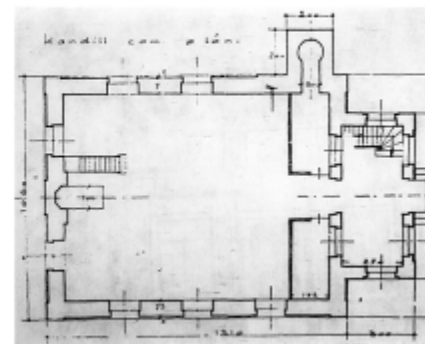


Figure 4.256



Figure 4.252



Figure 4.255



Figure 4.257



Figure 4.253

Although the Valide Han is not considerably worse in its architectural qualities than any other building that was published in *Arkitekt*, the journal harshly criticized the building in a comparatively long article³¹³. It was not the first time the architects of the Endowments received criticism. In one of the first year's issues the journal published a mosque designed and built by the Technical Commission of the Endowments in a strictly traditional style (Kandilli Mosque in İstanbul, 1928, figures 4.254, 4.256). In the article without saying much, the designers were advised to learn from contemporary church design and were also provided with a sketch for a modern mosque³¹⁴. The lack of deeper research and lack of data prevents us to produce further argument on the subject, however it can merely be proposed that the relation between the strong, autonomous and unique historically rooted character of the institution and the position of its architectural office within the architectural thought and practice of the time may result in quite an interesting discussion.

IV.3. A General View of the Architectural Approach of the Ministry of Public Works

When the architectural production of the Ministry of Public Works is analyzed in its totality, it can be asserted that there was both a continuous uniformity and a variety. Uniformity is particularly obvious for individual sets that are formed when the buildings are grouped according to their functions. Governmental palaces and school buildings are two examples of such sets, where a general continuity of approach can be observed for the series of buildings that were designed for the same function. When the buildings are grouped in a chronological order on

the other hand, simultaneous variety comes into prominence. The usual consensus that associates international modern forms with the 1930s and national or neoclassical forms with the 1940s becomes secondary to the functional distinction of design approaches, if not totally disproved. Naturally there are certain buildings that suit the dominating trends of the time very well, such as the General Directorate of State Railroads in Ankara (figure 4.12). On the other hand in the same year that this heavy, neoclassical building was designed, the same office was also designing schools, hospitals or other buildings on the basis of rational, functional plan schemes and plain and pure volume and facade organizations. It can be stated that, certain architectural trends both in the 1930s and the 1940s were of influence for the Ministry's production, but not to the extent that it could be defined as a design attitude, or an official office policy, but they dissolved into the customs of the office practice. Furthermore, it may be proposed that the association of different architectural approaches for buildings with different functions can be traced back to the European architects who had designed the first examples; for instance to the divergence between the Holzmeister's administrative buildings and Egli and Taut's school building designs.

A different form of variation attracts attention in the case of buildings which are known to be designed by offices in various provincial directorates, or for which there is a significant possibility of being so. Here it seems architect employees had better chances of putting forth rather unique design approaches for the less repetitive and more specialized design tasks they were given. The central office in the Ministry, as the final agent whose approval was necessary for all designs, must have allowed a certain sense of autonomy for such cases to emerge. Maybe the best example to such was some meticulously designed technical service buildings in Tokat (figures 4.127 and 4.130).

³¹³ Anon. "Valide Hanı, İstanbul", *Arkitekt*, No. 9-10, 1940, pp. 193-195, 215.

³¹⁴ Anon. "Kandilli Camii", [Kandilli Mosque], *Mimar*, No. 10, 1931, p. 326-330.

There are some signs of characteristic design motives that can also be observed in the buildings designed in the central office of the Ministry, which may be referring to the continuous production (or influence) of a particular architect of the office. An example is a number of buildings composed in the combination of cylindrical and prismatic volumes, mostly in the 1930s. As a matter of fact, such repeating design patterns were important components in the general production of the office. This can also be related to the practice of producing standard types. The practice was a convenient way to increase efficiency in the production of repetitive buildings that would be built in large numbers in various locations. Sustaining a standard approach, even for the cases that were not predefined as 'types' but were individually designed, must similarly be a fast way of designing (and especially constructing) buildings of similar scale, function and program. Such a custom may have been a degrading factor in the office's ability to produce site specific or architecturally unique designs; nevertheless it was consistent with the workload that had to be assumed.

When the buildings are examined according to their construction technologies, it can be observed that reinforced concrete frames were very dominant until the 1940s, when the World War II brought dire consequences on the prices for construction materials, especially on steel and cement which still had to be mostly imported. At this period load bearing buildings of stone masonry became more common. On the one hand, this was suitable for the architectural approach of the time, which was in search of national or local qualities for the contemporary architecture. Alternatively, it can also be reasoned the other way; the economical context helped the spread of a return to more convenient and traditional constructional techniques and hence to the ideas on national and local architecture. No matter which way the causation is formulated, the results were quite visible in the Ministry's production as it was in the architectural scene at large.

What can be added to that has already been mentioned before on the planning activity within the Ministry is the significance of having the planning office and the construction office to produce the buildings and other construction specified by the plan under the roof of the same institution. In the case of the Ministry of Public Works, it can easily be stated that the specific goals and targets of the plans produced by the Planning Commission and the architectural language of the buildings that were produced in the Office of Construction together with their social and political implications were notably consistent.

When compared to the architectural production of other state institutions that were mentioned above, the difference that becomes remarkably apparent is that for the most part, the buildings designed by the Ministry of Public Works are not buildings that come to the fore with specific architectural qualities and particular design decisions, which can be positively asserted to some buildings designed by various other institutions. For such other institutions, it appears that design was a rather singular activity when compared to the practice in the Ministry of Public Works and architects here could and did handle design tasks individually and produced expressive results. The production of the Ministry of Public Works on the other hand was related to quantity rather than quality and its office developed design methods accordingly. These methods were in fact important, and should be assessed as a major part of the Ministry's architectural character. They enabled the Office of Construction Works to create and maintain an architectural language which was not assertive or remarkably pioneering but which embraced a plain, legible and honest modernity that could easily be reproduced in any composition of designer employees without depending on eminent talents of particular gifted individuals.

Certain variations in this architectural language and their applications can also be evaluated individually. In the very first place, one can compare the cases where the

architecture gets closer to an authoritative neoclassicism with the ones that are more on the side of a progressive modernism, and can express judgmental preferences. Such judgments can also go beyond aesthetic and stylistic preferences and be based on their social and political indications. The governmental buildings cited in this work for example, and the way they denied more transparent, communicative and participant architectural expressions for the sake of authoritative ones can be referred in order to criticize the Office of Construction Works, as well as the political discourse and ideological structure in the Republican Turkey that contributed to the creation of its architecture. Such an assertion would especially be justifiable for the case of the building of the Faculty of Law in Ankara, where the same architectural expression was used for a university building, alternative examples of which were clearly within the reach for the Office to observe.

On the other hand if the architectural products of the Ministry are not evaluated in their abstract architectural qualities but with their contextual meanings and value, they begin to appear pioneering and progressive enough. For a fair evaluation, one should remember that the majority of these buildings were either the first or among the few for the small towns and cities that they were built in both with their functions on modern educational, healthcare, justice and etc. services and with their architectural qualities. Apart from the success of their design, a considerable number of them constituted the first group of buildings in their contexts that were actually designed by architects with a formal education.

In this sense, the architectural production at the Office of Construction Works was completely in correspondence with the political culture that underlined the general discourse in the Ministry of Public Works, which relied on the idealization of the revolutionist value that lay within the act of production itself, and which was largely

discussed in the previous chapter³¹⁵. The architectural projection of this discourse was naturally not reflecting the production of modern architectural icons; but rather discerning the effort of bringing in a modernist construction program, which would collectively and homogenously elevate the quality of the built environment in every settlement in the country, large and small. This effort can not be claimed to have resulted in perfectly successful results and is open to criticism. One very major and important criticism for example, can be brought in for the field of housing, where the efforts were thin and far from implementing effective and sustainable results to positively transform the quality of the residential built environment.

Further studies will be able to perform deeper and more detailed research on certain specific sub topics within the general research area that is presented in this study, such as the Ministry's housing production. With the data and insight such studies will provide, the discussion will be able to be enlarged and further criticism will be presented in a fair and verifiable way. No matter what further evaluations may produce, what is really not adequate is that this very large and significant portion of architectural production in the early Republican era is not as well known as it should be, just because architectural historiography, more often than not, tends to look for iconographic buildings, individual artefacts and distinguished individuals. It has been observed in this work that the Ministry of Public Works could not care less about any of these. And exactly for that reason, the bulk of material that the history of its architectural production provides is important, because these buildings present an alternative reading on the discourse that the built environment was produced in early Republican Turkey.

³¹⁵ See pages 99-102.

CHAPTER V:

CONCLUSION

The title of this dissertation defines the study as “an inquiry into the professionalization of architecture in Turkey”, yet on the other hand, as it was stated in the Introduction chapter, the field that the study operates in is not the sociology or history of professions, but architectural history. The basic reason for this work’s existence is to add to our knowledge and understanding of the history of the practices, discourses, theories and ideologies that surround the production of the built environment in the modern era of Turkey. The motivation that initiated the research was not a pre-existing interest in the field of study on professions and

professionalization, but was a simple observation: in the early Republican period, a great number of buildings were produced by anonymous architects in state offices, yet the literature on the period had very little to say either about these buildings or about the practices that involved their production. The initial motivation was to look into this unexplored ground. The concept of professionalization later stepped in as a major axis that could direct the effort to a better comprehension of the problem. This concept and its incarnation in our narration here has proved to be operative not only for better understanding the way that the issue of state employment was discussed within the architectural scene and evolved in time, but also for answering the question why we know so little about the architectural production within state employment, which was such a significant portion of the total production in the context of early Republican Turkey. It can be argued in this sense that architectural historiography also goes through certain evolutionary processes and architectural historians are not immune to conditioned conceptualizations that tie architectural production to the boundaries that are associated with the self definition of the profession. The case where the connection of architectural historiography to the professional identity becomes the most obvious is the role that architectural history assumes in architectural education. Architectural history is not only a field of knowledge production, but also a component of education in architectural schools, where the professional identity as well as the technical knowledge is passed on to the succeeding generations of architects, and in order to be functional in its educational role architectural history needs to include a certain degree of coherence. The evolution of architectural historiography in Turkey is not an exception in this regard.

İlhan Tekeli is an influential scholar who in a number of works discussed architectural historiography and specifically architectural history studies on Turkey in a way that can be functional for our conclusive purpose in this

chapter. In a speech he gave in 2001, which was just recently published, Tekeli analyzed architectural history studies on Turkey as efforts in producing a “local” architectural history within the field of modernist historiography³¹⁶. Here, he points out to certain inner conflicts and inconsistencies. He starts by clarifying essential qualities and norms of the modernist architectural historiography, which as he carefully warns, does not imply historiography on modern architecture, but architectural historiography in a modernist perspective. In this sense he names five premises which altogether define a modernist paradigm of architectural historiography. First of these is the separation of the science, ethics and aesthetics as autonomous fields, which also corresponds to the Vitruvian trilogy of *firmitas*, *utilitas* and *venustas*. This separation, according to Tekeli, encouraged the architectural historians to overvalue one of these three fields above the other two, namely the aesthetics of architecture, instead of investigating intersections and interactions and thus, resulted in the tendency in the modern architectural history towards narrations of *styles*. The second premise is found in the definition of the *role of the architect*, as the definitive *subject* who is considered to be prior to the inter-subjective negotiations in the creation of styles. Thus follows the third premise, which sets the *creativity* as the major generator of architecture in its historical progress. The most important performance criterion for architect individuals in that respect becomes the originality of one’s creation, and so the fourth premise states that the history of architecture is a history of *masterpieces*. The critical notion then becomes the *universal legitimacy* in which successful masterpieces can be named and its construction is the fifth premise in the

³¹⁶ Tekeli, İ. “Yerel Mimarlık Tarihlerinin Yazılma Yolları Üzerine Düşünceler” [Thoughts on the Ways of Producing Local Architectural Historiographies], in: Altan Ergut, E. İmamoğlu, B. (eds.) *Cumhuriyetin Mekanları, Zamanları, İnsanları* [Spaces, Times and People of the Republic], Ankara: Dipnot Yay. 2010, pp. 345-358.

paradigm. The negotiated preferences of various experts should be a reference for the historian in building up a corresponding legitimacy, however as Tekeli reminds, there is nothing to stop the architectural historian to put forth his own individual judgments as expert preferences instead.

What Tekeli discusses upon this defining introduction is the meaning, or rather “the possibility” of local architectural histories in this global architectural history of universal claims, capable of going beyond being rather poor additions or gap-filling chapters to the whole. In these local architectural histories³¹⁷, the local masterpieces and their creators will inevitably be compared to the “originals” and to their claims of universality and will most probably remain secondary. Therefore, asserts Tekeli, local architectural histories within the modernist paradigm of architectural historiography as described above have little chances of being something other than secondary confirmations of the global paradigms that only re-produce theories of dependency. Later he progresses on to explore some approaches for alternative local architectural histories where the major premises of the modernist paradigm are altered and extended in their contents, if not completely abandoned or replaced. Some attempts, as also he acknowledges, have been performed in this manner. One group of studies leaves aside the focus on styles and takes on to investigate “socio-spatial practices” instead. The virtue of those studies is found in bringing forth a better understanding of the local context under study in its whole, besides its architectural history. Another group is the one that focuses on the aspect of culture, which has become quite popular in the last twenty years. A third approach focuses on the vernacular as the subject of its study. All three share in the attitude of abandoning the idea of the individual architect as the dominant subject.

³¹⁷ Tekeli prefers the word “local” in its contrast to the global claims of a central, universal paradigm and does not dwell on its “national” or “regional” connotations or related qualities.

Tekeli in his article does not detail the evaluation of similar alternative studies but goes on to formulate his own proposal for an alternative paradigm. We will also not go into detailing them here, since that would just repeat what was already discussed in the literature review part of the introduction chapter, it can just be noted that the studies that were discussed in our Introduction with reference to the “nation building paradigm” well constitute significant examples to alternative attempts that Tekeli refer. Instead we will continue with Tekeli’s own proposal, since some parts of his proposal are quite relevant to the form that the discussion took on in this study. However, a reminder warning is due before going on; the overview of Tekeli’s article is not reviewed here to suggest that the aim of this study was to present an exemplary attempt in the alternative historiographical paradigm that Tekeli aims to formulate. Our aims and their relation to the existing dominant paradigm were stated in the introduction chapter. Tekeli’s discussion on the other hand, is helpful for us at this moment because it provides a conceptual route or a scheme in which the course of our study and arguments it has produced can be summarized in conclusive steps, while also maintaining at each step the relation to the scholarly context in which the study was developed.

The parts of the proposal for an alternative paradigm for local architectural histories by Tekeli that are relevant to our discussion can be grouped in two sets; on the first set the issue is on the axis of universality – particularity and the second one is about the actors that constitute the subjects of historical narrations. Tekeli suggests that if meaningful and effective local architectural histories were to be rendered possible, the premise that universal claims should always be superior to the particularities of the local should be questioned. This suggestion does not intend to handle local particularities in an absolute isolation and to overrule comparisons, but rather brings in the importance of the ‘direction’ of a study: Tekeli points out to the difference of writing history from “inside” and from “outside”.

Needless to say, presenting architectural history on Turkey from inside does not mean its being performed by a Turkish historian, but emphasizes the importance of developing the initial research questions within local contextual issues rather than starting questions or arguments that generalizations on the universal narrations dictate. Comparisons in this sense are methodological tools that point to the particularities of the local, not evaluations of superiority/inferiority between different meaning and value sets that are products of differing inter-subjectivities or not check lists for the local about correspondence and compatibility to the “origins”. On the actors of the historical narration, Tekeli proposes to keep the architect in his role as the elementary subject; nevertheless he brings in the importance of the addition of other actors in their interaction with the architect, architectural production and the architectural scene: two essential actors cited in this context are the political actor and the architectural community of the local context in question. Below, the results of our study will be discussed with regard to these two sets, starting with the second one on the actors in the architectural scene.

The inclusion of the political actor in the historical narrations on modern Turkey is not a new approach. Many recent studies successfully incorporate the relation of the political atmosphere and the relevant ideological frame of the early Republican period to the theory and practice of architecture in the same era to their discussion. However relevant approaches may tend to homogenize the architectural community and its components in an ideological abstraction, where architect individuals or representative groups are not active subjects in the narration but just reflectors of the political culture. In our study, as it would be in any study which approaches the period via the theme of professionalization, the architectural community and the architect individual define separate pivotal subjectivities in their interrelated roles in the formation of a self definition for the profession, as well as other discursive

formations of architectural theory and practice. Our aim in Chapter 2 was defining the architectural community as an actor with self defined positions and related actions, as well as providing the general outlines of the historical and architectural context. The meaning that the journal *Mimar/Arkitekt* gained in this context is explanatory in summarizing our results.

Beginning with its first issue in 1931, *Mimar/Arkitekt* continued to be the most effective and important architectural periodical for almost half a century and with this character the journal has made up an indispensable source for architectural historians who study the period. Nevertheless, very few of the studies which utilize readings and citations from various articles published in the journal in their analysis reevaluate or question the statements of their references within the specific context of the periodical's own character and position. In more than few cases, the journal is treated as a medium for the neutral and uniform reflection of the totality of the architectural thought and production of the period. Our study of the architectural community in Turkey in the early Republican period tried to redefine the journal, and the part of the architectural community that it represents, in the position that was determined with regard to their own goals and with the agenda that was directed to their own priorities. One problematic issue in this definition was the nature of the representation that was in operation here. There was no clear evidence that the group of architects who were active in shaping and circulating the manifestations of the architectural community through the journal should be taken as accurate representatives of all the components of the architectural community (as a matter of fact there were signs that this would be deficient), but on the other hand there was no evident opposition within the architectural community against their acting as so. Therefore we understood the architectural scene of the time not as a situation of competing architectural groups with differing positions, but as a composition where an architectural

community was formed with a unified and common position and organized actions, but also where some architect individuals practically moved in and out of the defined common ground, remaining mostly silent, which could either be result of approval or of alienation. The architect individuals who were directly related to our topic, namely the civil servant architects of state offices were mostly examples of this mobile and silent group.

The statements and manifestations in the journal *Mimar/Arkitekt* were thus evaluated in the context of the agenda that was a reflection of the process of the professionalization that architecture had been passing through in this period. On the two of the three basic issues, namely the discussion against the activities of the traditional builders, engineers and foreign architects operating in the architectural market in Turkey, the manifestations were clearly legible expressions of a reflection on defending and monopolizing the practical field against competitors. When seen in this perspective, certain topics that were formulated in relation to this debate, such as the creation of a national/Republican style of architecture, could easily be exposed in its connections to the professional ideology, behind the surface of more apparent relevance to the nationalist/Republican ideology. However, the third issue, the issue of state employment and the promotion of free practice exhibited rather ambivalent argumentations when compared. The reason was, while the nationalist discourse in architecture was an indirect reflection of the professionalization in experience, the promotion of free practice was directly related to the nature of the self-identification of the profession and the character of professionalism which was still in the process of formation for the Turkish architect; it was not as accessible and communicable for the whole architectural community as the idea of monopoly on the professional services was. This was not only opposing to the ongoing dominant practice, but also was in conflict with the traditional identification of the public servant / technical expertise that was inherited

from the Ottoman past and internalized in the Republican experience with a renewed, revolutionary face. The conflict, as it was discussed in detail in the epilogue to Chapter 3, was not only practical, but also cultural, intellectual and cognitive. *Mimar/Arkitekt* in this issue followed a rather tactical route and a less manifest stand when compared to the other two issues, which included overlooking state's architectural production in most cases, as well as criticizing few. This fact alone, demonstrates how big a historiographical mistake it is to have a tendency to see the collection of architectural projects and buildings that were published in the journal as a homogenous and comprehensive sum of the architectural production in Turkey in the early Republican period. In this work, and especially in the survey that was presented in Chapter 4, we presented *The Journal of Public Works* as a significant complementary and alternative source, although it is very poor in providing the detailed information that an architectural historian needs and too plain to present rich, thought provoking, analyzing readings on architecture.

The other set of concepts that Tekeli was discussing in his article on local architectural histories was on the axis of universality and particularity, and this would be useful in summarizing the axis of professionalization and bureaucracy in our work. From the point of view of the modernist paradigm of architectural historiography, the unique position that the journal *Mimar/Arkitekt* has as a major source in the architectural history studies gains a new perspective; journal's position is parallel to the idea of architectural history as the history of "universally legitimate masterpieces by creative individual architects". It is not surprising to see in this sense, *Journal of Public Works*, which repeatedly published the photographs of plain ordinary public buildings which all looked similar, did not even name the architect and did not provide data apart from the number of buildings constructed every year, has not been a very popular source for architectural historians. The search for the local correspondent of the catalogue of the

global/central canon of modern architecture defines the example of the development "from outside" in architectural history work; however it would require a look from inside to put forth that the pages of *Mimar/Arkitekt* do not represent the totality of production and a significant portion was left out of the modernist canon. It is not only the buildings and their architectural qualities that have not been mentioned or discussed, but more importantly the discursive nature of the production. In the case of the early Republican Turkey, the definition of the context that frames all the theoretical and practical aspects of the architectural activity that was experienced within state offices has been limited with the negative definitions that were derived from the critique formulated by the professionalism in the process of professionalization of architecture, which possess their own tone of universality: the lack of autonomy, the ignorance on authorship and the unlikeliness of innovation. Bringing in definitions based on what it was instead of what it was not required the survey on the history of the institutions themselves and of the culture and the way of thinking related to state employment, public service and technical expertise that was developed in the context of Turkey, which was given in Chapter 3. The concept that arouse from this survey was bureaucratic tradition, and this concept helped us clarify and detail the nature of the conflict that the professional ideology had with the practice of state employment. Honestly, Chapter 3 still could not produce much, directly describing what the architects in civil service had to say or think on the issue, apart from speculating on their silence; yet still the discourse that was based on the politicization of the act of production and on the identifications related to the institution rather than profession gave better clues on the context in which they operated than purely negative definitions.

The two concepts of professional ideology on the one hand and the bureaucratic tradition on the other also present an interesting setting in the composition of universal and particular qualities in our narration. In the first place it

should be reminded that, as it was also noted in the relevant discussion in the introduction, the universality of the professionalization process is a highly debated issue, beyond the debates that the concept of universality itself derives. The general understanding is that it is not a coincidence that the literature on professions and professionalization is denser in English speaking countries, than it is in continental Europe, where social groups that defined themselves essentially according to professional identifications did not have a similar significance in the social processes. Nonetheless, one can still define a recognizable pattern that tends to be repeated where professionalization is a case: the formalization of professional knowledge and education, formation of organizational structures and a professional media, elimination of competitors from the market of professional services and various forms of negotiation on the jurisdictional boundaries with other professions on the field of operation. In this sense, the process that the architects of Turkey went through can be declared to be more or less consistent with this universal pattern. The discursive formations that the process manifests itself through is also similar; the overrated value invested in a national style as it was observed in the Turkish case may not be that common, yet the importance that is assigned on the representational function of architecture and its intellectual/cultural forms defines a common base³¹⁸.

Yet, there are also particularities in the process as it was experienced in Turkey. The most significant of these was the time lag: during the early twentieth century architects in Turkey were at an early stage of professionalization that architects in Western countries had experienced in the nineteenth century; however at the same time they also confronted contemporary architectural

knowledge by the help of the modernization of architectural education and the foreign architects who worked in the country at the time. The result of this fact was that the process of professionalization included both a hard and significantly highlighted effort of proving the state and the public that the Turkish architects were sufficiently competent in contemporary and Western (foreign) architecture on the one hand, and an aggressive campaign for the elimination of foreign (Western) competitors from the market of their services on the other. The somewhat anachronistic overlapping of the modernization of the profession and the experience of modern architectural knowledge and practice had its effects on both processes. On the part of the architecture, it can be argued that it was one of the reasons for the much debated fact that the modern architecture in Turkey was unable to produce a critical avant-garde. It has usually been discussed with a certain persuasion that the modern Turkish architecture was not rooted in extensive societal/technological transformations, but was related to a top-to-bottom social engineering project which was the Republican modernization and therefore remained within the function of representation of its ideological forms, never acquiring the intellectual or social resources to develop a critical distance to the ruling political norm. Through the conclusion of our study, what we can add to this discussion is that the professionalization process as discussed here provides additional reasoning for the given observation, but which does not rely purely on the idea of inability of the architects of the time in doing the things the way they supposed to be. It can be stated that the process as it was experienced pushed the architectural community of the time towards the priority of the task of convincing the state in their (and only their) ability to provide what the state needed in architecture and therefore to invest their energies in professional reformulations of the architecture that the state would/should need, instead of theoretical or experimental attempts that are rooted in the profession's

³¹⁸ See: Sarfatti-Larson, M. "Emblem and Exception: The Historical Definition of the Architect's Professional Role", in: Blau, J. R. (et.all.) (eds.) *Professionals and Urban Form*, Albany: SUNY Press, 1983.

own field of knowledge or production of critical political positions. So, if we carry the reasoning one step further, we can also say that not producing the critical position that is required for a genuinely local, avant-garde architectural position was not a failure in producing the criticism of the dominant ideological frame that the political authority generated, but it was a choice resulted from not questioning the ideological frame that the professionalization process dictated. Professionalism in this particular case, required affirmation, not risky political criticism.

We will not go as far as claiming that an avant-garde experience of modern architecture was possible in state employment just because the professional ideology in development had problems with both. We will, however, maintain that it represented a discursive alternative, the possibility of which constituted one of our hypothetical questions in the beginning. The problem with this alternative, the very character of which resulted in building up of intellectual barriers for the architects of the time and architectural historians later alike to embrace it, was that it was not architectural. The practice of the production of built environment in state employment required that the architect should leave aside the professional self-identification and operate in the discursive ground of the bureaucratic tradition, while producing architecture. As professionalism represents a more or less universal pattern, the bureaucratic end of the axis of professional ideology and bureaucratic tradition in our narration has come forth rather with its particularities.

Turkey is not a unique country in having a traditionally strong bureaucracy and is certainly not the only context where professionals operate in bureaucratic organizations. Although the literature on professionalization is intensely from the Anglophone context, there are also some recent studies which investigate its relevance or counterpart in continental Europe. The most reoccurring theme in such studies is the cross questioning of the professions literature and the literature on occupations and

bureaucracy that is fundamentally related to the Weberian handling of the two concepts. Nass, as an example in "Bureaucracy, Technical Expertise and Professionals: A Weberian Approach", questions the idea that the Weberian model of occupations and bureaucracy has problems in understanding professions³¹⁹. He looks into the bureaucratic content in the professional organizations and the professional content in the bureaucratic ones in connection to professional credentials and related authority and concludes that the Weberian model is still useful and consistent when professionals are seen as "leaders of one-person organizations or as organizations"³²⁰. The parallel growth of professionals and bureaucracies are important for Nass in their similarities as organizational bodies, rather than their over-emphasized differences. A similar route which emphasizes the similarities of two concepts instead of differences and overlapping of two processes instead of conflict is also mentioned by Gispén in an article on German engineers. Referring basically to Sarfatti Larson, Gispén points out that, professions as significant sociological entities were defined in relation to the significance of a free market and the development of *laissez-faire* industry, as a profession was not defined only in the possession of technical-occupational knowledge but more importantly with an organized effort and ability in the *control* of the market for its expertise³²¹. However he goes on to discuss that the obvious differences of the contexts that are dominated either by free market industry or by strong bureaucracies of central governments are not

³¹⁹ Nass, C. I. "Bureaucracy, Technical Expertise and Professionals: A Weberian Approach", *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Spring 1986, pp. 61-70.

³²⁰ Nass, C. I. "Bureaucracy, Technical Expertise and Professionals: A Weberian Approach", *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Spring 1986, p. 61.

³²¹ Gispén, C. W. R. "German Engineers and American Social Theory: Historical Perspectives on Professionalization", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 30, No. 3, July 1988, pp. 550-574.

historically related to a stressed conflict between bureaucratic and professional modes of work organization. Gispen analyzes the narrations of the rise of professional autonomy in the American context and bureaucracy in the German context in their parallel qualities, where middle classes stripped of the hierarchy of traditional structures and demanded autonomous power. In the process, the bureaucracy in the 18th and 19th century Germany developed into a class of masters of government mechanism operating with qualities such as cognitive rationality, objectivity, efficiency, technical expertise, the distinction between private and public, a service ethic, spirit of solidarity, etc., qualities which can also be identified with the model of profession. Gispen describes how later in the 20th century German engineers conveyed the same bureaucratic ethos to the private sector which included values such as “a premium on social harmony and service to the general welfare, the moral superiority of objective technical expertise and administrative/technical solutions over political ones”³²² and formed a certain mixture of market capitalism and bureaucracy in the organization of modern professional work. This is a case which exemplifies a professional identification that was built in relation to the model of ideal bureaucracy.

The discussions that bring together various models on professionals and on bureaucracy are important for our study in a number of ways. First of all, it reminds us that for the topic here, there are not “original” models and derivations, but a collection of local particularities that are meaningful in a comparative perspective. The discussions that are cited above are also functional for us in situating the Ottoman-Turkish experience in bureaucracy. These articles that approach the issues of professions, technical expertise and bureaucracy not as processes that are alien to

each other but as parallel and from time to time overlapping conceptualizations seems to be providing meaningful comparisons to our case at hand; the issue of architects producing in bureaucratic organizations. However they still point out to some differences rather than similarities. In the first place, bureaucracy as a rational organizational model, as Nass approaches it, is still at a considerable distance to the case of Turkish bureaucracy, as this model also requires a certain degree of being value-free. Being not value-free, as we discussed in Chapter 3, was one of the major characteristics of the Ottoman-Turkish bureaucracy. Even when we are talking about application of some values, as in the example of the “bureaucratic ethos” that Gispen defines for the German case, there are some important differences, besides striking similarities. The way the middle classes rose to power and the legitimization that they built around social harmony, general welfare and objective knowledge draw definite similarities between the two cases, which can also be related to the political relations between Germany and the Ottoman Empire beginning with the 19th century; a relation that does not only point to a friendly proximity between the bureaucratic cultures of the two political bodies, but also one that reminds that German technical expertise had a pivotal role in the modernization of Ottoman institutions starting with the army and had privileged roles in the Republican modernization. Nevertheless, what was in the form of an ethos in the German case was pure politics in the Ottoman-Turkish one. For the Turkish bureaucracy, “the moral superiority of objective technical expertise and administrative/technical solutions” was not a superiority “over political solutions” as Gispen stated, but was indeed a political solution, as we discussed at large in Chapter 3, due to the determining significance, pervasiveness and the delicacy of the issue of secularization throughout the history of the Ottoman reforms and the Republican revolution. The most significant particularity of the character of the bureaucratic tradition in Turkey, as we can state again after bringing in the

³²² Gispen, C. W. R. “German Engineers and American Social Theory: Historical Perspectives on Professionalization”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 30, No. 3, July 1988, p. 567.

comparative contexts such as above, was that in the bureaucratic field not only a specific ethics were presented but also politics were shaped and conveyed.

The case of German engineers also reminds us that there may be important differences between different professions in the same process, as the narration's relevance to the case of Turkish engineers and Turkish architects differ in a great deal. Turkish engineers in the early Republican period already had better established niches in the bureaucratic body when compared to architects and had stronger ties to the political discourse developed within the bureaucratic tradition in relation to the identification of the technical expert. The discursive tools that the architects of the time had on the other hand for their identification found its sources in their education at the Academy and were in relation to the professional ideology. Therefore, the argument on parallel development ending up at a mixture instead of a conflict as mentioned above may better apply for the historical development of the engineering profession in Turkey; however the confrontation that the architects of Turkey experienced was not only overlapping of two theoretical models but was intensely practical.

All these arguments present an interesting discussion on the development of the architectural profession in Turkey, yet our aim is to go beyond this topic and also have something to say on its effect in the architectural thought and production of the time. When all the assessments presented in the study in this sense are brought together, it is possible to summarize our findings in the duality of the concepts of 'representation' on the one hand and 'production' on the other. It can be proposed that while professional ideology found its materialization in the theoretical emphasis on the representational function of architecture, the architectural practice within the bureaucratic tradition revolved around the political evaluation of actual production. The ideological identification within the professionalization process reasoned that architects are people who invest buildings

with meaning. The creation of representational norms and values in the built environment had been the expertise that architects were putting in the market. In the early Republican context, where foreign experts constituted an extra ordinarily strong competition in this market, the representation of national meaning and value through architecture gained an extra ordinary importance. At the same period the country was undergoing an extensive construction program that was undertaken directly by the state and mostly by the Ministry of Public Works, which included much more than the construction of seminal, representative buildings. In the Ministry, the bureaucratic discourse reasoned that architects are just one of the branches of technical expertise that take part in the production of built environment, and that they did not monopolize the creation of meaning. Meaning here was invested in the quantified, yet also politicized account of the act of production itself. This interpretation of the revolutionary value in production did not evolve into relevant innovative and/or critical architectural theories but this was mostly because the architectural community did not appropriate this ongoing practice and attempt to translate it in the vocabulary of architectural knowledge, but instead chose to oppose it according to their agenda of professionalism. Therefore it should be noted that in the context of early Republican Turkey, there was an architectural practice in state employment that included alternative meanings to the ones in free practice, however it is also hard to claim that there was a voiced and circulated alternative architectural discourse.

We, on the other hand, can voice some characteristics of this practice in architectural terms and we should do so. This practice is historically important, not only because it constitutes a significant portion of the total amount of architectural production of the time, but also because it was unique for Turkey in terms of the institutional relations, organizational structure, occupational roles and the value system that framed the whole operation

in its whole history; the changing economic policies and public service programs in the following periods of the country elevated the importance of free practice gradually and neither the Ministry of Public Works nor any other state institution occupied such a central and direct role in the production of built environment again. Our survey in Chapter 4 on the architectural production of the Ministry of Public Works and general evaluation of the buildings at the end of this chapter showed that, when architectural designs of each building are considered individually, they do not exhibit significantly different attitudes from the designs that were published in *Mimar/Arkitekt*. The Ministry was not involved in discussions on style. Stylistic differences had almost no impact in the way buildings were presented in *The Journal of Public Works*. In the pages of *The Journal of Public Works* there were fewer buildings with outstanding architectural qualities, or ‘masterpieces’ than it was in the pages of *Mimar/Arkitekt*, which is consistent with the discursive differences of the two media. A thoroughly meaningful observation then, should involve what had been valued by the institution itself; the quantity of production. It can be stated in this sense that, especially for a country that had such a short experience of modern architectural practice and poor resources in know how, technology, industry and human resources, the average architectural quality that was achieved in such a large amount of production is remarkable. One can assert that, this result was directly related to the way the Office of Construction Works in the Ministry altered the premises of architectural professionalism regarding the relation of the architectural product as a work of art to the architect as an individual creator, with practices such as standard type projects and other collective and flexible design practices where individuals could perform varying, interchangeable, replaceable and replicable tasks and enhanced technical communication in between different professions taking part in the production.

In the final account, the Ministry was successful in performing a collective production with limited resources, but on the other hand failed or ignored to communicate its practical frame to the architectural community and convince them to contribute theoretically, as well as practically, which would have conveyed the ongoing practice through a sustainable architectural discourse. The responsibility for the failure should be found on both sides of the communication that failed. The architectural community, getting too much involved in their professional claims, failed to produce a critical position within the profession to prevent the domination of the professionalist discourse over the architectural discourse. The Ministry, as well as the state in general, was too much involved on its own part in the institutional rejection of professionalism and failed to produce the environment capable to institutionalize the production of professional discourse to accompany, interpret and orient practical production. Still with its failures, the architectural practice in state employment in the early Republican period defines a meaningful historical moment of collective production, especially when compared to today’s architectural scene in Turkey, where global star-architects and their local counterparts are the dominating actors in the production of the architectural knowledge and theory that are being extensively circulated, but also where the responsibility on the average architectural quality of the total built environment is gradually being abandoned both by political and architectural actors.

Research and study on the architectural in state employment is important in documenting and understanding this particular experience in history. An equally important act would be to take steps in the conservation of some of the representative examples of its material heritage. The conservation of modern architectural monuments and sites in Turkey today is a problematic area altogether, with the absence of proper legal protection and unwillingness on the part of the political bodies. The positive and progressive

role however, that the Ministry of Public Works can assume in this regard by taking steps in preserving the heritage of its own production is obvious and should be promoted.

Upon this conclusive remark, we should end by reconfiguring the meaning of our research and results in the wider context of related academic knowledge with some further questions and propositions that can point to further research possibilities. These can be listed as the following:

1. The way this research formulated its goal and put forth its questions did not especially highlight the two ends of architectural production, architect or the architectural product, or it did not analyze the process of architectural production in the theoretical or practical forms of architectural knowledge, but discussed the institutional ground, the very place that production takes place, which in this case was state employment. This formulation necessitated an interdisciplinary approach as basic questions regarding the case at hand were related to the institutional relations, organizational structures and occupational roles in architectural production, and therefore insights from studies in the field of sociology and history of professions and on bureaucratic organizations were sought for. The interrelation of these fields with architectural history proved to be quite fruitful here as it allowed a reassessment of the architectural discourse that was dominant for the case at hand. If we define “discourse” as an interaction of theory and practice, where ideas and conceptualizations are not only put into practice, but also are both shaped and voiced by the interrelation of ongoing practices and actors of the field, we can assert via our discussion in the conclusion above that: the occupational and organizational structures, as we exemplified in this study, is a good context to clarify and define the

architectural discourse on production on the one hand and the production of architectural discourse on the other as separate yet overlapping layers. This statement is consistent with our aim as stated in the Introduction in understanding the period in its multi-layered nature.

2. However our study here on state employment did not exhaust the possibilities that this approach that was stated in the Proposition 1 can provide. Consequent eras of modern architecture in Turkey can present various institutional/organizational bodies that come forth in providing similar tools to understand relevant concepts of contemporary architectural discourse. The relatively vitalized free practice and small architectural offices in the 1950s, the renewed and re-conceptualized importance of bureaucratic technical service in the 1960s especially in planning professions, the rise of the small investor-contractor especially in the production of extensive small and medium scale urban residential architecture after the 1980s and rather recent appearance of large scale construction companies can all be listed in this sense as cases of inquiry in their relation to the production of discourse.
3. In the literature review in the Introduction, the existing dominant paradigm in architectural history studies on Turkey was defined with its emphasis on the cultural politics of the Republican revolution and our study was defined with the contribution that a shift in emphasis could provide, where other components of the Republican modernization such as professionalization, industrialization or economic modernization would be in focus. Our study on the concept of state employment and the public production of the built environment was basically situated on the field of professionalization, but it was also noted that as a

field of modernization of public services, its relation to the economic formulations of the revolution was more apparent than and at least as significant as its cultural formulations. Further studies, which would pick some state institutions other than the Ministry of Public Works which were active in the field of architectural production and which were mentioned in this study but not detailed as case studies, can find the chance to elaborate more on the relation of cultural forms to the economic forms if they choose state institutions that were directly active in industrial and economic production. All our discussions here on the professional identification of the architect as a creator of representative (and cultural) values on the one hand and the production of the built environment on the other would acquire additional depth and extended scope, if cases where architects operated directly in relation to the relations of production and consumption were brought into focus. The case of State Monopolies is especially promising in this sense, as it was a central state institution that monopolized the production of certain goods such as tobacco and alcohol, where as it was shown here a productive and continuous architectural office was maintained. Other valid candidates for similar studies are the industrial investments of the state such as Sümerbank in textile industries, Etibank in mining, and sugar and paper factories etc. In these cases, the institution's relation to the state body had different forms when compared to central state institutions; however this time there is the important opportunity to explore the direct relation of the architectural profession to industrialization, and therefore to inquiry deeply into the industrial component of the Republican modernization and its labor and class politics as well. What should be noted is that a number of

studies, which were also cited in this work, have already studied architectural production related to industrial investments of the state, especially in the field of workers' housings; nevertheless what they displayed in detail was the architectural products and the socio-spatial practices that they formed. The institutional and occupational relations regarding the architectural production as mentioned in the previous proposition still define an unexplored ground for these cases.

4. The process of professionalization of architecture in Turkey and its relation to the history of technical expertise in the bureaucracy was largely discussed in this work and to some extent in a comparative approach here in the Conclusion. The scope of this research did not allow for the introduction of wider cases of comparison. A throughout study of comparison of the professionalization of architecture which would not only dwell in the context of Europe and North America but include the narration from different contexts such as post-colonial or cases from various geographies such as South America, Middle East or Eastern Europe would not only better position the particularities of the Turkish case but would contribute greatly to the literature on professions by bringing together the studies on the architectural profession.
5. In the same line with the Proposition 4, it should be noted that what would be necessary for a study that focuses exclusively in the professionalization of architecture in Turkey would be extending the narration beyond the scope that was studied in this research. The narration on the architectural profession in Turkey does not conclude with the 1950s, as our work did, as a matter of fact what happened next brings in quite interesting discussions. One possible research that would add upon what we have discussed in terms of

professionalization of architecture could pick the topic exactly where we have left, starting with the foundation of the Union of Chambers of Architects and Engineers of Turkey in 1954 and put this organization in the focus of study. In the flourishing environment for liberal economic policies of 1950s, the Chamber continued to be a central organization for the development of professional identity parallel to previous decades; however the story had a strong twist after the military coup that ended the power of the Democrat Party in 1960 and later with the increasing influence of the political atmosphere of 1968. A new generation of architects and engineers with strong left orientations started building up a new professional identity within the Chamber of Architects with a reinforced intent on social and political engagement, which was not exactly like the bureaucratic tradition of early Republican era but which resembled it more than the professionalism of the architects of early period. In fact, 'professionalism' evolved into being a critical, even accusing term that was repeatedly used in the political debate within different groups that are active in the Chamber of Architects and continues to be so even today in the absolute domination of the private sector in architectural production. Interestingly enough, the official professional organization of architects is now the major context where a critique of professionalism can be generated. If the Turkish case is going to take its place in comparative studies on the professionalization of architecture, this other half of the narration should be added to the one in this study.

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Abdullah Ziya	Adana Belediyesi fen heyeti şefliğine.	Municipality of Adana	1931	Mimar, n. 5, s. 180.
Abdullah Ziya	Adana şehir stadını Adana Belediye fen müdürü olarak yapmış.	Municipality of Adana	1932	Mimar, 1932, n. 1, s. 39-40.
Abdullah Ziya	Vekalet Başkontrol mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works	1933	"Memleket Haberleri", 1933, Mimar, n. 4, s. 127.
Adil	İstanbul belediyesi mebani şubesi müdürlüğünden istifa.	Municipality of İstanbul	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 6, s. 190.
Adnan Kuruyazıcı	Gaziantep Belediye mimarlığına.	Municipality of Gaziantep	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 11-12, s. 358.
Adnan Kuruyazıcı	İstanbul Teknik Okulu muallimlerinden, İstanbul Yapı Usta Okulu müdürlüğüne.	School of Master Constructors	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 237.
Adnan Kuruyazıcı	Eniştesi olduğu Orhan Alsaç ile birlikte Merkez Bankası İzmir Şubesi yarışmasına katılmış	Free Practice	1944	Alsaç, Ü. "Retrospektif", Mimarlık, n. 312.
Ahmet Sabri	"Cerrahpaşa Hastanesi Hariciye Pavyonu, Belediye Fen Heyeti" yazısını Mimar Ahmet Sabri diye imzalamış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 9, s. 259-260.
Ahmet Sabri	Belediye imar şubesi mimarı olarak valilik tarafından Eminönü Halkevi temsil ve jimnastik salonu için proje hazırlamakla görevlendirilmiş, Arkitekt'e projeyi yazmış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 4, s. 103-105.
Ahsen Kemal Yapaner	İnhisar Fen Heyeti mimarlığına.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 5-6, s. 174.
Ahsen Kemal Yapaner	Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi muallim muavinliğine.	Academy of Fine Arts	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n.11-12, s. 290.
Alaaddin Özaktaş	Evkaf Umum direktörlüğü fen işleri müdürlüğüne.	Directorate of Endowments	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 5-6, s. 177.
Alaaddin Özaktaş	Vakıflar Um. Md. Mühassıs mimarı iken ölmüş. 1895 mezunu.	Directorate of Endowments	1947	Arkitekt, 1947, n. 7-8, s. 197.
Aleaddin	Maarif vekaleti inşaat müdürlüğüne.	The Ministry of Education	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 1, s. 30.
Asım Mutlu	Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi muallim muavinliğine.	Academy of Fine Arts	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n.11-12, s. 290.

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Avni Kağıtçı	Yerköy, Zile, Burdur, Turhal, hükümet konaklarında projeyi yapan "Projeler B. Y. Mimar Avni Kağıtçı" olarak geçiyor.	The Ministry of Public Works	1949	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, Aralık, 1949, ss. 136, 138.
Aziz Börü	Kocaeli Nafia Yapı İşleri yük. Mimarı Aziz Börü'nün maaşı 50 liraya çıkarılmıştır.	Kocaeli Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1940	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1940, s. 7, n. 6, s. 76.
Aziz Bursa	İnhisarlar Vekaleti mimarlığından Bursa Nafiası yapı işleri mimarlığına.	Directorate of State Monopolies - Bursa Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 7-8, s. 244.
Aziz Bursa	Bursa Vilayeti Yapı İşleri mimarlığına 35 lira maaşla.	Bursa Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Temmuz 1935, s. 2, n. 2, s. 95.
Aziz Bursa	Bursa Vilayeti Yapı İşleri mimarı Aziz Bursa 40 lira maaşla Manisa vilayeti Yapı İşleri Mimarlığına naklen ve terfian.	Bursa Provincial Directorate of Public Works - Manisa Provincial Directorate Of Public Works	1938	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1938, s. 4, n. 9, s. 104.
Bahattin Pir Bekiroğlu	Ankara Yapı İş. mimarlığına 30 lira maaşla.	Ankara Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 2, n. 10, s. 114.
Bahattin Pirbekiroğlu	(260) mimar Ferruh'un yerine Binalar Fen Heyetinde 30 lira maaşla namzed olarak istihdam edilmekte olan mimar Bahattin Pir Bekiroğlu 175 lira aylık ücretle.	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 3, n. 2, s. 131.
Bedri Hamdi	DDY Fen heyeti mimarlığına.	Directorate of State Railroads	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 7, s. 230.
Bedri Uçar	Samsun Belediyesi fen direktörlüğüne.	Municipality of Samsun	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 11-12, s. 358.
Bedri Uçar	Samsun ili belediyesi fen işleri müdürü Bedri Uçar 225 lira aylık ücretle Yapı İşleri Gn. Md. mimarlığına.	Municipality of Samsun - The Ministry of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 3, n. 7, s. 68.
Bedri Uçar	Yapı işleri mimarlarından Bedri Uçar'ın 225 lira aylık ücreti 250 liraya çıkarılmıştır.	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 5, n. 8, s. 63.
Bedri Uçar	Yeni teşkilat kanunu dolayısıyla yapılan tayinler. Nafia Vekaleti 939 (D) cetveli kadroları (merkez) Proje Bürosu listesinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 6, n. 1, s. 102.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Bedri Uçar	İzmit Memleket Hastanesi için projeyi yapan "Projeler B. Y. Mimar Bedri Uçar" olarak geçiyor.	Municipality of Izmit	1949	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, Aralık, 1949, s. 143.
Behçet	Ankara ili Yapı İş. Mimarlığına 70 lira maaş tutarından 175 lira aylık ücretle Güzel Sanatlar okulu mezunlarından Behçet.	Ankara Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 2, n. 11, s. 74.
Behçet Sabri	Afyon belediye mimarlığına, belediyenin müracatı üzerine birlik tarafından tavsiye edilerek.	Municipality of Afyon	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 9-10, s. 330.
Behçet Ünsal	Yeni teşkilat kanunu dolayısıyla yapılan tayinler. Nafia Vekaleti 939 (D) cetveli kadroları (merkez) Proje Bürosu listesinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 6, n. 1, s. 102.
Behçet Ünsal	Ankara Nafia Vekaleti yapı bürosu mimarlığından İstanbul Belediyesi imar müdüriyeti mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works - Municipality of İstanbul	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n.11-12, s. 290.
Behçet Ünsal	Ankara vilayeti yapı işleri mimarlığında 225 lira aylık ücretle çalışmakta olan Behçet Ünsal 250 lira aylık ücretle Yapı İşleri Um. Md. Merkez Fen Heyeti'ne terfian.	Ankara Provincial Directorate of Public Works - The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 5, n. 10, s. 50.
Bekir İhsan	Nafia vekaleti mebani şubesi mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 3, s. 97.
Burhan Arif Ogun	Maarif vekaleti mimarı olarak Sergievi yarışma jürisinde.	The Ministry of Education	1933	"Sergi binası müsabakası, ankara", Mimar, 1933, n. 5, s. 131-153.
Burhan Arif Ogun	Yapı İş. Gn. Direkt. Şehircilik Fen Hey.nde 70 lira maaş mukabili 220 lira ücretle müstahdem mimar Burhan Arifin vazifesine nihayet verilerek 200 lira aylık ücretle Samsun ili bel. Mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works - Municipality of Samsun	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1935, s. 2, n. 6, s. 92.
Burhan Arif Ogun	Yapı İşleri Um. Md. Merkez Şehircilik kısmında açık bulunan mimarlığa 220 lira ücretle.	The Ministry of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Temmuz 1935, s. 2, n. 2, s. 95.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Burhan Arif Ongun	"Prost devrine rastlayan İstanbul'un felaket senelerinde ben bu elim durumu görmemek için Ankaraya kaçarak Nafia Vekaletinde ilk şehircilik fen heyetini kurdum. (1935)"	The Ministry of Public Works	1935	"50 yıl Böyle Geçti", B. A. Ongun. s. 10.
Burhan Arif Ongun	Nafia Bakanlığı şehircilik mütehassıslığına.	The Ministry of Public Works	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 7-8, s. 244.
Burhan Arif Ongun	Nafia Bakanlığı şehircilik şubesinden vazifesinin Samsun'a çevrilmesinden dolayı istifa etmiş.	The Ministry of Public Works - resign	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
Burhan Arif Ongun	Sıhhat Vekaleti fen müfettişliğine.	The Ministry of Health	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 12, s. 346.
Cavit Tamkan	C.H.P. İnşaat Büro Mimarı Cavit Tamkan'ın sicil dosyası.	Republican People's Party	1951	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Cihat Burak	Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı B. T. U. Md. Proje ve yapı bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1946	Arkitekt, 1946, n. 1-2, s. 45.
Ecvet Aşkan	İstanbul Belediyesi inşaat şubesi müdürlüğüne.	Municipality of İstanbul	1944	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1944, n. 3-4, s. 99.
Edip Yahya Kemal	CHP Estetik müşavirliğine.	Republican People's Party	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 141.
Emin Necip Uzman	1936 İzmir fuarında İnhisarlar pavyonunu tasarlamış. Yazıdan İnhisarlar mimarı olduğu anlaşılıyor.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 10-11, s. 284-288.
Emin Necip Uzman	İnhisarlar İdaresi Sivas kontrol mimarlığına.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
Emin Necip Uzman	İki seneye yakın zamandır Almanyada mesleki tettebbuat yaparak avdet eden mimar, İnhisarlar fen heyeti mimarlığına.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1938	Arkitekt, 1938, no. 5-6, s. 178.
Emin Necip Uzman	Y. Mühendis Mektebi Mimari şubesi asistanlığına.	Engineering School	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 284.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Erib	Yapı İş. Gn. Dr. Kadrosunda açık bulunan mimarlığa 70 lira maaş tutarından 200 lira ücretle Güz. San. Ak. Mim. Şb. 1928 yılı mezunlarından olup 2799 sayılı kanunun 8. md.deki sarahete binaen Mrkz. Binalar Fen Heyetinde çalıştırılmak üzere Erib	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 3, n. 3, ss. 51-2.
Erip Erbilen	Yeni teşkilat kanunu dolayısıyla yapılan tayinler. Nafia Vekaleti 939 (D) cetveli kadroları (merkez) Proje Bürosu listesinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 6, n. 1, s. 102.
Erip Erbilen	Yapı İşleri Rs. Yük. Mimar Erip Erbilen, 5. dereceden 4. dereceye terfi.	The Ministry of Public Works	1944	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1944, s. 11, n. 1, s. 100.
Ertuğrul Menteşe	210 lira ücretli Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reis. Kontrol kısmı mimarı (ihtisas mevki) Ertuğrul Menteşe, Yapı ve İmar İş Rs kontrol kısmı mimarlığına (ih. Mv.) merkezde istihdam edilmek üzere İstanbul'dan naklen.	The Ministry of Public Works - İstanbul Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1941	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1941, s. 7, n. 11, s. 127.
Ertuğrul Murat Menteşe	Paris'teki vekalet hesabına mimarlık tahsilini ikmal ederek bu kerre yurda dönen Ertuğrul Murat Menteşe 150 lira aylık ücretle Yapı İşleri mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works	1938	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1938, s. 4, n. 11, s. 78.
Fahreddin	İstanbul Üniversitesi Fen Heyetine atanmış	İstanbul University	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 3, s. 95.
Farih	İstanbul Emlak Bankası mimarı.	İstanbul Emlak Bank	1931	"Mimar Adresleri", Mimar, 1931, n. 1, s. 27.
Faruk	İstanbul İlbaylığı Yapı İş. Mimarlığına 70 lira maaş mukabil 150 lira ücretle.	İstanbul Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Temmuz 1935, s. 2, n. 2, s. 96.
Faruk Çeçen	Kültür Bakanlığı mimarlığından İstanbul Nafia yapı bürosuna.	The Ministry of Education - İstanbul Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 7-8, s. 244.
Faruk Çeçen	Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü İnşaat Müdürlüğü'ne Y.Mimar Faruk Çeçen'in tayini.	Directorate of Endowments	1951	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Faruk Galip	Zonguldak Halkevi yarışma jürisinde "İstanbul Halkevi İdare heyetinden Güzel	Republican People's Party	1933	Ö. Faruk Galip, "Zonguldak Halkevi Proje Müsabakası Münasebetile", Mimar,

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
	sanatlar murahhası mimar" olarak yer almış.			1933, n. 2, s. 64.
Faruk Galip	Maliye Vekaleti fen heyeti miarlığına.	The Ministry of Finance	1933	"Memleket Haberleri", 1933, Mimar, n. 4, s. 127.
Faruk Galip	Maliye vekaleti mimarlığından Maarif vekaleti fen heyetine.	The Ministry of Finance - The Ministry of Education	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 6, s. 190.
Fazıl	Maarif Vekaleti Fen Bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 12, s. 346.
Feridun Kip	Sıhhat Vekaleti İskan Umum Direktörlüğü fen müfettişliğine. Trakya'da göçmen köyleri inşaatını kontrol edecektir.	The Ministry of Health	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 10-11, s. 323.
Feridun Kip	Maarif vekaleti Fen bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 12, s. 346.
Ferruh (Orel)	İzmir Belediyesi Fuar ve Turizm Bürosu müdürlüğüne.	Municipality of Izmir	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 191.
Ferruh Mehmet	Bilecik vilayet mimarlığına.	Bilecik Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1931	Mimar, 1931, n. 6, s. 216.
Ferruh Mehmet	Bilecik vilayeti mimarlığından Denizli vilayeti mimarlığına.	Bilecik Provincial Directorate of Public Works - Denizli Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1933	"Memleket Haberleri", 1933, Mimar, n. 3, s. 96.
Ferruh Mehmet	Yapı İş. Gn. Dir. Şehircilik fen heyeti mimarlığına 175 lira aylık ücretle Denizli ili hususi idare eski mimarı ferruh.	Denizli Provincial Directorate of Public Works - The Ministry of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1935, s. 2, n. 7, s. 80.
Ferruh Mehmet	Denizli vilayet mimarlığından Nafia bakanlığı şehircilik şubesi mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
Ferruh Mehmet	Yapı İş. Gn. Dr. Şehircilik Fen Heyetinde 70 lira maaş mukabilinde 175 lira aylık ücretle çalışmakta iken askere giden mimar Ferruh kadrodan çıkarılmış...	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 3, n. 2, s. 131.
Fevki Gönen	İstanbul belediye imar md. mimarı Fevki Gönen'in 100 lira ücreti 120 liraya.	Municipality of İstanbul	1941	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1941, s. 7, n. 10, s. 109.
Fuat Saylam	Sıhhiye Vekaleti mimarı olarak 1937 İzmir fuarı için Sağlık Müzesini tasarlamış.	The Ministry of Health	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 12, s. 329.
Fuat Saylam	Y. Mim. Devlet Havayolları Genel	State Airways	1949	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
	Müdürlüğü'ndeki Yüksek Mühendis veya Yüksek Mimarlık kadrosuna tayini.			
Galib Alnar	"İstanbul'da Yapılan Beton Şosalar, Belediye Fen Heyeti" yazısını İstanbul Belediyesi Yollar Direktörü olarak imzalamış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 9, s. 247-249.
Galib Alnar	"İstanbulun Liman Meselesi" yazısını Mühendis Galib Alnar, İstanbul Belediyesi Yollar ve Köprüler Direktörü olarak imzalamış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 11-12, s. 325-326.
Galib Alnar	"Köprü Kadıköy İskelesi" projesi	Municipality of İstanbul	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 10-11, s. 291-296.
H. Adil	"İtfaiye Müzesi Pavyonu, Fatih", Belediye Fen Heyeti Mimari Şubesi olarak yapmış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1933	Mimar, 1933, n. 1, s. 5-7.
Halim	Ankara Vilayeti Nafia Encümeni üyeliğine seçilmiş.	Ankara Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	"Duyumlar", Arkitekt, 1935, no. 3, s. 95.
Hamdi Oyalı	Yeni teşkilat kanunu dolayısıyla yapılan tayinler. Nafia Vekaleti 939 (D) cetveli kadroları (merkez) Proje Bürosu listesinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 6, n. 1, s. 102.
Hasan Canses	Maarif Vekilliğinde yeni teşkil edilen inşaat bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 144.
Hasan Hadi	Maliye Bakanlığı mülğa Fen Heyet Reis vekili mimar mühendis Hasan Hadi 80 lira maaşlı kadrodan 300 lira ücretle Binalar Fen Heyeti Şefliğine	The Ministry of Finance - The Ministry of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Eylül 1935, s. 2, n. 4, s. 65.
Hikmet	Y.K.O.İstanbullu Mimar Hikmet'in hizmetlerinin birleştirilerek emekliye sevk.	NA	1931	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Hurşit Altuncu	Vakıflar Umum Md. İnşaat fen heyeti müdürlüğüne, Nihat Nigizberk'in yaş haddinden çekilmesi üzerine. 1928 mezunu, sürekli Vakıflar Um. Md. Fen heyetinde imiş.	Directorate of Endowments - Retirement.	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 140.
Hüseyin	Yapı İş. Um. Md. Bin. Fen Hey. Açık bulunan 55 liralık mimarlığa 2799 sayılı kanundaki sarahate binaen 200 lira ücretle.	The Ministry of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Temmuz 1935, s. 2, n. 2, s. 96.
Hüseyin Avni	Nafia Vekaleti yapı işleri bürosu	The Ministry of Public	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n.11-12, s.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
	mimarlığına.	Works		290.
Hüseyin Kara	Kültür Bakanlığı mimarlığından Nafia Bakanlığı yapı işleri bürosuna.	The Ministry of Education - The Ministry of Public Works	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 7-8, s. 244.
Hüseyin Kara	Yapı İşleri Um. Md. Binalara Fen Heyeti mimarlığında 200 lira aylık ücretle çalışmakta olan Hüseyin Kara'nın ücreti 250 liraya çıkarılmıştır.	The Ministry of Public Works	1937	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1937, s. 3, n. 12, s. 87.
Hüseyin Kara	Yeni teşkilat kanunu dolayısıyla yapılan tayinler. Nafia Vekaleti 939 (D) cetveli kadroları (merkez) Proje Bürosu listesinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 6, n. 1, s. 102.
Hüseyin Kara	Yozgat spor alanı yarışmasında Nafi vekaleti adına jüri üyesi.	The Ministry of Public Works	1943	"Yozgat Spor Alanı Proje Musabakası", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 107-110.
Hüseyin Kara	Yük. Mim. 500 lira ücretli Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reisliği Yüksek Mühendis veya Yüksek Mimar mütehassıs kadrosuna terfien tayini.	The Ministry of Public Works	1944	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Hüseyin Kara	Nafia müdürleri toplantısında Bayındırlık Bakanlığı yapı işleri proje şefi olarak konuşmuş	The Ministry of Public Works	1945	Arkitekt, 1945, n. 5-6, ss. 131-134.
Hüseyin Kara	Bayındırlık Bakanlığı adına Ankara T. Ü. Fizik ve kimya fakülteleri yarışması jürisinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1946	Arkitekt, 1946, n. 3-4, s. 93.
Hüseyin Kara	1948'de Türk Mimarlar Birliği başkanı imiş.	Society of Turkish Architects	1948	Ayn Tarihi, Mayıs 1948.
Hüsnü	G. S. Birliği mimari şubesi idare heyeti ikinci reisi.	Arch. Branch of Union of the Academy	1933	"Birlik Haberleri", 1933, Mimar, n. 1, s. 31.
Hüsnü	Sümerbank fen müfettişliğine.	Sümerbank	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
Hüsnü Tümer	Ankara Belediyesi müşavir mimarı olarak Yüksek Mimarlar birliği idare heyeti riyasetine seçilmiş.	Municipality of Ankara	1940	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1940, n.1-2, s. 46.
Hüsnü Tümer	Nafia Vekaleti yapı ve imar işleri reis muavinliğine. Evkaf Um. Md.de Kemalettin'le çalışmış, serbest çalışmış, en	The Ministry of Public Works	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 237.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
	son Ankara Belediyesi müşavir mimarı imiş.			
Hüsnü Tümer	Y.Mim. Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reisliğinde Yüksek Mühendisveya mimarlığı kadrosuna tayini.	The Ministry of Public Works	1944	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Hüsnü Tümer	Bayındırlık Bakanlığı adına Ankara T. Ü. Fizik ve kimya fakülteleri yarışması jürisinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1946	Arkitekt, 1946, n. 3-4, s. 93.
Hüsnü Tümer	Yapı ve İmar işlerinde çalıştırılacaklara ait kadrolardan 500 lira ücretli Yüksek Mühendisliğe Y. Müh. Hüsnü Tümer'in tayini.	The Ministry of Public Works	1946	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
İffan Hayati	Ankara İmar Müdüriyeti fen heyetine atanmış.	Planning Directorate of Ankara	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 4, s. 127.
İsmet Barutçuoğlu	Şose, Köprüler ve Bina İşleri Reisliği Binalar Fen Heyeti mimarlığına 115 lira ücretle.	The Ministry of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Mart 1935, s. 1, n. 10, s. 77.
İsmet Hüsnü Barutçu	İnhisarlar vekaleti Antalya vilayeti müdürlük binası inşaatı kontrol mimarlığına atanmış.	The Ministry of State Monopolies	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 4, s. 127.
İsmet Özberk	Kastamonu vilayeti Yapı İşleri mimarı İsmet Özberk 45 lira maaşile Sinop vilayeti Yapı İşleri mimarlığına.	Kastamonu Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1938	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1938, s. 5, n. 7, s. 84.
İzzet	İstanbul belediyesi mebani şubesinden istifa.	Municipality of İstanbul - resignation	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 6, s. 190.
İzzet Baysal	Bolu vilayeti mıntakası Maarif mimarlığından Milli Müdafaa Vekaleti hava müsteşarlığı mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education - The Ministry of Defense	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 12, s. 392.
İzzet Baysal	Milli müdafaa vekaleti hava müsteşarlığı mimarlığından Eskişehir bankası hususi inşaat şirketi mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Defense - Private Company	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 8, s. 190.
İzzet Baysal	Eskişehir belediye mimarlığından Ankara imar direktörlüğü fen heyetine.	Municipality of Eskişehir - Ankara Planning Directorate	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
İzzet Taşören	PTT İdaresi kadrosunda münhal bulunan 260 lira ücretli yüksek mimar veya yüksek	PTT	1940	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
	mühendisliğe İzzettin Taşören'in tayini.			
İzzet Taşören	PTT umum müdüriyeti mimarlığına.	PTT	1940	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1940, n.9-10, s. 240.
Kami Refet	"İzmirin İmarı Hakkında" yazısını İzmir Belediye Fen Heyetinden olarak imzalamış.	Municipality of Izmir	1931	Mimar, 1931, n. 7, s. 228-230.
Kemal Ahmet Aru	Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi şehircilik profesörlüğü muavinliğine	Academy of Fine Arts	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 1-2, s. 50.
Kemal Altan	İstanbul asarı atika müzeleri mimarlığında Trakya umumi müfettişlik fen müşavir muavinliğine	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n. 7-8, s. 190.
Kemal Fuad	İnhisarlar idaresi Uzunköprü kontrol mimarlığına.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
Kemal Hayırlıoğlu	Teknik Terim Komisyonunda yapı ve mimarlık alanında.	Commission of Technical Terminology (Turkish Language Assoc?)	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 191.
Kemalettin	Edirne Maarif mimarı.	The Ministry of Education	1931	"Mimar Adresleri", Mimar, 1931, n. 1, s. 27.
Kemalettin	Edirne sabık maarif mimarlığından İstanbul müzeleri mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 7, s. 230.
Kemalettin Bey	Evkaf Müdüriyet-i Umumiyesi İnşaat ve Tamirat Müdürlüğü ve Başmimarlığına Mimar Kemaleddin Bey'in tayini.	Directorate of Endowments	1925	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Kemali Söylemezoğlu	Maarif vekilliği teknik öğretim müsteşarlığı inşaat bürosu şefliğine. 1937 mezunu, Stuttgart technische hochschule'yi bitirmiş, Bonatz'ın öğrencisi olmuş.	The Ministry of Education	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 1-2, s. 50.
Kemali Söylemezoğlu	Maarif Vekilliği Teknik Öğretim mimari bürosu şefliğinden Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi atölye profesörlüğüne.	The Ministry of Education - Academy of Fine Arts	1944	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1944, n. 1-2, s. 49.
Kenan	Afyon Karahisar belediyesi mimarlığından Milli Müdafaa Vekaleti deniz fabrikaları mimarlığına.	Municipality of Afyon - The Ministry of Defense	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 8, s. 190.
Kenan Mermer	İzmit askeri fabrikaları mimarlığından Bursa belediyesi mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Defense - Municipality of Bursa	1938	Arkitekt, 1938, no. 5-6, s. 178.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Kenan Sait	Elaziz belediyesi mimarlığına. (G. S. Birliği mimari şubesi idare heyeti azası)	Municipality of Elaziz	1933	"Memleket Haberleri", 1933, Mimar, n. 4, s. 127.
Kerim	Yapı İşleri Gn. Dr. Kadrosunda açık bulunan mimarlığa 200 lira aylık ücretle Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Mimari Şubesi 1933 mezunlarından Kerim.	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 3, n. 3, s. 51.
Kerim Arman	Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü teşkilat kadrosunda münhal bulunan Fen İşleriŞef Muavinliği'ne Mimar Kerim Arman'ın tayini	Ankara Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1940	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Kerim Şevket	Tütün inhisarı fen heyetine.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 7, s. 230.
Leman Tomsu	İstanbul Belediyesi İmar Bürosu Fen Heyetine atanmış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 3, s. 95.
Leman Tomsu	Gerede Halkevi binasını yapmış. Münevver Belen ile.	NA	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 12, s. 330-332.
Leman Tomsu	Karamürsel Halkevi Projesi. Münevver Belen ile birlikte.	NA	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 5-6, s. 142-144.
Leman Tomsu	Kayseri Halkevi binasını yapmış. Münevver Belen ile.	NA	1937	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 4, s. 107-109.
Leman Tomsu	Şehremini Halkevi Projesini "İstanbul Belediyesi İmar Bürosu Mimarlarından" olarak tasarlamış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1938	Arkitekt, 1938, n.9, s. 253-256.
Leman Tomsu	İstanbul Belediye Sarayı projesi için yarışma şartnamesini İmar Bürosu mimarı olarak hazırlamaktaymış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n. 7-8, s. 190.
Leman Tomsu	Yüksek Mühendis Mektebi Mimari şubesinde bir doçentliğe.	Engineering School	1940	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1940, n.9-10, s. 240.
Leman Tomsu	170 lira ücretli İstanbul belediye İmar Md. Mimarı Leman Tomsu Yüksek Mühendis mektebi asistanlığına.	Engineering School	1941	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1941, s. 7, n. 11, s. 127.
Lütfi Niltuna	Lütfü Niltuna 120 lira ücretle İstanbul Belediyesi Şehircilik şubesi proje bürosu mimarlığına (ihtisas mevki).	Municipality of İstanbul	1941	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1941, s. 7, n. 9, s. 88.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Macit Rüştü	İstanbul asarı atika müzeleri miarlığından Maarif Vekaleti eski eserler mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 7, s. 230.
Mahmud Bilen	Maarif vekaleti mimari bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 5-6, s. 174.
Mahmud Bilen	Maarif vekaleti bürosu mimarlığından Güzel Sanatlar akademisi mimarı asistanlığına.	The Ministry of Education - Academy of Fine Arts	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 9, s. 267.
Mahmud Bilen	Maarif Vekilliğinde yeni teşkil edilen inşaat bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 144.
Mazhar	Çanakkale vilayet mimarlığından Ankara Gümrükler muhafaza kumandanlığı mimarlığına.	Canakkale Provincial Directorate of Public Works - Ankara Customs	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 5, s. 162.
Mazhar	Trakya Um. Müfettişlik Nafia Müşavir Muavinliği kadrosunda açık bulunan mimarlığa 70 lira maaş tutarından 150 lira aylık ücretle mimar Mazhar	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 3, n. 1, s. 151.
Mazhar Altan	Trakya birinci müfettişlik mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
Mazhar Altan	2. Umumi Müfettişlik Nafia Müşavir Muavini mimar Mazhar Altan'ın 150 lira aylık ücreti 175 liraya çıkarılmıştır.	The Ministry of Public Works	1938	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1938, s. 5, n. 1, s. 154.
Mazhar Altan	İstanbul saraylar mimarlığına	Istanbul Palaces Office	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n. 7-8, s. 190.
Melih	Emlak ve Eytam Bankası İzmir şubesi mimarlığına.	Emlak Bank	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 9, s. 267.
Muammer Çavuşoğlu	Bayındırlık Bakanlığı Yapı ve imar işleri Reisi olarak Anıtkabir jürisinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1942	http://www.tsk.mil.tr/anitkabir/dusunce/proje4.htm 15.07.2005
Muammer Çavuşoğlu	Nafia vekilliği yapı ve imar işleri reisliğinden yollar reisliğine.	The Ministry of Public Works	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 141.
Muammer Çavuşoğlu	38-39 yapı işleri reis muaini, 39-43 yapı işleri reisi, 43 şose ve köprüler reisi, 43-48 müsteşar muavini, 48 şose ve köprüler reisi, 48-54 müsteşar, 54-55 ulştırma bakanı, 55-56 bay.bakanı. Yapı kredide kazım taşkentle.	The Ministry of Public Works	1973	Bayındırlıkta 50 Yıl, T.C. Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı, 1973.
Muhittin	Maarif Vekilliğinde yeni teşkil edilen inşaat	The Ministry of Education	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 144.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Gürel	bürosu mimarlığına.			
Muhittin Gürel	Adana Belediyesi İmar ve Yapı işleri şefliğine.	Municipality of Adana	1944	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1944, n. 1-2, s. 49.
Muhittin Gürel	Adana Belediyesi İmar Müdürü olarak sonuçsuz bir yarışmadan sonra Adana'da otel projesini yapmış.	Municipality of Adana	1944	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1944, n. 5-6, s. 143.
Muhittin Gürel	Tarsus Adliye binası için projeyi yapan "Y. Mimar Muhittin Gürel" olarak geçiyor. (Projeler B. Yazılmamış, dışarıdan olabilir.)	Free Practice	1949	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, Aralık, 1949, s. 138-9.
Muhittin Gürel	1936 mezunu, TBMM'de Holzmeister'in asistanı, 1964-1973 TMMOB başkanı, 2003'de 93 yaşında vefat.	Ass. to Holzmeister	2003	http://www.aksam.com.tr/arsiv/aksam/2003/11/12/kultursanat/kultursanatprn4.htm 15.07.2005
Muhlis Sertel	Ankara İmar müdürü olarak anıtkabir jürisinde.	Ankara Planning Dir.	1942	http://www.tsk.mil.tr/anitkabir/dusunce/proje4.htm 29.07.2005
Mukbil Kemal Taş	Kırmızı Kemal, Gazi Latife okulları, BMM müzesi/itt. Ter. Binası. Sonra çok para kazanmak için Amerika'ya orada ölmüş. Önceden İstanbul Maarif Nezaretinde tek mimar.	The Ministry of Education	1974	"50 yıl Böyle Geçti", B. A. Ongun. s. 3.
Münci	Nafia Bakanlığı İstanbul Fen Heyetine atanmış.	İstanbul Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 3, s. 95.
Münevver	Bursa vilayeti Yapı İşleri mimarı Münevver 40 lira maaş ile Kocaeli vilayeti Yapı İşleri mimarlığına.	Bursa Provincial Directorate of Public Works - Kocaeli Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1938	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1938, s. 4, n. 11, s. 78.
Münevver Belen	Nafia Bakanlığı Ankara binalar şubesine atanmış.	Ankara Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 4, s. 127.
Münevver Belen	İstanbul Nafia yapı bürosuna.	İstanbul Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 7-8, s. 244.
Münevver Belen	Şose Köprüler ve Binalar Reisliği Binalar Fen Hey. nde münhal bulunan 115 lira ücretli mimarlığa.	The Ministry of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Şubat 1935, s. 1, n. 9, s. 52.
Münevver Belen	Karamürsel Halkevi Projesi. Leman Tomsu ile birlikte.	NA	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 5-6, s. 142-144.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Münevver Belen	Gerede Halkevi binasını yapmış. Leman Tomsu ile.	NA	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 12, s. 330-332.
Münevver Belen	Kayseri Halkevi binasını yapmış. Leman Tomsu.	NA	1937	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 4, s. 107-109.
Münevver Belen	Kocaeli Nafiasında 40 lira maaşlı Yapı İşleri mimarı Münevver Belen maaş ve kadrosu ile yapı İşleri Um. Md. proje işlerinde çalıştırılmak üzere merkeze.	Kocaeli Provincial Directorate of Public Works - The Ministry of Public Works	1938	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1938, s. 5, n. 3, s. 135.
Münevver Belen	Yapı İşleri Um. Md. mimarlarından Münevver Belen 40 lira maaşile İstanbul vilayet Yapı İşleri mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works - İstanbul Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 5, n. 10, s. 50.
Mustafa Avni Kırkağaçlıoğlu	Kültür Bakanlığı eski eserler mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1938	Arkitekt, 1938, no. 1, s. 30.
Mustafa Avni Kırkağaçlıoğlu	Seyhan Adalet Sarayı yarışma jürisine Adalet Bakanlığı adına.	The Ministry of Justice	1945	"Seyhan Adalet Sarayı için Açılan Müsabaka" Arkitekt, 1945, n. 7-8, s. 1190.
Muzaffer Tolun	Toprak Ofisi Um. Md. Balıkesir inşaat bölgesi kontrol mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Agriculture	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 141.
Muzaffer Vanlı	Maarif Vekaleti Teknik Öğretim Müsteşarlığı inşaat bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1944	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1944, n. 9-10, s. 241.
Naci	Afyon ili yapı işleri mimarı Naci 35 lira maaşla Konya ili yapı işleri mimarlığına.	Afyon Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1937	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1937, s. 3, n. 8, s. 66.
Naci Cemal	Posta telgraf müdüriyeti mimarlığına.	PTT	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 11, s. 360.
Naci Hamdi	Sü Bakanlığı mimarlığından Afyon Nafiası yapı işleri mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Transportation	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 7-8, s. 244.
Naci Tolos	Afyon İlbaylığı Yapı İşleri mimarlığına 30 lira maaşla.	Afyon Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Temmuz 1935, s. 2, n. 2, s. 95.
Naci Tolos	170 lira ücretli Konya vilayeti Nafia Yapı İşleri y. Mimarı Naci Tolos Malatya vilayeti belediye mimarlığına.	Konya Provincial Directorate of Public Works - Municipality of Malatya	1941	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1941, s. 7, n. 9, s. 88.
Naci Tolun	Konya vilayeti Yapı İşleri mimarlarından Naci Tolun bir derece terfi ettirilmiş ve	Konya Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1938	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1938, s. 5, n. 1, s. 154.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
	maaşı 40 liraya çıkarılmıştır.			
Nazım	Akay idaresi mimarlığından İstanbul tütün inhisarı fen heyeti müdürlüğüne.	Dir. Of revenues - Directorate of State Monopolies	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 8, s. 190.
Necmettin	İzmir Belediye Heyeti fenniye müdürü.	Municipality of Izmir	1931	"Mimar Adresleri", Mimar, 1931, n. 1, s. 27
Necmettin	Seyhan ili Bayındırlık Yapı İş. Mimarlığına 30 lira maaşla.	Seyhan Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1935, s. 2, n. 7, s. 80.
Necmi Ateş	3. Genel İnspektörlük mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 11-12, s. 358.
Neşet Akatay	CHP Genel Sekreterliği mimari bürosu kontrol mimarlığına. Halen inşa ettirilmekte olan Samsun Halkevi kontrolünü icra edecektir.	Republican People's Party	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 98.
Neşet Akatay	CHP Denizli leyli talebe yurdu binası inşaatına kontrol mimarı olarak. 1935 Akademi mezunu, serbest.	Republican People's Party	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 141.
Nihal Pertev Sanlı	Adana Belediyesi Fen Heyeti müşavir mimarlığına.	Municipality of Adana	1944	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1944, n. 9-10, s. 241.
Nihal Pertev Sanlı	Adana memur, teknisyen ve ustabaşı evleri.	Municipality of Adana	1947	Arkitekt, 1947, n. 9-10, ss. 201-3, 214.
Nihal Pertev Sanlı	Adana Belediyesi İmar müşaviri iken vefat. 1921 doğum, 1943 mezun. İzmir belediye, Adana belediye ve serbest olarak.	Municipality of Adana	1947	Arkitekt, 1947, n. 11-12, s. 290.
Nihat	"İnhisarlar İdare Binası, Konya" yazısında projeye başlayan kişi olarak geçiyor. Ayrılınca projeyi Tahir Tuğ bitirmiş.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 11-12, s. 317-319.
Nihat Nigizberk	Evkaf umum müdürlüğü fen heyeti müdürlüğüne.	Directorate of Endowments	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 8, s. 236.
Nihat Nigizberk	Vakıflar Umum Md. İnşaat fen heyeti müdürlüğünden yaş haddinden çekilmiş.	Directorate of Endowments - Retirement	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 140.
Nihat	1945de ölmüş; meşrutiyetten evvel mezun,	Directorate of Endowments	1946	"Mimar Nihad Nigizberk, 1878-1945"

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Nigizberk	Hariciye vekaletinde terceme kaleminde, Evkaf Fen Heyetinde Kemalettin'in altında, Suriye Evkaf Bş Mimarlığında, Ankara vakıflarda, 1937 vakıflar İnşaat ve Tamirat müdürü.			Arkitekt, 1946, n. 1-2, ss. 44-45.
Nihat Nigizberk	Vekıflar Umum Müdürlüğü İnşaat Müdürü Vehbi Kandaz'ın Bakanlık emrine alınması ve yerine Mimar Nihat Nigizberk'in tayini.	Directorate of Endowments	1937	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Niyazi Kiper	Yeni teşkilat kanunu dolayısıyla yapılan tayinler. Nafia Vekaleti 939 (D) cetveli kadroları (merkez) Şehircilik Fen Heyeti listesinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 6, n. 1, s. 102.
Nizamettin Doğu	Spor İşleri umum direktörlüğüne.	The Ministry of Education	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n.9-10, s. 240.
Nizamettin Doğu	Yozgat spor alanı yarışmasında Beden Terbiyesi Umum Md. adına jüri üyesi.	The Ministry of Education	1943	"Yozgat Spor Alanı Proje Musabakası", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 107-110.
Nizamettin Doğu	Beden Terbiyesi Um. Md. Mühassıs mimarı olduğu anlaşıyor.	The Ministry of Education	1943	"Spor Sahaları Mimari Sergisi", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 11-12, ss. 246-247.
Nureddin Çorlu	3. Kolordu mimarlığına.	Army	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 10-11, s. 323.
Nureddin Çorlu	İstanbul kumandanlığına.	Army	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
Orhan Alnar	Maarif Vekilliğinde yeni teşkil edilen inşaat bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 144.
Orhan Alsaç	İlk mimar Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reisi. 1952'de yardımcı olarak atanmış. (Yanlış bilgi? öncesinde Muammer Çavuşoğlu 1939'da?)	The Ministry of Public Works	1955	Alsaç, Ü. "Retrospektif", Mimarlık, n. 312.
Raşit Akal	1. Um. Mf. Nafia Müh. Mimarı Raşit Akal, 6. dereceden 5. dereceye terfi.	The Ministry of Public Works	1944	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1944, s. 11, n. 1, s. 100.
Recai	Yapı İş. Um. Md. Şehircilik Fen Heyeti mimarlığına 250 lira aylık ücretle Recai.	The Ministry of Public Works	1937	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1937, s. 4, n. 2, s. 136.
Recai Harun	Mersin belediye mimarlığına.	Municipality of Mersin	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 7, s. 230.
Recai Harun	Nafia Vekaleti Yapı işleri bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 5-6, s. 174.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Refik	Vekalet Fen bürosuna.	The Ministry of Public Works	1933	"Memleket Haberleri", 1933, Mimar, n. 4, s. 127.
Reşit Rıza	Antalya belediye mimarlığından Diyarbakır belediye mimarlığına.	Municipality of Antalya - Municipality of Diyarbakır	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 8, s. 244.
Rıza Aşkan	Yük. Mim. İzmir belediyesi Fen İşleri kadrosundaki mimarlığa tayini	Municipality of İzmir	1943	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Rıza Şükrü Duna	Vekalet Fen bürosuna.	The Ministry of Public Works	1933	"Memleket Haberleri", 1933, Mimar, n. 4, s. 127.
Rıza Şükrü Duna	İstanbul Nafia yapı bürosuna.	İstanbul Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 7-8, s. 244.
Rıza Şükrü Duna	Nafia bakanlığı yapı işleri müdürü umum muavinliğine.	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
Rıza Şükrü Duna	Yapı İş. Md. Muavinliğine 80 lira maaş mukabili 250 lira aylık ücretle mimar Rıza Duna.	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 2, n. 10, s. 114.
Rıza Şükrü Duna	Nafia Vekaleti yapı işleri umum müdürlüğünden İnhisarlar U. M. Fen işleri direktörlüğüne	The Ministry of Public Works - Directorate of State Monopolies	1938	Arkitekt, 1938, no. 5-6, s. 178.
Rükneddin Güney	Sivas'ta vekalet tarafından yaptırılacak binanın kontrol mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works	1933	"Memleket Haberleri", 1933, Mimar, n. 4, s. 127.
Rükneddin Güney	İstanbul Belediyesi imar müdürü olarak Maarif Vekaleti adına Akademide 1943 devresi konkur projesi jüri azalığına davet edilmiş. (Zeki Sayar ile birlikte)	Municipality of İstanbul	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 141.
Rükneddin Güney	1939'da İstanbul Belediyesi imar müdürü olarak Taksim Belediye Gazinosunu yapmış	Municipality of İstanbul	1943	"Taksim Belediye Gazinosu", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 7-8, ss. 145-150.
Rükneddin Güney	İstanbul Radyo Evi yarışma jürisinde İstanbul ili adına.	Municipality of İstanbul	1945	"İstanbul Radyo Evi Proje Müsabakası" Arkitekt, 1945, n. 7-8, s. 143.
Saadettin Kaptanoğlu	Yeni teşkilat kanunu dolayısıyla yapılan tayinler. Nafia Vekaleti 939 (D) cetveli kadroları (merkez) Proje Bürosu listesinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 6, n. 1, s. 102.
Sabri	Sümerbank fen heyetine.	Sümerbank	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 2, s. 64.
Sabri Akyüz	Nafia Vekaleti Ankara DTCF inşaatı daimi	The Ministry of Public	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 12, s. 346.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
	kontrol mimarlığına.	Works		
Sabri Oran	CHP Genel Sekreterlik müşavir mimarlığından, Maarif Vekaleti Teknik öğretim müsteşarlığı mimari bürosu, ticaret okulları inşaatı proje bürosu şefliğine.	Republican People's Party - The Ministry of Education	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 11-12, s. 286.
Sadi Bey	Mim. Bakanlık Heyet-i Fenniye mimarlığına tayini	The Ministry of Public Works	1924	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Saffet Zerdabi	Sümerbank fen heyeti mimarlığına.	Sümerbank	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 3, s. 97.
Saffet Zerdabi	Yük. Mim. Kırıkkale Belediyesi'nde açık bulunan uzmanlık yeri kadrosuna alabileceği aylıkla tayini.	Municipality of Kırıkkale	1951	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Saim Ülgen	Celal Esat'ın İstanbul mebusluğuna seçilmesi üzerine, Akademi mimari tarihi profesörlüğüne	Academy of Fine Arts	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 9-10, s. 237.
Sami (Macar oğlu)	Bursa Belediyesi Fen Heyeti Şef Vekilliğine.	Municipality of Bursa	1931	"Güzel Sanatlar Birliği Mimari Şubesi Haberleri", Mimar, n. 5, s. 180.
Samih Saim	1929 yılında Muhit dergisi editörü	Free Practice	1929	S. Bozdoğan http://www.arkitera.com/v1/diyalog/sibel-bozdogan/habitat01.htm 15.05.2005
Samih Saim	Peppo Şaki için ev projesini tanıttığı yazısını Belediye Mimarı olarak imzalamış.	Municipality of NA	1931	Mimar, 1931, n. 6, s. 193-195.
Samih Saim	"Kadınları Çalıştırma Yurdu" mimarı.	NA	1931	Mimar, n. 4, s. 120-123.
Samih Saim	"Yeni Unsurlar" yazısını Belediye Mimarı olarak imzalamış.	Municipality of NA	1931	Mimar, n. 4, s. 133-140.
Samih Saim	"Bu Günkü Mimari Telakkiler" yazısını Belediye Mimarı olarak imzalamış.	Municipality of NA	1931	Mimar, n. 3, s. 85-90.
Samih Saim	"Lö Korbüziye'nin "Muasır Şehri" yazısını İstanbul Belediye Mimarı olarak imzalamış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1931	Mimar, n. 2, s. 45-48.
Samih Saim	"Viyana Belediyesinin Mesken Politikası", Belediye Mimarı	Municipality of NA	1931	Mimar, n. 5, s. 164-170.
Samih Saim	"Mazagan Şehri Yollar ve Yapılar Nizamnamesi", Belediye mimarı olarak.	Municipality of NA	1932	Mimar, 1932, n 11-12, s. 353-365.
Samih Saim	G. S. Birliği mimari şubesi idare heyeti reisi.	Union of Academy Arch. Branch	1933	"Birlik Haberleri", 1933, Mimar, n. 1, s. 31.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Samih Saim	Zonguldak Halkevi yarışma jürisinde "İstanbul mimari birliği reisi" olarak yer almış.	Union of Academy Arch. Branch	1933	Ö. Faruk Galip, "Zonguldak Halkevi Proje Müsabakası Münasebetile", Mimar, 1933, n. 2, s. 64.
Sedad	İstanbul Belediyesi İmar Bürosu Fen Heyetine atanmış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 3, s. 95.
Sedat Erkoğlu	Y. Mim. İstanbul Belediyesi Fen İşleri Müdür Muavinliği'ne tayini.	Municipality of İstanbul	1950	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Sedat İbrahim	Maarif vekaleti tarafından Bursa ulu cami ve eski medreselerin rölelerini yapmakla görevlendirilmiş.	The Ministry of Education	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 7, s. 230.
Şekip Akalın	Yozgat spor alanı yarışmasında Türk Yüksek Mühendisler Birliği adına, Y. Mühendis ünvanıyla jüri üyesi.	Society of Engineers	1943	"Yozgat Spor Alanı Proje Musabakası", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 107-110.
Selim Zeki	Sümerbank fen heyetine atanmış.	Sümerbank	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 5, s. 156.
Selim Zeki	Üsküdar'da İnhisarlar Fen Heyeti adına Tütün Bakımevi tasarlamış.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1938	Arkitekt, 1938, no. 5-6, s. 138-145.
Semih	Ankara İmar Müdürlüğü'ne İstanbul Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi İnşaat Muallimi Mimar Semih'in tayini.	Ankara Planning Dir.	1933	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Semih Rüstem	Belediyeler imar hayeti reisliğinden istifa.	Municipality of NA - Resignation	1938	Arkitekt, 1938, n.12, s. 358.
Şemsettin	İstanbul Vilayet mimarı.	Municipality of İstanbul	1931	"Mimar Adresleri", Mimar, 1931, n. 1, s. 27.
Servet	Maarif Vekilliğinde yeni teşkil edilen inşaat bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 144.
Servet Cemal	"Kadınları Çalıştırma Yurdu" yazısında İstanbul Belediyesi mimari şubesi müdürü olarak inşaata nezaret ettiği yazıyor.	Municipality of İstanbul	1931	Mimar, n. 4, s. 120-123.
Servet Cemal	"Apartman İnşaatı" yazısını Belediye F. H. Mimari Şubesi müdürü olarak imzalamış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1931	Mimar, 1931, n. 7, s. 217-219.
Servet Cemal	İstanbul Belediyesi Mimari Şubesi müdürü.	Municipality of İstanbul	1931	"Mimar Adresleri", Mimar, 1931, n. 1, s. 27.
Servet Cemal	İstanbul Belediyesi Mimari şubesi müdürü iken ölmüş.	Municipality of İstanbul	1933	"Mimar Servet Cemal Öldü", 1933, Mimar, n. 9-10, s. 318.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Servet Cemal	İstanbul Belediye Mimari Şubesinde et satış mahali, itfaiye müdüriyet ve müzesi, Heybeliada sanatoryumu, Cerrahpaşa hastanesi ilaveleri gibi işlerde çalışmış.	Municipality of İstanbul	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 9-10, s. 330.
Şevki Kayamat	Adapazarı Memleket Hastanesi için projeyi yapan "Projeler B. Y. Mimar Şevki Kayaman" olarak geçiyor.	Municipality of Adapazarı	1949	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, Aralık, 1949, s. 143.
Seyfi Sonat	CHP Genel Sekreterlik müşavir mimarlığına.	Republican People's Party	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 11-12, s. 286.
Sezai Ergüç	Maarif Vekilliğinde yeni teşkil edilen inşaat bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 144.
Sezai Ergüç	Maarif Vekaleti Teknik Öğretim Yapı İşleri Bürosu Md. Ne vekaleten aynı bürodan	The Ministry of Education and The Ministry of Public Works	1942	"Haberler", Yapı, 1942, yıl 1, sayı 21, s. 19.
Sinan Mimaroglu	Yapı İşleri Um. Md. listesinde açık bulunan mühendis ve mimar kadrosuna 70 lira maaşla Sinan Mimaroglu	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 6, n. 2, s. 146.
Şinasi Şahingiray	PTT umum direktörlüğüne.	PTT	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n. 9-10, s. 240.
Şinasi Şahingiray	İnönü Stadı'nda Vietti Violi ve Fazıl Aysu ile çalışmış.	NA	1947	http://www.mimarist.org.tr/mmektup/index.cfm?sayfa=mektup&chapterID=13&DocID=280 15.07.2005
Sırrı Sayarı	Yük. Müh. Nafia vekilliği yapı ve imar işleri reisliğine.	The Ministry of Public Works	1943	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1943, n. 5-6, s. 141.
Sırrı Sayarı	Anıtkabirde seçilen projede öngörülen değişikliklerin yapılması için 28 Ekim'de kurulan komisyonda Bonatz ve Eldem ile Bay. Bkn. Yapı ve İmar İşl. Reisi olarak. Yük. Müh.	The Ministry of Public Works	1943	http://www.tsk.mil.tr/anitkabir/dusunce/proje13.htm 15.07.2005
Şükrü Gökay	İzmir Nafia Yapı yüksek mimarı Şükrü Gökay, 8. dereceden 7. dereceye terfi.	Izmir Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1944	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1944, s. 11, n. 1, s. 101.
Süleyman	Yapı İşleri Gn. Md. taşra kadrosunda açık bulunan 35 lira maaşlı mimarlığa Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi mimari şb.	The Ministry of Public Works	1936	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1936, s. 3, n. 2, s. 131.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
	Mezunlarından Süleyman 30 lira maaşla namzet olarak.			
Süleyman Örnek	Yapı İşleri Um. Md. Binalar Fen Heyetinde 35 lira öaşa çalışmakta olan mimar Süleyman Örnek adı geçen um mdlük E cetveli kadrosunda açık bulunan mimarlığa 200 lira aylık ücretle.	The Ministry of Public Works	1938	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1938, s. 5, n. 6, s. 135.
Süreya Sait	Maraş Belediyesi mimarlığına.	Municipality of Maras	1934	"Haberler", Mimar, 1934, n. 3, s. 97.
Süreya Yüceli	Maraş belediye mimarlığından Sü(?) Bakanlığı İnşaat Şubesine atanmış.	Municipality of Maras - The Ministry of Transportation	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 7-8, s. 244.
Süreyya	Afyon vilayet mimarı olduğu analaşıyor.	Afyon Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1932	Mimar, "Haberler", 1932, n. 5, s. 160.
Süreyya	İlk Mektep Binası, Afyon	Afyon Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1932	Mimar, 1932, n. 4, s. 119.
Süreyya	Yapı İş. Um. Md. Binalar Fen Heyeti mimarlığına 200 lira ücretle.	The Ministry of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Temmuz 1935, s. 2, n. 2, s. 95.
Süreyya	Şose Köprüler ve Binalar Reisliği Binalar Fen Hey. Nde münhal bulunan 200 lira ücretli mimarlığa.	The Ministry of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Şubat 1935, s. 1, n. 9, s. 52.
Süreyya	Binalar Fen Heyeti mimarlığında 200 lira aylık ücretle çalışmakta olan Süreyya 300 lira aylık ücretle Tunceli vilayeti mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Public Works - Tunceli Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1937	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1937, s. 4, n. 2, s. 136.
Süreyya İşler	İzmit Lisesi için projeyi yapan "Projeler B. Y. Mimar Süreyya İşer" olarak geçiyor.	The Ministry of Public Works	1949	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, Aralık, 1949, s. 143.
Sururi	Posta ve Telgraf mimarlığına.	PTT	1933	"Haberler", 1933, Mimar, n. 5, s. 162.
T Çubukçu	Boazlıyan, Akseki, hükümet konakları, Amasya Yüzevler için projeyi yapan "Projeler Bürosu Y. Mimar T. Çubukçu" olarak geçiyor.	The Ministry of Public Works	1949	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, Aralık, 1949, s. 136, 140-1.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Tahir Tuğ	"İnhisarlar İdare Binası, Konya" yazısını İnhisarlar Genel Direktörlüğü Fen Heyeti adıma imzalamış.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 11-12, s. 317-319.
Tahir Tuğ	"İnhisarlar İdare Binası Projesi" (Sivas) yazısını sadece kendi adıyla imzalamış.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 9, s. 262-263.
Tahir Tuğ	İstanbul İnhisarlar idaresi fen heyetine atanmış.	Directorate of State Monopolies	1935	Arkitekt, 1935, no. 3, s. 95.
Tahir Tuğ	Maarif Vekilliğinde yeni teşkil edilen inşaat bürosu mimarlığına.	The Ministry of Education	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 144.
Talat Özışık	Akhisar Belediyesi mimarlığına	Municipality of Akhisar	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 12, s. 352.
Tarik	İstanbul İl Baylığı Yapı İş. Mimarlığına 70 lira maaş mukabil 200 lira ücretle.	İstanbul Provincial Directorate of Public Works	1935	"Tayinler", Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, Temmuz 1935, s. 2, n. 2, s. 96.
Tarık Sarp	İstanbul Vilayeti Yapı İşleri Mimarlığı'nda 225 lira aylık ücretle çalışmakta bulunan Tarık Sarp'ın ücreti 275 liraya çıkarılmış ve kadro ücretile Yapı İşleri Um. Md. Merkez proje bürosuna naklen tayin olmuştur.	İstanbul Provincial Directorate of Public Works - The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 5, n. 11, s. 62.
Tarık Sarp	Yük. Mim. Nafia Vekaleti Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reisliği yüksek mimar veya yüksek mühendis kadrosuna naklen ve terfian tayini.	The Ministry of Public Works	1943	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Tarık Sarpel	Yeni teşkilat kanunu dolayısıyla yapılan tayinler. Nafia Vekaleti 939 (D) cetveli kadroları (merkez) Proje Bürosu listesinde.	The Ministry of Public Works	1939	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1939, s. 6, n. 1, s. 102.
Tulu Baytın	Amasya Hükümet Konağı, Kayseri Cezaevi için projeyi yapan "Projeler B. Y. Mimar Tulu Baytın" olarak geçiyor.	The Ministry of Public Works	1949	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi, Aralık, 1949, s. 137, 139.
Vasfî Egeli	İstanbul Evkaf mimarlarından.	Directorate of Endowments	1931	"Mimar Adresleri", Mimar, 1931, n. 1, s. 27.
Vasfî Egeli	İstanbul Evkaf Direktörlüğü Fen Heyeti şefliğine.	Directorate of Endowments	1937	Arkitekt, 1937, no. 9, s. 267.
Vasfî Egeli	İstanbul Vakıflar Baş Mimarı olarak "Nihad Nigizberk" yazısını yazmış.	Directorate of Endowments	1946	"Mimar Nihad Nigizberk, 1878-1945" Arkitekt, 1946, n. 1-2, ss. 44-45.

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Name	Information - Citation	Employer Institution (xx – yy indicates transfer)	Year	Source
Vasfı Halim Ali Sipahi	Vasfı Halim Ali Sipahi 210 lira ücretle Yapı ve İmar İşleri Şehircilik Fen Heyeti Yük. Müh. ve mimarlığa.	The Ministry of Public Works	1940	Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi İdari Kısım, 1940, s. 7, n. 6, s. 71.
Vehbi kandaz	Vekıflar Umum Müdürlüğü İnşaat Müdürü Vehbi Kandaz'ın Bakanlık emrine alınması ve yerine Mimar Nihat Nigizberk'in tayini.	Directorate of Endowments	1937	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Zeki Sayar	Yapı ve İmar İşleri Reisliği'nde uzmanlık mevki olan 210 lira ücretliyüksek mühendis veya yüksek mimarlık kadrosuna Zeki Sayar'ın kadro ücretiyle tayini.	The Ministry of Public Works	1942	Republican Archive of Prime Ministry
Ziya Emre	Kızılay mürakip mimarı iken vefat. Son işleri: Heybeli sanatoryumunda 100 yataklı pavyon, Haydarpaşa Nümune Hastanesine 100 yataklı ek.	Red Crescent	1939	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1939, n.9-10, s. 240.
Ziya Kocainan	İstanbul Belediyesi İmar Direktörü	Municipality of İstanbul	1936	Arkitekt, 1936, no. 1, s. 32.
Zühtü Başar	Vefat. Zamanında İstanbul müzeleri mimarlığı ve İstanbul Belediyesi mimari şubesi müdürlüğü yapmış. Son olarak serbest, restorasyon yapıyormuş, en son Yeşil Türbe.	Municipality of İstanbul - Dies	1941	"Haberler", Arkitekt, 1941, s. 236.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Beroeps en organisatorische structuren, zoals we toegelicht hebben in deze studie over architecturale productie binnen stadskantoren, zijn goede samenhangen om architecturale verhandeling op productie, aan de ene kant en productie van architecturale verhandeling, aan de andere kant, als afzonderlijke toch overlappende lagen. De bepaling factor voor de praktijk van de productie van de bebouwde omgeving in de overheidsdiensten was de eis dat de architect zou de beroepsmatige zelf identificatie aan de kant moeten zetten en functioneert in de discursieve grond van de bureaucratische traditie die ontwikkeld werd door de geschiedenis van Ottomaans en Republikeinse Turkije. Het proces van het professionaliseren zoals ervaren was dwide

de architectuur gemeenschap van de tijd om hun energie in beroepsmatige herformuleringen van de architectuur dat de overheid zou nodig hebben; in plaats van theoretische of experimentele pogingen die geworteld zijn in het beroeps eigen veld van kennis of productie van kritisch politieke posities. Het gebrek aan een kritische houding dat geëist is voor een echt locale, avant-garde architecturale houding binnen de context van vroeg Turkse Republiek was geen mislukking in het produceren van de kritiek van het dominant ideologische kader dat de politieke autoriteit genereerde, maar het was een keuze die een gevolg van het niet ondervragen naar het ideologische kader dat het proces van de professionalisering dicteerde. Er was een discursief verschil tussen twee ideologische contexten: terwijl professionele ideologie vond haar materialisatie in de theoretische nadruk op de representatieve functie van architectuur, de architectuur praktijk binnen de bureaucratische traditie roteerde om de politieke evaluatie van actuele productie. Wat betreft de actuele productie van de stadskantoren, kan het gesteld zijn dat voor een land dat zo een korte ervaring van de modern architecturale praktijk en gebrekkige bronnen van de specialistische kennis, technologie, industrie en mensen resources had; toch was de gemiddeld architecturale kwaliteit bereikt tot zo een brede hoeveelheid productie, is toch merkwaardig. Het bureau van bouwwerken in de Ministerie wijzigde de premissen van architecturaal professionalisme met alternatieve praktijken zoals standaard type projecten en andere collectieve en flexibele ontwerp praktijken waar individuen zouden kunnen gevarieerde, uitwisselbare, vervangbare en reproduceerbare taken en versterkte technische communicatie binnen verschillende beroeps participierend in de productie. Verdere studies, welke zouden sommige overheidsinstellingen kiezen die anders zijn dan het ministerie van Volkshuisvesting, Ruimtelijke Ordening en Milieubeheer welke actief waren in het veld van architecturale productie, zullen een kans krijgen om meer

aan de relatie van culturele vormen tot die van de economische te ontwikkelen als ze onze resultaten met overheidsinstellingen die direct actief waren binnen industriële en economische productie. Het verhaal over het architecturale beroep in Turkije eindigt niet met 1950s, zoals ons werk deed. Een mogelijk onderzoek dat zou nog iets toevoegen aan wat we gestudeerd hebben in deze studie in de zin van de professionalisering van architectuur zou de topic oppakken precies waar we gestopt hebben, beginnen met stichting van het verbond van Kamers van Architecten en Ingenieurs van Turkije in 1954 en plaats deze organisatie binnen het brandpunt van de studie. Een volledige studie van de vergelijking van de professionalisering van architectuur welke zou niet alleen in de context van Europa en Noord Amerika verblijven maar het verhaal vanuit andere contexten bevatten zoals postkoloniaal of voorbeelden uit verscheidene geografie zouden niet alleen bijzonderheden van het Turkse geval beter plaatsen maar aanzienlijk bijdragen aan de literatuur over beroeps door de studies over architecturaal beroep samen bij elkaar te brengen.

Curriculum Vitae

Bilge İmamoğlu was born in 1976, in Edirne, Turkey. He holds B. Arch (2000) and MA in architectural history (2003) degrees from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. His master's thesis "Workers' Housing Projects by Seyfi Arkan in the Zonguldak Coalfield" won Prof. Dr. Mustafa N. Foundation for Education and Research, 2002-2003 METU Thesis of the Year Award. He was employed by METU between 2002 and 2007 as a research assistant and taught both history and design courses here. His PhD research on architectural production in state offices was initiated in METU and has been conducted in TU Delft since 2007.

Publications include:

Co-Editor: Ergut, E. A. and İmamoğlu, B. (eds.) *Cumhuriyetin Mekânları, Zamanları, İnsanları* [Space, Time, and People of the Republic]: Middle East Technical University Graduate Program in History of Architecture Graduate Studies Symposium II, Ankara: Dipnot Yay. 2010.

Text Author in Exhibition: "Modernist Açılımda Bir Öncü: Seyfi Arkan" [A Pioneer in the Modernist Movement: Seyfi Arkan] organized by the Chamber of Architects of Turkey to be exhibited in various places.

Chapter in a book: "Seyfi Arkan ve Kömür İşçileri için Konut: Zonguldak; Üzülmüş ve Kozlu" [Seyfi Arkan and Housing for Miners: Zonguldak; Üzülmüş and Kozlu] in: Cengizkan, A. (ed.) *Fabrikada Barınmak* [Dwelling at the Factory], Ankara: Arkadas Yay. 2009.

Presentation in International Congress: "Cinema Buildings Designed in the Early Republican Period of Turkey: a Peculiar Case in Cultural Modernization", Inaugural conference of the International Society for Cultural History, (Ghent, August 27-31 2008).

Chapter in a book: "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Endüstri Mirası: Havacılık Sanayi Yapıları" ["Republican Industrial Heritage: Aviation Industry Buildings] in: *Mühendislik Mimarlık Öyküleri 3* [Tales of Engineering and Architecture 3], Ankara: TMMOB, 2008.