$\frac{\textbf{ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY} \bigstar \textbf{GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SCIENCE}}{\textbf{ENGINEERING AND TECHNOLOGY}}$

ISTANBUL CITY HALL: A CASE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE in TURKEY

M.Sc. THESIS

Meltem ÇETİNEL

Department of Architecture

Architectural History Program



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ISTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ FEN BİLİMLERİ ENSTİTÜSÜ

İSTANBUL BELEDİYE SARAYI: TÜRKİYE'DE ULUSLARARASI ÜSLUP ÜZERİNE ÖRNEK ÇALIŞMA

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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To my mother Mehtap,

FOREWORD

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ISTANBUL CITY HALL: A CASE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE IN TURKEY

SUMMARY

This thesis aims to find out the reasons for, and the effects of, the emergence of the International Style in Turkey, taking into consideration the political, social and economic factors and the relationship between Turkey and the West. This study concentrates on how the International Style emerged in Turkey through discovering how it emerged elsewhere in the world and by examining one of the early examples, Istanbul Belediye Sarayı or Istanbul City Hall (ICH), which was built following a national architectural competition in 1952. ICH is located in the south of Saraçhane Park, where Atatürk Boulevard and Şehzadebaşı Street intersect.

Reviewing the literature of Turkish architectural history, it is observed that most of the studies concentrated on the early Republican period when the newly established regime was controlling the architectural practice on behalf of their aims. However, after 1950 when the multi-party period started, the architectural atmosphere changed in Turkey. The change in the politics affected the economy and, therefore, the architectural practice. It is realized that depth exploration was needed for both the architecture of the 1950s and the case study of the ICH which has not been done before. This is the main motivation of the thesis.

This thesis consists of five parts. The first chapter is introductory to the subject. The second chapter focuses on the development and spread of the International Style in the world generally. In the West the term 'International Style' was named after the Museum of Modern Art's (MoMA) exhibition in New York called The International Style: Since 1922, which was organised by Philip Johnson, Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Alfred Barr in 1932. The idea of the exhibition was not just about categorising and creating new principles for architects. The curators argued that a new style had already emerged in the West, so they collected examples for the exhibition and afterwards wrote three principles based on the examples. The curators explained the three principles as: architecture as a volume, concerning regularity and the avoidance of applied ornament. These principles were not formulas but fundamental elements. The exhibition also introduced modern architecture to the United States.

The third chapter describes how the International Style came to Turkey, and examines the process leading to its emergence. In order to understand the process in Turkey, it is necessary to research and examine the preceding and contemporary architectural atmospheres, and the effects and reasons for the International Style's emergence and disappearance. To understand its practice in Turkey, the architectural atmosphere is analysed, beginning in the early years of the Republic and continuing to the 1950s. At the same time, the relationship between political power and architecture, and the West and Turkey will be the focus.

After researching the background in both the West and Turkey, the fourth chapter presents a case study of the International Style. ICH is chosen for this subject as one

of the early examples of the International Style in Turkey. What makes the example of ICH important is that not only is it a pioneer of the style but it is also a public building, where the relationship between political power and architecture can be observed. Architecture has always been seen as a tool to propagate the ideology of power. In the early years of the Republic, architecture was one of the most effective ways for the new regime to build up the idea of the nation state in Turkey. After World War II, the idea endured but the language was different. For all these reasons, designing a public building with the idea of the International Style deserves to be researched. Even more interesting is the finding that in the national competition almost every project was designed according to International Style principles and the projects were very similar to each other. This shows us the common architectural view of that time. In addition to these important points, the ICH also has significance in being located on a historic peninsula and having an impact on the silhouette and character of the area. To conclude this chapter, criticisms of the International Style and the ICH, both positive and negative, will be taken into consideration. In the light of all this information, the emergence of the International Style in Turkey and its practice in İstanbul will be evaluated, while focusing on the ICH.

The conclusion evaluates the relationship of architecture, politics and the economy through the emergence of the International Style in Turkey. In this section, examples other than the ICH, the International Style's effects and contributions to the architectural practice, and criticisms and results will be evaluated.

İSTANBUL BELEDİYE SARAYI: TÜRKİYE'DE ULUSLARARASI ÜSLUP ÜZERİNE ÖRNEK ÇALISMA

ÖZET

Bu çalışma Uluslararası Üslup'un Türkiye'de ortaya çıkışının, benimsenmesinin ve yayılmasının arkasında yatan sebepleri ve bu süreci etkileyen faktörleri ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Bunu yaparken de öncelikli olarak politik, ekonomik ve sosyal açıdan ortak Batı ile Türkiye'deki süreç arasındaki ortaklıklar ve farklılıklar göz önünde bulundurulmaktadır. Mimarlık üretimi söz konusu olunca göz ardı edilemeyecek olan politik ilişkiler, ekonomik etkiler ve sosyal atmosfer çalışma boyunca her zaman odak noktası olarak yerini almaktadır. Türkiye'de Uluslararası Üslup'un sürecini takip edebilmek ve bir çerçeveye oturtabilmek için Batı'daki süreç ve Batı ile olan ilişkiler ele alınmaktadır. Süreci ve sonuçları somutlaştırabilmek adına, Türkiye'de inşa edilen ve Uluslararası Üslup'un Türkiye'deki ilk örneklerinden sayılan İstanbul Belediye Sarayı örnek olarak ele alınmaktadır.1952 yılında ulusal bir mimari yarışma ile tasarlanıp inşa edilen İstanbul Belediye Sarayı, Saraçhane Parkının güneyinde, Atatürk Bulvarı ve Şehzadebaşı Caddesi'nin kesiştiği noktada yer almaktadır.

Türkiye Mimarlık Tarihi üzerine yapılan çalışmalar incelendiği zaman, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'ne odaklı çalışmaların çokluğu fark edilmektedir. Yeni rejim ile beraber şekillenen mimarlık ortamı rejimi destekleyen bir yapıya sahiptir. Cumhuriyet'in ilanından sonra geçmişe referans veren, ulusal mimarlık olarak da tanımlanan mimari üsluplar terk edilmiştir. Bunların yerine Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ideolojisine destek olacak yaklaşımlar ön plana çıkartılarak, yönetim tarafından da desteklenmektedir.1930'lu yıllarda ön planda olan bu yaklaşım 'Yeni Mimari' olarak adlandırılmaktadır ve modern mimarlık anlayışının Türkiye'deki ilk deneyimlendiği döneme denk gelmektedir. Modern mimarlığın bu dönemde Türkiye'deki serüveni kısa sürerek 1940lı yıllarda yerini yeniden ulusal bir ortama bırakmaktadır. Böylece modern mimarlık 1950li yıllara kadar rafa kaldırılmıştır.

1950 sonrasında çok partili rejime geçilmesiyle beraber mimarlık ortamı farklı bir boyut kazanmaktadır. Değişen politik ortam hem ekonomik durumu hem de mimarlık üretimini etkilemektedir. Daha önce Avrupa'yı işaret eden batı kavramı, 1950 sonrasında artık yeni dünya düzeninin lideri olan Amerika'yı tanımlamaktadır. Öncesinde daha kendi içine dönük ekonomi ise bu dönemde batı ile olan ilişkiler ve dünya düzenindeki değişiklikler doğrultusunda dışa açılan, liberal bir ekonomiye dönüşmüştür. Birinci Dğnya savaşı sonrası erken Cumhuriyet döneminde üretici olan Türk toplumu, 1950 sonrasında tüketici topluma dönüşmektedir. Ekonomi ve yaşam şartlarındaki bu değişiklik elbette ki karşılığını yapılı çevrede de bulmaktadır. Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında gündemde olan eğitim ve kamusal yapılar yerini bu dönemde ticari yapılara bırakmakta, otel, ofis, banka, konut, fabrika gibi yeni yapı tipleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Cumhuriyetin ilanından beri var olan, ulusallaşma fikri artık yerini uluslararası platformda var olmaya bırakmış olup bu sefer Türk mimarların da deneyimleriyle gelişim göstermektedir.

Yapılan literatür taramalarında çok partili rejim sürecindeki mimari ortama ve özellikle İstanbul Belediye Sarayı'na odaklanan çalışmaların eksikliği fark edilmektedir. Uluslararası Üslubun Türkiye'deki ilk örneklerinden olan ve bu tezin örneklemi olan İstanbul Belediye Sarayı ile bir çok benzerlik gösteren İstanbul Hilton Oteli hakkında sınırlı da olsa çalışma bulunmaktadır. Ancak gerek Uluslararası Üslubun Türkiye'deki serüvenine gerekse İstanbul Belediye Sarayı'na özel olarak yer veren bir çalışmaya rastlanmamaktadır. Bu eksiklik, çalışmanın ortaya çıkış sürecinde etkili olmaktadır. Günümüzde yok olmakta olan modern Türk mimarlık mirasının önemli elemanlarından biri olan İstanbul Belediye Sarayı bu tez sonrasında devam edebilecek başka çalışmalara da ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın strüktürü beş bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm konuya girişi ve genel çerçeveyi açıklamaktadır. İkinci bölüm Uluslarası Üslup'un Batı'da ortaya odaklanmaktadır. Uluslararası Üslup terimi MoMA gerçekleştirilen sergi sonucunda tanımlanmaktadır. "The International Style: since 1922" sergisi 1932 yılında Philip Johnson, Henry Russell Hitchcock ve Alfred Barr tarafından gerçekleştirilmiş ardından da bir kitaba dönüştürülerek tamamlanmıştır. Serginin amacı mimarlara bir takım kurallar sunarak yoktan bir üslup yaratmayı değil, varlığını fark ettikleri ortak bir akımın verilerinin bir araya getirilerek sistematikleştirilmesini sağlamaktır. Bunun sonucunda üç temel kural ortaya konmaktadır; bir hacim olarak mimarlık, düzen ve süslemeden arınmak. Serginin Uluslararası Üslubu Amerika'ya tanıtmakta önemli rol oynadığı ve devamında gelen mimarlık ortamını da bu bağlamda sekillendirdiği bilinmektedir. Bu bölümde sergi süreci, sergide ver alan eserler ve tanımlanan üsluba dair gelen elestiriler ver almaktadır. Bölümün amacı üslubun anavatanında nasıl ortaya çıkıp şekillendiğini ortaya koymaktır.

Üçüncü bölüm Uluslararası Üslup'un Türkieye'ye ulaşma sürecini, bu süreçteki siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal ortamı ele almaktadır. Daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi mimarlık ortamının bu faktörler olmadan ele alınması mümkün değildir. Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nden başlayarak kısaca önceki akımlar ve onların arkasında yatan sebepler, ardından da Uluslararası Üslup'un aktif olmasına sebep olan ortam incelendikten sonra Türkiye'deki uygulamalar ele alınmaktadır. Bu bölümde özellikle Batı ile olan ve mimarlık dışında birçok alanda etkisini gösteren ilişkiler odak noktasıdır. Bu dönemde açılan yarışmalara ya da inşa edilen yapılara bakıldığında birbirleri ile fonksiyon gözetmeksizin benzerlikler gösterdiği ortaya konmakta ve bu benzerliklerin ardındaki sebepler aranmaktadır. Politikanın ve ekonominin mimarlık üzerindeki doğrudan etkisi tez boyunca ana eksen olarak kabul edilmekte ve bu bölümde detaylı bir sekilde ele alınmaktadır.

Dördüncü bölümde, Batı ve Türkiye'deki süreçler ele alındıktan sonra, çalışmanın örnek projesi olan İstanbul Belediye Sarayı ele alınmaktadır. İstanbul Belediye Sarayı'nın seçilmesinin en önemli sebebi Türkiye'de Uluslararası Üslup'ta yapılan ilk örneklerden birisi olmasıdır. Bir diğer sebep ise kamu binası olması sebebiyle, çalışma boyunca önem taşıyan politika ve mimarlık ilişkinin sorgulanması konusunda önem taşımasıdır. Mimarlık her zaman, her rejimde gücün ideolojisinin aktarılması konusunda önemli bir araç olarak görülmektedir. Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde yeni oluşturulmakta olan ulus-devletin tanıtılması ve benimsenmesi için yararlı bir araç olan mimarlık II. Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonraki ortamda da benzer şekilde değerlendirilmektedir. Yöntem ve kullanılan dil farklı da olsa, amaçların aynı olması sebebiyle her değişen iktidar mimari ortamı kendi prensipleriyle şekillendirmekte ve bunun en iyi yansıması kamu binalarında görülmektedir. Bu sebeple Uluslararası Üslup prensipleriyle tasarlanan bir kamu binasının bu çalışmada

örnek olarak incelenmesi önemlidir. Açılan ulusal yarışmaya katılan projelerin neredeyse birbirleriyle aynı olması bu örneğin önemini ve üzerinde durulmasının gerekliliğini daha da arttırmaktadır. Tüm bunların yanı sıra, İstanbul Belediye Sarayı'nın tarihi yarımadada yer alması, siluete ve alanın karakterine olan etkisi de göz önünde bulundurulmaktadır. Yalnız İstanbul Belediye Sarayı için açılan yarışma değil, 1950 – 1960 yılları arasında devlet eliyle kamu binalarının üretimi için açılan farklı coğrafyalardaki yarışmalara katılan projeler de incelenerek bu dönemin ortak mimarlık dili ortaya konulmaktadır.

Sonuç bölümünde ise, Uluslararası Üslup'un Türkiye'deki oluşum sürecindeki etkiler önceki bölümlerde ele alınan konular değerlendirilerek, kritikleriyle beraber ele alınmaktadır. Örnek olarak ele alınan İstanbul Belediye Sarayı dışında, benzer yapılar, mimari ortama katkıları ve sonuçları ele alınmaktadır. Uluslararası Üslubun Türkiye'de ortaya çıkışı ve varlığını sürdürmesi, doğal bir sürecin sonucundan çok politik kararların ürünüdür. Otel, konut, kamusal ve ticari yapılar olmak üzere farklı fonksiyonlarda kendini gösteren üslup Demokrat Parti döneminin sembolü haline gelmiştir. Her ne kadar Uluslararası Üslubun Türkiye'deki ömrü kısa da olsa modern türk mimarlığının gelişmesinde ve şekillenmesinde önemli rol oynamıştır. Pilotilerle kütleleri yerden yükseltmek, net dikdörtgen prizmalar ve petek düzeniyle tasarlanan gridal cepheler, teras çatılar ve yataylığın vurgulanması gibi özellikler 50-60 arasında üretilen yapıların ortak özelliği olup, inşaat pratiğine yeni teknik, teknoloji ve malzemelerin girmesini sağlayarak katkı yapmıştır. Batıda 1920'lerde ortaya çıkan üslp Türkiye'de 1950'lerde başlasa da 1960'lı yıllarda batı ile beraber sona ererek senkronu yakalamaktadır.

1. INTRODUCTION

Modern architecture began with the rationalist thought that developed after the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century and developed with the non-traditional, rationalist and purist thought of the twentieth century. In the development of modern architecture, various approaches are seen in different countries. These architectural styles and attitudes share a common ground, which is to overcome historicism and revivalism. However, the emergence of the International Style was perceived as the combination and the homogenisation of these approaches. The name of the style is taken from the exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA), 'The International Style since 1922' organised by Philip Johnson, Henry - Russell Hitchcock and Alfred Barr in 1932. After the emergence and spread of the International Style, common solutions to the same design problem and similar formal results start to be seen in different countries. The emergence of related architectural production can be accepted as the unification of architectural thought in the world. Therefore, the International Style symbolises these common values.

The establishment of the Turkish Republic is one of the thresholds in the history of Turkish architecture. The emergence of the new regime transformed not only the political, economic, social and cultural atmosphere but also daily life and the built environment. In the early Republican period, architecture was accepted as an effective tool for spreading ideology. However, architectural production remained mostly focused on decorative elements until the 1930s due to the lack of information and technological developments. The introduction of international capital and United States' funds and the transformation from a single party to the multi-party system in the 1950s can be accepted as another important threshold for Turkey. The economy, which depended on the state up untill the 1950s, started to become more liberal. As in the early Republican period, the transformation of the 1950s also affected many fields such as the economy, social life, culture and architecture of the country.

In order to understand the proliferation of an architectural style, focusing on physical values or theoretical information would not be sufficient. Architecture and the built environment are always related with the human and, therefore, with the public. It can be accepted that all the factors, which are related to the public, feed into architecture. It is not possible to explain the process of any architectural style or architectural feature without considering the factors that stand behind it. Therefore, the main aim of this thesis is to draw a frame of the economic, political, social and cultural atmosphere in Turkey, which prepared the environment where the so called the International Style flourished. To do that, processes in the West and in Turkey are taken into consideration, with their common and divergent values. The motivation behind the study was the lack of information about this subject. In reviewing the literature, it is observed that most of the writings on the history of architecture related to Turkey are focused on the early Republican period. The architectural character of the 1950s has not been studied comprehensively. This thesis aims to fill this gap and focuses on this important period in the history of Turkish architecture. It is possible to trace the economic, politic, cultural and social changes of Turkey in the 1950s in the practice of the International Style. To materialise the theoretical background, Istanbul City Hall (ICH) is chosen as the main case study for this thesis. There are major reasons behind focusing on the City Hall as a case study. It is known that the Istanbul Hilton Hotel and Istanbul City Hall are precursor examples for the emergence of the International Style in Turkey. However, ICH has not been the main subject of studies, in comparison to the Istanbul Hilton Hotel. In order to reveal the relationship of politics and architecture, ICH has an important value as a public building.

This study starts with the emergence of the International Style in the West and continues with its arrival in Turkey. These processes include both common and different points. Modern architecture follows a continuous path in the West. However, in Turkey, this style came rather as a deliberate decision that was shaped by external dynamics. This is also one of the important key points for this study. In Turkey, favoured architectural genres follow sudden political changes, and this is not limited to the 1950s but also occurs in the early Republican period. For the West, the period covered in this study begins with the main architectural approaches of the nineteenth century and focuses on the 1930s. For Turkey, it starts with brief

information on the early Republican period and focuses more profoundly on the 1950s.

This thesis seeks answers for the following questions: "Under which conditions did the International Style became a common architectural approach both in the West and Turkey?"; "What made the International Style so popular in Turkey in the 1950s?"; "What was the process of the International Style in Turkey, while taking into consideration the process in the West?"; "What is the reason behind the similarities of projects that enter the competition for Istanbul City Hall?"; "In which ways does the International Style succeed or fail?"; and finally, "How and why does the International Style disappear?".

The second chapter focuses on the process of the International Style around the world or, more specifically, in the West. The style became known and popular after the MoMA exhibition titled "The International Style: since 1922" which was organised by Philip Johnson, Henry - Russell Hitchcock and Alfred Barr in 1932. The main aim behind the exhibition was to reveal the common architectural attitude in the West and to introduce modern architecture to the United States. Predominantly the International Style is defined by three principles; architecture as a volume, regularity and the avoidance of applied ornamentation. These principles are not defined by formulas but are fundamental elements. Therefore, the International Style differs from previous modern movements.

The third chapter is about how the International Style became a popular architectural style in Turkey. As previously mentioned, it is important to understand the social, economic, political and cultural atmosphere, which shapes architectural practice. Therefore, both the background information and the architectural atmosphere from the early years of the Republic to the 1950s are taken into consideration. The change in politics, from monarchy to republic or from single party to multi-party, results in a change of economy as well. Political power and the economy are accepted as the major factors behind architectural practice throughout this thesis. In this chapter, World War II is accepted as a threshold. Therefore, the chapter is divided into two sections; before and after the war. These two divisions are also considered in two parts; the atmosphere (background information) and the architectural practice (physical result).

Following the backgrounds of both the West and Turkey, the fourth chapter focuses on the case study of this thesis: Istanbul City Hall. The building is a result of a national competition. What is important here is that all the projects that entered the competition were in some way similar to each other. Therefore, it is important to understand the main reasons behind this attitude. The ICH was designed as two rectangular blocks with its own square, pool and garden at the back. After the competition, it took seven years to finish the construction and the building was opened to the public on 2 May, 1960. The ICH is an important example, not only as a public building but also as one of the early examples of the International Style in Turkey. In addition to these features, the ICH also has significance in being located in the Historical Peninsula and having effects on the silhouette and character of the area. All these factors increase the importance of the ICH. Therefore, both the process of the design and the construction and the physical characteristics of the building are scrutinized. This chapter aims to embody the theoretical information that is given in the previous chapters, and reveal one of the examples of the International Style that remains until today.

The conclusion discusses the effects of the International Style on the architectural production of Turkey, starting from the 1950s. The formal similarities of different functions such as commercial and public, public and residential, or commercial and residential are taken into consideration, while focusing on examples of the International Style in Turkey. The evaluation and criticism of the emergence of the International Style in the West and in Turkey are also dealt with in this chapter.

Throughout this thesis, both written and visual materials are used. The visual data has been collected first-hand on the site and in the building. While collecting the data, the archives of the ICH itself and the archive of the Chamber of Architects have also been considered. The magazines; *Arkitekt* and *Mimarlık*, and the newspapers; *Cumhuriyet* and *Milliyet* have played a significant role in following the process of the Istanbul City Hall construction chronologically.

2. THE EMERGENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL STYLE

2.1 A Path Towards The International Style In Europe

Modern architecture had various phases preceding the emergence of the International Style. There were many architectural movements throughout this long journey, many called avant-garde movements. Numerous factors affected the architectural approaches of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Due to economic necessities, migration from rural areas to the cities commenced and, therefore, the population of cities increased dramatically. As a result, both the physical aspect and the essential activities of cities were transformed. In classical and medieval architecture, the focus point was religion, due in a large part to the living standards of the period. However, this began to change with the Renaissance and escalated with developments and changes in the world's economy, culture and technology. The focus point shifted to industrialised technology in the twentieth century. This switch affected architectural styles, as well as other fields. All the architectural approaches of this period were motivated by two concepts described by Favole (2012, p.8) as; 'movements and speed' and; 'freedom of artistic expression'. Even if their architectural approaches were different, the common ground of all modernist movements was to break the eclecticism of the nineteenth century. Zucker also underlines the same consensus on overcoming eclecticism and obviating the 'picturesque in architecture', which is also defined by Carroll Meeks and Nikolaus Pevsner (Zucker, 1951, p. 8). Moreover, Jencks also states that, besides overcoming eclecticism and traditional approaches, this process was a search for new artistic expressions and forms in order to develop a new social order. Therefore, most of the modernist movements – some of them were

¹ Favole mentions that in the twentieth century, with the shift in the cultural fields, art, literature, music and architecture broke away from traditional meanings. Differing movements — that were part of the modern movement — emerged, such as Cubism, Futurism, metaphysical painting, Suprematism, Dadaism, Purism, Rationalism, Expressionism, Constructivism etc. (Favole, P., 2012, p.5).

criticised for not considering the social aspect, for example, the International Style – tried to deal with the social issues as much as the visual and physical (Jencks, 1986).²

The Arts and Crafts movement was the first reaction against eclecticism and it was inspired by the ideas of William Morris. The Arts and Crafts movement was born in England, where the need for mass housing first occurred due to the Industrial Revolution and its outcomes (Pevsner, 2009). The movement aimed to develop a new style instead of imitating previous styles, however, it couldn't go beyond decorative results. Due to its rejection of the past, it can be seen as the first phase of modern architecture. The movement spread to Europe and transformed into Art Nouveau under the leadership of John Ruskin and, Henry van de Velde (Özorhon, 2008). Art Nouveau (1890-1910) stands between the end of the past-oriented styles and the newly introduced modern architecture. That period can be summarised as the fracturing between old and new. During that time, due to the conflict between old and new, any building belonging to the period was named as 'modern' (Banham, 1962). Art Nouveau, inspired by the Arts and Crafts movement and fuelled by technological developments, was first seen in Belgium, then France and all over the Europe and remained popular between 1892 and 1900. It can be accepted as the first movement, that tried to change the classical vision of Beaux-Art in both architecture and art (Colquhoun, 2002, p. 13).4

Art Deco appeared with the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes (International Exhibition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts) in 1925 and spread to Europe and the United States with its geometric, colourful decorative elements. Favole mentions that, many of the modern architecture figures, such as; Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, Adolf Loos, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Jacobus Oud, Erich Mendelsohn and, Willem Dudok, contributed to the theoretical and practical aspects of the movement (Favole, 2012, p.

² Alan Colquhoun in his book *Modern Architecture* describes the main theme of modern architecture and the process in detail. He claims that oppositions such as classicist vs organicist; collectivism vs individualism; nation vs region; normative vs unique; representation vs expression; recognisable vs unexpected were common discourses of twentieth century architecture. For detailed reading; Colquhoun, A., 2002; Banham, R., 1962; Conrad, U., 1971; Corbusier, L., 2008; Doordan, D.P., 2001; Favole, P., 2012; Frampton, K., 2011; Jencks, C., 1986; Pevsner, N., 1968; Pevsner, N., 1991; Scully, V. J. Jr., 1958.

³ For further information about Arts and Crafts: Crawford, A., 1997; Pevsner, N., 1968; Pevsner, N., 1991; Frampton, K., 2011; Doordan, D.P., 2001.

⁴ For further information about Art Nouveau and its variations in different countries; Colquhoun, A., 2002; Pevsner, N., 1968; Pevsner, N., 1991; Frampton, K., 2011.

5). The exhibition included different approaches, such as L'Esprit Nouveau with Le Corbusier and Ozenfant's pavilion, a garden with cubic sculptures. After the exhibition, the new decorative style was named Art Deco, which aimed to create a decorative art without any target of function. Therefore, as Favole points out, Art Deco artists tried to decorate all elements that were seen; cornices, ceilings, lintels, doorways or, corner junctions (Favole, 2012, p. 70). During the same period in Germany, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the necessity for a German identity and culture had emerged as a reaction to French dominated culture. This had resulted in a deeper search for national identity and become a catalyst for the modernisation process. Therefore, the artistic reforms in Germany were the result of the quest for national identity and the necessity of modernisation in order to contend with the West. There were local groups that aimed to achieve this purpose.

The Deutscher Werkbund (1898-1927) collected those local groups under one roof in Munich in 1907 to hasten the amalgamation of art and industry, and artistic and cultural reforms. Their aim was to connect artists and producers (Favole, 2012). They intended to increase the awareness of the public about industrial design, standardise design education and through this process promote the quality of German manufactured products (Doordan, 2001, p. 94).⁶ There were opposed groups in the Werkbund organisation. While some supported the standardisation offered by Muthesius, others such as Henry Clemens van de Velde believed in the individuality of the artist or, in other words, differentiation. Among the first group were Heinrich Tessenow (1876-1950) and Peter Behrens (1868-1940) and it was known as the Classicist group. Behrens was assigned as a design consultant for Allgemeine Elektricitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG). He was responsible for not only buildings but for total design; logos, consumer products etc. This was an example of what Muthesius was supporting; the association of art and industry. Behrens reached the top of his career at the AEG Turbine Factory (1908-1909) in Berlin. Behrens' idea was to design a building of machine age by classical manner. His design emphasised the mass instead of the speed of the age. As Colquhoun underlines, there was an analogy

⁵ For further information about Art Deco; Colquhoun, A., 2002; Favole, P., 2012 and Art Deco in America; Wright, G., 2008; Frampton, K., 2011; Striner, R., 1990.

⁶ For further information about Deutscher Werkbund; Pevsner, N., 1968; Pevsner, N., 1991; Frampton, K., 2011; Doordan, D.P., 2001; Conrads, U, 1970.

between a factory and a Greek temple in order to ennoble the power of industry (Colquhoun, 2002).⁷

The other group was the Expressionists, which include Bruno Taut, Hans Poelzig, Erich Mendelson and, Hugo Haring. Adolf Behne was the first to use the term 'expressionism' in architecture and Bruno Taut was the key figure of the movement. His works encompassed two issues; individual dwellings and public buildings that could unify the German nation. On these two points, Taut aimed to develop the medieval city in terms of the modern attitude. He was also the designer of the Glass Pavilion of the Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne in 1914. Another important figure was Walter Gropius (1883-1969) who stood between the Classicists and the Expressionists. Gropius started his career in Behren's studio in Berlin. Like Behrens, he was aware of the need for machine production but he was against the totalitarian approach of Muthesius, similar to Van de Velde. This was the main reason behind his positioning between the two opposing groups. According to Gropius, art and the artist should not be in the control of the state or the market, a view that was opposed to Muthesius' approach of standardisation (Colquhoun, 2002).

The housing was desperately needed after the war. Therefore, members of the Werkbund did not want to confine their efforts to factories only, they also wanted to propose a common architectural language for modern housing (Doordan, 2001, p. 95). To achieve this, they organised an exhibition related to housing, titled Weissenhofsiedlung in Stuttgart in 1927, carried out by Mies van der Rohe. As will be discussed later, Weissenhofsiedlung was an inspiration point for the International Style exhibition. It was the most successful organisation of the Werkbund in the international discourse. The exhibition was a kind of mirror to the social, aesthetic and technological developments that had happened after World War I. The theme of the exhibition was 'Die Wohnung', which means 'The Housing' in German. It aimed to depart from the characteristics of pre-industrial society and the city (Url-1). This main objective of the exhibition was criticised by Mies van der Rohe later on. He

⁷ For further information about Behren's architectural approach; Pevsner, N., 1968; Doordan, D.P., 2001; Colquhoun, A., 2002; Pevsner, N., 1991; Frampton, K., 2011.

⁸ Even if both Gropius and Behrens were members of Deutscher Werkbund, as mentioned above, they differed on some points. For further information about these thoughts and more about Gropius; Colquhoun, A., 2002; Pevsner, N., 2009; Kramer, E., F., 20014; Jencks, C., 1986, p.109-110; Pevsner, N., 1968; Pevsner, N., 1991; Frampton, K., 2011; Favole, P., 2012.

claimed that forcing the dweller into a new style of living, which was described by a designer, was not correct. Even the idea of standardisation was necessary; the method should not be creating a unique typology pertinent to each and every person (Poppelreuter, 2016). Mies van der Rohe expressed the aim of the exhibition as; "to set out in a new direction, because it is clear to me that a new dwelling has consequences beyond its four walls" (Stankard, 2002, p. 247). Mies van der Rohe consciously regulated the outlook of the housing units—no ornament, flat roofs, no colour—without restraining the freedom in expression. He also aimed to combine German housing concerns with international architectural principles. In his block, several modernist attitudes such as rationalisation, flexibility, creativity, newer exterior with traditional interior organisation, steel cage structure and more were seen. Even if he left the participants freedom in expression, it is known that he limited the participants, as did Hitchcock and Johnson for the exhibition and the book. Therefore, he chose the participants according to his idea of unity in visual expression (Stankard, 2002).

The exhibition consisted of 33 houses with 63 apartments designed by 17 architects from different countries, namely; France, Holland, Germany, Belgium and Austria (Figure 2.1, Figure 2.2, Figure 2.3, Figure 2.4). The architects all applied their own attitudes towards planning and housing, material and methods. Another significant aim of the exhibition was to reveal recent examples of mass housing and developments of technology in construction. Therefore, the whole exhibition was a result of many different approaches with various solutions to the same problem, but also with common architectural values (Poppelreuter, 2016).

After World War I two major movements were seen in Holland; the Amsterdam School and De Stijl, which were related to the Art Nouveau and Arts and Crafts movements and Expressionism. They had common points, such as; rejecting the eclectic use of historical values, and developing a style that could reflect the present, and both believed in Morris' idea of transforming society by art. However, they differed in the methodology. While the Amsterdam School was acting as an

⁹ For further information about Weissenhofsiedlung; Frampton, K., 2011; Stankard, M., 2002.

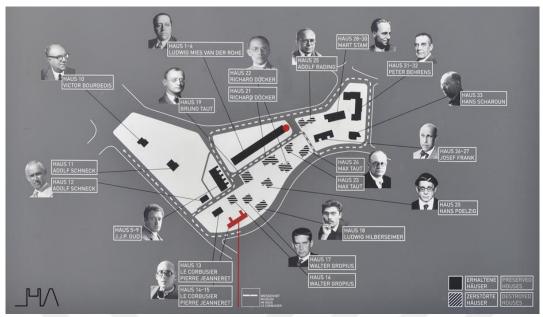


Figure 2.1: Neighborhood layout of the Weissenhofsiedlung (Url-2).



Figure 2.2: General view of the Weissenhofsiedlung (Url-3).



Figure 2.3 : Mies van der Rohe's design in the Weissenhofsiedlung (Url-4)



Figure 2.4: Le Corbusier's design in the Weissenhofsiedlung (Url-5).

individual institution, the De Stijl movement was more rational and supported collectivism (Colquhoun, A., 2002).¹⁰

De Stijl (1917-1931) can be accepted as the driving force behind the education of the Bauhaus. The Bauhaus (1919-1932), which was a m educational institutions; 'the Academy of Art' and 'the School of Arts and Crafts', was established in 1919 in Weimar under the direction of Walter Gropius. The school remained in Weimar until 1925, and then continued in Dessau until 1932. Finally it was based in Berlin from 1932 to 1933 until the school was closed by the Nazi regime. After Walter Gropius, Hannes Meyer became the director from 1928 to 1930 andi finally, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe from 1930 to 1933. The Bauhaus made indisputable contributions to modern architecture and the education of future modern architects (Scully, 1958). Even the word 'Bauhaus' was seen as a synonym for modern design in the twentieth century (Doordan, 2001, p. 94). After the Bauhaus moved to Dessau, Gropius designed the new school buildings which were a representation of his ideas and those of the Bauhaus'. (Colquhoun, 2002). The Bauhaus building was a kind of a laboratory where modern architecture could be experienced. It was the face of the new modern architecture.

There are many approaches and figures, which shaped the International Style. Even though they did not aim to develop a new style, the process resulted in the emergence of a common architectural sense. It can be understood that, these movements actually prepared the foundation for the International Style. All of the modernist, or alternatively known avant-garde movements, agreed on one point; to overcome eclecticism and historicism. Up to this point, this thesis has aimed to give an overview of the elements that prepared the common architectural approach. The International Style can be seen as a result of common needs as well as common sources; technological developments, materials and, magazines. In later chapters, the process of the International Style will be discussed and more examples will be addressed.

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¹⁰ For further information about De Stijl and the Amsterdam School; Colquhoun, A., 2002; Favole, P., 2012; Frampton, K., 2011; Jencks, C., 1986.

¹¹ Proclamation of the Weimar Bauhaus, 1919, from Frampton, K., p.123. For further information about Bauhaus; Pevsner, N., 1968; Pevsner, N., 1991; Frampton, K., 2011; Doordan, D.P., 2001; Epstein-Pliouchtch, M., 2004; Favole, P., 2012.

2.2 A Path Towards The International Style In The United States Of America

Modernism changed the main focus of modern architecture. Prior to Modernism, architecture was related to artistic and social issues. After the advent of Modernism, it became more oriented towards 'spectacles, self-promotion and profit incentives' (Wright, 2008, p.7.). The period that modern architecture shaped was a period of industrialism, science and improvements. Therefore, architectural practice was shaped by these inputs and, at the same time, by the new requirements generated by them. To reject craftsmanship and to accept the usage of machines allowed for quicker and cheaper production. It is often stated that improvements in technology and materials were the main reason behind the improvements and transformations in architecture. However, Pevsner believes that steel, glass and reinforced concrete were not the reason behind the new style, instead they were part of modern architecture (Pevsner, 2009).

After the United States attendance to the European conflict, it became recognised as the leader of the free world. The dominance of the United States continued with the Cold War era, a time of ideological rivalry between capitalism and communism. This process contributed to the American national sense of identity and culture. In this new order, American architecture aimed to achieve and maintain American democracy (Fershtman & Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, 2011). This attitude subsequently affected other countries as well, which will be further discussed. Jencks explains the power of architecture clearly with these words: "Architecture is a political art because it crystallizes the public realm, shared social values, and long-term cultural goals. It is hence very much more involved with explicit social content than the other arts" (Jencks, 1986, p.31-32).

Even though modern architecture was developed under different conditions, after World War II when the United States became a major political power and its economy led the world; it also became the authority in the architectural field. With its aid programs helping the countries of war-torn Europe, the United States had the opportunity to dominate the West in every field, including architecture. After World War II the changes in the economy and politics created by market-based capitalism, also transformed architectural production. The private sector became dominant, even in public projects. This was also an important difference between European and American modern architectural discourse. One of America's contributions to modern

architecture was modern office buildings. Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) was a leading firm in the construction of high-rise office buildings. Lever House (1951-52) was the first example where the approach to design was similar to that of Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier's approach to glass skyscrapers before World War II. SOM's attitude was to reflect the idea of American modern architecture, which was the integration of rationalism and capitalism (Colquhoun, 2002).

In categorising the process, there have been many different attempts in scholarship about the history of architecture. For example, Pevsner accepted the Arts and Crafts movement as the pioneer for modern architecture. However, Americans believed that the Chicago School was the starting point (Fershtman, & Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, 2011). Condit describes the evolution of modern architecture in three phases; aesthetic, functional and social. It is hard to differentiate the timing of each stage due to overlaps and parallel processes. The aesthetic stage was seen in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, with the improvements in commercial and industrial areas. Reactions to eclecticism and the increase in machine-based production allowes the establishment of new aesthetic tastes and forms. This phase in the United States ran parallel to the improvements of Art Nouveau in Europe. The second stage suggested the aesthetic of functionalism and Condit claimed that the building should be considered as a 'system of a construction'. He also empowered the idea of functionalism with the following keywords; 'light, cleanliness, safety, efficiency, free and flexible'. The last stage was categorised as social. It was related to the task of architecture for the public, meaning that architecture should fulfil the needs of humans, both singly, and in the form of the public. This stage could show itself mostly in town planning, which was another point of modern architecture. Besides that, architecture should provide spaces for people to express and share their feelings and thought in this social stage (Condit, 1947).

At the same time as Art Nouveau was emerging in Europe, in the United States there was an apprehension about deficiency in architectural culture. Therefore, architects in Chicago aimed to develop an architectural culture that was grounded in the regional character of America but at the same time relied on the modern techniques of the time. The definition of the Chicago School (1890-1910) refers to a group of local architects who were active from 1863 to 1917, including Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959). They were not opposed to tradition as much as other architects, and

they adopted traditional elements, which could be embracead in modern circumstances. As has been mentioned previously, in Europe, Art Nouveau suggested revealing structural elements, but in the United States the architects of the Chicago School interpreted this approach in another way. They increased window spans and placed windows from column to column. In this way, they aimed to express the structure and demolish the massive appearance (Colquhoun, 2002).¹²

In 1893, Chicago was chosen for the World's Fair, and the United States sought to define architectural language. Daniel Burnham was responsible for the organisation of the fair and design of some buildings. However, it resulted only in the development of a mythology, rather than a national architectural language. Within this topic should also be mentioned the Prairie School, which was related to both the Chicago School and the Arts and Crafts movement. The members of the Prairie School were young Chicago School architects, such as Frank Lloyd Wright, and they were affected by the ideas of Louis Sullivan. Sullivan was against collectivism, massification and standardisation, which were common results of the changed economy of the United States. These changes –from laissez faire to monopoly capitalism as Colquhoun describes- brought the end of the Chicago School and Sullivan's theory on individualism (Colquhoun, 2002; Favole, 2012).

Frank Lloyd Wright was an essential figure who shaped American architecture. Favole describes Wright as the architect who changed American architecture and who worked with a member of the Chicago School: Louis Sullivan. However, Wright's designs were close to Art Nouveau's approach in terms of the application of ornament. He went beyond and used the abstraction of architectural elements, such as; walls, roofs. He used planes and, geometrical forms in order to generate a building rather than accepted architectural elements. He designed over 200 single-family houses for the middle-classes. Designs by Wright constituted simple volumes that intersected or overlapped and related to each other freely. He developed an organic style with the main idea being the design of the whole building from interior to exterior. Therefore, the whole organisation of the design reflected the idea of flowing spaces, one to another, as was also the aim of the Arts and Crafts movement. What differs here is that art was procured by the machine and controlled by the

¹² For further information about the Chicago School; Wright, G., 2008; Frampton, K., 2011.

architect instead of the craftsman. Wright also explained this in his lecture titled 'The Art and Craft of the Machine' in 1901. According to Wright it was possible to conclude that a loss of craftsmanship occurred because of machine production, with the architect's undertaking now centred on producing beauty by the machine. Wright's designs and thoughts on abstract solutions affected his European colleagues who were looking for a new approach that was cleaned of history (Colquhoun, 2002; Favole, 2012). Wright criticised the planning of a room like a closed box where the dweller limits himself within the boundaries (McCallum, 1959). What he means by 'rooms like boxes' is open and flexible boxes which can contact and relate to each other, making possible his idea of 'flow-like spaces'.¹³

2.3 The Exhibition: "The International Style: Architecture Since 1922"

The 'International Style' exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) had a paramount role in introducing modern architecture to the United States and to the world. MoMA announced its first exhibition related to architecture in 1932 as 'Modern Architecture: International Exhibition'. Later on, the exhibition was commemorated with the name of the book which was 'The International Style: architecture since 1922'. The exhibition was one of the most influential organisations in the history of architecture. The director of the exhibition was Philip Johnson who was also a member of the museum's advisory committee. Henry - Russell Hitchcock and Alfred Barr also took a part in the preparation of the exhibition and, especially, the book (Url-6). Alfred Barr was the director of the MoMA. He pioneered the establishment of the 'world's first curatorial department of architecture and design' in 1932. In addition to the exhibition and the book, two lectures by Hitchcock and Johnson were also presented (Tabibi, 2005, p. 9, 29).

The book 'The International Style: architecture since 1922' was another element of the exhibition. It included information about modern architecture, the process and principles and exhibited projects. It was a kind of catalogue, which summarised the architecture of the period and was printed as 'The International Style' of the present time. The book was based on Hitchcock's book named 'Modern Architecture:

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¹³ For further information about Frank Lloyd Wright; Pevsner, N., 1968; Colquhoun, A., 2002; Doordan, D.P., 2001; Pevsner, N., 1968; Pevsner, N., 1991; Wright, G., 2008; Frampton, K., 2011.

Romanticism and Reintegration (1929). The exhibition opened to the public on 10 February 1932. It was planned to tour the exhibition in the United States for three years, however, it toured for six years to present European modern architecture to the American public. Even though the aim was not to limit architectural style or create a stereotype, in some ways the exhibition drew a frame around architectural practice for later works. MoMA actually guided the architectural production of the period through the International Style exhibition and subsequent exhibitions¹⁴. Tabibi explains that the signals for the emergence of the International Style can be seen in four publications. The first was 'Internationale Architektur' by Walter Gropius, published in 1925. The second was Hitchcock's book, mentioned above, 'Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration'. The third was a book review by Hitchcock written about Gropius' book and published in Architectural Record in 1929. The final publication was 'Notes on Russian Architecture' written by Barr in 1929. MoMA's exhibition was the culmination of all these works and it labelled the current style as the International Style (Tabibi, 2005, p. 18.).

As Philip Johnson explains in the foreword to the 1995 edition of 'The International Style'; Alfred Barr, Henry - Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson together organised a tour around Europe by car. The idea of having an exhibition emerged due to the joint impressions on architectural style they gained during this trip in 1930 – 1931. Works by Le Corbusier, J.J.P. Oud, Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Frank Lloyd Wright, Richard Neutra and many other architects from fifteen countries (Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, England, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Japan, Spain, Sweeden, Switzerland, the Soviet Union and the United States) were exhibited (Hitchcock & Johnson, 1932).

The spatial organisation of the exhibition included physical models, coupled where necessary with plans and renderings for each chosen building. The physical models were prepared in Europe. For the physical models, five American and five European buildings were chosen, with each model measuring three by six feet. The materials for the models were to be wood, glass, chrome, steel and marble (Tabibi, 2005, p. 29.). The curators planned to display eight photos (three feet by six feet) showing the

¹⁴ Tabibi explains the role of MoMA and the exhibitions in detail. In architectural exhibitions, the building became an object that was interpreted, reproduced and introduced. Therefore, the narrator/curator 'rebuilt the built architecture' (Tabibi, 2005).

work of the architects. There was a room, which was arranged to express the international aim of modern architecture using visual tools (Url-7). There were 75 photographs from Europe. Among these photographs, 17 of them belonged to the curators. The rest of the exhibition medium was supplied by the architects themselves (Tabibi, 2005, p.31). Before the final version of the exhibition, the program was further developed and revised. In the beginning, the curators had planned to organise the exhibition in three sections.

The first section was to include the works of nine pioneer architects; Raymond Hood, Frank Lloyd Wright, Norman Bel-Geddes, Howe & Lescaze, the Bowman Brothers from the United States; Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius from Germany; Le Corbusier from France and J.J.P. Oud from Holland. The second section was planned to be devoted to the relationship between architecture and industry. In this section, instead of finished buildings, the problematic background and construction processes were to be presented. In the third section, it was intended to exhibit the competition projects designed by students or architects under the age of thirty-five. Afterwards the program was revised and Richard Neutra was added to the first section as an American architect. Therefore, in the first section it was planned to present six American and four European architects. In the first proposal, the exhibition of models was proposed. However, in the revised version, it was decided to add plans, elevations, perspectives and photographs as well. In addition to these, the second section relating to the industry was named 'Solutions to three American building problems' and three subtitles were suggested: 'City building', 'Factory organisation', and 'Housing projects for minimum wage earners' (Tabibi, 2005, p. 22).

During the preparation of the exhibition there were many alterations related to both method and content. Ultimately, in the final version, the first section was devoted to 'Modern architects' with models, photographs and other documents as mentioned above (Figure 2.5). The selection of modern architects was finalised as; Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Richard Neutra, Frank Lloyd Wright, J.J.P. Oud, Walter Gropius, the Bowman Brothers and, Raymond Hood. The second section was named 'The extent of modern architects'. In that section the works of 37 architects, who took as a model European architecture of the 1920s, were exhibited. The third section was named 'Housing'. In this section, 'the need for domestic environment'

was the focus point and it was based on the ideas of Lewis Mumford. ¹⁵ The 'Modern architects' section consisted of models, drawings which were fixed in front of the models and photographs which stood behind the models. In total, there were 48 photographs. Exhibited models were; Villa Savoye, Le Corbusier (Figure 2.6); House at Pinehurst, Oud (Figure 2.7); Bauhaus, Gropius (Figure 2.8); House on Mesa, Wright (Figure 2.9); Tugendhat House, Mies van der Rohe; Lux Apartment, Bowman Brothers; Chrystie-Forsyth, Howe&Lescaze (Figure 2.10); Apartment Tower, Raymond Hood and Housing project, Richard Neutra. 'The extent of modern architecture' section included only black and white photographs, not drawings. These photographs were small in size. There were 40 projects by 37 architects. The 'Housing' section was different in terms of presentation techniques. There were also three text panels and site plans in addition to the models and 11 black and white photographs (Tabibi, 2005, p. 33).

The International Style text was related to the four publications, as mentioned above. The exhibition itself may have had a relationship with other exhibitions or organisations, as well as the book. On this point, Tabibi mentions an exhibition that could have been the foundation for the International Style exhibition. Three curators (Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Alfred Barr, and Philip Johnson) took part in the 'Rejected architects' exhibition which opened in 1931, while they were preparing the program for the MoMA's exhibition. The exhibition of Rejected Architects was a reaction to the exhibition of the 'Architectural League of New York' in 1931. In the Architectural League exhibition, some young modern architects had not been included due to being labelled as too radical. This was the start of the presentation of modern architecture to the American public by Johnson, Barr and Hitchcock. It is believed that the basic principles of the International Style were mentioned in the Rejected Architects exhibition (Tabibi, 2005, p.22). It can be inferred from this situation that the idea and principles of the International Style were not invented

¹⁵ This information was taken from Tabibi, 2005, p.30. The original source is Riley, T., (1992). *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art*, Rizzoli International Publication, New York, p.85.



Figure 2.5 : View from "Modern architects" section. In Riley, 1992, "*Part Three: Winter 31*", p. 42 retrieved from Tabibi, 2005, p. 33.



Figure 2.6 : Model of Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye. Retrieved from the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Photographic Archiv (Url-8).

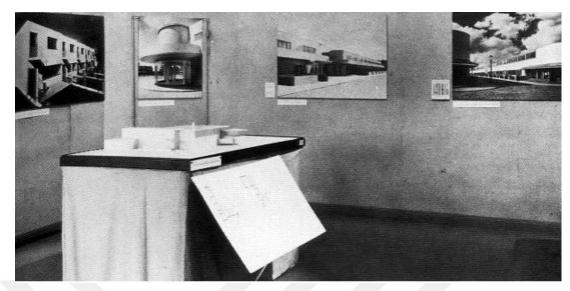


Figure 2.7 : Model of J.J.P. Oud's work. In Riley, 1992, "*The Galleries*", p. 69, retrieved from Tabibi, 2005, p. 27.



Figure 2.8 : Model of Walter Gropius' work. In Riley, 1992, "*The Installation Plan*", p. 71, retrieved from Tabibi, 2005, p. 27.



Figure 2.9 : Model of Frank Lloyd Wright's work. In Riley, 1992, "*The Galleries*", p. 69, retrieved from Tabibi, 2005, p. 28.

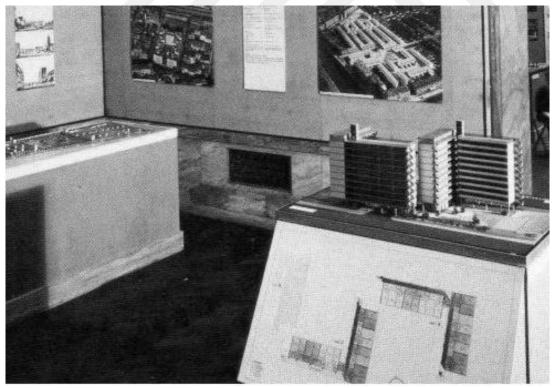


Figure 2.10 : Model of Howe and Lescaze's work. In Riley, 1992, "*The Installation Design*", p. 75, retrieved from Tabibi, 2005, p. 34.

from scratch but examples only were selected. It was obvious that the logic of modern architecture had already been internalised by the curators.

As Henry Matthews notes, the exhibition transformed American architecture as Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Alfred Barr and Philip Johnson had intended. As the three influential figures who had organised the whole exhibition, they aimed at changing the 'pluralism' of American architecture into a 'unified modern architecture', a goal which they formulated during their trip in Europe (Matthews, 1994). The main aim of the exhibition and the book was not to proclaim a manifesto, rather the three curators tried to compile existing examples in order to draw a frame without being too prescriptive. Later on, the most active architects of the time; such as Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe continued with the same principles. This was the reason behind the unexpected popularity of the International Style. To Johnson, even though the exhibition did not create a huge reaction at first sight; it affected the education of American architecture later on (Hitchcock & Johnson, 1932).

Both the book and the exhibition tried to reveal the presence of modern architecture through formal data only. The curators believed that, common modern architecture exceeded national borders. It could be followed in both Europe and United States, where modern architecture had advanced from the eclectic architecture of the nineteenth century. What made it differ from the avant-garde movements in Europe was its lack of social context. The International Style did not imply any political, social or, utopic ideologies. Therefore, the supreme norm of the style was based on formal principles rather than social (Yanni, 1996). To Handlin, in the 1920s, the main arguments of architectural practice were based on political ideology and social issues. Therefore, the lack of social context was a result of Johnson and Hitchcock's formal approach. Because of this, Americans only adopted the formal aesthetic of European architecture without considering the context (Handlin, 1985). Hitchcock explained why they preferred aesthetic principles and ignored the social aspects with these words:

"The aesthetic of the new architecture was ultimately of greater consequence than its social, political or technological significance. Form and style are what make architecture art as distinct from something else" (Tabibi, 2005, p. 25).

In the book, the writers claim that, before World War I, there was no unification in terms of style. There were individualists at the end of the nineteenth century, who constituted a 'New Tradition' by using new technologies of that time while, at the

same time still being connected to the past. They were the ones who actually broke the rules of revivalist times. They tried to find their own way, but still there was no common approach when the whole was taken into account. These individualists, who could be seen as the initiators of modern architecture, thought that the past should be examined but should not be imitated. Johnson and Hitchcock believed that there was a contemporary style, which had developed from the attempts and practices of individualists (Hitchcock & Johnson, 1932).

As Hitchcock mentions, the international competition in 1927 for 'Palace of the League of Nations' -which was to serve as headquarters for the League of Nations, the first international organisation for maintaining world peace- is a key point for the Modern movement. Even though they did not win the competition; Le Corbusier, Hannes Meyer, Hans Wittwer, Richard Neutra and Rudolf Schindler received more publicity as a result of their Modernist approaches. Another key point was 'Weissenhofsiedlung' in Stuttgard, organised by Mies van der Rohe which drew attention worldwide to the new generation of architects (Hitchcock, 1968). According to Hitchcock and Johnson, Mies van der Rohe as a participant and organiser of Weissenhofsiedlung, created the framework for the exhibition, resulting in white stucco, flat roofs, and large horizontal windows. Even though it was not named as a specific style with rules and constraints, these unwritten principles further shaped a style that already existed (Hitchcock & Johnson, 1932). Mies' design for the exhibition, which reflected non-material design, no spatial and volumetric design, was the inspiration for the International Style exhibition (Stankard, 2002, p. 255). Johnson revealed his opinion about the Weissenhofsiedlung organisation with these words:

"Mies' selection of these men (Gropius, Le Corbusier, Oud)... shows his unusual ability as a critic. The Weissenhof Siedlung proved to be the most important group of buildings in the history of modern architecture. They demonstrated conclusively that the various architectural elements of the early post-war years had merged into a single stream. A new international order had been born" (Stankard, 2002, p. 247)

2.3.1 Framework of the international style

The term 'International Style' became accepted as a synonym for 'Modern architecture' in the architectural lexicon after the twentieth century (Doordan, 2001, p. 36). The idea of the International Style was quite different from other styles due to the fact that it did not have a list of strict rules. The style did not have any formulas

or inflexible rules; instead, it had a very brief, general and modifiable guideline. Johnson, Hitchcock and Barr's idea behind both the International Style exhibition and the book was not related to creating a new style with regulations which they established. Johnson and Hitchcock, especially, underlined that, if the rules were flexible enough, if they just drew a general framework for the design, then the architecture would grow and improve. There was already a common architectural language in connection with the technological developments and common necessities of the era. Johnson, Hitchcock and Barr just gathered together the works of European architects, according to the common architectural characteristics that they had identified. Three general principles were written in the book, as explained above, but these principles were not rigid; they just drew a general frame. This can be observed from the works of different architects, from different countries, which were not similarly, and had their own characteristic, but in general they also complied with the principles of the International Style. There was a common attitude to liken modern architecture with the Gothic style. Hitchcock and Johnson pondered on this issue and came to the conclusion that they were related to each other in the sense of practice rather than the visual. Johnson and Hitchcock's words in the book also support these ideas;

"Neither in gathering material for the exhibition on which the book was based nor in writing the book did we intend to provide a collection of recipes for success with the new style nor a prognosis, much less a premature obituary. Actually, contrary to our intentions, it would seem that what we merely described was, to some extent, followed like a prescription since it offered a logical amalgam of the practice of three new leaders, Le Corbusier, Gropius and Mies, already generally accepted as such by the international avant-garde" (Hitchcock, H.R., Johnson, P., 1932, pp. 22-23).

Johnson and Hitchcock defined the principles of the International Style under three titles. The first principle was called 'Architecture as a volume' and it was based on the advantages of the skeleton system. The new skeleton system offered a freer plan with the help of lighter and thinner pillars. Thus with the usage of these thinner pillars, walls were no longer load-bearing, they were more like elements in between supporters to protect the building and the skeleton system from exterior conditions. Supporters were oriented on a vertical or horizontal grid system, so that the exterior of the building revealed the structure itself. As there was no more need for load-bearing walls, windows became primary elements for modern exterior design which had not been this popular since Gothic architecture. The skeleton system also offered unbroken continuous facades, which was the main idea of the first principle. Instead

of the effect of mass, the effect of volume could be developed with continuous facades, which was summarised in the book as 'not dense brick, more open box'. Another point of the first principle was related to roofs, which previously had been mostly built as gabled but with the new style, were flatter or at least had a one way slope. The effect of volume was more powerful with simple solutions rather than complex ones. In this way, it was also more economical, this was another important point of the new style (Hitchcock & Johnson, 1932).

The second principle was named 'Concerning regularity', which was also related to the advantages of the new skeleton system. The grid system, provided by supporters, generated an order and that order brought an aesthetic. This principle did not offer an axial symmetry, what was important here was to create a regular pattern with respect to the function and the skeleton system. Another point was that, as far as the skeleton system had an equal partition, using standardised production was also important for both economical and functional reasons. Johnson and Hitchcock also admitted that while creating regularity it was hard to avoid horizontality, as far as the height of the roof was less than that of facade. This was the actual reason for criticism of skyscrapers, except for those that managed to maintain horizontality, for instance the McGraw-Hill Building (Hitchcock & Johnson, 1932).

Schumacher mentions in his article, 'Horizontality: the Modernist line' the unwritten fourth principle. According to Schumacher, even if Johnson and Hitchcock did not define it, there was already another principle, which was the expression of horizontality against verticality. As far as, the curators defined the International Style through existing buildings, Schumacher could be correct in his argument. Marcello Piacentini's words in 1931, also supports this idea. According to Piacentini; what made the new architecture different from previous styles was the 'horizontality' of the facade. Piacentini gives more meanings to horizontality and verticality. In his point of view; verticality represents traditional, monumental and classical architecture, on the other hand horizontality represented modern and domestic architecture. It is seen that Piacentini viewed the idea of horizontality as a symbol of modernism when compared against classical and medieval architecture (Schumacher, 2005). John Alford also touches on the meaning of horizontality in the International Style. The idea of being not symmetrical in the International Style is related to the idea of creating volume rather than a mass. This objective can be supported by planar

elements and, surfaces and, therefore, by horizontality (Alford, 1955). Alfred Barr also mentions that, American architectural practice changed over time. He explained it in the preface of the International Style book with these words: 'a change from vertical to horizontal emphases' (Hitchcock & Johnson, 1932). All things considered, even the idea of horizontality was not mentioned as a rule, it was a neutral result of the existing architectural approaches and necessities. Therefore, it can be accepted as an unwritten rule of the International Style.

The third and the last principle is 'The avoidance of applied ornament'. This was actually all about functionalism. It suggested that if architects had decorative concerns, they should focus on creating new details (such as fixed window details) rather than using aimless ornaments. It was also mentioned in the book that the details should be designed as other parts of the building, they should not occur by chance. In this point, the importance of parapets, railings or handle became more important than before. Using the natural colour of the material itself or neutral colours, mostly white, was suggested instead of using applied colours. Another opposition to ornament was concerned with the use of sculptures or paintings. The writers suggested to use these kinds of elements for decorative reasons, if necessary, but that they should not be integrated into the architecture itself. The aim was to maintain the material's own characteristic. Utilising the surrounding natural elements, for decorative reasons, was also acceptable. However, in order to do that, the location of the site and its orientation became significant factors and it should be done attentively (Hitchcock & Johnson, 1932).

Handlin mentions some examples that cover the canons of the International Style. One of them was Aluminaire House designed by Lawrence Kocher (1886-1969) and Albert Frey (1903-1998) in 1931 at Palm Springs, California (Figure 2.11). It was also known as the first metal house in the United States. The design of the house reflects the relationship of Frey and Le Corbusier with its references to Corbusier's designs. It was shown in the International Style exhibition with the name of Harrison House (Figure 2.11). Another was the Tuberculosis Sanitarium (Figure 2.12) in Illinois designed in 1938 by William A. Ganster and Arthur Hennighausen, and built after the exhibition (Handlin, 1985). The sanitarium building took a place in the 'Built in USA since 1932' exhibition, which was also designed by Hitchcock (Ulr-8). William H. Jordy claims that, there were two important examples of the International

Style, which arose in the United States immediately following the end of the 1920s. These buildings displayed both the practical and theoretical concerns of the modern movements; Lovell House (Figure 2.13) by Richard Neutra and the Philadelphia Saving Fund Society (PSFS) building (Figure 2.14)¹⁶ by Howe & Lescaze. They were both included in the exhibition and the book as. Jordy describes the PSFS building as the most significant building of the period dating from the Chicago School to the 1950s when metal and glass became popular again. Actually, it is still the highest building of Philadelphia with 32 storeys. Even Jordy believes that the PSFS building was an example of the International Style. He also emphasises that it did not fulfil all the principles of the style. While the banking space with its elevated orientation reflects the International Style ideas, its monumentality and column organisation resemble Beaux Art principles. In addition to that, even the designers were not yet aware of Le Corbusier's design of Villa Savoye; which the PSFS building is reminiscent of. The PSFS building's interior levelling organisations are similar to the idea of ramps in Villa Savoye (Jordy, 1962). This also proves the idea of Hitchcock and Johnson, that there was already a common approach to architectural design. Even the designers of two different buildings, who were not aware of each other; were using similar solutions and organisations.

Handlin discusses the period that the PSFS building was built. Around the 1930s - when the era of the Great Depression— it was realised that European modern architecture was not a temporary movement. Therefore, some American architects and some immigrant architects proposed to adopt the new architecture in the United States. After the Great Depression was over, these architects started to practise the new approach in the United States. The partnership of George Howe (1886-1955) and Swiss-born architect William Lescaze (1896-1964) was one of them. They tried to adopt the new architecture and engage with the radical changes. The most well-known skyscrapers¹⁷ were not promoted in American magazines when the PSFS was built. It was an important step for both American and international architecture. Howe & Lescaze's main alteration was to differentiate the exterior. They preferred to

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¹⁶ For further information about the PSFS building: Wright, G., 2008.

¹⁷ Handlin mentions them with these words: 'Mies van der Rohe had published a well-known project for a glass skyscraper in 1918; Walter Gropius and Adolf Meyer, as well as Max Taut and Johannes Duiker, had submitted modern designs to the Chicago Tribune Tower Competition in 1922.' (Handlin, D.P., 1985, p.199).

emphasize the elevator, service core, office slab and public function and make them distinguishable from the outside. To do that, they adopted various materials and opening systems. The most important thing was to respect the functional issues. They located the entrance where it was necessary, rather than considering aesthetic and compositional values (Handlin, 1985).

Another point that Jordy mentions is the 'ultra-practical' attitude of the design, which was the most essential characteristic of the building. Howe & Lescaze preferred not to use ornamentation, not only for practical reasons but also due to economic rationales. They believed that the aesthetic could be driven also by the quality of the craftsmanship, rather than through unnecessary ornamentation which would increase the cost without any functional contribution. Jordy defines the PSFS building as 'factory produced'; designed with 'highly processed materials and simple forms' which was accepted as the best way to provide standardisation and convey the





ideology of modern life in the 1920s (Jordy, 1962).

Figure 2.11 : The Harrison House designed by Lawrence Kocher & Albert Frey in 1931 (Url-9).

Figure 2.12 : The Tuberculosis Sanitarium designed by William Pereira, Ganster and Henninghausen in 1938 (Url-10).



Figure 2.13 : The Lovell House designed by Richard Neutra (Url-11).



Figure 2.14 : The PSFS building designed by Howe and Lescaze (Url-12).

Two approaches in terms of aesthetic quality were defined by Jordy; container and component or, in other words; the cubist and the constructivist. The cubist (container) approach accepted the 'volume' as the main element of modern architecture. This attitude was inherent in the International Style of Europe in the 1920s. The constructivist (component) approach was related more to the structure itself. In the 1920s, even though it seemed that structure was essential, in reality it was a simple skeleton system filled with the container. Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona Pavilion consisted of components, which were vertical and horizontal structural elements. However, the aim was not based on a constructivist approach, it was more related to the composition of elements and, abstraction of planes. Therefore, planes created a volume that referred to the cubist (container) approach (Jordy, 1962, p. 74-78).

The PSFS building was a greatexample of the integration of the container and the component. As Jordy says, the building's base, elevator axis and rooftop were cubist while the organisation of columns in the office tower was constructivist. According to the writer, this was the combination of European and American International Style approaches. The PSFS building differed from European International Style examples according to America's trends into technology but also on other points. Compared with the European examples, the PSFS building showed more extravagance and less flexibility. This could be the outcome of the Beaux Art background of American architecture (Jordy, 1962, p. 74-78). The PSFS building was accepted as modern, despite the definition of modern not yet being clear in the United States. Almost all European buildings were accepted as modern without considering the context. To Handlin, the International Style exhibition was important in order to make clear the definition of modern architecture (Handlin, 1985).

Richard Neutra was an Australian architect who worked with Otto Wagner, Adolf Loos and Erich Mendelsohn during his career. He aimed to increase the relationship of architecture and nature with technical and formal quality, while maintaining a private space inside. In his designs; volumes, which were interposed with steel frame and glazed windows, were composed in different ways. He also preferred to design the interior furniture himself, as well as the landscape. According to Favole, the effects of Corbusier and Wright were easy to notice in Neutra's designs. However, Favole criticises him due to the similarity of his works and for not developing new

outcomes (Favole, 2012). Health House (Lovell House, Figure 2.13) in Los Angeles, designed by Neutra for Dr. Philip Lovell, was one American building that was included in the International Style exhibition where it was also known as Lovell House (Doordan, 2001, p. 67). Neutra was against the volumetric ideas of the International Style and Lovell House shows his concern for structure and skeleton. Unlike other European examples with closed volumes, Neutra tried to develop a frame that could carry panels, walls, windows and other architectural elements that created the volume (Jordy, 1962, p. 81). Lovell House was located on a rocky hillside with terraces. The building became a symbol for the International Style (Wright, 2008).¹⁸

2.3.2 Critics and evaluation

Kenneth Frampton depicts the International Style as the most appropriate term to describe Cubist architecture after World War II. However, he underlines that the International Style never became as universal as the eighteenth century Neo-classical approach. To Frampton, Hitchcock and Johnson aimed to create an international and universal architecture but the result was not actually what they had intended (Frampton, 2011). As mentioned before, it was believed that modern architecture, or in other words, the International Style was introduced to the United States by MoMA's exhibition. However, Gwendolyn Wright disagrees with this opinion. She claims that the origin of America's history of architecture leaned further to the late the nineteenth century. Her book 'USA Modern Architectures in History' aims to dispel the inadequate belief of the introduction by MoMA. Wright also explains that American architects had contact with Europe and avant-gardes around the 1920s through the magazines that had begun to show Le Corbusier's architecture²⁰. She explains this approach with these words:

"Too many architects and historians still insist that European emigres and their loyal American disciples brought Modernism to the United States, as if in the suitcase, with the 1932 exhibition Modern Architecture at New York's Museum of Modern Art (MOMA). The chronology of this book overturns that myth. American modern architecture has a much earlier lineage beginning in the late nineteenth – century aftermath of Civil War, a struggle about unity and equality engendered a full-fledged modern nation with a transcontinental

¹⁸ For further information about Lovell's Health House; Frampton, K., 2011, p.248-50.

¹⁹ For further information about American architecture; Handlin, D.P., 1985; Wright, G., 2008; Colquhoun, A., 2002; Favole, P., 2012; Frampton K., 2011; McCallum, I., 1959.

²⁰ For further information Wright, G., 2008 p. 80; Colquhoun, A., 2002; Corbusier, L., 2008; Epstein-Pliouchtch, M., 2004; Frampton K., 2011; Passanti, F., 1997; Vesela, R., 2013.

infrastructure, a national economy, extensive industrialization, pervasive media and a thriving consumer culture – all of which directly affected architecture" (Wright, 2008, p.10.)

Wright also criticises the contents of the projects chosen for the exhibition. To her, Hitchcock aimed to control the varying architectural attitudes in the United States by presentingone common style. Hitchcock affirmed Frank Lloyd Wright as an embodiment of the New Tradition. Instead of Frank Lloyd Wright, Hitchcock announced Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and J.J.P. Oud as new pioneers. Wright also claims that exhibited projects were chosen according to their approaches and tastes. Philip Johnson also agreed with Hitchcock on the existence of a unified style in Europe. Alfred Barr Jr. who was a director of MoMA, convinced Hitchcock to write the book and Johnson to collaborate. Wright also criticises renaming the 'Modern Architecture' as the 'International Style', referring to the International Congress for Modern Architecture (CIAM). To Wright, Hitchcock and Johnson aimed to keep American architecture under control and eliminate the individualist approaches and social objectives. That was the reason behind their formalist approach. Hitchcock also admitted their limited and inadequate categorisation twenty years after in his article 'The International Style twenty years after (1951)'. Gropius also disclaims the existence of the unified International Style. To him, modern architecture should be in accordance with the environmental, geographical, climatic and social realities. Therefore, modern architecture should be related to the location and nation as well (Wright, 2008).

Stanford Anderson claims that the idea of functionalism is not powerful enough to define and characterise the architectural style. In his essay 'The fiction of function', he criticises the contradictory role of function. He also discusses the International Style and its principles, which he finds very weak and insufficient to define an architectural style. According to Anderson, the architecture of the 1920s can only be remembered by the definition of the International Style and the chosen examples of Hitchcock, Johnson and Barr. Therefore, our knowledge about those times is related to their cognition and definition. He also says that, the principles of the International Style are only based on visual features, which he finds also inadequate (Anderson, 1987). In addition to this Carla Yanni also states that Hitchcock and Johnson created an 'imaginary modernism' which was the main subject of his criticism of them (Yanni, 1996, p. 52). Beatriz Colomina (1998) quotes from Tschumi in order to show

the negative affect of exhibitions and media. These words also support Yanni's claims as.

"The history of architectural media is much more than a footnote to the history of architecture. The journals and now the galleries help to determine the history. They invent 'movements' create 'tendencies', and launch international figures, promoting architects from the limbo of the unknown, of the building, to the rank of historical events, to the canon of history" (Colomina, 1998, p.20).

Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz in his article titled 'J. B. Jackson as a critic of modern architecture', gathers Jackson's opinions about modern architecture where his critiques on the International Style could be found. Jackson did not accept the house as a 'machine for living in'; because he believed that the house should be a resemblance and promotion of the pleasure and the sense of the resident. Jackson's words cited by Horowitz explain briefly his critiques; "...to improve the lot of Man but a desire to create pure geometrical forms, an autonomous art of cubes and cylinders and two dimensional planes; independent of the past, independent of the earth and of life" (Horowitz, 1998 from Jackson, J. B., 1952)

Jackson also attacks the International Style as being 'fanatic rationalism'. He believes that architecture should have a purpose to serve, to organise a space for the human being, which to him is the main difference between architecture and the rest of the art forms. However, he accepts the International Style as an art but not as architecture due to it not answering the human necessities but only creating a composition of beautiful geometric forms. He also adds that buildings should be for human use, and not for observing and exhibiting from the outside, which meant that for Jackson the interior was as important as the exterior (Horowitz, 1998).

The exhibitions actually reflect the perception of the curators. Tabibi defines the role of a narrator, by referring to Colomina (1998), as the reproducer who connects the producer and the public. They are the ones who 'rebuilt the built architecture'. In the mission statement of the MoMA (Url-13), the main aim is highlighted as the introduction of modern movement, with all the tools of media to the public (Tabibi, 2005). In this case, it is important to understand that, the curators' choices shaped the path of exhibition. They claimed that there was a common architectural approach and sought to prove their opinion by the architectural works, which they chose. However, they preferred those works which deliberately strengthened their approach. Through this method, they guided the architecture of the period. Therefore, their perspectives and design issues demonstrate the canons of the style of the period as the

'International Style'. On the other hand, it is important to consider that if they had chosen different materials to put into the exhibition, the continuous works, architectural approaches and, atmosphere of cities would be different. In other words, these critics meet on one significant idea; the exhibition actually affected the process of the architectural practice of the postwar period. Even if the curators believed that there was already a common architectural style, what they did was to show examples that belonged to that style and ignore the rest. Therefore, today what we know as a style of the period is actually what they created. It not affects our perception but also shaped the subsequent architectural production. In this case, it is obvious that the International Style exhibition and the associated book changed the history of architecture.

Hitchcock organised another exhibition named 'The Urban Vernacular of the Thirties, Forties and Fifties: American Cities before the Civil War' in 1934, two years after the International Style Exhibition at MoMA. Even though it was not vert well known, it led people to accept pre-war cities as a model for contemporary urban developments. Nineteenth-century American buildings with their appearance without decoration and their proportional qualities were parallel with Hitchcock's idea of the International Style. Keywords of the exhibition were defined by Hitchcock as; lightness, simplicity and coherence. The main aim of the exhibition was the same as the previous one; to introduce substantial examples. In addition to this, Berenice Abbott worked with Hitchcock as a photographer for the exhibition. Hitchcock asked Abbott to take photographs of buildings which reflected principles of the International Style. Even if the buildings were in some parts different or possibly traditional, according to Hitchcock they reflected the order of the International Style. He wanted to prove through this exhibition that universality can be followed not only in time but in place. Even for buildings in the exhibition that were not from the twentieth century; it was possible to see universality and common architectural expressions. An interesting point underlined by Yanni was that, while buildings of the International Style were reflected the machine aesthetic, the buildings in the exhibition were from the pre-machine age, yet nevertheless they shared close formal expressions (Yanni, 1996).

There was another exhibition held by MoMA and Elizabeth Mock in 1944 named 'Built in USA since 1932'. Wright defines it as a 'sequel and an antidote to the

famous International Style exhibition of 1932'. Mock tries to reveal the humanistic and social approach, considering the environment, emotions and community life (Wright, 2008, p.149).

3. TURKEY IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

3.1 The Atmosphere Of Istanbul Prior To The World War II

Architectural practice is the reflection of the political, economic and social atmosphere of a society, in Turkey as well as other countries. In the early decades of the Republican era, architecture had been accepted as a tool for presenting an ideology. As far as architecture is related to visual communication and the physical environment, it is actually an important tool for shaping a society. This study is based on this reality. In order to understand the period that is the focus of a study, it is important to consider the background to the contemporary atmosphere. Therefore, architecture needs to be analysed within the prevalent economy, politics and ideology. In other words, even though the main focus of this study covers the period around the 1950s in Turkey, the economy, social life, political environment and architectural issues of the previous time period needs to be considered. What happened after 1950 is the result of what came before. The reason behind focusing on the 1950s is that, this period has been accepted as a threshold for Turkey in many aspects. After the Republican period, when the regime changed radically, 1950 was the second political threshold. At this time the system changed from single party to multi-party. This transformation itself brought various results. Therefore, architectural practice was one of the fields affected by the political changes. As far as architecture is directly related to the society, a strong relationship with the political system and the economy is expected. However, it is always important to remember that, history is not something that can be precisely categorised. History is a continuing organic process, which should be contemplated within the prism of many factors.

Up to this point, modernisation has been discussed with reference to its birthplace, the West. In this section, the focus point will be Turkey, while taking into consideration the West as well. The idea of 'modernisation' or 'westernisation' had been around since the Ottoman Empire. However, although the method or the idea of

the West changed over time, the idea of westernisation remained. It is important to consider that developments of the early Republican period were based on the Westernisation movements that had begun in the Ottoman Empire. At that time, there was an approach relating modernisation with the Enlightenment and the Renaissance.

To describe briefly, Baslo underlines that the reforms started during the eighteenth and the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire. However, these reforms did not aim for wholesale change, rather they presented solutions to heal and repait the empire. For this reason, the reform cannot be named as an 'enlightenment' -as in Europe- because 'enlightenment' means a radical and total transformation. (Baslo, 2008). Therefore, this era can be seen as more similar to the Renaissance. However, the Turkish Revolution and the Republican period seem to more closely resemble the Enlightenment. As a result of contact with the West, the Ottoman Empire aimed to embrace improvements and developments that had come about as results of the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution and: In order to do this, the Ottoman authority started a 'modernisation project' and; called it 'westernisation'. However, in the West this project was viewed as a part of 'oriental politics (doğu projesi)'. The actual aim was to control Ottoman land, which was very rich in raw material and marketing possibilities (Sözen, 1996). Therefore, what the Ottomans considered as progress was actually a benefit for the West. 23

On the other hand, the reforms in the Republican period were quite different in terms of methods and aims. The modernisation process started in the Ottoman era (Mahmut II.) and became a legal state policy in the Republican era. The main aim was to transform Ottoman society, which can be also called Islamic, into a modern and Westernised society, which is secular (*laik*). Turkish modernism was based on secularism, and reforms were made in order to eliminate Ottoman and, therefore, Islamic forms and replace them with modern ones, wherein the religion was strictly

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²¹ For further information: Baslo, 2008.

²² The French Revolution affected the lifestyle, economy and technology, as well as the city. After the Revolution, functional buildings such as factories, theatres, museums, educational buildings and stores took the place of churches, palaces and castles (Vanlı, Ş., 2006).

²³ The Tanzimat Era was a period of regularisation in the Ottoman Empire that was started in order to avoid nationalist independence movements and economic problems, and continued from 1839 to 1876. In this era many reforms were undertaken, such as establishing educational foundations, reorganising legal regulations according to the French civil code and, in order to stop the dissociation of non-Muslim minorities, granting new rights to minorities. These were the most fundamental changes (Yücel, S., 2003).

controlled by the government. Republican reforms also aimed to create a Turkish identity and nation-state ideology above the Ottoman Empire, which included other ethnic and religious groups (Gül, 2012).

Nation-state was the result of liberalisation, capitalisation and industrialisation in the West. By contrast in Turkey, it was aimed to forge a nation-state via the modernisation project, without considering the fundamental elements mentioned above. The major difference is that, in the West 'nation-state' was the result of a process (there was already a notion of 'nation' in existence), but in Turkey, it was the objective of an authority (the idea of 'nation' was even developed by them). Sayar defines the groups who were the bearers of the modernisation project as; the bourgeoisie in the West, and the state or state elite in non-western countries. Another point she highlights is that the modernisation project in the West started with economic change, and evolved by its own dynamics, carried by the bourgeoisie and systemised by the state. On the other hand, for non-western countries, the modernisation project was accepted as state policy, carried by the state itself and the result of political and cultural targets. It was to be expected that a society, which was still traditional (as in Turkey), could not be the bearer of modernisation as in the West. By this understooding, social improvement was a result in Turkey, whereas it was an impulse in the West. (Sayar, 1998).

Non-western countries became a part of the modernisation project after the grow of economic relationships and the impacts of capitalist order. This eventuated in innovations in many fields; social, economic, political. In non-western countries, on account of embracing the West, reforms were accepted as equal with the terms 'modernisation' and 'westernisation'. In peripheral countries, the leading focus point was embodying a political structure and it was followed by economic and industrial developments. The problem which occurred was that, the elements of European Modernism, individualism, capitalism, nation state²⁴, liberal democracy and national bourgeoisie were not seen in peripheral countries. For this reason, the state elites of Turkey preferred to create firstly economic policies depending on the German

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²⁴ Sayar describes nation-state with these words: 'The emerging of the nation-state in Europe is closely related with the emerging of the industrial society. The birth of nation-states in Europe was realised with the maintaining of "new identities" at a greater platform by means of economic integrity after the overcoming of the feudal identity' Sayar, 1998, pp. 41–42.

national economy and then obtain nation-statehood for Turkey (Sayar, 1998). Besides these ideas, Kuban (1985) also differentiates the westernisation of Turkey from other non-western countries. Since Turkey was never a colony of European countries, the relationship with the West emerged and continued in a different way. It can be deduced that in peripheral countries, including Turkey, the economy, culture, ideology, society (creating a bourgeoisie or elite class), architecture and even the identity were defined and executed by the state. In order to reach these objectives the modernisation or, in other words, westernisation was seen as the only way. The term 'modernisation' actually defines its purpose as reaching the stage of the West which was seen as a model. Therefore, modernisation was accepted as a rational, universal and applicable theory. The modernisation theory offers a 'social model of advancement' based on 'political development' for non-western countries (Sayar, 1998, p. 15).

To sum up, the expression 'the modernisation process' in the West arose out of the atmosphere of liberalism, capitalism, industrialisation, technological development, and ideology of the nation-state and contained within it predominantly its own internal dynamics. This period took around 300 years and it began to spread to the rest of the world in the nineteenth century through the capitalist order(Sayar, 1998, p. 12). On the other hand, in Turkey, modernisation was an intentional project of the authority instead of a spontaneous process as described above. As previously mentioned, in every society architecture is shaped by these conditions and factors. Before examining the 1950s, it is important to understand the period. This chapter has sought to illuminate the background information of this period. The architectural styles and approaches will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.2 Architectural Practice Until World War II

In writing the history of Turkish architecture, there is a common chronological approach followed by scholars. This begins in the eighteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire firs started to come in contact with the West. This relationship was mostly the result of political and economic necessities. This era has been called 'westernisation' when Western visitors to Turkey or Turkish visitors to Europe started to shape architecture under the influence of the West (Baslo, 2008). Turkey underwent a radical change after the establishment of the Turkish Republic and the

Turkish Revolution. Therefore, the early Republican period can be named as the period of modernism in Turkey. The idea of modernism brought with it continuous developments. After the 1930s improvements and 'westernisation' and 'modernisation' were common points for the economy, politics and also for architecture. Around the 1940s 'nationalisation' became popular and then, finally, in the 1950s the 'rationalism' of the twentieth century found its place in Turkish architecture (Özorhon & Ulusu Uraz, T., 2009). There are many factors which affected the changes in architectural style, such as economic and socio-cultural changes, developments in construction technology and international relationships (Aslanoğlu, 2001). Therefore, this categorisation can change according to a historian's point of focus even if they share common ground with other scholars.

Ilhan Tekeli divides Turkish architectural history as the First National Architectural Movement, also known as the Second Ottoman Constitutional Period 1923-27, Ankara-Vienna Cubism 1929-1939, Second National Architectural Movement 1940-50, and the International Style 1950-60 (Tekeli, 2005). This categorisation can be seen as very strict and rules out any time overlaps or social, economic, and political factors. However, this distinction is very common in the written history of Turkish architecture. It is time to consider it with a wider knowledge and perspective. Afife Batur claims that Turkish architecture depends on social history, structural changes, modernist thought and the idea of conceptualism after the establishment of the Republic. Batur categorises Turkish architecture as 'Transition Period 1923 – 1928', 'Modernist Period 1929 – 1938', 'The Years of War 1938 – 1950', 'The Post War Period 1950 – 1960', 'Searching for the New 1960 – 1980', 'Breaking and New Ways 1980 – 2000'. As can be seen, Batur does not use the common categories, she prefers to create frames only, rather than strictly describing periods (Batur, 2005).

As Tekeli states, after the establishment of the Republic, unceasing and extensive transformation started in Turkey, with both internal and external effects. Economic changes brought about the requirement for new institutions; new economic functions occurred and, therefore, class structure also changed (Tekeli, 2005). It is seen that political changes brought about transformation in the economy and social life; it was like a solidary movement. Those changes formed a basis for new necessities and, institutions and all of these generated need for new spaces and new building types. Mete Tapan also points out the importance of the built environment by describing it

as a 'reflection of economics, technologic and social character of the country'. Therefore, the variety of new building types comes from the need for new functions and changes in the characteristic of the country (Tapan, 2005, p. 109-123).

Yıldız Sey claims that there are political, social and economic changes from 1923 to 1950. Therefore, for Sey it is not possible to embrace the architectural practice of that period in one category. Consequently, she divides architecture between 1923 and 1950 into three time periods: 1923-30, 1930-40 and 1940-50. She also underlines the importance of the 1950s, which was a threshold in many fields; political, economic, social, cultural and architectural as well (Sey, 1998). On the other hand, Baslo tries to break the common idea of the categorisation of the history of Turkish architecture. In Western countries, there was a historical process formed with a political, intellectual and scientific background. It has been attempted to adapt this process to Turkey from the eighteenth century without considering the background of Turkish architecture. Baslo claims that, when we consider only architectural appearance, it is normal to see collateral parts. Therefore, she looks from the universality perspective in order to find different explanations for the process of the history of Turkish architecture (Baslo, 2008).

Sayar in her article 'Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Milliyetçilik: Milli Kimlik Sorunu ve Mimari Ifadesi' focuses on the modernisation process in Turkey. She argues that the categorisation of the history of architecture in Turkey is very much western oriented. Theories on modernisation mostly offer a linear evolution process, without considering historical and geographical backgrounds. It is seen that for the nonwestern countries, including Turkey, there are no theories of modernisation besides stylistic explanations, which are mostly related to the western approaches. Firstly, while using the term 'modernism', it is important to understand the conditions from which it emerged. Modernisation is defined as a process that came into view in Western Europe in the atmosphere of capitalism, liberalism, marketing, industrialisation and nation-state notions in the eighteenth century. It spread to other continents, Asia, Africa and, America, after the sprawl of industrial capitalism around the nineteenth century. As in other non-western countries, Turkey became involved in the modernisation process as a result of being part of the capitalist system. Whereas in western countries, modernisation was a result of economic, political and, social and technological transformations, in Turkey the process of modernisation came in order to catch up with the western countries and to be a part of the universal values. In the West, this process was carried out by the bourgeoisie and the nation-state notion was the result of the modernisation process. On the other hand, in Turkey it was developed by the bureaucracy and the main aim was to create a nation-state through modernisation. As a result of this difference, for Turkey and other non-western countries, it was hard to synthesise modernisation with their culture and identity. In the West, it was accepted that, the state was derived from the economy. Nonetheless, in Turkey, the economy was derived from the state. For industrialisation and technological improvements, the state had a causative role. Thus, in these kinds of situations, the authority can control not only the economy but also all the fields related to the public. In order to do this, architecture was accepted as an effective tool (Sayar, 2000).

Even though Turkish architects were dealing with modern architecture, it was hard to accept the term 'international' in the nationalist environment, that was formed after the Turkish War of Independence. In spite of the fact that, positivism, science and other progressive parts of modernism were desired, the liberal and more socialist approaches were rejected. The early Republican era, not only in architecture but also in other fields, was a period of searching for the modern and the national at the same time. According to the new regime what Turkish architects had done was 'nationalising the modern'. To achieve this there were two main approaches. Some claim that, as far as modern architecture is the best way to respond to the needs of the site, function and context with its rationalist approach is therefore also national. On the other hand, others argue that traditional Turkish architecture, including Ottoman and civil Turkish architecture, has a rationalist approach to the function and construction issues, so consequently it is also modern (Bozdoğan, 2002). This framework is also the common argument of the early Republican era architecture studies, whether national or international, traditional or regionalist, traditional or modern. As Bozdoğan says, it is important to define what is modern while examining this period. The dilemma between old and modern or universal and national was common. Governments were trying to develop a modern and universal architecture and culture, but, on the other hand they needed a national identity to control the public. It was not only in Turkey but also in western countries that, governments were seeking an architectural style in order to prove their power and strength to the citizens and create a common spirit during the depression years. In this case, the style they were looking for was both modern and old, both universal and national (Lane, 1986). Therefore, Republican government tried to mix both ideas which sometimes caused chaos in architecture.

All the things considered, Turkish architecture from 1923 to 1950 is mostly divided into the three categories described above. The First National Architecture Movement (1910-28) covers the period dating from the late Ottoman Empire, when nationalist attitudes increased due to World War I, to the early years of the new Republic. The movement started before the new regime was established and continued until they realised that it did not meet the needs of the ideology of the regime. As Bozdoğan describes, the First National Architectural Movement was the interpretation of Ottoman decorative elements such as domes, roof overhangs, pointed arches and other decorative features through the Beaux Art principles of symmetry and axially with new technological methods (Bozdoğan, 2002). Even though it was called 'national' architecture, it was much more in line with Ottoman architecture, with mass organisation, rules and decorative elements (Batur, 2005).

There were two key figures associated with the First National Architecture; Kemalettin (1870-1927) and Vedad Tek (1873-1942). They were the last Ottoman and the first Republican architects.²⁵ The main issue for the First National Architectural Movement was that, many different kinds of buildings were designed with the same method and appearance, without considering their function. In order to create the national architecture, architects looked only upon the physical character and created a prototype to be used for any kind of building. They used motifs or structural elements of Ottoman and Seljuk architecture that were not practised with the functionalist approach. Applying fake domes, only for the purpose of

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²⁵ In addition to Kemalettin and Tek were: Ahmet Burhanettin Tamcı, Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu, A. Kemal, Ahmet Kemalettin, Alaettin Özaktaş, Ali Talat Bey, Aram Hanciyan, Cemil, Denari, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, Falih Ülkü, Galip, Guilio Mongeri, Hafi, İbrahim Beykozlu, İrfan, J.D.'Armi, Kavafyan, Kiryakidis, Küçük Kemal, Kemal Altan, Leon Güreğyan, M.D. Çurvidas, Mehmet Fesçi, Mesut Özok, Mehmet Niht Nigizberk, Mukbil Kemal, Muzaffer, Nafilyan, Necmettin Emre, Nesim Sisa, Nuri Nafiz, Pappa, Peçilas, Rafael Rus, Şefik, Tahsin Sermet, Tanaş Yamas, Taşçıyan, Terziyan, U. Ferrari, Yahya Ahmet, Vangel, Yorgiadis, Ziya and Zühtü Başar were also mentioned by Sözen as other figures of First National Architecture (Sözen, 1996). First National Assembly, State Railway Headquarters, Ankara Palace, Vakıf Hanı (1912-26) by Kemalettin Bey, Ankara Palas (1924-26) by Vedat and Kemalettin Bey, Banks of Osmanlı, Ziraat and İş (1926-29) by Giulio Mongeri, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1927), Ethnography Museum (1926), Türk Ocağı (1927-30) by Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu were the most known examples for the Ottoman Revivalist approach..

monumentalising, was a significant example of this non-functionalist approach. The type of building or the necessity of the elements were not taken into consideration. Elements were added to the structure only for their visual effect. However, if the main reason for designing with a historicist approach was to develop a national architecture, an understanding of the architecture of the past should come first. The logic behind the Ottoman and Seljuk architecture should be examined and understood. Placing elements without a regard for their actual purpose seems to be copying the dress, not the body inside of it.

The new regime was aware of the importance of architecture in order to support radical changes and develop a modern society, as were other revolutionary regimes in other western countries. Even if Ottoman Revivalism did not last long, it was an accepted style in the beginning of the Republican era, which also shows the dilemma in political ideology at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the beginning of the Republican period, there were figures that supported radical changes, as well as defenders of the Ottoman tradition. This was the reason behind the continued existence of Ottoman Revivalism up untill the end of the 1920s. The First National Architecture became the formal style of the new regime in the first ten years, as it was in the period of the Committee of Union and Progress. Afterwards, it was understood that Ottoman architectural elements, which were related with Islamic architecture, did not fit the secularist ideas of the Republican regime.²⁶ Meanwhile the Kemalist regime corroborated its existence and, authority and after 1931, the use of Ottoman forms was not accepted or allowed anymore. This change can be followed in the facades of buildings, especially in Ankara, which were constructed with revivalist principles before 1931 (Gül, 2012). The Republican regime focused on the necessity for the new architectural language, which could represent the new face of modern Turkey. The power of architecture on the society was known and architecture was accepted as a strong factor for transformation.

The new Turkish government used the opportunity presented by Jewish refugees who had escaped from Nazi Germany, in order to develop educational and social reforms

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For further information about the First National Architecture Movement: Sözen, M., 1996, Yücel, Ş., 2003, Bozdoğan, S., 2002, Aslanoğlu, İ., 2001, Akcan E. & Bozdoğan, S., 2012, Ural, S., 1974.

following the establishment of the Turkish Republic. As a result, New Architecture²⁷, which can be called Modern Architecture, was brought by European, mostly German-born architects in the 1930s. They constructed buildings and educated a new generation of architects in the Academy of Fine Arts. Aslanoğlu describes the two groups that dominated the architecture of the 1930s as, firstly, foreign architects (mostly refugees)²⁸ who began to come Turkey after 1920 and, secondly Turkish architects²⁹ who were trying to survive in this atmosphere (Aslanoğlu, 2001). There was a reaction from Turkish architects to the foreign architect dominated practice. Most of the formal building constructions were given to foreign architects and Turkish architects tried to compete with them by creating their own opportunities (Sözen, 1996). This problem affected the architectural style of the period later on.

When the architectural practice of the era is examined; it is seen that; the plan had begun to be shaped according to the function of the building, contrary to the First National Architecture Movement. This resulted in pure facades cleansed of decorative elements. However, the stylistic approach and monumentalising were still seen in this period. It was only the relationship of the interior with the function that was considered more than before. The usage of reinforced concrete framework increased, and cubical mass organisation, more transparent facades, flat roofs and,

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²⁸ These foreign architects, mostly described as German speaking architects, can be listed as follows:

²⁷ Using the word 'new' came from the common expressions in the West, 'l'esprit nouveau, lo spirito nuovo, nieuwe bouwen, das neue Sachlichkeit'. It also showed the distinction from 'old' which seemed an obstacle for creating the architecture of revolution. Therefore, emphasis on the word 'new' was used in order to describe the architecture of the newly established Republic of Turkey.

Herman Jansen, Robert Oerley, Erns Egli, Clemenz Holsmeizter, Bruno Taut, Martin Wagner, Ernst Reuter, Schütte's, Franz Hillinger, Gustav Oelsner, Paul Bonatz. In particular, Clemens Holzmeister was a representative of Vienna cubic school and had an important role in creating a style for governmental buildings in Ankara. He designed the Ministry of Defense (1927-31), the Office of Commander in Chief (1929-30), the Presidential Palace (1930-32), the Ministry of Interior (1933-34), the Ministry of Public Work (1933–34), the Court of Appeal (1933–35), the Ministry of Commerce (1934-35), the Central Bank (1931-33), the Emlak Bank (1933-34) and the officer's club (orduevi). Ernst Egli was another key figure, being both academician and architect. His designs were all in Ankara: the Music Teaching School (1927-28), the Chamber of Accounts (1928-30), the Trade High School (1928-30), İsmet Paşa Girl's Institute (1930), the School of Political Science (1935-36). Bruno Taut designed Ankara Faculty of Language, History and Geography (Batur, A., 1998) ²⁹ Turkish pioneers of the period were: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, A.Ziya Kozanoğlu, Zeki Sayar, Abidin Mortas, Hüsnü, Semih, Rüstem, Sadi, Asım Kömürcüoğlu and A.Hikmet Koyunoğlu, Seyfi Arkan, Sevki Balmumcu, Rükneddin Güney, Bekir İhsan, Examples can be listed as; House of Bekir Bey (1929) by Sırrı Arif, House of İ.Hakkı Bey (Ankara, 1931) by Sadi, House of Dr. Celal Bey (Ankara, 1932) by Arif Hikmet, House of Dr. Sani Yaver (Istanbul, 1931) by Zeki Sayar, the Laboratory of Ministry of Agriculture (Adana, 1932) by Ferit, the School of Agriculture (Izmir, 1932) by Hüseyin and Resit, the Exhibition Hall (Ankara, 1933) by Sevki Balmumcu, Mansions in Cankaya and Florya by Seyfi Arkan (Batur, A., 1998).

free plan organisation started to be seen (Sözen, 1996). Common points of these buildings were their ornament free, pure facades, ribbon windows, flat (terrace) roofs, geometrical organisations –mostly rectangular masses- and free plans. The main point of the free plan was the functional organisation of the architectural program. A new rationalist approach and the architectural features reflected the impression of Le Corbusier's approach and his five principles.³⁰ In addition to these; in the *Arkitekt* magazine the architecture of foreign countries were introduced in a series called 'Başka Memleketlerde Mimari' from 1933 to 1949 and included architecture of Japan, England, Germany, America, France, Finland and other countries.³¹ Not only the architectural visions but also the construction techniques were explained in detail, supported by images, in order to introduce Turkish architects to new techniques.³²

Bozdoğan summarises this movement as 'white boxes, transparent walls, and advanced industrial material and aesthetic of International style of the 1930s', which mostly can be seen in Ankara in the early Republican period. Meanwhile, Modernist Turkish architects were inconsistent in their attitude towards modern architecture. While some of them were embracing the aesthetic canon, others were rejecting the stylistic approach due to it being incompatible with rational thought (Bozdoğan, 2002, pp. 18-20). New Architecture, or in common expression, 'Cubic architecture' was seen as the best way to manifest the new regime's rational and secular ideology. The Kemalist regime was regulating architecture to display the Republic's face and to be a propaganda tool, both new governmental buildings and new social areas such as parks, public centres, larger boulevards and other public structure were also designed with this stylistic approach (Gül, 2012). The fundamental concern of 1930s' architecture was to answer these questions; how to reflect the new regime, how the ideology and the revolution of modern architecture - accepted as a rationalist waywould guide Turkey to be contemporary (asri) with Western countries.³³

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³⁰ These principles are defined in the book by Le Corbusier originally named *Vers Une Architecture* and published in English as Corbusier, L. (2008), *Toward an Architecture*, (Goodman, J. translated from French), Getty Publications, Los Angeles.

³¹ The archive of *Arkitekt* can be reached from: http://dergi.mo.org.tr/detail.php?id=2

³² For example: Jirar, F.(1949) Amerikan Mimarisi ve Yapıcılığı, (Translated by Menteş, E.), *Arkitekt*, 9-10, 233-239. Retrieved from: http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/74/734.pdf

³³ Until the 1940s there was no large-scale building construction, especially public building, in Istanbul which had lost its importance and population after the establishment of the Republic. As

This period called New Architecture was important for creating the foundation for the International Style in Turkey. Even after this period, the idea of nationalist architecture was seen again, but it did not last long. The Second National Architecture Movement was the result of a desire to create an architectural style based on national sources. This desire was supported by internal nationalistic values, and external racist and nationalistic approaches, especially those seen in Germany and Italy (Aslanoğlu, 2001). The first influence of this period was Sedad Hakkı Eldem's seminar course in the Academy of Fine Arts in 1934. The aim of this seminar was to examine civil Turkish architecture and consider local values, and it was believed that these would be an inspiration for new designs.

It concentrated on civil architecture, not the religious architecture of the Ottoman Empire as in the First National Architecture Movement. In addition to this, this seminar aimed to regulate principles rather than repeating elements and motifs or creating building prototypes. It was understood that the Ottoman revivalist approach was not suitable for the character of Republican Turkey. Therefore, Eldem³⁴ tried to find another reference point in order to develop a national architecture, rather than accepting the international principles. The Second National Architecture Movement had to deal with two circumstances. Firstly, the national architecture should avoid the Ottoman revivalist and imitative approach, which had been, seen in the First National Architecture Movement and had been criticized for not fitting the secular identity. Secondly, while being national, it should also be parallel with the Modernist approach and, therefore, be equally as universal (Tekeli, 2005).³⁵

examples of new architecture style consider: the Presidential Summer Mansion in Florya in 1935, Karaköy Harbour Passenger Terminal in 1938, Kadıköy People's House in 1938 and a few apartment blocks in Taksim and Gümüşsuyu (Gül, M., 2012). For further information about New Architecture: Gül, M., 2012; Sözen, M., 1996; Yücel, Ş., 2003; Bozdoğan, S., 2002; Aslanoğlu, İ., 2001; Akcan E. & Bozdoğan, S., 2012, Civelek, Y, 2009; Sey, Y., 1998; Batur, A., 1998.

For further information about the Second National Architecture Movement: Tekeli, İ., 2005; Sey, Y., 1998; Batur, A., 1998; Bozdoğan, S., 2002.

³⁴However, Eldem's approach changed after a while and he became one of the first architects to work in collaboration with the foreign firm SOM and he had a role in the emergence of the International Style in Turkey with the construction of the Hilton Hotel, which will be mentioned in the next section. ³⁵The Turkish Pavilion at the 1939 World Fair in New York, which was designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Sedad Zincirkıran, is accepted as the first example of the Second National Architecture Movement. ³⁵ The important thing about Eldem's thoughts and designs is that he was not rejecting modern architecture, he was seeking ways of being modern but at the same time reflecting the Turkish identity (Yücel, Ş., 2003).

All the criticism about revivalist and historicist approaches was related to the repetition what was done before. Architecture, it was argued, should be related to the reality of the period in which it was practised. Therefore, copying or repeating previous attitudes as in the First and Second National Architecture Movements did not produce the intended result. The New Architecture, which was a transition period between two nationalist architectural styles, was the first trial of modern architecture in Turkey. However, it was also not adequately interiorised and resulted in the imitation of Western approaches. At the same time, the technology was not improved in line with the architecture, and problems developed such as leakage of flat roofs.

To sum up, all the approaches following the establishment of the Turkish Republic coped with many issues; modernism, nationalism, secularism, technological improvements, materials and more while aiming to be modern. Turkish modern architecture could not be developed by way of these architectural styles. The period after 1950 had a different path and it was accepted as another threshold for the Turkish economy, politics, culture and architecture. In the next two chapters, the period after World War II will be taken into consideration. As in the previous discussions, in order to shape the architectural framework, the social, political and economic background will be examined.

3.3 The Period Following World War II

In order to understand the architecture after the 1950s, it is important to understand the economic, social, cultural and politic conditions that shaped the architecture. Modernisation shifted from the cultural sphere to the economy in the 1950s, parallel to the transformation from a single party to multi-party system. World War I ended with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and resulted in the emergence of the Turkish Republic. Likewise, World War II affected the emergence of democracy and liberalism. Therefore, World War II is also an important threshold for this period. Although Turkey did not take part in World War II directly, it was affected by the war in many aspects. All its economic resources were used for national defence during the war period. Therefore, there was no opportunity for investment into on social and economic issues. To recover from the economic problems, some measures and treatments were implemented. Even if Kemalist ideology idealised village life, economic depression affected the people who lived in the villages (these people

made up the 80 percent of the population). Due to the economic depression the government started to reinstate the tithe (aşar vergisi). This meant that villagers had to pay the 10 percent of their income. In this way, economic conditions became more problematic for them. On top of this, lack of sewage infrastructure, electricity and potable water were other difficulties (Gül, 2012; Lewis, & Turna, 2011; Zurcher, 2014).

All of this increased the anger of villagers towards the government since their reality was not parallel to that offered by Republican ideology. Not only villagers but also officers, bureaucrats and the rich mercantile class, who were the powerful supporters of the Kemalist regime, were not pleased with the increase in inflation. Another measure taken by the state was to collect land tax from non-Muslims. Land tax changed the dynamics of the trade and economy of Istanbul. Those non-Muslims withdrew themselves from the market and migrated. On the other hand, it resulted in a positive way for Turkish businessmen who had a greater opportunity to take part in the market. These economic problems led the government to consider its structure. A multi-party system was seen as necessary for transforming the social and economic policies. The necessity of political change began to be discussed in 1945 (Gül, 2012; Lewis, & Turna, 2011; Zurcher, 2014).

The period defined as early Republican ended with the 14 May 1950 elections. During and following World War II new social groups emerged, namely intellectuals, the middle class (this group is divided into three; merchants, industrialists and landowners) and workers. Under these circumstances, it was not possible to operate under one authority and one party. In addition, due to being part of the Western world, more liberal politics, economics and social attitudes became necessary. The Republican People's Party (RPP) made some transformations and offered flexibility. However, they were not enough to satisfy every group, especially landowners. All these problems resulted in internal chaos in the RPP and four members (Celal Bayar, Refik Koraltan, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü) left the party in 1945 and established the Democratic Party (DP) on 7 January 1946. Even though in the first election (21 July 1946) the DP was not successful, this attempt led

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³⁶ Menderes and Köprülü were removed from the RPP due to their critics and Bayar and Koraltan were left by themselves (Zürcher, 2014).

the government to undertake reforms in order to integrate with the world economy and politics. These economic reforms increased relationships with the United States (Shaw & Shaw, 2010; Gül, 2012; Lewis, & Turna, 2011; Zürcher, 2014).

Gül (2012) underlines that, the idea of making Turkey a 'Little America', -which was mostly ascribed to the DP but - was first expressed by the RPP in 1949. During World War II (1939-45), Turkey aimed to maintain its neutral position. According to the treaty signed between Turkey, France and England, Turkey was supposed to be neutral unless its safety was threatened. However, even though Turkey decided to remain neutral, due to the risk of being invaded by Russia or Germany, the military budget was doubled. This precaution resulted in the degradation of agricultural and industrial production, and reductions in the importation and exportation and production of goods. Even though Turkey was not a part of the war, it was faced with negative impacts. The most important outcome of the war was that Turkey declared war on Germany on 23 February 1945 in order to take a place as a founding member of the United Nations (Shaw & Shaw, 2010; Gül, 2012; Lewis, & Turna, 2011; Zürcher, 2014).

After World War II, in the era that was defined as the Cold War, Russia was accepted as an enemy of the West. Turkey's geopolitical location – situated close to Russia- meant Turkey became an ally of the West, in particular the United States. Even though the war had ended, the Russian threat continued for Turkey and Greece. In order to obstruct it, Harry S. Truman (president of the United States) proposed a military and economic aid plan to the Congress, which was a part of the Truman Doctrine (Shaw & Shaw, 2010; Yücel, 2003). The Truman Doctrine aimed to resist Soviet imperialism and, therefore, Turkey was a key point for this purpose. It was also the main reason behind the United States efforts to incorporate Turkey in the modernisation process, which will be discussed afterwards.

On 1 September 1947 the Turkish-American, military aid and collaboration agreement was signed. Following that, becoming part of the Marshall Plan³⁷ on 5 June 1947 and Organisation for Economics Co-operation and Development on 6 April 1948 empowered the relationship. This continued with the dispatch of the

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³⁷ The Marshall Plan was developed by George Marshall, the US secretary of the state, in 1947, in order to maintain political stability from Soviet expansion. It was mostly used for agriculture, military and industrial issues.

Turkish army to join the United Nations' powers in Korea and this action resulted in Turkey becoming member of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). All these conditions made Turkey a part of the western alliance. Turkey was signed to the European Development Plan in order to improve the practice of the Marshall Plan. The role of Turkey was to increase agricultural production for western countries. Therefore, modernising agricultural production and improving transportation to villages were the two main aims of the Marshall Plan (Shaw & Shaw, 2010; Gül, 2012). Turkish agriculture, industry and transportation facilities were supported by the United States with the Marshall Plan. Agriculture became more mechanised with large numbers of trucks introduced to Turkey³⁸, and the number of railways and highways increased. By these means, Turkey became a part of the United States' 'modernisation theory'. These transformations and developments in agriculture and industry resulted in the emergence of new social groups; the working class, migrants (Akcan, & Bozdoğan, 2012).

In addition to all these reforms, the RPP realised that their secular identity could have a negative effect in the subsequent election. In the Seventh Congress of the RPP the idea of softening the stance on religious issues was introduced. As a result, the RPP allowed private religious education. They added voluntary religious education to primary schools. Moreover, the Faculty of Theology opened as a part of Ankara University in 1949. Universities gained autonomy in their internal affairs, even if they were still bound to the government in financial issues. Another measure was to give more freedom to the press by changing some parts of the Press Code (Gül, 2012).

In this atmosphere elections were held on 14 May 1950 and the DP received the highest number of votes. This was the end of the single-party era and the beginning of the multi-party era. Despite the RPP's liberal attitude, economic problems and the reaction of the public made the DP stronger than in previous elections. The RPP lost its power after a history of 27 years in power. With this change, not only the politics but also the economy and vision of Turkey had been transformed. Istanbul retook its important position with the DP government. Authoritarian administration, a state-

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³⁸ The first trucks came to Turkey in May 4, 1949 (Gül, 2012).

³⁹ For further information, Bozdoğan, S. & Akcan, E. (2012). Turkey: Modern Architectures in History, (Chapter 4: *Populist Democracy and Postwar Modernism*) Reaktion Books Ltd., London.

based economy and nationalist thoughts were left behind, and a more populist democracy with an economy based on private initiative and a universal approach took its place. The idea of improving parallel to the West stayed the same, however, and the definition of the West switched from Europe to the United States. Relationships with other countries changed with the new authority and economic evolution (Shaw & Shaw, 2010; Gül, 2012; Lewis, & Turna, 2011; Zürcher, 2014; Akcan & Bozdoğan, 2012).

The DP's strongest method was to eliminate the disparity between the city and the village, which had been the main problem of recent years. This attitude made villages the strongest supporters of the DP. The economy based on agriculture and the surplus it generated gave Turkey the opportunity to be part of the global market, thanks to the mechanisation in production and developments in the transportation network. The DP's fast and unplanned economic policies were accepted as the most important feature of the 1950s. The process of integration with the world's capitalist system had begun before this time, but it became more powerful during the DP period. In other words, Menderes took advantage of the Cold War era and Turkey's strategic location. In this way, the help that come from Western Europe and the United States helped to improve the Turkish economy.

Menderes was aware that the main driving force of the Turkish economy was based on agricultural production (Menderes himself had his lands). Therefore, he put much effort into improvements in agricultural production. In order to do this, cultivated lands were expanded by carrying out the irrigation project. As a result, the need for mechanisation in agriculture was understood. The DP increased the use of trucks with the help of Marshall Aid. As mentioned before, developments in agriculture were supported by the increase in the highway network. As mechanisation processed, road construction was also reinforced by the United States. While it was aimed to improve the railroad system in the RPP period, with the DP regime investments were concentrated on the construction of highways and new wider roads (Vatan ve Millet Caddesi). Even if these improvements healed the economy in general, they also resulted in a group of unemployed farmers in rural areas (Gürsel, 2007; Shaw & Shaw, 2010; Gül, 2012; Lewis & Turna, 2011; Zürcher, 2014). Small landowners had to sell their lands due to the mechanisation of agriculture, and were forced to migrate to the big cities. In turn, this caused the need for new spatial arrangements:

factories, industrial zones, dwellings associated with factories for workers and migrants. This transformation, from a socialist economy to a liberal economy, was named as the revolution of bourgeoisie in Turkey (Akcan & Bozdoğan, 2012; Yücel, 2003).

Along with these developments, cultural, social and educational transformations occurred concurrently. The number of primary and secondary schools increased. The range of daily newspapers and distribution rose dramatically. Another important change, which actually began in the last years of the RPP period, was the flexibility in religious issues. Religious groups had the chance to represent themselves in the political system. Gül describes other symbolic reforms related with religion, such as reciting the *Azaan* in Turkish, permitting religious broadcasting and increasing the number of mosques. All these changes and improvements, and investments in industry, agriculture and transportation, brought another victory to the DP in the election of 1954 (Gül, 2012).

The DP's other concern was to prepare and implement the development plan for Istanbul. They accused the previous government of disregarding Istanbul. Therefore, the DP discharged Prost⁴⁰, who had been the official planner of Istanbul at the end of the 1950s. Instead, the Istanbul Urban Development Plan Committee (Istanbul Şehir İmar Planı Daimi Komisyonu) was founded in 1952 to advise and cooperate with the Development Directorate of Istanbul Municipality. However, as Gül underlines, there were no important transformations even four years after Prost's removal. In the meantime, the population of Istanbul increased and housing problems occurred. Many people migrated to Istanbul due to suffering they had experienced from the consequences of the mechanisation of agriculture. Therefore, they started to build squatter settlements, which affected the physical appearance of Istanbul. From 1956 to the 1960s Menderes focused on the urban development of Istanbul and reshaped the city into the form that is mostly known today. In this period many buildings were demolished, many assets were expropriated. New and huge boulevards were opened both inside and outside the Historic Peninsula, in order to connect the main

⁴⁰ The contract with Prost was initially for three years. Afterwards, he remained in the position of head of planning for 14 years but the development plan was yet to be concluded. Therefore, the DP regime accused him of not being able to complete the plan and being too close to RPP politicians (Gül, M., 2012).

commercial centres that surround the Marmara Sea and Haliç shore⁴¹ (Shaw & Shaw, 2010; Gül, 2012; Lewis & Turna, 2011; Zürcher, 2014; Akcan & Bozdoğan, 2012).

Two opposite ideas existed in this era. The first was more secular and national and represented the left side of the political spectrum, the second was more conservative and capitalist and represented the right side, such as the DP. They accepted the United States as an 'ideal democratic society', which supported free enterprise and religious activities. It was seen as an alternative to the radical secularism of the Republican regime (Bozdoğan, 2016). After the Korean War, international demand decreased for Turkey's agricultural product and prices decreased around 1954. This change in the market and bad weather conditions affected the agricultural production in a negative way. At the same time, financial aid from the West also diminished compared to the previous years. In the second period of the DP government (1956–60), the debit increased. All these problems, and others, prompted the government to change its attitude. They left behind their liberal approach and became stricter, which brought about their end by military coup (Shaw & Shaw, 2010; Gül, 2012; Lewis & Turna, 2011; Zürcher, 2014; Akcan & Bozdoğan, 2012). **

3.4 The International Style: Architecture In The 1950s

The period after 1950 was shaped by two concepts defined by the United States: 'modernisation theory' that affected social sciences and 'international architecture' that affected architectural practice. Both formed the idea of democracy and modernity and imposed the idea of the 'good life' (Bozdoğan, S., 2011). According to Tekeli, the modernisation process in Turkey originated from external dynamics, as opposed to European modernisation. Due to the pressure of external dynamics, there was also internal resistance. The contrast of West and East is accepted as the main base of this resistance. In other words, all the transformations, which were accepted as 'westernisation' rather than 'modernisation', created a negative idea. In this case, these changes were seen as the imitation of the West and a loss of identity, even if they were necessary and inevitable for all nations. Therefore, the term

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⁴¹ Menderes explained the necessity of the urban development plan as to decrease the traffic congestion, reshape the existing street appearance, demolish buildings around the big mosques, establish new streets, increase the attractivity of İstanbul for tourists (Gül, M., 2012, p. 180).

⁴² For further information: Gül, M, 2012; Lewis, B., & Turna, B. B., 2011; Zurcher, E. J., 2014; Karpat, K. H., 2016; Shaw, S.J. & Shaw, E.K., 2010.

'westernisation' was mostly used by the opposite sides in order to gain an advantage. The term used to define the atmosphere of the early Republican period was 'up-to-date' (*asri*). Kemalist ideology aimed to reach the level of western countries in this context. However, after World War II, the term 'modern' began to take the place of 'up-to-date'. In the beginning, it referred only to technological developments but soon the term 'modern' became prevalent in all fields. Tekeli summarises the transformations that occurred after the modernisation of the society in four aspects. These are: the economic phase; approach to knowledge, morality and art; emergence of a self-managed person emancipated from traditional relationships; and the establishment of a democratic nation-state⁴³ (Tekeli, 2009).

The DP's aim was to transform Turkey from an agricultural to an industrialised country with the development of a liberal economy. Kuban defines the period from 1950 to 1960 as 'years of total surrender to western ideas, forms and technology' (Kuban, 1985, p. 67). Architecture and urbanism were the main concerns of the DP's policies. Adnan Menderes attended personally to the architecture and related activities in order to achieve his aim of 'developing a New Turkey as little America'. In this period, the development of a road network, new urban settlements offering new job opportunities, construction of high-rise apartments, and emergence of squatter settlements were the major results. Turkish architectural culture of this period was parallel with its relationship with the United States and, therefore, with the capitalist economic system. Gürel also underlines the importance of the period with these keywords which became a part of life after 1950: democracy, consumerism, development, technological progress, internationalisation and modernisation (Gürel, 2016, p. 3).

As mentioned before, there was a search for a national architecture from the emergence of the Republic until the end of the 1940s. Not only the democracy that came with the multi-party era, but also the atmosphere of the 1950s changed this purpose. Society became more homogenised after the departure of minorities from Turkey. Therefore, there was no need to be national through historical references in the architectural culture. The idea of nationalism transformed into an idea of being a part of the international area. Turkish architects stopped looking back; instead, they

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⁴³ For further information Tekeli, İ., 2009, p. 5, 46-52.

focused on reaching the international level of architectural practice and competing with it. These were the main reasons behind the disappearance of previous styles and the emergence of the International Style (Bozdoğan, 2016).

Modern architecture came to the fore for the second time after the 1930s and had an essential role afterwards. The difference after the 1930s was that rationality was finally internalised and the state dominance of the 1930s and the national thoughts of the 1940s on modernisation were eliminated (Özorhon, 2008). Akcan and Bozdoğan determine the architecture of this period as a second phase of Turkish modernity. Turkish architects finally proved themselves in private sector, whereas before the state authority had been controlling the architecture (Akcan & Bozdoğan, 2012). Bozdoğan describes this change as a transformation from heavier, European and Cubic architecture (New Architecture) to transparent, lighter, American modern architecture (International Style) (Bozdoğan, 2016, p. 20).

After 1950, political and ideological effects on architecture changed its form. The search for a national emphasis, appearance or reference in buildings was abandoned. Architecture was disengaged from the political discourse but not with the political realities (Tanyeli, 1998). While architecture had previously been related to the state and politics, after 1950 it became related to the economy, which was the new ruler for Turkey. Vanlı also compares attitudes and he claims that in the approach of the Second National Architecture, the human was disregarded by the monumental, oversized buildings, as referenced with a fascist regime and architecture where the human was not considered. Instead, in modern architecture these overwhelming buildings were replaced with the buildings of the capitalist system (Vanlı, 2006).

The architecture after 1950 is defined by Sözen as seeking a universal identity. He also states that before 1950 there were dominant styles, as mentioned before, however, after 1950 various styles and approaches were seen together. It is described as 'democratisation' in architecture as in politics. There were many factors for these changes in the architecture. Not only political transformation, from a single to a multi-party system, but also economic developments affected architectural practice. These economic developments, from the closed to the liberal-capitalist system, resulted in the emergence of new building types. As previously mentioned, designing and constructing formal buildings was at the centre of architectural issues before 1950. Afterwards, hotels, banks, factories, dwellings and office buildings for

companies became the major concern and replaced the construction of schools, public buildings and ministry buildings. Instead of massive and monumental government buildings, more transparent, bright and modern public buildings that looked like commercial buildings were constructed. Lack of materials also decreased as a problem. Instead, various materials became available with new factories and an increase in importation facilities (Sözen, 1996; Özorhon, 2008).

Until the 1950s, the German effect, or Bauhaus, was dominant in shaping modern Turkish architecture. German modern architecture was a model for Turkey. This was also a result of the opportunities presented by German refugees, who came to Turkey to work. Not only architectural practice but also education was shaped under their hegemony. This attitude changed with the shift in the perception of the West towards the United States. After World War II and the introduction of the multi-party system, Turkey started to have contact with other countries besides Germany. Foreign architectural magazines started to be imported. Therefore, Turkish architects proceeded to learn and practise more possibilities and absorb the contemporary approaches of the 1950s. Yet Sözen claims that this was also criticised as being shaped by external dynamics without considering public issues (Sözen, 1996).

As mentioned before, Turkish architectural education and practice was shaped and inspired by mostly German and French architects, then the influence shifted to the United States in the 1950s. The Middle East Technical University⁴⁴ is a great example, as the University of Pennsylvania had a role in its establishment (Akcan, & Bozdoğan, 2012). At the Istanbul Technical University both local architects who had been in foreign countries and guest architects such as Bruno Zevi, Rolf Gutbrot and Richard Neutra introduced the newer styles. In this way the International Style, which had been followed only in magazines before, had a chance to be known more widely in Turkey (Sey, 1998). In the RPP period foreign, mostly German, experts were invited to Turkey to analyse and give reports. In the later period American experts instead⁴⁵, such as Skidmore, Owing and Merill (SOM) and Richard Wagner, were invited to give reports and make suggestions, especially about housing problems which had increased after 1950 (Akcan, 2001). In addition to these, the United States government offered Fulbright grants to Turkish architects for training

For further information: Erdim, B., 2016
 For further information: Bozdoğan, S., 2011, pp. 129–130.

and education (Bozdoğan, 2011). Therefore, after World War II buildings in Istanbul were shaped under the hegemony of American culture (Wharton, 2001). The term 'Americanisation' was popular not only in Turkey but also in Europe, which was not as dominant as before. Learning new techniques and technologies from the United States was a common attitude in Europe as well as Turkey (Tanyeli, 1998). The American impact was seen not only in architecture but also in music, cinema, media, magazines and other cultural imports in order to introduce the American way of living (Gürel, 2016). This was a part of the American modernisation theory to affect the culture and lifestyle while controlling the economy, politics and cultural issues.

Along with these, Bozdoğan criticises the common definitions of the era which were Americanisation and modernisation. To her, the modernisation theory did not manage to achieve its statements. For example, the idea of increasing mobility and urbanisation caused the emergence of squatter settlements, democratisation allowed religious activities be more effective. These examples show that modernity can be divergent with regard to countries, geographies, politics, economies and culture. Therefore, societies can become modern according to their own dynamics and processes, not as it was promised or predicted by the modernisation theory (Bozdoğan, 2016). Bozdoğan mentions the oppositions against both the Americanisation and modernisation theory. She defines these oppositions as: 'dependency', 'American imperialism', and 'arrested development' (Bozdoğan, 2011, p. 119.). Bozdoğan gives reference to Niyazi Berkes who believed that the modernisation theory was developed on behalf of the United States. He claims that America's aim was not to help Turkey. Instead, the main aim was to form part of Europe by controlling the economy and agriculture of Turkey and discarding the Kemalist thought which was against foreign capital and the private sector (Bozdoğan, 2011).

The building promotion code in 1948 and the discount in exported construction materials were important developments of the period (Okumuş, 1999). Another breaking point could be the foundation of the Chamber of Architects in 1954 which showed the disengagement of the profession from the authority (Akcan & Bozdoğan, 2012). With the creation of this institution, the construction of public buildings was no longer under the control of the state. With the regulation of competitions, the architectural profession became independent (Sey, 1998). In addition, in this period

architectural partnership started to increase, Baysal – Birsel, Tekeli – Sisa, İMA and AHE are examples (Tanyeli, 1998). With the regulation of competitions of architecture and city planning in 1952, the participation of individual architectural offices in competitions also increased (Sözen, 1996). Meanwhile, Turkey established contact with international organisations such as the Union of International Architects (UIA). The Institute of Standardisation was established in 1954 and new regulations related with the construction materials were formulated (Kuban, 1985). Within this more democratic environment, Turkish architects started to design according to the principles of the International Style. In the architecture of the previous period, strict formal buildings, educational and public buildings had been seen. Yet the approach of the International Style was seen mostly in hotels, offices, commercial buildings and taller apartment buildings (Akcan, E. & Bozdoğan, S., 2012).

Turkish architects quit the quest for a national architecture for International Style principles in order to be a part of a universe. Bozdoğan defines factors that affected the shift in architecture from national to international as optimism⁴⁶, democratic thoughts, homogenizing the society and creating a national bourgeoisie (Bozdoğan, 2011, p. 121). Akcan and Bozdoğan relate the withdrawal of a national approach to being a more homogenous society.⁴⁷ Consequently, the idea of nationalism was not related to historic values anymore. Rather, it was more closely related with being a part of a universe. It is defined as 'internationalising of Turkish Modernism' (Akcan & Bozdoğan, 2012). Underlying the word of Turkish still shows the sense of national values, but this time it was understood that linking with the past was not a solution. As far as the main concern was being 'modern' (asri) but at the same time 'national', the logic behind modern architecture should be interiorised and Turkish Modernism should be developed. On the other hand, Tanyeli mentions the duality of nationalism and the American effect. After World War II, as mentioned above, Turkey was under the threat of the Soviets during the Cold War. Therefore, this period was actually suitable for national approaches. However, the power of the United States was seen as extreme and incomparable in order to stand against the Soviets. This dilemma was reflected in the architecture as well (Tanyeli, 1998).

⁴⁶ For further information about optimism: Güreli, M.Ö., 2016.

⁴⁷ As it is known, Greek, Armenian and Jewish people left the country as a result of wealth tax applications in 1940 and the events of 5-6 September 1955.

In the theoretical context architects focused on new subjects which came in sight after the new governmental agencies of the DP regime. These subjects were summarised by Kuban (1985) as 'governmental agencies for housing, rural development, and the growing problems of industrialization and urbanization' (Kuban, 1985, p. 69). Üstün Alsaç criticises the previous styles and points out the necessity of the functional approach with these words:

'For that reason, national architecture does not mean to put the patterns of our old works—that seem beautiful but do not fulfil any need—on our structures as it is suggested in the newspapers and like what Professor Bonatz did. Today's Turkish architecture is the one which meets the current needs with today's technique' (Sözen, 1996, p. 71.)

Tanyeli also underlines the important problem of this period. The construction technology and industry were not developed enough and qualified workmanship was not sufficient for production activities. Tanyeli notes that this problem was exemplified in the construction of Sakarya Government Office (designed by E. Kortan, H. Vapurciyan, and N. Yaubyan in 1959–65). It was attempted to reproduce the sheer walls of Mies van der Rohe by steel profiles. Another example was the design of a skyscraper in Ankara by Enver Tokay and İlhan Tayman. Tanyeli underlines the novelty of constructing skyscrapers in a country where the elevator was not yet produced. To sum up, in this period of architectural practice the reality of the technical position was ignored. On the other hand, Tanyeli also claims that this attitude may have led to the improvement of construction technology and industry (Tanyeli, 1998).

Kuban also agrees with the problem of technology and construction material. The problem was that the lack of technology actually limited the industry, with a lack of access to modern materials such as steel frames and ready-made elements. Kuban claims that production and usage of ready-made materials was not available until the 1970s. Due to these limitations, it was not easy to build a tall building in Turkey. The office building constructed in Ankara, Kızılay, by Enver Tokay (1957–64) is accepted as the earliest tall building, and was twenty-one storeys in height. Stad Hotel by Metin Hepgüler, Doğan Tekeli and Sami Sisa and Ankara Hotel by Saugey were subsequent examples (Kuban, 1985).

Unlike in the early Republican period, when Ankara and Anatolian cities were a major concern, after the 1950s Istanbul became a central focus again (Akcan & Bozdoğan, 2012). Another difference from the previous period was related to the

economy and capitalist system. In the 1930s the new regime's ideology offered a modern, national and productive society. This attitude changed with the economic transformation and American influence. In the advertisements of the period house occupiers were reflected as the consumers of the house. The 'American dream' was visualised as single family houses with a private garden, which was not actually a reflection of the average Turkish family (Akcan, 2001). Therefore, the public, which was described as productive in the early Republican period, became a consumer. Moreover, the modern building, which previously had been a symbol of state power, was transformed into a 'symbol of technical perfection, precision and progress' (Akcan, 2001, p. 40). Moreover, in the early Republican period public buildings were symbols of state power and national thought. After the 1950s, buildings that served consumption became popular. The house was one of them, where the life offered by capitalism could be symbolised (Bozdoğan, 2016).

The common attitude of the architectural practice of the 1950s was to design a reinforced concrete frame divided into orthogonal grids and to fill it with mostly glass, sun blinds, bricks and precast concrete screens (Bozdoğan, 2016). Bozdoğan also defines the architectural features into two types. The first is the 'the two sided, egg-crate block' that reveals grids of the reinforced concrete frame structure and which become popular after the construction of the Istanbul Hilton Hotel. The second is the application of a glass curtain wall to cover the structural frame, which was used for the American office buildings after the design of Lever House. He technical and industrial limitations postponed the design of high-rise buildings. Instead, horizontally placed blocks which were lifted up on pilotis and a grid facade that revealed the reinforced concrete frame structure were preferred. To Bozdoğan, there were also designs that stand in between, which intersect the glass curtain wall and two-sided block, raised up and covered with a flat roof (Bozdoğan, 2011, p. 124).

Competitions were much more popular after the 1950s to heat up the architectural atmosphere. In the competitions of the 1950s terms such as liberalism, democracy and modernism were seen with reference to the International Style (Gürel, 2016, p.

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⁴⁸ For further information about Lever House: Wright, G., 2008, p.159.

3). The competition for the Istanbul Palace of Justice⁴⁹ (1949) is accepted as a threshold for architecture in Turkey. The interesting point is that the winners were Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat who were previously supporters of the Second National Architecture Movement, and who designed according to International Style principles, this time moving away from historic values (Sözen, 1996). To the contrary, Tanyeli does not accept the construction of the Istanbul Palace of Justice as a threshold. He claims that the design was not completely modern, as were some other examples of the period. To him, the Hilton Hotel (1953), the competition for the Istanbul City Hall, the Turkish Pavilion in the Brussels Fair (M.Türkmen, U.İzgi, H.Şensoy, İ.Türegün, 1957) and Büyükada Anadolu Club (A Hancı, T. Cansever) were designed along the Modernist line without any concession (Tanyeli, 1998).

It is seen that foreign architects were not responsible for most of these works. What is surprising here is that while Turkey becomes more international, the dominance of Turkish architects increases. Later on, the Palace of Justice, with its prismatic volume and grid, and the Hilton Hotel construction prove that international architecture was accepted as a common style. Therefore, in order to understand the subsequent progressions, it is necessary to examine the Hilton Hotel's ideology and architectural features in detail. It is also accepted as the one of the first examples of the International Style in Turkey, along with ICH.

Modernisation of Istanbul was the DPs most popular and important political strategy. Buildings constructed in this period were accepted as modern monuments. They were located mostly on high levels in order to be landmarks. The Hilton Hotel was located on a hill with a public park, ICH was located at an intersection point of main roads, the Çınar Hotel was located on a coastal road to the airport (Bozdoğan, 2011). The Hilton Hotel was a threshold for politics, society and architectural culture. Therefore, it is important to mention in this context. Hilton Hotels represented the United States' dominance in Europe and the Middle East after World War II. After the war, the upper-middle class took advantage of Hilton Hotels for their business activities. They offered an atmosphere that was familiar to them. Hilton Hotels were welcomed in the West and the East as a symbol of economic confidence from the United States and the possibility of increases in the economy through tourism

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⁴⁹ For further information; Anonim (1949). İstanbul Adalet Binası Proje Müsabakası, Arkitekt, 7-10, 179-194. http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/2/165/2068.pdf

activities. The Hilton Hotel was accepted as a space for luxury and high technology, which represented American power at the same time (Wharton, 2001).

Hilton International built 17 hotels in foreign countries from 1949 to 1966. As Wharton mentions, most Hilton International Hotels were the 'first significant Modern structure in its host city' (Wharton, 2001, p. 3). This was the same for Turkey. The Istanbul Hilton Hotel was one of the first significant buildings designed according to the International Style principles. The Hilton created a contrast with the existing pattern of Istanbul with its physical appearance, the lifestyle it offered and its location. Most of the Hilton International Hotels interior designs were adopted from the host country. Consequently, the aim was to made customers feel that they had entered a different atmosphere in every Hilton International Hotel. Even though local elements were applied in the interior, the domination of American values was legible from its form, the technology used, the landscape, spatial organisation and social life inside (Wharton, 2001).

The use of glass was the one of the key points that Hilton Hotels introduced to subsequent architectural practice. They were designed as 'a machine for viewing'. Therefore glass was an elementary tool for representing its spectacle position for viewing (Wharton, 2001, p. 5). The idea behind the Hilton Hotel was to give everyone equal living areas, which can be defined as the American ideology of democratising, even for comfort and luxury. It resulted in the facade of Hilton Hotel called 'honeycomb' (Akcan & Bozdoğan, 2012, p. 119). Using glass with the new technology—mass and heavy walls were replaced by glass—brings the necessity of heating and cooling mechanisms. All these were a part of the American capitalist system, while introducing new material and technology, new necessities were increasing the commitment to the United States' economy. As Wharton (2001) says, after World War II it was hard to provide materials, even concrete and steel, in Europe and it was even harder in the Middle East. Consequently, the United States' contractor attitude took a part in supplying these elements too. The important point related to that is, for Hilton Hotels in foreign countries, the Hilton Hotels Corporation was not an economic contractor. Mostly, investments came from the institutions of host countries rather than that United States government, which also supported the construction by Marshall Plan funds (Wharton, 2001).

As it is seen, the Hilton Hotel chain was a part of American expansion ideology. Using Marshall Plan funds for these kind of activities shows that the United States was aware of architecture's role for its own benefit in foreign countries. Wharton also mentions the Hilton Hotel's role in the political ideology of the United States. As mentioned previously, the United States aimed to fight against communism and Russian expansion ideology. Conrad Hilton himself proves this with his own words:

'Let me say right here, that we operate hotels abroad for the same reason we operate them in this country — to make money for our stockholders... However, we feel that if we really believe in what we are all saying about liberty, about Communism, about happiness, that we, as a nation, must exercise our great strength and power for good against evil. If we really believe this, it is up to each of us, our organisations and our industries, to contribute to this objective with all the resources at our command' (Hilton, *Be My Guest*, 237, cited by Wharton A.J., 2001, p. 8).

Conrad Hilton's aim through establishing Hilton Hotels in foreign countries was to fight against communism in the Cold War era and his idea became successful. It is obvious that architecture and politics affect each other. The case of the Hilton International Hotel is a representation of the West's idea of developing economic and cultural dominance in other countries. Wharton believes that Hilton Hotels gave an elite form to modernity while they were a 'product of standardization of commodity' (Wharton, 2001, p. 6). Through these hotels, travel and trade were expected to increase and this would increase the cycle of American dollars as well, therefore the result would be a benefit for both the United States and the host country. The advertisement for the Istanbul Hilton Hotel also shows the cultural differences clearly (Figure 3.1). The Modernist facade of the hotel and the silhouette of the mosque reveal the discrepancy and underline the signal of new modern life.

In Turkey, the Hilton Hotel was designed by Skidmore, Owing and Merill (SOM)⁵⁰ in cooperation with Turkish architect Sedad Hakkı Eldem and opened to the public in June 1955. The building reflects both the power of the United States on universal architecture and Turkey's desire for being part of the West and modernisation. It was seen as 'a door to the West for Turkey' (Akcan, 2001). The construction was financed by the Turkish Pension Fund and Economics Cooperation Administration of America (Bozdoğan, 2016). In the United States SOM preferred to use steel structures and curtain walls but, due to the lack of materials in Turkey, the Istanbul

⁵⁰ Gordon Bunsahft was the head of the company. They had been invited to Turkey previously as experts. SOM played an important role in American modern architecture (Wharton, A.J., 2016).

Hilton Hotel was made of reinforced concrete (Akcan, 2001). The Istanbul Hilton with its pure, rational, organised exterior and its location on top of a hill seems like an intriguing building (Figure 3.2). The building is lifted from the ground by pilotis, the facade is arranged according to 'honeycomb' logic, with an equal grid of balconies and white slabs of reinforced concrete, emphasising the horizontality (Figure 3.3). The only Eastern element in the Istanbul Hilton Hotel is its vaults which are, in this case, 'peripheral or decorative' as Wharton (2001) says. However, vaults fit the historical pattern of Istanbul.⁵¹

The Hilton became not only a symbol of American ideology but also of technical improvements. Applying domes, vaults, shells and spirals was a method used commonly in composition with a grid facade. Application of non-orthogonal elements does not refer to the orientalist approach, instead it refers to a more international approach. Therefore, the reference for these elements might have been Nimeyer or Nervi (Bozdoğan, 2011). It was actually a result of the advantages of reinforced concrete. Therefore, using reinforced concrete as vaults or shells were symbols of being modern, being aware of the potential of the material and technology, rather than being oriental. In the Istanbul Hilton Hotel, Sedad Hakkı Eldem designed the entrance eave as a 'flying carpet' (Figure 3.4) which was also reminiscent of orientalist influence. Sedad Hakkı Eldem was actually a local consultant for SOM. Therefore, his assignment was to make the Istanbul Turkish restaurant with hexagon forms and relate it to the chimneys and skylights on the roof. Another example could be the unbuilt project of Vedat Dalokay for Kocatepe Mosque. He reinterpreted the classical mosque design using a thin parabolic vault that touched the ground on four corners. Bozdoğan implies that Turkish architects tried to be modern rather than being oriental with the application of these elements (Bozdoğan, 2011).

The International Style was popular until the 1960s. After that, in a more pluralist environment, it was hard to identify one dominant style. This change was also related to the politics once again. The transformation from single party to multi-party was a result of the desire for democracy. However, consequences were not as wished. The

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⁵¹ For further information about Hilton Hotels: Wharton, A.J. (2001), *Building the Cold War: Hilton International Hotels and Modern Architecture*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.

military invention on 27 May 1960 ended the repressive regime and ushered in a more democratic period with new reforms. The new constitution created an atmosphere which was based on social justice and independence. Things that could not be discussed before in Turkey had a chance to be revealed in this period. The architecture was affected as well. Not only architectural styles but also the responsibility of the architect to the public, the function of the profession, and urban planning began to be discussed in architectural circles (Sey, 1998). Social and physical problems, which were results of rabid urbanisation and industrialisation, activities of the DP and a more liberal and private-sector based economy led the architectural culture to adopt more sociopolitical attitudes (Gürel, 2016). In the beginning of the 1960s, architectural practice started with the International Style and moved on to a more pluralist way. The diversity in thought was reflected in the architectural approaches. As has been mentioned, from this point it becomes hard to define one dominant style. Instead styles such as Regionalism, Organic Architecture, Brutalism, Historicism, New Monumentality and Symbolism were seen (Sey, 1998).

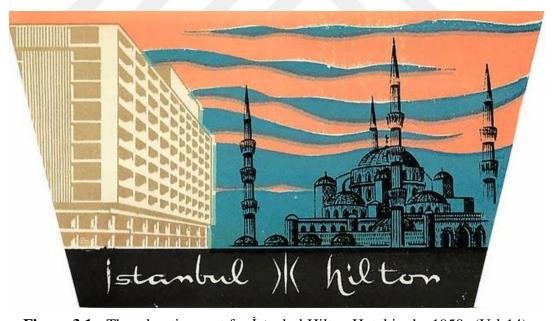


Figure 3.1: The advertisement for İstanbul Hilton Hotel in the 1950s (Url-14).



Figure 3.2 : The general view of İstanbul Hilton Hotel, located on top of a hill (Url - 15).



Figure 3.3 : The facade of the İstanbul Hilton Hotel (Url 16).



Figure 3.4: The entrance eave, the 'flying carpet' of Sedad Hakkı Eldem (Url-17).

4. CASE STUDY: ISTANBUL CITY HALL

Istanbul City Hall (ICH) is a significant example of the International Style in Turkey. Even though the building is well known as one of the early examples of the style, there has been no study focused on it. Almost every work that covers the period mentions the ICH as an important example, but then quickly shifts to another topic. Therefore, it is necessary to gather information about the building from magazines, newspapers, reports and academic studies and use it as a basis for a detailed examination of the ICH. As mentioned in previous chapters, Turkish architecture was shaped under the hegemony of the United States in the 1950s, and the International Style was initially seen mainly in small-scale projects such as housing. It then spread to larger projects such as commercial buildings like office blocks and hotels. The case of the ICH indicates that the influence of the style was beginning to be seen in public buildings as well. The radical change that was occurring in the architectural practice can be followed in the projects that entered the competitions for such buildings as the Palace of Justice or ICH. After the nationalist approaches of previous years, all the architects who began entering these competitions used the International Style approach. This shows the effect of government policies on the production of architecture.

The comparison of the Adana City Hall Competition (1944) and ICH Competition (1952) is a prime example of the impact of the government on the practice. Even though not many years separated the two public building competitions, entries for the Adana City Hall Competition were monumental and designed with respect to the so-called Second National Architecture Style. By comparison, after a couple of years, with the change in politics and international relationships, the entries for the ICH Competition drew quite a modernist frame.

The design of the ICH was determined by a national design competition in 1952. As Sayar (2004) mentions in her article, designing public buildings through competitions began to become popular in the early Republican period. As mentioned previously, foreign architects were assigned by the Republican elites to visualise the

success of the new regime. Therefore, Turkish architects tried to demonstrate their presence and qualifications through civil architecture. In the early Republican period, the employer was the state elites and there was no bourgeoisie that could sustain civil architecture. As a result, the reaction against foreign architects increased. In addition, in the 1930s the ideas of statism and nationalism gained more power. It culminated in the belief that national and revolutionary architecture could not be developed by foreign architects.

Consequently, opening a competition became more prevalent than assigning foreign architects to design the public buildings. The Ankara Sergi Evi competition (1933) was the first competition and it was opened by Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti. The important point in this competition was the rule in the specification that stated, 'the building should be in modern architectural style'. This shows how the state elites defined the architecture of the period and their power over it. After the early Republican period there were other important competitions in the 1940s that reflected the Second National Architecture Movement: Adana City Hall (1944), Adana Palace of Justice (1945) and Istanbul Radio House (1945). However, these buildings sat between national and international attitudes. They reflected more monumental architecture, and can be accepted as examples of the transition period.

Until the 1950s the state elites had a supreme role in competitions as well. Scholars have noted that nationalistic attitudes on architecture first began to melt in 1948 with the Istanbul Palace of Justice competition. Like the Istanbul Hilton Hotel, the Istanbul Palace of Justice is an important key building. Tekeli (2005) and Tapan (2005) accept it as the signal of a new architectural attitude. A shift in political relationships caused a divergence in the quest for a national architecture. Before going into details of the ICH, it is necessary to discuss the Palace of Justice competition. Both the ICH and Palace of Justice had common points in terms of their locations. The design areas were both related to historical sites, with the Palace of Justice being located in Sultanahmet Square in the Palace of İbrahim Paşa, and the ICH in Saraçhane on the Historic Peninsula. The first thing that attracts attention is a figure in the competition jury W.M. Dudok who was a modernist architect.

⁵² The winner was Şevki Balmumcu's project and it covered the three points that the state projected: 'secular, modern, Turkish'. The design of the building was similar to the works of Le Corbusier with its flat roof, horizontal ribbon window, circular corner and the composition of horizontal and vertical elements (Sayar, 2004).

Therefore, even the selection of the jury members indicates the changing tendency in architectural attitude. Besides this, there are also clues in the jury report about the common architectural attitude of the period. The common and most repeated criticisms in the report follow below (Url-18):

"the building is more decorative instead of functional" refers to the avoidance of ornament;

"the facade of the building refers to the past" refers to eliminating the eclectic and historicist approach;

"...the facade of the building is not functional, it is more decorative and "even there are many openings, the lighting quality is not proper enough" refers to the functional necessity; and

"lower block interrupts the facade of the main block and the mosque" refers to respect for the historical building.

The winners of the Istanbul Palace of Justice Competition were Sedad Hakkı Eldem and Emin Onat. Their project scheme consisted of repeated rhythmic blocks connected to a spine. The building was located on a historical site, as was the ICH. Therefore, it was necessary to respect the value of the site and historical buildings. To do that, the building was located at the rear of the site of İbrahim Paşa Palace. It was decided to end the site with the large block that stood at the end of Divan Yolu. As it was located on an archaeological site, the larger block was never constructed. As in the case of the ICH, the Palace of Justice construction was interrupted by the need for assessments and excavations of the archaeological remains. The construction of the Palace of Justice started in 1951 and it opened to the public in 1955, but only the courtroom block was constructed (Url-19). There are many discussions about the Palace of Justice and whether it belongs to the Second National Architecture Movement or Modern architecture. It actually stands between them. Its monumentality is reminiscent of the Second National Architecture but, conversely, its functional solutions and grid facade have the appearance of the International Style.

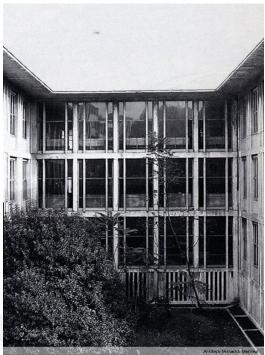


Figure 4.1 : Istanbul Palace of Justice, designed by Emin Onat and Sedad Hakkı Eldem (Url-20).

4.1 Before The Competition

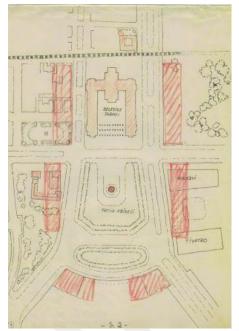
Before the competition there was the problem of finding a location for the ICH. It was planned to situate it at Duyunu Umumiye, which was being used as a high school (Istanbul Erkek Lisesi) in 1952, and the high school was designated to move to another location. Orhan Özkırım claims that this was a practical and economical solution in *Milliyet* (16.02.1952). In order to express the conditions of the present City Hall he recounts a story:

"Today's structures of the municipal authority are truly like *molehills*. Would you like an example? The news in yesterday's newspapers is the most obvious one. A *getting lost* incident happened in the municipal building yesterday. A man named Mehmet İlsever came to the building and he lost his way while he was wandering in the building in order to find the room he'd been looking for. After asking for help for ten minutes, he went through a crisis and started to yell "For God's Sake someone show met he exit!" So he was left out of the exit door by the janitors of the building just because he had yelled." (Özkırım, 1952)

Meanwhile, Sedad Hakkı wrote in *Arkitekt* in 1945 about the ICH project. According to the news, Zeki Sayar, Şevki Balmumu and Vasfi Egeli visited the governor-mayor of Istanbul, Lütfi Kırdar, and suggested opening a competition for the project instead of assigning any foreign or Turkish architects. This subject also appears in *Cumhuriyet* (Balmumcu, 1946). Şevki Balmumcu also mentions that for the project of the Istanbul City Hall, which would be built for the celebration planned for the 500th anniversary of Istanbul's foundation, there was an agreement with German

architect Paul Bonatz. According to Balmumcu, this kind of important building should be built through a national competition. Then he also adds that there was no agreement, it was only Paul Bonatz's personal suggestion to the government. Kırdar underlines that the ICH, which was an important public building for the city, should be designed by local architects. However, a news story in *Cumhuriyet* says that foreign architects can also enter the competition (Anonim, 10 November 1952). In the end, when the competition was announced in *Cumhuriyet* in 1952, it stated that it was open to Turkish architects (Anonim,7 December 1953).

Before the national competition for the design of the ICH, there were some other attempts to develop the project. As mentioned above, Lütfi Kırdar, the governormayor of Istanbul, carried out a project activity with Paul Bonatz in order to build the ICH and a community centre from 1945 to 1947. The given location was in the east part of the existing City Hall site in Saraçhane. Paul Bonatz worked with Kemali Söylemezoğlu on this project and they presented their model and four schematic alternative plans in February 1946. One of those alternatives was located in the Saraçhane Park and faced towards the Fatih Monument. The plan organisation had three rows and a U-shaped plan. It turned its back towards Şehzadebaşı Mosque and opened to the square with its wide portico. There were some functions which did not exist in the competition requirements, such as a theatre and community centre. In this plan scheme, these functions were placed in the west of the site where they surrounded the park. In the other alternative, the community centre was located on the border of the city hall. The plan scheme was the same as the first one. The common point of all the alternatives was the reflection of German public architecture, which was monumental and historical. After a while, even though the architects were still working on the project, there was a problem with the budget which brought an end to the project. Meanwhile, Lütfi Kırdar established a commission to evaluate the project. The commission consisted of Sedad Hakkı Eldem, Arif Hikmet Holtay, Mukbil Gökdoğan, Emin Onat and Gustav Oelsner (Kayım, 2010). They explained their decision with these words:



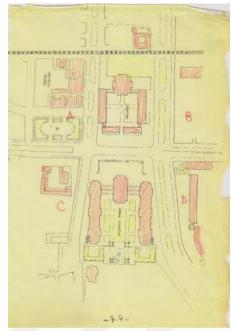


Figure 4.2 : Alternative projects of Paul Bonatz and Kemali Söylemezoğlu in Tanyeli, 1993. (retrieved from Kayım, 2010, pp. 89, 91.)

"At the end of the examination, it is seen that the city hall project, which is at issue for Istanbul, provides the basic criteria about how such a structure should be in terms of program, operation, architecture and urban design. (...) Such a dignified work is a gain for the city and can be a good guide for future preparations and competitions, facilitating subsequent preparatory work, and reducing costs. The worth of the work has been rising as it was created by Paul Bonatz" (Kayım, 2010, p. 91).

The commission also ended the budget issue. They said that the wages would not be paid because there was no contract related to the project. The process took longer than expected with arguments over salaries and the promises made to bring about the project. In the end, Lütfi Kırdar put the project aside and dropped all references to it in 1947. He claimed that the City Hall project was not the current subject of the government (Kayım, 2010). Despite all the efforts of Bonatz and Söylemezoğlu the project was cancelled by the mayor. Nevertheless, Söylemezoğlu was seen once more in the competition when it opened a couple of years later.

4.2 Competition Process

The competition was announced on 8 December 1952 as four months to complete their proposals. According to the news, the prizes were 8,000 liras for first, 6,000 liras for second and 3,500 liras for third, and each honourable mention award was 1,500 liras. The jury was revealed as Professor Gökay, M.Arch., Orhan Alsaç, Professor Enver Berkman, Professor Mukbil Gökdoğan, Professor Kemal A. Aru,

Ord. Professor Emin Onat, M.Arch., Asım Mutlu, M.Arch., Samim Oktay and Professor Turgan Sebis (Anonim, 7 December 1952).

The jury defined some criteria for the evaluation of the competition. These were:

- the City Hall must consist of two blocks, a ceremonial block and office;
- these blocks should be defined and separated from each other by means of mass, plan and function but they should be related at the same time;
- in the design of the City Hall, both the relationship of blocks and the relationship of the environment should be considered according to urban design;
- the ceremonial block, which will be on the side of Şehzadebaşı, should be designed with the consideration of the mosque's height;
- the office block, which will be on the side of the sea, should be higher than the ceremonial hall.

The main focus of the jury was the organisation of the blocks since the location of the ICH was at the intersection of two main arteries. According to these main principles, projects which placed blocks close and parallel to roads or did not distribute the blocks according to the criteria or did not consider the environment would be disqualified by the jury.

In the first stage of elimination, three projects (numbers 20, 21, 25) was deemed not to have satisfied the project specification, architectural program, maturity of the design, composition or holistic approach. In the second stage, 15 projects (numbers 2, 4, 5, x, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 24) were eliminated because of their irrelevant approaches, inconsistency of architectural program and specification, disharmony of blocks and non-functional plan organisations.

In the end, the competition concluded as follows: the first prize was awarded to Nevzat Erol (number 26), second prize to Kemali Söylemezoğlu, Mesadet Adaş and Harika Söylemezoğlu (number 18), third prize to Turhan Ökeren and İlhan Filmer (number 1), first mention was given to Rüknettin Güney and Ertuğrul Menteşe (number 3), and second mention to Mesut Evren (number 14). The jury explained the positive and negative points of the projects in detail.

Nevzat Erol's project won approval for having a clear separation of ceremonial and office blocks. The site organisation and the relationship with the environment were seen as positive (Figure 4.3). The project was chosen for the first prize because it was seen as the best in terms of mass organisation and whole composition. However, the jury also criticised some negative points and suggested solutions. In Erol's project, the height of the assembly hall was seen as appropriate. However, the architectural language of the restaurant, which was located on the top, was seen as irrelevant to the rest of the design. Besides that, it was also suggested to stand out the entrance hall of the office block. Other negative points were the connection of the ceremonial block to the office block from the upper level and the placement of reception rooms near the entrance. According to the jury, reception rooms should be located either on the first floor or on a level that was not connected to the ground. All things considered, the jury decided to award first prize in recognition of the functional plan organisation and for the project being the most appropriate to the architectural program, despite missing 10 rooms. (Figure 4.4, Figure 4.5, Figure 4.6, Figure 4.7, Figure 4.8).

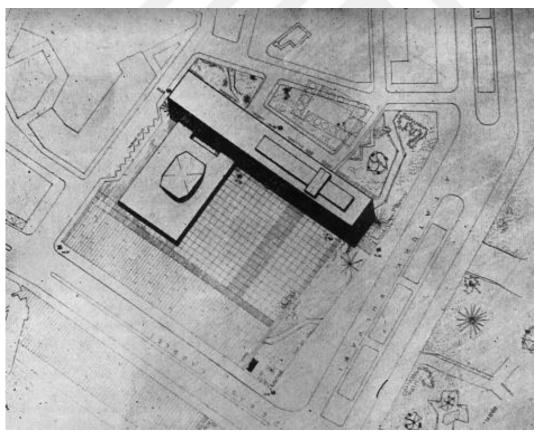


Figure 4.3 : Site plan of Nevzat Erol's project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

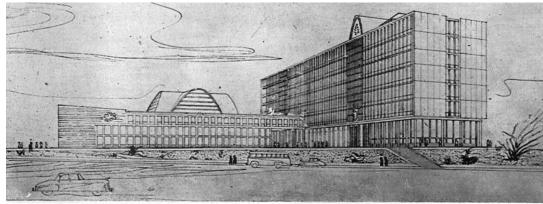


Figure 4.4 : General view of Nevzat Erol's project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

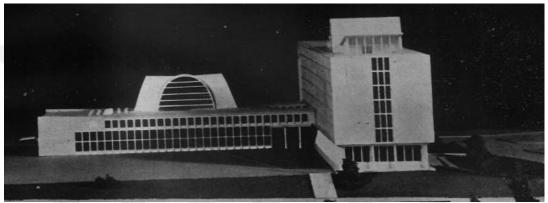


Figure 4.5 : Model of Nevzat Erol's project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

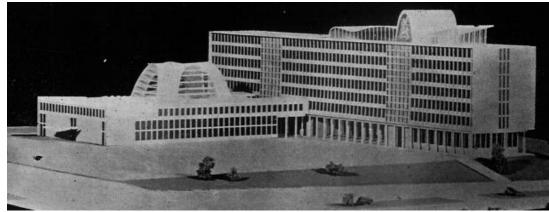


Figure 4.6 : Model of Nevzat Erol's project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

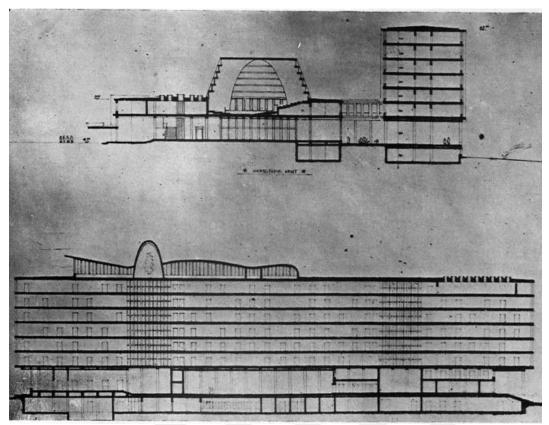


Figure 4.7 : Sections of Nevzat Erol's project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

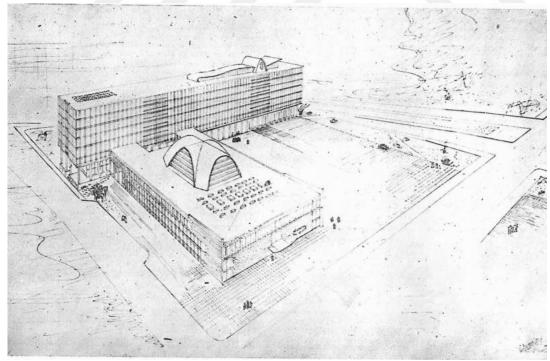


Figure 4.8 : Drawings of Nevzat Erol's project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

The second award-winning project belonged to Kemali Söylemezoğlu, Mesadet Adaş and Harika Söylemezoğlu and earned the jury's approved for having a clear separation of office and ceremonial blocks. The mass organisation and the modest height of the ceremonial block were accepted as satisfying. The plan organisation and the relationship of functions were suitable, however, the relationship of the plan and facade was criticised by the jury. Another positive point of the project was the location and the atmosphere of the offices related with the public. In the project there were some recessed parts and they were criticised for damaging the order of the facade. This project was awarded the second prize despite 12 missing rooms, according to the architectural program. (Figure 4.9, Figure 4.10, Figure 4.11)

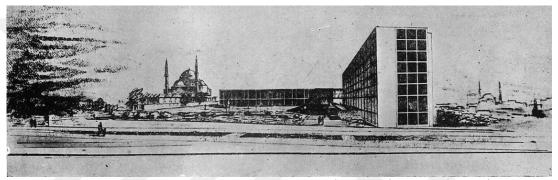


Figure 4.9 : Drawings of the second (K.Söylemezoğlu, M. Adaş and H. Söylemezoğlu) project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

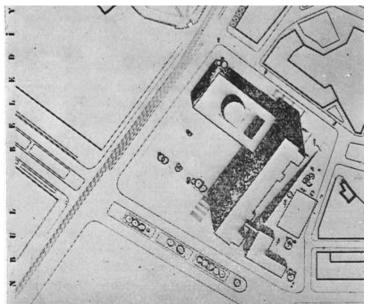


Figure 4.10 : Site plan of the second (K.Söylemezoğlu, M. Adaş and H. Söylemezoğlu) project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

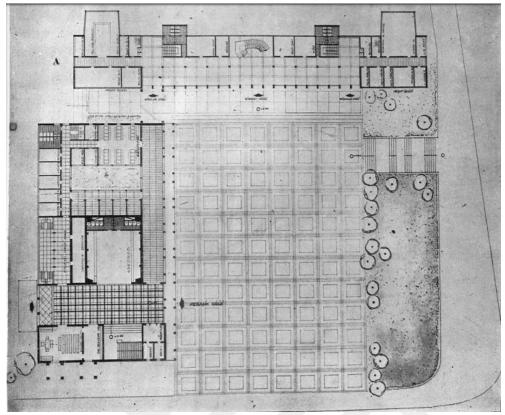


Figure 4.11 : Ground floor plan of the second (K.Söylemezoğlu, M. Adaş and H. Söylemezoğlu) project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

The third project by Turhan Ökeren and İlhan Filmer was also approved for its clear separation of the two blocks, similar to the previous projects. On the other hand, the ceremonial hall was judged as too flat, interrupting the relationship with the environment, and covering most of the office block. The jury saw the plan organisation as positive, however, they suggested moving the offices to lower levels, which were related with the public. Therefore, the project was seen as coming close to meeting the main criteria but because of the shortcomings it was awarded the third prize (Figure 4.12, Figure 4.13, Figure 4.14) (Anonim, 1953)

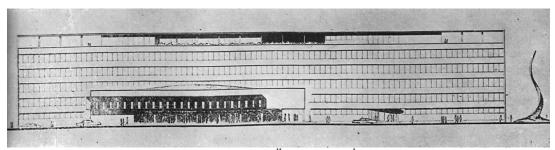


Figure 4.12 : Elevation of the third (T. Ökeren and İ. Filmer) project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

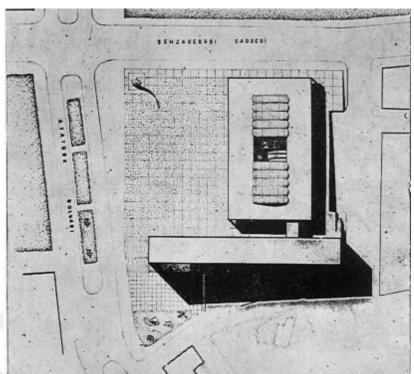


Figure 4.13 : Site plan of the third (T. Ökeren and İ. Filmer) project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

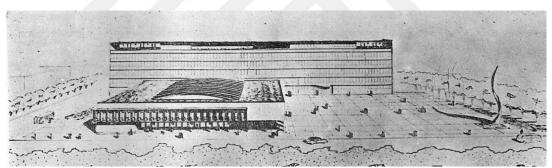


Figure 4.14 : Drawings of the third (T. Ökeren and İ. Filmer) project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

The winning projects all reflected the main ideas of the International Style. Almost all of the projects in the competition, including Erol's, answered the design problem by organising the City Hall into two blocks: a taller main office block that related to a lower ceremonial block. They were all in shaped as a pure prism with the same facade treatment. In all the projects, traditional or historical elements were dismissed. Instead, free ground floor plans and functional separations took place. As mentioned before, in the 1950s competitions⁵³ were popular in architectural production. In almost all the competitions of the era projects were very similar to each other, not

⁵³ http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/yarismalardizini/

only in their physical appearance but also in their architectural solutions. The competitions for Türkiye İş Bankası Bank, Hotel and Cinema Complex (1955)⁵⁴, Istanbul Palace of Justice (1952–1953), and Istanbul City Hall (1953), Sakarya Government Office Design Competition (1955), Elazığ Government Office Design Competition (1955), Konya City Hall Competition (1958), Urfa Government Office Competition (1958) are examples of this argument. The same trend was seen before the 1950s as well. The main reason behind this similarity was related unequivocally to the politics of the time. The necessities of the era, technological developments and materials, and economic resources had a certain role, but the political effect had a much stronger impact on the architectural production. Architects of the period shaped their attitudes in parallel with the existing ideology. Sedad Hakkı Eldem is another example. He was a pioneer of the Second National Architecture and then he became one of the first architects to work with a foreign company (SOM) to build a hotel within the canons of the International Style. As the relationship with the United States was so dominant in this period, it was necessary to follow this path to be able to produce.

4.3 Construction Process

There are not many sources for the process of construction of the ICH. However, through the newspapers of the time, it is possible to follow the process briefly. The City Hall project was very popular during those years so much much news on its progress was published in newspapers and magazines. In 1953, it was announced that the bidding would be initiated and the tender price was seven million Turkish liras (Anonim, 3 November 1953). On 6 November 1953 the Standing Committee of the Municipality opened the tender. One of the submitting firms decreased the tender price by 12 per cent. In the same news story, it was also stated that the foundations would be laid in a month (Anonim, 6 November 1953). After six months, the news reported that the excavation for the foundations was completed and the concreting had started (Anonim, 19 June 1954). It is known that there had been a problem of lack of materials in Turkey since World War I. The problem was seen as the main reason behind the non-existence of tall buildings. The deficiency in steel resources

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⁵⁴ (*Arkitekt*, 1955/03, pp. 104-115, 141 ilan)

almost stopped the construction of the ICH and also apartment blocks in Atatürk Boulevard (Anonim, 8 May 1954).



Figure 4.15: Construction process of Istanbul City Hall in 1956 (Url-21).

During the excavations archaeological remains were discovered. On the west side of the construction site, beside Atatürk Boulevard, remains of a Byzantium wall were found. In this part of the site, even at a depth of 10 metres nothing other than the wall remains was discovered, which did not have any certain plan. On the other hand, on the east side of the construction site, mosaics were found at a depth of five to seven metres. These mosaics were located in a wide area. After the discovery of the first mosaic piece, Istanbul Archaeological Museum took action and completed the archaeological excavations. In the end, the archaeological pieces were transferred to the museum for protection and exhibition. These mosaics were considered to belong to two periods in terms of their styles. According to Rüstem Duyuran, some of them belonged to the Roman Empire and others belonged to the early Byzantium period. In the production of the mosaics, apart from white marble pieces, light and dark green, dark blue, pink, red, claret red and yellow stone pieces were used. Human and animal figures, in singular and with groups, were presented (Figure 4.16, Figure 4.17, Figure 4.18, Figure 4.19) (Duyuran, 1954). Besides these mosaics, in the news of 1954 it is said that the Preservation of Ancient Artefacts Committee had approved the removal of the ruins of a madrasah found on the site (Anonim, 14 May 1954). However, what was meant by 'madrasah' is not clear, due to lack of information. It is mentioned in subsequent news stories that the remains of a palace had been found in the excavations. It is believed that these remains belonged to the fifth century (Anonim, 15 June 1954). The information in the news was not clear because a month later it is reported that these remains belonged to the fourth century and could be the courtyard of a villa, palace or church (Anonim, 14 July 1954). Despite the different explanations, there was no further information about the madrasah. All the news stories and articles stated that the artefacts discovered in the construction of the city hall were from the Byzantium or Roman period. Two dolphin figures in mosaics, a symbol of Byzantium, confirms the reports (Anonim, 19 February 1958).



Figure 4.16: 'The Hunter' from the excavation of City Hall (Url -22).



Figure 4.17: 'The detail of a bird panel' from the excavation of City Hall (Url -22).



Figure 4.18: 'The Dancer' from the excavation of City Hall (Url -22).

Figure 4.19: 'Peasants' from the excavation of City Hall (Url -22).

4.4 The Architect Of The Building: Nevzat Erol

Nevzat Erol graduated from the Fine Arts Academy in 1942. Through his personal file in Istanbul Municipality, it is understood that he started to work in the Department of Public Works and Engineering. He worked as a master architect and project manager. On 1 June 1963 he transferred to the National Palaces (Milli Saraylar) but he left his job on 20 June 1963. From the reports of *Mimarlık* magazine (Url-23) in 1965 it can be seen that Erol became a chair of the Chamber of Architects, Istanbul. In 1967 he left this role and became a member of a competition committee. In addition to these duties, Erol had his own architectural office. In Mimarlik magazine, there was a news story about the 'distribution of projects to certified architectural offices'. The main subject was to tender projects that were not undertaken by the municipality. Under this information there is a table including the list of the offices and Erol's name appears in the list (Figure 4.20). 55 However, in the Chamber of Architects' membership archives there is no information about Erol, apart from one document that includes only his name, graduation date, address and his only built design, Istanbul Belediye Sarayı. There is no information about his architectural office.

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⁵⁵ The method of distributing the projects was the result of the 1st and 2nd 5 years development plan. This information is derived from the news in *Mimarlık* Magazine in 1967. http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/357/5200.pdf

Bu bürolar, Mimarlar Bayındırlık Bakanlığı T.P.A.O., Ali Ağa Lo	terli büroların Odasından aldı na paralel olar ıjman Binaları	virolara ihale etmeğe listesini istemekte ve ikları yeterlik belgesi il ak diğer bazı kuruluşl için aynı esasları uyg Bakanlığa bildirilen	bu bürolardan bir kısı le ihaleye katılmaktad ar da aynı düzeni ulamaktadır. Aşağıda	in Bakanlık, M mını ihaleye dave lırlar. uygulamağa b ki liste; işleri, Mi	imarlar Oda t etmektedir aşlamışlardır marlar Odas
İşi Veren Kuruluş	Îş Konusu	Bildirilen Bürolar	Teklif İstenen Bürolar	İşi Alan Büro	Eksitme Orani
Bayındırlık Bakanlığı	Daniştay binası	1. Kadri Kalaycıoğ- lu - V. Yalçınkaya 2. Yüksel Okan 3. Vedat Özsan 4. Oral Vural - Cen- giz Bektaş 5. Fikret Cankut 6. M. Arman Güran 7. Nevzat Erol 8. Yaşar Marulyalı - Levent Aksüt 9. Doğan Tekeli - Sa-			% 6

Figure 4.20 : The news story from *Mimarlık* magazine in 1967 proves that Erol had his own office (Url-24).

As far as is known, there are no buildings by Erol which were constructed in Istanbul other than Belediye Sarayı. He attended competitions, and of those registered are the following (Url-25): Ankara Technical University Physics and Chemistry Faculties (1946), second prize⁵⁶; Istanbul Municipality Park Casino Number Two (1948), first honourable mention⁵⁷; Istanbul Palace of Justice (1949), second prize⁵⁸; General Directorate of Highways (1955), fourth honourable mention⁵⁹; Istanbul Manifatura ve Kumaşçılar Çarşısı (1958), first honourable mention⁶⁰; Ankara University Faculty of Medicine (İbn-i Sina) Teaching Hospital (1967), second honourable mention⁶¹; and Sayıştay Ek Binası (1968), purchase award⁶². He also attended the competition for Taksim Touristic Hotel in 1959 but he did not receive an award.

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⁵⁶ Second prize: Sedad Erk, Nevzat Erol, İzzet Aydınlıoğlu. For further information: *Arkitekt*, 1946/03-04, p. 93; *Mimarlık*, 1946/01-02, p.43.

⁵⁷ First honorable mention: Samim Oktay, Nevzat Erol, Osman Kahramankaptan, İnayet Öney, Mustafa Kayalıoğlu. For further information: *Arkitekt*, 1948/09-12, pp. 195-201, 245; *Mimarlık*, 1948/06, p. 28; *Mimarlık*, 1949/01, pp. 11-15.

⁵⁸ Second prize: Nevzat Erol, Maruf Önal. For further information: *Arkitekt*, 1949/05-06, p. 144; *Arkitekt*, 1949/07-10, pp. 179-194; *Mimarlık*, 1949/05-06, pp. 10-28; Arredamento *Mimarlık*, 2002/04, p.70.

p.70. ⁵⁹ Fourth honorable mention: Samim Oktay, Firuzan Baytop, Nevzat Erol, İzzet Aydınlı. For further information: *Arkitekt*, 1955/04, pp.167-177.

⁶⁰ First honorable mention: Sedat Erkoğlu, Samim Oktay, Firuzan Baytop, Nevzat Erol, İzzet Aydınoğlu. For further information: *Arkitekt* 1958/02, pp.87-92.

Second honorable mention: Nevzat Erol, Fasih Metigil. For further information: *Mimarlık*, 1967/07, p.5.
 For further information: *Mimarlık*, 1967/11, p.5; *Mimarlık*, 1968/02, p.4; Mimarlık, 1968/04, pp.

⁶² For further information: *Mimarlık*, 1967/11, p.5; *Mimarlık*, 1968/02, p.4; Mimarlık, 1968/04, pp 22-30.

4.5 Architectural Characteristics Of The Building

Istanbul City Hall is located in the south of Saraçhane Park where Atatürk Boulevard and Şehzadebaşı Street intersect (the intersection point of Atatürk Boulevard and Fatih-Vezneciler Road). Therefore, the mass organisation, which has faces to these two important roads, is the major factor in the design. The City Hall is located on an area that includes historical edifices: Şehzade Mosque, Ankaravi Madrasah and 18 Sekbanlar Mosque (Figure 4.21, Figure 4.22). The construction of the ICH started in 1953 after the competition was completed. It was opened to the public on 2 May 1960 due to the NATO Council (Anonim, 1965). As mentioned in the previous chapter, the DP made many attempts to reshape Istanbul. The building site was assigned as a park in the development plan of Prost. However, with the expropriations, these lands were divided into smaller lands and distributed to public institutions such as the Worker's Insurance Institution (işçi sigortaları kurumu); Police Headquarters (emniyet müdürlüğü) and Istanbul City Hall, according with the DP's construction policy (Gül, 2012, pp. 188–89).



Figure 4.21: Aerial view of the Istanbul City Hall

The building site covers 40,000 square metres in area. The ICH is designed as two rectangular blocks (each with its own square), a pool and a garden at the rear. The larger block is built as seven storeys (the ground floor is two storeys in height with a mezzanine and there are two basement floors) and covers 21,600 square metres. The smaller block is four storeys and 12,500 square metres. In total there are 417 rooms and nine salons and the complex includes parking area for 200 cars. In the middle of the buildings there is a pool which is 60 by 24 metres in size. The construction cost around 21 million Turkish liras. Another objective was to include other fine art fields in the project, both in the design and construction process. Two wallboards by painter Nuri İyem, a fresco by painter Ferruh Başağa, Eti Sun Disk by sculptor Sadi Çalık, Atatürk bust by sculptor Hüseyin Gezer and stained glass by decorator Nazım Koşkan are some examples of this collaboration (Anonim, 1965).



Figure 4.22: The relationship with the historic environment (Url-26).

The ICH consists of two-sided blocks and the facade is divided into identical pieces like the 'honeycomb' system in the Hilton Hotel. Another common point with the Hilton Hotel is that both blocks are raised from the ground by pilotis. Using the advantage of the reinforced concrete system, the identical units are filled with glazing. The facade has two different expressions in the office block. One of them is the regular reinforced concrete grid with windows and the other one is the grid of sun blinds, which is more compact. The plan of the office block is a typical plan scheme. In this scheme, rooms are deployed on both sides of the main corridor (Figure 4.23, Figure 4.24, Figure 4.25). The vertical circulation and the service units are grouped

together in one centre. In addition, there is a parabolic cross vault on top of the ceremonial hall and a parabolic shell on the top of the main block covering the restaurant (Figure 4.26, Figure 4.27). According to Batur, parabolic vaults and shells are in parallel with Oscar Niemeyer's designs, who was a modernist architect of Brasil. On the other hand, it is said that the architect of the project stated that he designed the parabolic cross vault (on the top of the lower block) to refer to Şehzadebaşı Mosque (Okumuş, 1999). 63 On this point Bozdoğan (2011) claims that using a shell or parabolic vault structure on a flat roof was a common attitude in the 1950s. This is seen not only in hotels but also in other building types such as offices or residential blocks. ICH is an example of this attitude. The same design for a vault, which works as a light well, is seen in the second and third awarded projects as well. This glass dome is also repeated in the project of Kemali Söylemezoğlu, who was one of the architects of the second project. In their project, the dome is also accepted as a reference to the Şehzadebaşı Mosque⁶⁴. As discussed previously, these kinds of vaults or shells had also been seen before in hotel designs. This similarity is explained by the shift of the International Style from commercial buildings to public ones.

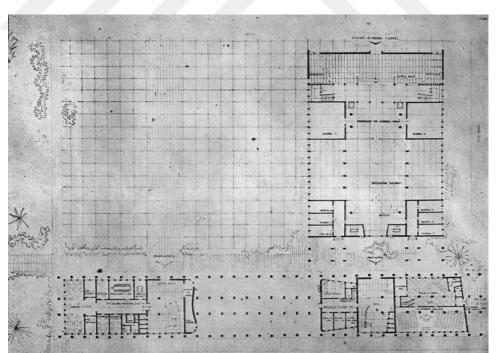


Figure 4.23 : Ground floor plan of Nevzat Erol's project. In Anonim (1953). Istanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

⁶³ This information is not confirmed by any other sources.

⁶⁴ For further information about the second project; Kayım, E.S., 2010 pp.140-142.

Not only the parabolic vaults, but also the facade organisation has a relationship with Niemeyer's design for the Ministry of Education and Health in Brazil in 1942 (Figure 4.28). It consisted of one higher and one lower block as in ICH. The collaboration of art and architecture is also an important point of Niemeyer's design. The wall of the lower building was designed with ceramic tiles and one of the facades was covered by the mural of Candido Portinari. The Ministry of Education and Health was also known as the "the most advanced architectural structure in the world" (Url-27) at the time. The face of the building is divided into pieces equally, in the manner of a honeycomb system and filled with glazing as in the case of the Hilton Hotel and ICH. This similarity shows the common attitude of the period in different countries and designs.

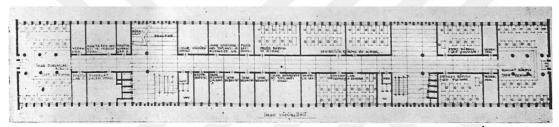


Figure 4.24 : Floor plan of Nevzat Erol's project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

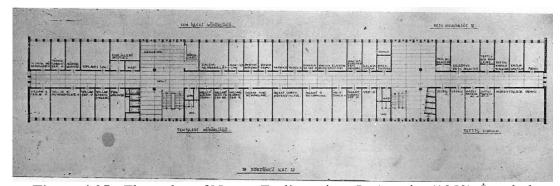


Figure 4.25 : Floor plan of Nevzat Erol's project. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.

The lower block, which is assigned as the ceremonial hall (auditorium), differentiates with its architectural features. As Bozdoğan and Akcan (2012) mention, it is a singular element that separates from the program which has repeating elements such as office rooms, service elements and more. Therefore, the auditorium is designed separately by means of its architectural expression. It has a parabolic vault roof, which is placed on the top of its pure geometric mass. The bigger horizontal block

(office) and the lower block (auditorium) connect to each other and this connection is supported by the open plaza. Two blocks embraced the site with its L-shaped organization. The connection occurs in two positions. Both of them connect the two blocks from the upper floor. The connections are lifted from the ground by pilotis (Figure 4.29, Figure 4.30, Figure 4.31). This open plaza includes a pool and works as a public area, which is necessary for public buildings. On this point Bozdoğan and Akcan (2012) underline the differences between the ICH and the Hilton or Çınar hotels. In the design of both hotels, the main idea is to attract attention into one point by the design and the site orientation (designing on the top of a hill). On the other hand, ICH is located in the middle of the Historic Peninsula. The ICH creates a new but also unfamiliar aesthetic in the historical area. Akcan and Bozdoğan express this situation with these words:

"...The City Hall sits in the historical heart of Ottoman Istanbul. It is paled perpendicular to the newly opened Atatürk Boulevard, between the Ottoman aqueduct to the North and Aksaray Square to the South. Dwarfing the small Ottoman hamam behind it and introducing a new, foreign aesthetic unlike anything in the historical fabric, it stands as the quintessentially 'republican' monument inserted inside the old imperial city" (Bozdoğan, & Akcan, 2012, p. 124).

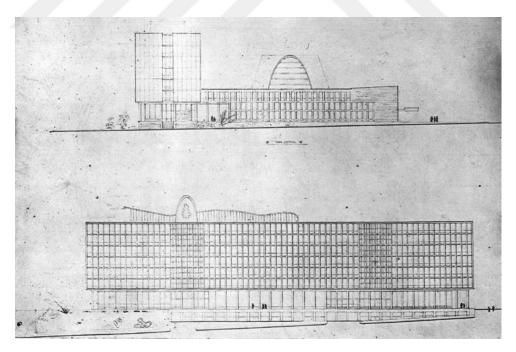


Figure 4.26: Sections of Nevzat Erol's design, showing the parabolic vaults both on the top of the restaurant and auditorium. In Anonim (1953). İstanbul Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt*, 5-6, pp. 71-88.



Figure 4.27 : External view of the dome from the roof of the office block (Şevkin, 2015).



Figure 4.28 : The Ministry of Education and Health in Brazil designed by Niemeyer in 1942 (Url-27).



Figure 4.29: The first connection of the two blocks (Çetinel, 2017).



Figure 4.30: The second connection of the two blocks (Çetinel, 2017).



Figure 4.31: The open plaza and public space of the City Hall (Url-28).

The entrance of the auditorium (lower block) is emphasised by the entrance eave (Figure 4.32). The design of the eave is close to the design of the entrance eave of the Hilton Hotel, which was designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem as a 'flying carpet'. This is another similarity with the Hilton Hotel. As mentioned before, not only the dominant style but also the advantages of reinforced concrete and technological developments allowed these similarities to eventuate. On the other hand, the main entrance of the office block is differentiated from the entrance of the lower block. In the entrance of the office block, more rigid and concrete forms are seen. It consists of three rectangular eaves connected to each other. The middle eave covers the access to the building. The position of the entrance is also emphasised by the facade as well. Through the hall facade, the part that is on the line of the entrance is different from the other parts. This axis of entrance is also designed as the stair hall. It is possible to experience the difference both from the exterior and from the interior (Figure 4.33). To conclude, throughout history religious buildings have dominated the appearance of cities. However, in time with the change of religions, economy, politics and social life the architectural production and the atmosphere of cities changed as well. The necessities brought new building types on the scene. Both commercial and public buildings started to dominate the city centres, as in the case of the Istanbul City Hall. Even though it was designed with respect to its historical environment, it weakened the effect of the historical buildings such as Şehzade Mosque.



Figure 4.32 : The entrance eave of the auditorium (Çetinel, 2017).



Figure 4.33 : The main entrance of the office block and facade differentiation (Çetinel, 2017).

Comparing buildings designed along the same principles, projects in the Sakarya Government Office Design Competition (1955) show parallel effects. The important feature of the competition is that this time Nevzat Erol was a jury member in a public building competition. The project awarded with the first prize was designed by Enis Kortan, Harutan Vapurciyan, Nişan Yaubyan and Avyerinos Andoniadis. The government office consists of three blocks that shape an open public plaza (Figure 4.34, Figure 4.35). These blocks have a height difference in order to give hierarchy. The drawings show that there are small domes on the top of the lower block and some parabolic elements on the top of the higher block (Figure 4.36). These are only recognisable from sections. However, after the construction of the building, those elements could not be seen (Figure 4.37). The higher block is elevated on top of pilotis and the ground level is left open. The same organisation is seen in the Elazığ Government Office Design Competition (1955). The winning project belongs to İzzet Aydınoğlu, Samim Oktay and Firuzan Baytok. There is no visual information about the other projects that attended the competition. However, the chosen project reflects the same facade principles of the honeycomb system. The Elazığ Government Office building is also elevated from the ground and the longitudinal facade is divided into equal sections, which are filled with glazing (Figure 4.38). In this project, the mass organisation differs from both the Sakarya Government Office and ICH projects. In spite of that, the facade organisation is very similar to them. This shows that, even if the masses or plan organisations were different, there was a common attitude towards the facade, which would be the face of the building.

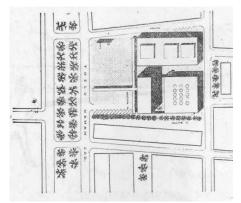


Figure 4.34 : The site plan of the Sakarya Government Office Competition, first prize. In Anonim (1956), Sakarya Hükümet Konağı Proje Yarışması, *Arkitekt*, 3, 285, pp. 105-18, 115.

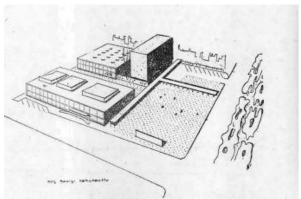


Figure 4.35: The perspective drawing of the Sakarya Government office Competition, 1st prize. In Anonim (1956), Sakarya Hükümet Konağı Proje Yarışması, *Arkitekt*, 3, 285, pp. 105-18, 115.

In the Konya City Hall Competition (1958), only the first awarded to Doğan Tekeli, Sami Sisa, Metin Hepgüler and the honourable mention awarded to Altay Erol, Tekin Aydın and S.Giritlioğlu are now available. Throughout these two projects, a similar facade is seen as well. However, in this competition the project awarded with the honourable mention has the same equally divided facade organisation. On the other hand, the first project's facade includes more horizontal elements and solid-void organisation. Both of them are elevated from the ground. Both of these projects' perspectives are reminiscent of the works of Le Corbusier at first sight (Figure 4.39, Figure 4.40).

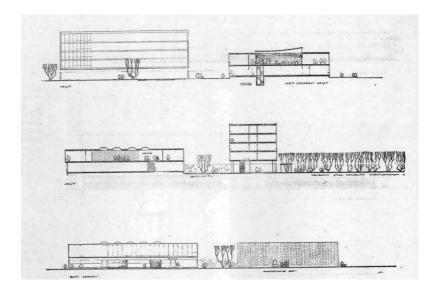


Figure 4.36: Sections of the Sakarya Government Office Competition of the first prize shows the unbuilt parabolic elements on the roof. In Anonim (1956), Sakarya Hükümet Konağı Proje Yarışması, *Arkitekt*, 3, 285, pp. 105-18, 115.



Figure 4.37 : Aerial view of the Sakarya Government Office showing the mass and open area relationship (Url-29).

The Urfa Government Office Competition (1958) is another example related to the previous ones. The first and the second projects are available for this competition. The first project was designed by Kadri Kalaycıoğlu and the second project was designed by Nişan Yaubyan, Harutyun Vapurcuyan and Avyerinos Andoniadis. The project consists of three blocks and the mass orientation is quite similar to the Sakarya Government Office Building. These three buildings have height differences according to their functions. These blocks also embody the public open plaza as in the case of the Sakarya Government Office ICH. Not only their interior plan schemes but also their site orientation and mass placements share common values (Figure 4.41, Figure 4.42).



Figure 4.38 : The Elazığ Government Office Competition, the first prize. Anonim. (1956). Elazığ Hükümet Konağı Proje Yarışması, *Arkitekt*, 3, 285, pp. 109-113.

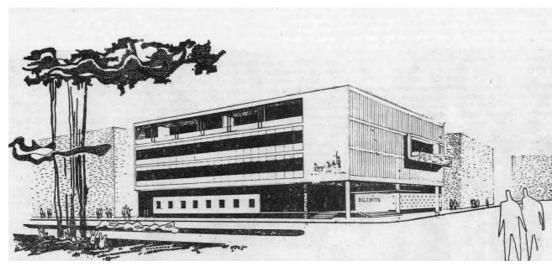


Figure 4.39 : The Konya City Hall Competition, first prize. Anonim (1957), Konya Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, *Arkitekt,* 2, 287, pp. 58-62.

The facade is the part of the building that meets the public. Therefore, it can be argued that the similarity of facades in the 1950s is actually a result of a political action. Through this action, the aim was to create a physical atmosphere which could be a symbol of the period. Without considering the function of the building, and even if the plan scheme is different, creating a similar facade or elevating the building from the ground are methods for shaping an identity. On the other hand, it is questionable that this attitude results in an identity or loss of identity. The dilemma here is that even if the functions are different, many of the buildings look like each other. Therefore, for some observers this can be described as a loss of identity. At the same time, due to having the same language for the physical environment, the approach also creates a face of the period. At this point, political relationships come into action. Using the same architectural language in public buildings was seen as the method and result of westernisation, which also meant modernisation. The West was seen as the one and only model for being modern. The political and economic relationships with the United States have been discussed in the previous chapters. These examples prove, once again, the power of these relationships and the power of politics on architectural practice.

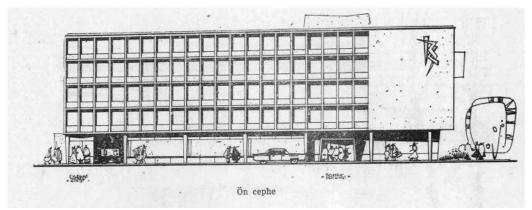


Figure 4.40: he elevation of the Konya City Hall Competition, honourable ention. In Anonim. (1957). Konya Belediye Binası Proje Müsabakası, Arkitekt, 2, 287, pp. 58-62.

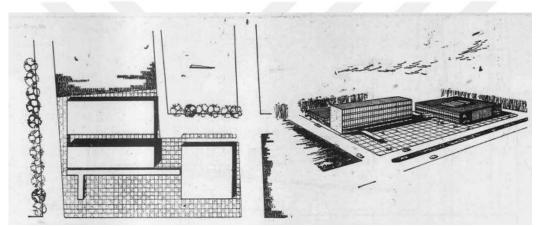


Figure 4.41: The site plan of the Urfa Government Office Competition, first prize. In Anonim. (1958). Urfa Hükümet Konağı Proje Yarışması, *Arkitekt*, 3, 292, pp. 114-121.

Figure 4.42 : Drawings of the Urfa Government Office Competition, first prize. In Anonim. (1958). Urfa Hükümet Konağı Proje Yarışması, *Arkitekt*, 3, 292, pp. 114-121.

4.6 Interior Decoration And The Cooperation Of Art And Architecture

It can be observed that there is a cooperation between art and architecture in the 1950s. This cooperation had been a part of architectural discourse since the early twentieth century. However, the production and physical sensibility of this cooperation increased in the postwar period. Freedom, democracy, identity and, therefore, modernity become the main concern of societies, a process that also occurred in Turkey. The idea of modernity brought the search for identity to non-western countries in the postwar period. In the 1950s, as discussed in earlier

chapters, architectural practice was related to the International Style principles. These attitudes were criticised due to resulting in buildings that were similar, repeated and uniform. In this period identity was a significant problem. To solve this problem, there were some attempts at using works of art in the design of buildings. The cooperation of art and architecture was related to the effort of balancing the universal and the local. To do this, on the facades of modern buildings there were motifs, figures and decorative elements that referred to the Anatolian style. The reason behind this was not the same as the reason behind the national architectural efforts. The main aim was not to refer to the past with nationalist thoughts. The main aim of the period was primarily to be universal but at the same time to reflect its essence in art. The common figures belonging to the common history created a strong relationship with the public. It was a way of communicating with people through art. It aimed to create familiar traces in the modern architecture. Therefore, it is not surprising to come across these elements in the work of artists who were educated in this manner in the early Republican period (Yavuz, D. 2008; Yavuz, E. 2017).

The International Style was sometimes criticised for resulting in buildings that were repetitive, monotonous and without character. The increase in applied art on the facade or in different parts of the design was the consequence of this identity problem. While western architects were in cooperation with modern artists and artwork, in the practice of non-western countries more folkloric and local touches were seen. As mentioned above, the reason behind these local elements can be related to two factors. The first is the identity problem and the second is the background of the artists. In addition, government policies to protect and support artists decreased in the DP period. Due to the increase in competition for public buildings, which were supported by the Ministry of Public Works, the number of architectural offices increased. In this atmosphere artists and architects met on common points. Artists needed new fields in which to apply their art and architects needed to impart an identity to buildings designed with International Style principles. The artworks were sometimes integrated with the architectural design and sometimes applied following the design process (Yavuz, D. 2008; Yavuz, E. 2017).

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⁶⁵ Picasso, Matisse, Miro, Rivera, Nogushi, Orosco, Lurçat, Lerger.

Not only the idea of creating an identity, but also the critiques of modern architecture affected the emergence of applied art with architectural design. Modern architecture was criticised for being detached from people, society and emotions. Therefore, the aesthetic issues gained importance in order to create design related to the human and concerned with the relationship with the public. As a result, Turkey, like other countries, reconsidered architectural practice in light of these criticisms and increased the relationship with the plastic arts. Art was seen as a solution and a tool in order to deal with these critics of modern architecture. In addition to all of this, there was a law proposed in 1933 which suggested merging works of art into architectural practice. In 1953 the subject came on to the scene once again, but it was withdrawn in 1954. Even though it was not legislated, Ezgi Yavuz mentions research that shows the agreement was related to the relationship between art and architecture. The decree that describes the jury of public building competitions has an appendix (13.09.1938, 2/9588). It states that artistic works, such as frescoes, mosaics and wall paintings, intended for application to public buildings would be chosen by the same jury. This decision shows that the cooperation of art and architecture was supported by the government, even though it was not part of a legal regulation (Yavuz, E. 2017).

In the case of ICH, it is possible to see the cooperation of art and architecture. The results of the competition for the interior decoration of the City Hall were announced in January 1959. According to the results, the following were chosen: sculptor Sadi Çalık for sculptures; decorator Nazım Koşkan for stained glass; decorator Mazhar Resmor for the mosaic cover of the columns in the ceremony hall and for the wall board in front of the council chambers; and Ferruh Başağa for frescoes. In the office block, no quality designer was found suitable for the cover of the columns and the cover of the ceiling ⁶⁶. In addition, sculptor Hüseyin Gezer was chosen for the Atatürk bust design. The site observation undertaken in 2017 reveals that some of these artworks are now hard to find or no longer exist. The Eti Sun Disk sculpture, according to the image from *Mimarlık* magazine, was located in the ceremonial hall and related to the mosaic covered columns (Figure 4.43). However, at the present

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⁶⁶ Anonim, (1965). Proje Tatbikat: İstanbul Belediye Sarayı, *Mimarlık*, 15, pp.7-9.

time the sculpture is no longer there and is now found in the car park (Figure 4.44, Figure 4.45).

The area with the covered columns was originally designed as an entrance hall but today, due to physical requirements, it is used as an office. In order to achieve this, panels have been inserted between the columns. Therefore, it is quite hard to reach the covered columns let alone, find them (Figure 4.46, Figure 4.47).

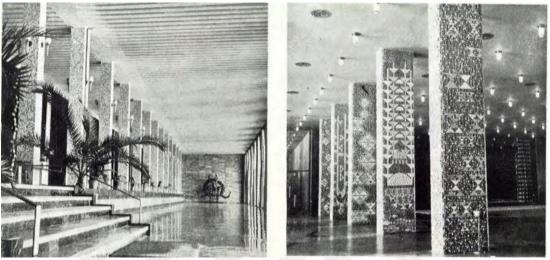


Figure 4.43: The hall with the mosaic covered columns and Eti Sun Disk at the back. In Anonim (1965), Proje Tatbikat: İstanbul Belediye Sarayı, *Mimarlık*, 15, pp. 7-9.



Figure 4.44: Eti Sun Disk by Sadi Çalık, in its current location (Çetinel, 2017).



Figure 4.45 : The detail of the Eti Sun Disk showing the name of the moulding craftsman: Orhan Yurdagül (Çetinel, 2017).



Figure 4.46: The current view of the mosaic covered columns, separated with elements for new functions (Çetinel, 2017).



Figure 4.47: Details of mosaic, the one on the left shows the date of 1959 when it was designed (Çetinel, 2017).

There is a wall painting in front of the council chamber. It is one of the preserved artworks that still remains today. The designer of the wall painting is not certain. According to the news in *Cumhuriyet* and *Arkitekt*, it was designed by rather decorator Mashar Resmor or Nuri İyem. It is positioned behind the colonnaded way, facing the council hall (Figure 4.48). The stained glass windows designed by Nazım Koşkan, are still preserved. One of them is located at the foyer of governor-mayor's office (Figure 4.49) and the other is located in the restaurant on the rooftop floor. The latter covers the parabolic arch (Figure 4.50). The Atatürk bust by Hüseyin Gezer and fresco by Nuri İyem could not be found in the ICH.

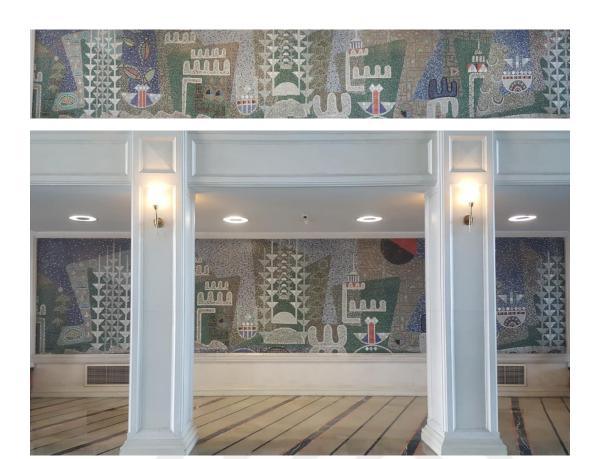


Figure 4.48 : The wall painting by Mazhar Resmor or Nuri İyem in front of the council chamber (Çetinel, 2017).



Figure 4.49 : Stained glass window designed by Nazım Koşkan from the foyer of governor-mayor's office (Çetinel, 2015).

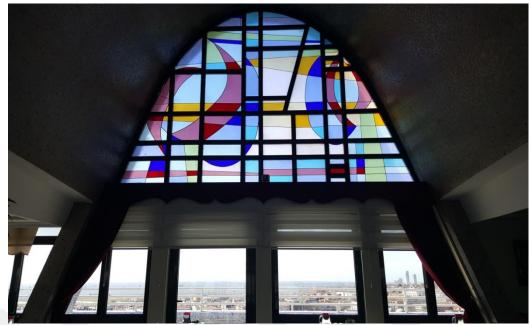


Figure 4.50 : Stained glass windows designed by Nazım Koşkan from the interior of the restaurant (Çetinel, 2015).

The interior of the council chamber changed over time and this can be followed by comparing previous and current images. The parabolic vault can be experienced from the inside. It helps to create a higher volume which is a necessity for this kind of space. The furniture in the chamber has not changed since it was designed. However, decorations in the dais have diminished over time and no information is available about when and how these changes occurred (Figure 4.51, Figure 4.52, Figure 4.53).

Cooperation between art and architecture was also seen in the Intercontinental Hotel's interior design. The competition for the hotel opened in a similar way to that for the ICH. Tali Köprülü gives detailed information about these artworks but he also mentions the importance of the cooperation. According to Köprülü, there is a 'magical triangle' which gives the identity to the building and also increases the attraction and functionality. The three figures of this triangle are: the architect who organises the plan; the decorator who shapes the space; and the artist who completes and integrates his/her art with the rest (Url -30).

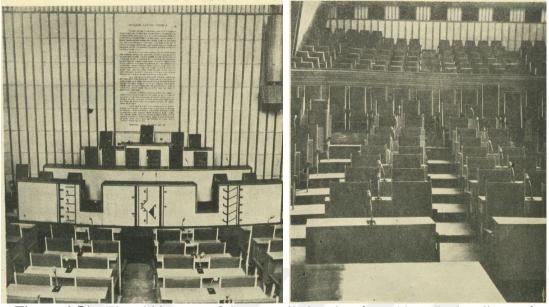


Figure 4.51 : The old images of the council chamber from 1966. In the album of İstanbul Belediye Reisleri ve Belediye Meclisleri I 1966.

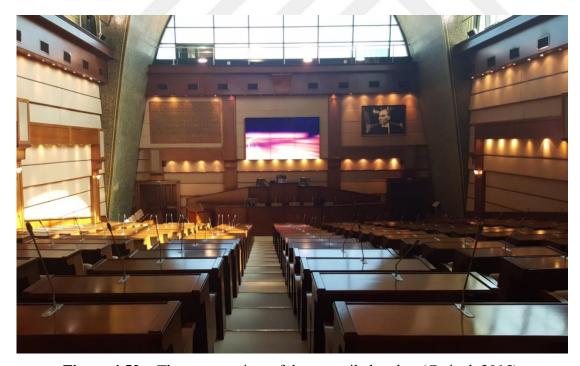


Figure 4.52: The current view of the council chamber (Çetinel, 2015).



Figure 4.53 : Interior view of the parabolic vault from the of the council chamber (Çetinel, 2015).

Another similar application of a wall painting is seen in the NATO building (1960) designed by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu. The mosaic wall refers to the Anatolian arras figures (Figure 4.54). Bedri Rahmi also designed wall paintings and mosaic works in the Marmara Hotel, Ankara (1955, Figure 4.55), Levent Housing Blocks (1956-57), Turkish Pavilion in the Brussels International Fair (1957, Figure 4.56), Samatya Hospital (1959), Grand Ephesus Hotel (1959, Figure 4.57), and Istanbul Manifaturacılar Çarşısı (1962, 63).



Figure 4.54 : The wall mosaics of Bedri Rahmi Eyübooğlu in the NATO building (Url-31).



Figure 4.55 : The wall mosaics of Bedri Rahmi Eyübooğlu in the Marmara Hotel (Url-31).



Figure 4.56 : The wall mosaics of Bedri Rahmi Eyübooğlu in the Turkish Pavilion in the Brussels International Fair (Url-31).

5. CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to reveal the dynamics behind the emergence of the International Style in Turkey, while considering the relationship with the West, political and economic factors and the architectural practice of the period. In order to draw a logical structure, the manifestations of the International Style in the West and in Turkey have been analysed with their common and opposed values. To materialise this theoretical information, Istanbul City Hall has been selected as a case study. The aim has been to gather both written and unwritten information in order to examine the process of the International Style in Turkey, and fill the gap in the studies on architectural history related with this period.

The emergence of the International Style in Turkey was primarily a result of political decisions rather than an outcome of a continuous architectural practice. Since the early Republican period, every political change brought its own architectural genres in order to shape both the physical and social environment. The Republican regime first employed Ottoman Revivalism to decorate its new capital. Then inspiration from Ottoman masterpieces was abandoned in favour of Central European Modernism. Following World War II and, in particular, under the DP governments, the International Style became the most preferred architectural genre, and it was applied to various kinds of building types, such as hotels, residential and public buildings. In this period Turkey's relationship with the United States was the main motivation behind the popularity of the International Style in Turkey. In a similar way to many other parts of the world, and in the politically polarised postwar era, the United States became a major player in Turkish political affairs and supported the economy through various funds allocated in the agriculture, roadmaking and defence sectors. Architecture, by its very nature, was one of the most significant fields where this transformation can be seen vividly. The International Style brought with it many new concepts in Turkish architectural practice. Advanced construction techniques were employed and new building materials entered the Turkish construction industry. Many Turkish architects of the period followed the attitudes of the International Style in their designs. Along with the Istanbul City Hall, the Istanbul Hilton Hotel was the other major example of the International Style in Istanbul. Its rectangular prismatic envelope, elevated ground floor with pilotis, gridiron facade configurations and rooftop terrace became a source of inspiration for many buildings. Çınar Hotel (1959) in Istanbul, Porsuk Hotel (1957) in Eskişehir, Anadolu Club (1951–57) in Princes' Isles and Grand Ephesus Hotel (1957–64) in İzmir were amongst many examples that followed the path drawn by the Hilton Hotel and the Istanbul City Hall.

With regard to the case study of this thesis, what is important to note is the similarity of projects that attended the national competition. This was a result of the common architectural attitude of the political power of the time, which tried to create a face for the period. The practice of the International Style shaped the characteristics of modern architecture in Turkey. However, the popularity of the International Style in Turkey came to an abrupt end with another significant political event. The DP government was overthrown by a military coup in 1960. Under a highly intense political climate, like everything else associated with the DP, the International Style too was rapidly abandoned by many Turkish architects. In addition to this internal political reason, new approaches in architecture in the western world also affected Turkish architects. In the late 1950s, the unshakable pillars of the Modern movement and its strict principles in urbanism had begun to be questioned in Europe and the United States. The buildings constructed everywhere with the same appearance, for any function, repetitive and with monotonous articulations led many architects to seek alternative sources for their designs: the context, spirit and identity. Young architects in the West, therefore, tried to establish new paths in shaping the built environment and the strict rules and principles of Modernism were gradually abandoned.

Despite existing for only a short period of time, the International Style in Turkey was a very effective style in twentieth century Turkish architecture. It left a significant legacy and paved the way to new horizons for the future generation of architects. Like its other major examples, Istanbul City Hall is regarded as a prime example of the International Style, not only in Turkey but also in the world. The Istanbul City Hall, and other buildings constructed in this style, form a significant part of modern Turkish architectural heritage. This thesis, and further research on this topic, will

help to establish the importance of the International Style in the Turkish architectural historiography.

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